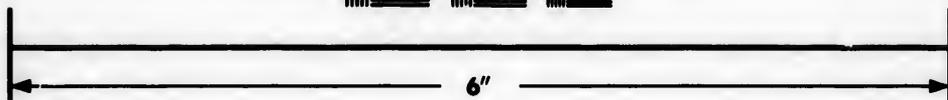
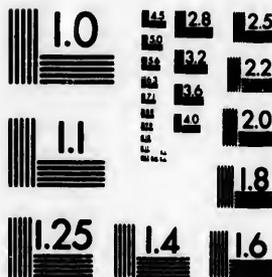


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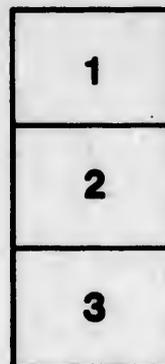
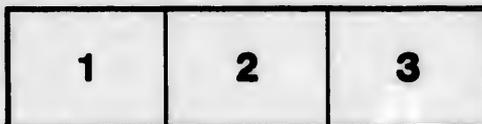
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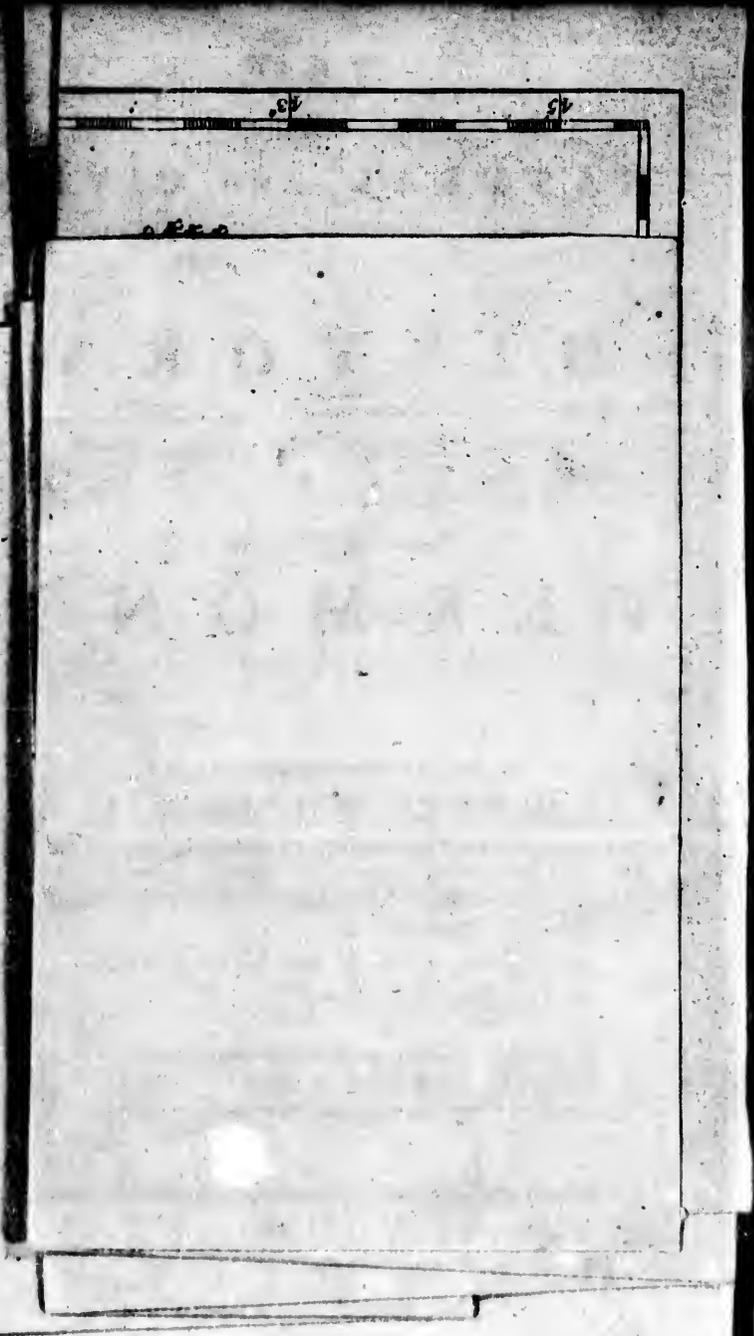
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O F
V E R M O N T.

BY SAMUEL WILLIAMS, LL. D.
MEMBER OF THE METEOROLOGICAL SOCIETY IN GERMA-
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PHIA, AND OF THE ACADEMY OF ARTS AND SCIENCES
IN MASSACHUSETTS.

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PART OF THE STATE OF MASSACHUSETTS.



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A Map of the STATE of VERMONT by J. WhiteLOW 1793

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TO THE CITIZENS OF THE STATE

OF

V E R M O N T

THE FOLLOWING OBSERVATIONS

ON THEIR

NATURAL AND CIVIL

H I S T O R Y

As a Testimony of Respect

For their many Virtues

As an Attempt to promote

A more particular Acquaintance

With their own Affairs

And with the most useful Wishes

For their further Improvement

AND PROPERTY

By their Services

and humble Services

THE AUTHOR

Printed by G. B. ...

TO THE CITIZENS OF THE STATE
OF
VERMONT,
THE FOLLOWING OBSERVATIONS
ON THEIR
NATURAL AND CIVIL
HISTORY,

Are humbly INSCRIBED;
As a TESTIMONY of RESPECT
For *their* many VIRTUES,
As an ATTEMPT to PROMOTE
A more particular ACQUAINTANCE
With their OWN AFFAIRS,
And with the most ardent WISHES
For their further IMPROVEMENT
And PROSPERITY,

By their obedient
and humble Servant;

The AUTHOR.

Rutland, July 16, 1794.

TO THE CITIZENS OF THE STATE

V. P. R. F. H. A. C. E. T.

M. D. C. C. C. I.

The first of these is the fact that the American people have never before been so united in their sentiment as they are now. The second is the fact that the American people have never before been so united in their sentiment as they are now. The third is the fact that the American people have never before been so united in their sentiment as they are now.

P R E F A C E

THREE centuries have passed away since America was first discovered by *Columbus*. From that time until now, the affairs of America have engaged the attention of historians and philosophers.—The natural productions of this continent, have been one object of general inquiry. Among the Spanish writers, there are some good essays on the natural history of the southern parts of America. In Canada, some of the physicians and jesuits were attentive to the natural productions of that part of the continent; and have left some valuable pieces on the natural history of Newfrance. This kind of knowledge was not much attended to, by the first settlers of the British colonies; and we have but few of their ancient writings, in which it was contemplated at all. Obligated to depend upon transient and partial accounts, the best writer upon natural history, *M. de Buffon*, has fallen into many mistakes respecting the natural productions of America, which, more accurate observations would have corrected. The subject instead of being fully explored, is yet a treasure but little examined.

The

The Man of America was an object still more curious and important. But the age in which the first discoveries and settlements were made, was not enough enlightened, to afford either accurate or impartial observations, on the manners, customs, language, abilities, or state of society, among the Indians. Prejudiced by their sordid manners, and enraged by their barbarities, the men of Europe never looked for any thing good in such men: And while interest and revenge joined to destroy that unhappy race, but few were able to consider their customs aright, with calmness, or dared to say any thing in their favour. — It is not more than half a century, since this subject has been properly attended to by philosophers: And their conclusions have been of the most opposite and contrary kind. Some have with great zeal advanced, that the perfection of man was to be found in the savage state; while others have as warmly contended, that this was the lowest state of degradation and abasement, to which the human race can possibly be reduced. Such opposite and contrary systems make it necessary to examine this part of the natural history of man, with great care and impartiality; that we may distinguish what was valuable in that stage of society, and what was disadvantageous and degrading.

An object of still higher magnitude and importance, has been presented to our view by the American Revolution. The first settlers in the British colonies were left in a great measure by their sovereigns,

sovereignty, to take care of themselves. The only
 straddles which they could take, while they were
 clearing the woods and forming their settlements,
 was that of equality, industry, and economy. In
 such a situation every thing tended to prosper,
 and establish the spirit of freedom. Their em-
 ployments, customs, manners, and habits, their
 wants, dangers, and interests, were nearly the
 same, they, with every other circumstance in
 their situation, operated with a steady and certain
 tendency, to preserve the equality and freedom,
 which nature had made. This spirit of freedom
 was in some degree checked by the arbitrary in-
 terpositions of royal authority. But these were too
 irregular and contradictory, to inspire in men of
 veneration, to alter the natural feelings of men, or
 to change the natural course and tendency of
 things. And while the ministers of kings were
 looking into their laws and records, to decide what
 should be the rights of men in the colonies, nature
 was establishing a system of freedom in America,
 which they could neither comprehend, or discern.
 The American Revolution explained the business
 to the world, and served to confirm what nature
 and society had before produced.

As they assumed their rank among the nations
 of the earth, the states of America now present to
 the world a new state of society, founded on prin-
 ciples, containing arrangements, and producing ef-
 fects, not visible in any nation before. The un-
 common and increasing prosperity which has at-
 tended

toed it; has ascertained its spirit and tendency : The people are distinguished by the spirit of inquiry, industry, economy, enterprise, and regularity : The government is dependent upon, but guides, and reverences the people : And the whole country is rapidly increasing in numbers, extent, wealth, and power. The highest perfection and felicity, which man is permitted to hope for in the present life, may rationally be expected in such a state of society : And it becomes of course the object of universal inquiry and attention.

To represent the state of things in America in a proper light, particular accounts of each part of the federal union seem to be necessary ; and would answer other valuable purposes. An able historian, the Reverend Dr. *Belknap*, has obliged the world with the *History of New Hampshire*. The following treatise is designed to describe the operations of nature and society, in the adjacent state of *Vermont*. This is the youngest of the states, an inland country, and now rapidly changing from a vast tract of uncultivated wilderness, to numerous and extensive settlements. In this stage of society, industry and economy seem to produce the greatest effects, in the shortest periods of time.

The manner in which the work has been executed, I am apprehensive will require much candour in the reader. In the variety of subjects which have come under contemplation, I cannot flatter myself, that I have been free from errors
and

and mistakes: And the reason why several of the subjects are so imperfectly considered, was because I had not the ability or information to state them otherwise.

THE American war considered with respect to its causes, operations, or effects, presents to our view some of the most important events, which have taken place in modern times: But neither of these particulars can be comprehended in the history of any particular state. To give such an imperfect view of this subject as could be properly contained in the history of Vermont, did not appear eligible. No further accounts therefore of the war, are inserted, than what appeared necessary to explain the subject, which I had more particularly in view.

THE controversies which took place between the states of Vermont, Newyork, and Newhampshire, were of the most dangerous nature; and they were agitated for a while, with a violence greatly unfavourable to the peace and safety of the whole union. Most of the wars which have taken place among mankind, have been occasioned by disputes respecting territory and jurisdiction: And however just or proper it might be for any nation, to give up part of its territory and dominion to its neighbours, such a sacrifice was scarcely ever made without compulsion and force.—To have expected Newyork would voluntarily give up part of her territory, when the decisions of the king, and the law were in her favour, was to ex-

P R E F A C E

post that which is never done by any sovereign or nation, while they have power to prevent it. To have expected the people of Vermont would voluntarily submit to a government, which let aside their titles to the lands which they had purchased of the crown, and made valuable by their labour and sufferings, was to look for that, which no people ever ought to submit to, if it is in their power to avoid it. — When the states of New York, New Hampshire, and Vermont, had engaged in a controversy of this kind, it was more agreeable to the course of human affairs to expect it would produce a civil war, than to look for so much wisdom and moderation among either of the contending parties, as to prevent it.

IN relating these controversies, I have felt a constant anxiety, lest I should misrepresent the proceedings of either of those states. I had not the interests, or the passions which those parties produced, to guard against; nor am I apprehensive that prejudice has misled me, in relating any of those matters. But it is not improbable that I have not had complete information in some particulars, respecting those complicated controversies; and may have mistaken the views of parties, in some of their leading transactions. If this should be found to be the case, it will give me great pleasure to receive such further information, as shall enable me to correct any mistakes. Those who point out to us our errors, perform the same friendly office, as those who help us to new truths.

P R E F A C E

THE most important of all our philosophical speculations are those which relate to the history of man. In most of the productions of nature, the subject is fixed, and may always be found and viewed in the same situation. And hence a steady course of observation, serves to discover and ascertain the laws by which they are governed, and the situation they will assume in other periods of time. It is probable the actions and affairs of men are subject to as regular and uniform laws, as other events: And that the same state of society will produce the same forms of government, the same manners, customs, habits, and pursuits, among different nations, in whatever part of the earth they may reside. Monarchy, freedom, corruption, truth, and all the general causes which actuate mankind, seem every where to bear the same aspect, to operate with the same kind of influence, and to produce similar effects; differing not in their nature and tendency, but only in the circumstances and degrees, in which they influence different nations.—But nothing is stationary, nothing that depends upon the social state, is so unalterably fixed, but that it will change and vary with the degradation or improvement of the human race. And hence, while the nature of man remains unaltered, the state of society is perpetually changing, and the men of one age and country, in many respects appear different from those of another. And as men themselves are more or less improved, every thing that constitutes a part of

P R E F A C E

of the Solid State will bear a different appearance among different nations, and in the same nation in different circumstances, and in different periods of time. — To ascertain what there is thus peculiar and distinctive in the state of Society in the federal Union, to explain the causes which have led to this state; to exert its effect upon human happiness, and to conduct improvement from the whole, are the most important objects which civil history can contemplate in America: And they are objects, every where more useful as well, than any remembrance, amusements, or diversions, necessarily speculative.

I have wished to keep such objects in view, in the sketching the state of Society in this part of the continent. But it is with diffidence that I submit the attempt to the view of the public. The disposition of America is to favour such attempts and publications, as are adapted to promote any valuable public purpose: but speculations and reflexions cannot much engage the attention of a people, whose main object is the prosperity and improvement of their country. The public sentiment will be a just decision, among which of these, the following work ought to be placed.

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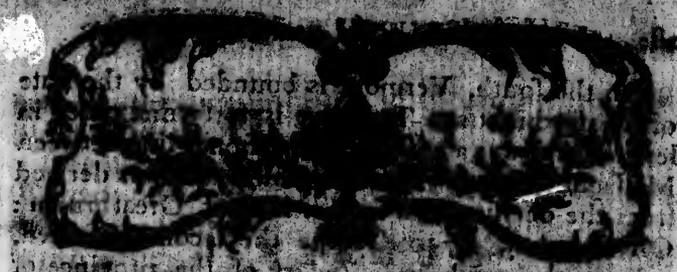
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NATURAL AND CIVIL
HISTORY OF VERMONT.

C H A P. I.

Situation, Extent, Area, Soil, and State of the Country.



THE State of Vermont is situated between 44° 45' and 45 degrees of north latitude; and between 71° 29' and 81° 36' of longitude, east from the meridian of Philadelphia. It is altogether an inland country; surrounded by the States of Newhampshire, Massachusetts, New-york, and the province of Canada: That part of the state of Vermont which is nearest to the sea-coast, is at the distance of seventy or eighty miles, from any part of the ocean.

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On the south, Vermont is bounded by the state of Massachusetts. This line is forty one miles in length, and was a part of the divisional line between Massachusetts and New Hampshire. It was derived from the decision of a former king of Greatbritain: On March 6, 1740, George the second, resolved, "That the northern boundary of the province of Massachusetts, be a similar curve line, pursuing the course of Merrimack river, at three miles distance, on the north side thereof, beginning at the Atlantic ocean, and ending at a point due north of Patucket falls; and a straight line drawn thence due west, until it meets with his Majesty's other governments." The point three miles north of Patucket falls, was found to be in the town of Dracut. From that point, the surveyor, *Richard Hazen*, in the months of February and March, 1741, ran the divisional line between Massachusetts and New Hampshire. He was directed by Mr. *Belcher*, at that time governor of both those provinces, to allow ten degrees for the westerly variation of the magnetic needle. The magnetic variation, at that time and place, was not so great, as the surveyor assumed: And when he arrived at Connecticut river, a distance of fifty five miles, instead of being in a west line, he had deviated to the north $2^{\circ} 57'$ of latitude. This error in the direction of the line, occasions a loss of 59,875 acres to New Hampshire, and of 133,897 acres to Vermont.

The eastern boundary of Vermont, is formed by the west bank of Connecticut river. This line, following the course of the river, is about two hundred miles, and is derived from the decree of George the third. On the 30th of July, 1764, his Majesty ordered and declared, "The western banks of the river Connecticut, from where it enters the province of Massachusetts Bay, is far north at the forty fifth degree of northern latitude, to be the boundary line between

HISTORY OF VERMONT

between the two provinces of New Hampshire and New York. The north line of the state begins at the latitude of 45 degrees north and runs upon that parallel from Lake Champlain to Connecticut river. This line is ninety miles and one quarter of a mile long, and divides this part of the United States from the province of Canada. Much pains was taken by the provinces of New York and Canada, to ascertain the latitude of 45 by astronomical observations. This was done by commissioners from both provinces, in the month of September, 1767. At the place, where the line crosses Lake Champlain, they erected a monument of stone, which is yet standing. The line was afterwards run by Mrs. Collins, but with what accuracy has not since been examined. This line existeth from the proclamation of George the third, of October 7, 1763, determining the southern boundary of the province of Quebec and from the treaty of peace between Britain and the states of America, in 1783, which is running as follows: Beginning at the southwest corner of the town of Pownal, the west line of Vermont runs northward, along the western boundaries of the townships of Bowral, Bennington, Shaftsbury, Arlington, Sandgate, Rappah, Rawlet, Wells, and Poultney; on the south townships are now held and possessed to the river commonly called Poultney river; thence southward to the sea, through the middle of the deep channel thereof, to East Bay; thence through the middle of the deepest channel of East Bay, and the narrow thereof, to where the same communicate with Lake Champlain; thence through the middle of the deepest channel of Lake Champlain, to the eastward of the islands called the Four Brothers, and to the westward of the islands called the Grand Isle, and Long Isle, or the Two Heroes, and to the westward of the Isle la Motte, to the forty fifth degree of north latitude.

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latitude. — This line is about one hundred and seventy miles in length; and results from the declaration of the commissioners of New York, of October 7, 1790; and the concurring act of the general assembly of the state of Vermont, passed October 28, 1793.

Computing by the latitudes, the length of the state from the southern to the northern boundary, is one hundred and fifty seven miles and an half. The mean width from east to west is about sixty five miles. This will give 10,237½ square miles, or 6,552,000 acres; as the superficial area contained within the boundaries of Vermont. — A considerable deduction must be made, to exclude the waters; and reduce it to the just quantity of land.

The land included within these limits, is of a very fertile nature, fitted for all the purposes and productions of agriculture. The soil is deep and of a dark colour; rich, moist, warm, and loamy. It bears corn and other kinds of grain, in large quantities, as soon as it is cleared of the wood, without any ploughing or preparation. And after the first crops, naturally turns to rich pasture or mowing.

The face of the country exhibits very different prospects. Adjoining to our rivers, we have the wide extensive plains, of a level country. At a small distance from them, the land rises into a succession and chain of high mountains, interspersed with deep and long valleys. Descending from the mountains, the streams and rivers appear in several parts of the country, and afford a plentiful supply of water.

The mountains, which nature exhibits, and which the art of man has improved, are of various heights, and are situated in different parts of the state. The highest mountain, which has been one of the objects of the philosophers of this country, is Mount Mansfield, which is situated in the north-western part of the state, and is about 4,000 feet high.

MOUNTAINS.—Their Direction, Altitude, Caves, Grottoes, the Origin of Springs and Rivers.

IN the formation of our mountains, nature has constructed her works on a large scale, and presents to our view objects, whose magnitude and situation, naturally engage our attention. Through the whole tract of country which lies between the west side of Connecticut river, and the east side of Hudson's river, and Lake Champlain, there is one continued range of mountains.— These mountains begin in the province of Canada, from thence they extend through the States of Vermont, Massachusetts, and Connecticut, and terminate within a few miles of the sea. Their general direction is from N. N. E. to S. S. W. and their extent is through a tract of country, not less than four hundred miles in length.— They are not a continued range or collection of mountains, appearing as if they were piled one upon another, but generally from ten to fifteen miles in width, are much intersected with valleys, abounding with springs, and streams of water, and are every where covered with woods. Their appearance, is among the most grand and majestic phenomena, which nature exhibits.— From the perpetual verdure which they exhibit, they are called the *Green Mountains*; and with great propriety their name has been assigned to the State.

The altitude of mountains, has been one of the curious inquiries, which the philosophers of this century

century have been solicitous to determine. The most common method of measuring their heights, has been by the Barometer. I do not know that in many cases, a better method could have been applied. The theory however of this, is not attended with certainty, or precision: And in its application, it has generally given very different altitudes, to the same mountain. Geometrical mensurations admit of greater certainty and simplicity, where they can be applied: But the difficulty and expense of making such mensurations, has prevented any great progress from being made, in this part of the natural history of the earth. In North America, the height of most of our mountains, remains yet to be determined.—In December, 1792, I attempted to ascertain the altitude of *Kellington Peak*, one of the highest of the green mountains, by a geometrical process; and had the happiness to succeed in the mensuration. The measures stood thus,

Height of *Kellington Peak* above the plain at the State House in Rutland, by geometrical mensuration, 2813.

Height of the State House above the waters of Lake Champlain, deduced from the mensuration of the falls of Otter-creek, and a computation of other descents, 871.

Descent of the water from that part of Lake Champlain where the current begins, to St. John's; a distance of fifty miles. Estimated at twelve inches to a mile, 50.

Falls between St. John's and Chamble. Estimated, 40.

Descent of the water from the basin of Chamble to Quebec, a distance of one hundred and eighty miles. Estimated at twelve inches to a mile, 180.

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Admitting the waters of the river St. Lawrence at Quebec, to be of the same level as the sea, the altitude of *Kellington Peak* by these measures and computations, is 3454 feet above the level of the ocean. The altitude at which a perpetual congelation takes place in this latitude ($43^{\circ} 30'$) is about 8066 feet above the level of the sea. This is probably four fifths of a mile, higher than the tops of our highest mountains. But although they are far below the freezing

* Mount Blanc in Savoy, is the highest mountain in Europe, and probably the highest in the other hemisphere. In 1787 its altitude was found by *M. de Saussure* to be 15,678 English feet above the level of the sea. In the southern parts of America *M. Bouguer* found the highest part of the Cordilleras, to be 20,590 feet in height; this is the highest of any upon the globe.—In Virginia, according to *Mr. Jefferson*, the mountains of the Blue ridge, and of these the Peaks of Otter, are thought to be of the greatest height, measured from their base. "From data," saith he, "which may furnish a tolerable conjecture, we suppose the highest peak to be about 4000 feet perpendicular." (Notes on Virginia, Phils. Edit. p. 18.)—The white mountains in the northeasterly part of New Hampshire, are generally esteemed to be the highest lands in New England. Their altitude has not been determined by geometrical mensuration, but there is one circumstance attending their phenomena, which may serve to denote their altitude, with much probability. From the observations which have been made of their tops, it appears that the altitude of the highest of the white mountains, is below the point of perpetual congelation. On June 10, 1774, on the south side, in one of the gullies, the snow was five feet deep. On September 17, 1783, the tops of the mountain was covered with ice and snow, newly formed. In 1784, snow was seen on the south side of the largest mountain, until July 15th. In 1790, the snow lay until the month of August. In general, the mountain begins to be covered with snow as early as September; but it goes off again, and seldom becomes fixed until the end of October, or the beginning of November: But from that time, it remains until July. (Beiknap's Hist. New Hampshire, p. 46, 47.)—From these observations it is apparent, that the white mountains rise nearly to the line of perpetual congelation in that latitude, but do not fully come up to it. These mountains are in the latitude of $44^{\circ} 15'$ north. The line of perpetual congelation in that latitude, as deduced from the observations which have been

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freezing point, in further, their phenomental productions are very much affected by the degree of cold, to which they are constantly exposed. The tops of our mountains are generally composed of rocks, covered over with moss. The trees appear to be very aged, but they are of a small size, and all of them are of the species called evergreens; pine, spruce, hemlock, and fir, intermixed with shrubs and bushes. The powers of vegetation regularly diminish, as we approach the summit of an high mountain; the trees degenerate in their dimensions, and frequently terminate in a shrubby of spruce and hemlock, two or three feet high; whose branches are so interwoven and knit together, as to prevent our passing between them. Trees thus diminished, with shrubs and vines bearing different berries, and a species of grass called winter grass, mixed with the moss of the rocks, are all the vegetable productions, which nature brings forth on the tops of our highest mountains.

The sides of our mountains are generally very irregular, and rough; and some of them appear to have large apertures, or openings among the rocks. Among these subterraneous passages, some caverns of a considerable extent have been found. One of these is at Clarendon, on the southeast side of a mountain, in the westerly part of the town. The mouth of the cave is not more than 24 feet in diameter. In its descent, the passage makes an angle with the horizon of 35 or 40 degrees; but continues of nearly the same diameter, through the whole length.

made in Europe, is 7871 feet above the level of the sea. From the greater coldness of the American climate, the point of perpetual congelation in a similar American latitude, cannot exceed, but must rather fall something short of this. The altitude therefore of the white mountains, cannot be estimated as more than 7800 feet above the level of the ocean. And this is probably the altitude of the highest mountains in the eastern states.

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length, which is thirty one feet and an half.—At that
 distance from the mouth, it opens into a spacious
 room, twenty feet long, twelve feet and an half wide,
 and eighteen or twenty feet high. Every part of
 the floor, sides, and roof of this room, appear to be a
 solid rock, but very rough and uneven. The water
 is continually percolating through the top, and has
 formed stalactites of various forms; many of which
 are conical, and some have the appearance of massive
 columns.—At the north part of this room, there is
 another aperture of about forty inches diameter, very
 rough, and uneven. This aperture is the beginning
 of another passage, through the internal parts of a
 solid rock. The direction of this passage is oblique,
 marked all tops or notches, and its length about
 twenty four feet. Descending through this aper-
 ture, another spacious room opens to view. The
 dimensions of this apartment are twenty feet in
 width, thirty in length, and twenty in height. In
 the spring of the year, the whole of this lower room
 is full of water; and at all other seasons, what is to
 be seen is the lower parts of it.—No animal has
 been found to reside in this cave, and it evidently
 appears not to be the production of nature, untouched
 by the hand of man.—Another of these caverns is
 at Derby, and a third at Dorset. These are said to
 be more ancient than this at Chittenden, but they
 have not been properly explored. There are others
 in different parts of the State: All of them are the
 genuine productions of nature; never altered by art,
 and never inhabited by any of the human race.

One of the most curious and important operations
 which nature carries on in the mountains, is the for-
 mation of springs and rivers. All our streams of
 water in Vermont, have their rise among the green
 mountains. From a number of these arising, are
 formed all those brooks and rivers, which run in
 different directions through the various parts of the
 country:

country : And in general, the origin of rivers is to be found in the mountains, or high lands. In what manner do the mountains serve to produce these effects? And whence is it, that the highest mountains attract, collect, become the reservoirs, the receptacles, or the source, of the largest and most constant collections of water? One part of this effect, seems to be derived from the constant ascent of the waters, from the bowels to the surface of the earth. That water is contained in large quantities in the bowels of the earth, is evident from the springs which are found in almost all declivities; and from those which every where supply wells, at the depth of twenty or thirty feet from the surface of the earth. That these waters are constantly ascending towards the surface of the earth, and going off into the atmosphere, is evident from the evaporation which is constantly taking place, and from the manner in which heat, or as it is generally expressed, a drought, affects both the surface of the earth, and the springs, by raising and dissipating the water from both. If this ascent of the waters be obstructed by any strata of clay, rocks, or any other substance, through which they cannot pass, they will collect in such quantities, as to form or find for themselves a channel, through which they may be discharged. The place of this discharge, can only be on the side of a hill, or in some ground below the level of that place, where they are thus collected : And at such a place the waters would continue to issue out, as long as they continued to ascend, whatever might be the severity or duration of a drought. — In some such way, it appears probable to me, that some of the springs are formed in the mountains : By waters which are ascending towards the surface of the earth ; but which, instead of going off at the top, have their discharge in small quantities, at the sides of the mountains. Any strata of clay, rocks, or of any other matter,

matter, which would retain the water when it descends in rain or dew, and produce a spring for their descent, would also prevent the ascending water from passing through them; and might produce a spring from their ascent. — This ascent of the waters from the bowels to the surface of the earth, is a constant, powerful, and unceasing operation of nature: And seems to be the only cause, which is adequate to the formation of those springs, which are *perennial*. Such springs could scarcely be formed, or preserved, by the waters which descend in rain, because they are sensibly affected in the severest droughts: In these seasons, instead of being replenished by rain, the earth to the depth of many feet, is much exhausted of its water by heat. And no rain can ever fall upon the surface of the earth, which was not first carried off from it, by evaporation. *Mountains* also contribute to form small streams and rivulets, by preventing the evaporation of water from their surface. The vapours out of which the clouds and rains are formed, are all of them first raised from the surface of the earth. When the evaporation is in an open field, exposed to the sun and wind, the exhalations are soon carried off into the atmosphere, and the surface of the earth is left dry. When the evaporation is from lands covered over with thick trees and bushes, the influence of the sun and winds are much prevented, and the waters stagnate upon the surface of the earth, and render it wet and miry, in the form of swamps, and confined waters. When the evaporation is from the sides and tops of mountains, covered with vegetables, the waters are but slowly carried off by the heat and wind; nor can they stagnate, but will be gradually and constantly descending down the sides of the mountains, in natural or artificial channels. And in this way, the mountains will also be constantly producing small streams or rivulets.

A similar effect will also be produced by the condensation and collection of the vapours in the atmosphere, occasioned by the height and coldness of the mountains. When the weather is fair and clear, and the atmosphere serene and pleasant in the valleys, the tops of the mountains are often obscured and covered with a thick fog or cloud. In the cool mornings of the spring and fall, the vapours form a thick fog on the sides and tops of the mountains, which do not dissolve and disappear, until the sun has risen several degrees above the horizon, and the heat is considerably increased. In damp and driving weather, the larger part of the clouds seem to collect and dissolve upon the mountains. In winter the snows fall sooner, lie deeper, and continue longer on the mountains, than on any other part of the country. These phenomena denote a greater and a more constant collection of vapours and clouds by the mountains, than take place any where else; and it seems to be occasioned by the greater degree of cold, which prevails in these elevated situations. The highest parts of our mountains generally abound with rocks, and are covered with large quantities of thick green moss; so extensive, compact, and thick, as to reach from one rock to another, and of so firm a contexture as to bear the weight of a man, without being broken. These immense beds of moss retain the moisture supplied by the clouds and rain; and while part of it runs down the sides of the mountains, part will be detained by the spongy surface, to penetrate and sink into the earth. On this account, and for want of a more rapid evaporation, several of our mountains are constantly wet on their tops, and have marshy spots, which are frequented by the aquatic birds. The roads over these mountains are frequently very wet and muddy, when the valleys below are dry. When the waters thus supplied by the clouds and rain, meet with any strata which prevent their

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their descent, they collect in such quantities as to form a channel, and issue out at the sides of the mountain in the form of springs and rivalets. All those springs, which are *intermitting*, seem to be thus formed by the rains, or descending waters: And the more constant and regular the rains are, the more permanent and steady will these springs be: Such kinds of, *intermitting* springs are to be found in great numbers, on the sides of all high mountains. They never fail to run while the rains continue in their usual quantities; but when the rains cease, and a severe drought comes on, these springs are always found to fail.

In each of these ways, the mountains supply water for the springs and streams, out of which, the rivers are formed: And they are such as can never fail, while the present economy of nature shall subsist. But as the country becomes cultivated, some of the smaller streams must degenerate, and it is not improbable that when the woods shall be cut down, some of the lesser springs will wholly disappear.

CHAP.

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of an extensive tract of the former, which is
 and to which the latter is the only outlet, and
 is a great source of the river, and is the
 outlet of the C. H. A. P. III. *Account of the
 River Champlain, and Memphremagog.*

RIVERS AND LAKES.—*The Situation, Channels, In-
 tervals, Courses, Depths, and Effects of the Rivers.*
An Account of Lake Champlain, and Memphremagog.

ALL the streams and rivers of Ver-
 mont, have their origin among the green mountains.
 About thirty five of them have an easterly direction,
 and fall into Connecticut river. About twenty five
 run westerly, and discharge themselves into Lake
 Champlain. Two or three, running in the same di-
 rection, fall into Hudson's river. In the north-eas-
 tery parts of the state, there are four or five streams
 which have a northerly direction, and run into the
 lake Memphremagog; from thence, through the
 river St. Francis, they are emptied into the river
 St. Lawrence.

The most considerable streams on the west side of
 the green mountains, are Ottercreek, Onion river,
 the river Lamoille, and Michiscoui.—Ottercreek
 rises in Bromley; runs northerly about ninety miles,
 and falls into Lake Champlain at Ferrisburg; and in
 its course receives about fifteen smaller streams.
 There are large falls in this river at Rutland, Pitts-
 ford, Middlebury, and Vergennes. Between these
 falls the current is very slow, the water is deep, and
 it is navigable for the largest boats. Vessels of any
 burden may come up to the falls at Vergennes, five
 miles from its mouth. The head of this river in
 Bromley

Bramley; is not more than thirty feet from the head of Batton Kill, which runs in a contrary direction, and falls into Hudson's river.

Onion river was formerly called the French river, and by the Indians, Winookki. It rises in Cabot, about fourteen miles to the west of Connecticut river, and thirty miles to the east of the heights of the green mountains. A small southerly branch rises in Washington and Corinth, not more than ten miles from Connecticut river. From this southerly branch, Onion river runs northwesterly, about seventy five miles, and empties itself into Lake Champlain, between Burlington and Colchester. This river receives fourteen smaller streams, and is navigable for small vessels, five miles from its mouth. It has several falls, between which it is navigable for boats. At one of these falls in Waterbury, the channel of the river becomes very narrow, and passes between a high ledge of rocks on each side. A huge unshapely rock, in some ancient time, had fallen from one of these ledges, in such a manner, that the whole river now runs under it. The rock forms a kind of natural bridge, but one that can never be of any use; as neither the shape of the rock, or the situation of the adjacent banks, will ever admit of a road either to, or over the rock. About six miles from its mouth, between Burlington and Colchester, the channel of this river is formed by a solid rock. The channel through the rock, by estimation, is fifteen rods in length, fifty feet wide, and seventy feet deep. Every appearance seems to denote that this channel was formed by the water, which in this place could not have had any other passage.—Onion river is one of the finest streams in Vermont. It runs through a most fertile country, the produce of which for several miles on each side of the river, is brought down to the lake at Burlington. It was along this river, that the Indians formerly travelled from Canada, when they

they made their attacks upon the frontier settlements on Connecticut river.

The river Lamoille proceeds from a pond in Glover. Its general course is westerly. After running about seventy five miles, and receiving fourteen lesser streams, it falls into Lake Champlain at Colchester, five miles north of the mouth of Onion river; and is of the same magnitude as that. — The river Lamoille is a fine, smooth, and pleasant stream; and runs through a rich, level, fertile, country. — The height of the land in the northeast part of the State, seems to be about Greenborough. About six miles to the southwest of the origin of the river Lamoille, is Scotland pond. From this proceeds Black river, which, for five or six miles runs in a direction opposite to, and nearly parallel, with that of the river Lamoille, and discharges itself into the lake Memphrimsagog.

Michiscoui is the Indian name of the most northerly river in the State. It has its source in Belvidere, and runs nearly northeast until it has crossed the north line of Vermont. After running to some distance in Canada, it turns west, and then southerly, and then reenters the State in Richford; and falls into Lake Champlain at Michiscoui bay, in Highgate. This river is navigable for the largest boats to the falls at Swanton, seven miles from its mouth. Michiscoui, Lamoille, and Onion river, are nearly of the same magnitude.

On the east side of the green mountains, the rivers are not so large as those on the west, but they are more numerous. The largest of them are Wantastitquek or West river, White river, and Pousoomsuck. — Wantastitquek has its main source in Bromley, about three miles southeast from the head of Ottercreek. Its course is to the southeast; it receives seven or eight smaller streams; and after running about thirty seven miles, falls into Connecticut river at Brattleborough.

boroughs: at its mouth this river is about fifteen rods wide, and ten or twelve feet deep.

The north branch of White river rises in Kingdon. The lower branch has its source in Philadelphia. From Kingdon, the general course of this river is southerly; its length about fifty miles; it receives six or seven lesser streams, and falls into Connecticut river at Hartford. White river abounds with falls and rapids; at its mouth it is about eighteen rods in width, but not more than ten feet in depth.

Poosloomuck, rises from a pond in Westmore. Its course is southerly; it is made up of ten lesser streams; and after running about forty five miles, it joins Connecticut river in Barret. It is there twelve rods wide, and eight feet deep.

Connecticut river, into which these streams fall, forms the eastern boundary of the state. The original Indian name, which it still bears, signifies the long river. This river has its source in a ridge of mountains, which extend northeasterly to the gulph of St. Lawrence. The head of its northwestern branch, is about twenty five miles beyond the latitude of forty five degrees; and so far it has been surveyed. When it first enters the state, it is about ten rods wide; and in the course of sixty miles increases in its width to twenty four rods. Its course between Vermont and New Hampshire, a distance of two hundred miles, is southwesterly; from thence to its mouth, the course is more southerly. After running about four hundred miles through the country, and receiving

* The names which the original inhabitants assigned to our mountains, plains, and valleys, are mostly lost. Many of our rivers, bays, and falls of water, are yet known by their ancient Indian names. On account of their originality, antiquity, significance, singularity, and sound, these names ought to be carefully preserved. In every respect they are far preferable to the unmeaning, application, and constant repetition of an improper English name.

receiving a great number of other streams and rivers; it discharges itself into the ocean at Seabrook. With respect to its length, utility and beauty, this is one of the finest rivers in the eastern states. In the months of April or May, it overflows its banks, and for a length of three hundred miles, forms and fertilizes a vast tract of rich meadow. Vessels of eighty or one hundred tons, go up this river as far as Hartford in Connecticut, fifty miles from its mouth. It is navigable for boats, three hundred miles further, except the falls which the States of Vermont, Massachusetts, and Connecticut, are now making navigable by locks. While it increases the richness, and serves to transport the produce, by its perpetual majestic movement through an immense tract of country, it is always adding beauty and grandeur to the prospect.

To this account of our rivers, some observations may be added respecting their operations and effects. — Their first operation seems to have been, to form for themselves, a channel. The highest waters descend along the mountains, until they meet with some obstacle to obstruct their motion. Whatever this obstacle may be, it operates as a dam, and serves to collect the waters into a small pond or lake. Two causes are constantly raising the waters, in such collections: The earth is perpetually brought down by the waters, to the bottom of such ponds; and the water is constantly rising by its own accumulation. When it is raised above the banks, the waters find their passage in the lowest part, and begin to form a channel there; and a channel thus formed, will constantly be made more and more deep, by the perpetual running of the water. A similar operation must take place through the whole course of the river, from its first rise and source, to its final discharge into the waters of the ocean. Their channels must at first have been formed by their waters; which

were

were constantly accumulating, and struggling for a passage, approach, or discharge, into the nearest situation they could take to the center of the earth.

In this descent and passage to the ocean, all the large rivers in this part of America, have also formed large tracts of intervalle lands. By intervalles we mean those low lands, which are adjacent to the rivers, and are frequently overflowed by them in the spring and fall, or whenever the waters are raised to their greatest height. These intervalles are level, and extensive plains; of the same altitude as the banks of the river; in width they often reach from a quarter of a mile, to a mile and an half, sometimes on one, and sometimes on both sides of the river. There are frequently two strata of the intervalles, the one four or five feet higher than the other; the highest of which is not overflowed, but when the waters are raised to an uncommon height; but they are level, and extensive like the other.—Both of them have many indications, that they were formed by the waters of the rivers. The soil is always of that rich mud and lime, which is brought down by the rivers in the spring. In digging into these lands, various appearances of decaying vegetables are frequently found. The strata formed at particular years, are easily distinguished; and the original and the new made soil are so different, as to be readily known. The limbs and trunks of large, and sound trees, are often found at various depths; sometimes so low as forty feet below the surface. The small islands in these intervalles, are of a different soil, and less rich; and are evidently the tops of small hills, which have not been covered by the inundations of the rivers. These long and level surfaces are peculiar to the banks of rivers, and consist of the same rich manure which are yet annually brought down, and deposited by the waters. The cause, by which they are now annually increased, could not fail to have produced

produced such effects, in the course of a long series of years.

In these intervale there are several places, where another curious phenomenon occurs. The rivers have changed their courses, their ancient channels are left dry, and they have formed new ones. In the uncultivated parts of the country, where the operations of nature have not been altered or changed, the traveller finds many places where the rivers formerly rolled, which are now dry, and at a considerable distance, sometimes a mile or more from the present beds of those rivers. In some of these ancient channels, the waters must have run for a long number of ages; as they have worn the surface of the stones as smooth as those which are to be found on the sea shores. In some places the former channels are left dry, abounding with smooth stones and rocks. In others, the channels are converted into ponds, or overgrown with bushes or trees. Appearances of this kind are common in all the mountainous parts of the country; and something of the same kind, is constantly taking place in most of our rivers. In all large streams, the channel is more or less affected every year: Strips of land, one or two rods in width, and of some miles in length, are often carried off in the spring; and additions are made to the banks in other places. The lands thus formed, in some places, in the course of a few years amount to several acres, and are of an uncommon richness and fertility; but they are always attended with an equal loss in some other part of the river.

The depth of the channels which our rivers have formed, depends upon a variety of circumstances: The nature of the soil, the declivity of the river, the situation of the adjacent banks, the quantity of water, &c. Their channels have been formed two ways, by the wearing away of the ground in some places, and by forming or raising the intervale lands

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in others; but most generally, the channels of our
rivers have been formed in such a manner, that
the largest stones passing through the intervals which
they have formed, and knowing with a perfect know-
ledge the depth of the channels, appear to have a simi-
larity, or at least a resemblance. The depth of the
channels in such situations, on nearly parallel Con-
necticut river, Otterbrook, and Quaker river, is forty
or fifty feet below that of the adjacent banks; and
the alteration in the depth of these channels, is so
gradual and slow, that it has scarcely been percepti-
ble, since the first settlement of the country by the
English.

It is not only in the channels and intervals
which the rivers have formed, that their effects are
to be seen, but their operations are also visible, up-
on the stones and rocks. The stones which have
been constantly washed by the currents are smooth
sides, and sharp corners, and the rocks of
many places, are not only become smooth and
polished, but they are much worn away by the constant
turning of the water. There is another phenomenon
not extremely curious, derived from the same cause, in
several rivers, there are holes or cavities wrought
into the solid body of large rocks, by the descent of
circular motion of the water. At Rockingham, there
is a remarkable fall in Connecticut river, where the
water passes over a bar of solid rock, and which it
must have been constantly passing over, ever since
the river began to flow. In the rocks at these falls,
there are several cavities, which appear to have been
formed by the circular motion of small stones, con-
stantly kept in action by the force of the descending
waters. Some of these cavities are two or three feet
in diameter, and from two to four feet in depth; and
probably they are yet increasing. Such phenomena
are not uncommon wherever there are deep falls in
our rivers. But the most singular appearances of

this

the nature which I have ever seen, are at Cavendish, upon Black river, near the house of Salmon Dutton. Here, the channel of the river has been worn down, one hundred feet: And socks of very large dimensions, have been undermined, and thrown down, one upon another. Holes are wrought into the rocks, of various dimensions, and forms: Some of them are cylindrical, from one to eight feet in diameter, and from one to fifteen feet in depth: Others are of a spherical form, from six to twenty feet diameter, worn almost perfectly smooth, into the solid body of a rock.

How long a period nature has been employed in carrying on these operations, we can scarcely hope to determine. All the circumstances relating to the channels of rivers, and the intervals which they have formed, are such as denote periods of time very remote, and of the highest antiquity. It can scarcely be supposed that in the formation of the intervals, the annual increase has amounted to the tenth part of an inch. At present, the effects in the spring and fall, and throughout the year, do not amount to more than one half of this quantity of earth, upon the intervals. At no place in this State, is there any appearance that the surface of the intervals has been raised an inch, in the period of ten years. But admitting such an increase, where the depth of the intervals are fifty feet, the period necessary to produce such an effect, would be six thousand years. But in all such kinds of computation, the data which we assume, are not marked with sufficient certainty or precision, to leave us satisfied with the conclusion. The effects of the rivers upon the solid rocks, seem to be more slow, regular, and uniform. There are Stracions in this and in every part of America, where the water has been constantly flowing over a solid body of rock, ever since the channels of the rivers were first formed. If we know from observation, how much such

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rocks were worn away in one century, by the waters we could form a pretty just conclusion how long the waters have been running in those places. If the philosophers of the present age will make accurate observations of the altitude and situations of such rocks, and put their observations upon record in the transactions of their philosophical societies, they will enable posterity to solve a problem, which we can hardly expect to determine in our day.

While the one half of our rivers pass off into the ocean to the north, through Connecticut, and the other half find their way to the ocean, at the south-east, through Lake Champlain and the river St. Lawrence.—Lake Champlain is the largest collection of waters in this part of the United States. Reckoning its length from Fairhaven to St. John's, a course nearly north, it will amount to about two hundred miles. Its width is from one to eighteen miles, being very different in different places; the mean width may be estimated at five miles. This will give one hundred square miles, or six hundred and forty thousand acres, as the area of its surface. Its depth is sufficient for the navigation of the largest vessels. It contains several islands; one of them, the Grand Isle, is twenty four miles long, and from two to four miles wide.

The waters which form this lake, are collected from a large tract of country. All the streams, which rise in more than one half of Vermont, flow into it. There are several, which also fall into its eastern side, from the province of Canada. It is probable the rivers which flow into the west side, are as large, numerous, and extensive, as those on the east. The waters therefore, from which Lake Champlain is formed, seem to be collected from a tract of country, of a larger extent, than the whole state of Vermont.

There are many marks and indications that the surface of this lake, was formerly thirty or forty feet higher

the middle of January^o. Between the 6th and the 15th of April, the ice generally goes off; and it is not uncommon for many square miles of it, to disappear in one day.

The north-Nude of Vermont passes over the south part of the lake Memphremagog. This lake is about forty miles in length, and two or three miles wide. It lies chiefly in the province of Canada, and has a northerly direction. The river St. Francis forms a communication between the lake Memphremagog, and the river St. Lawrence. Round this lake, there is a rich soil, and a fine level country.

When the ice is become of its greatest density and firmness, large and extensive cracks or openings will suddenly take place. These cracks in the ice, generally run in an oblique direction, from one cape to another, and often to the distance of ten or fifteen miles. Sometimes the ice will separate on each side, to the distance of five or six feet; at other times it will lap over, or more commonly be thrown up in ridges four or five feet high; and it is often broken into pieces of two or three feet diameter, all round the edges. These openings often prove dangerous to the traveller. They seem to be produced, by the occasional rise and fall of the waters, in the lake; which as they cannot remove, must operate to elevate and depress, and thus to bend and break, the extensive and solid body of ice, which must have assumed the spherical form, which the waters had when they were first frozen.

THE NATURAL AND CIVIL

one has a right to know it. The author is obliged to
 state the reasons for the choice of the title, and to
 show that it is not a mere whim, but a necessary
 consequence of the subject. The author is also
 obliged to show that the title is not too broad,
 and that it is not too narrow. The author is
 also obliged to show that the title is not too
 general, and that it is not too particular.
**CLIMATE.—An Account of the Temperature, Winds,
 Rain, Snow, and Weather. The Change of Climate
 which has attended the Cultivation of the Country.**

THE temperature of any particu-
 lar place, depends chiefly upon the latitude, the
 cultivation of the country, the elevation of the place
 above the adjacent lands, and its proximity to the
 ocean. The latitude of Vermont is between $42^{\circ} 44'$,
 and 46° north: Much the largest part of the state
 has never been cultivated: A large part of the land,
 is a range of mountains, much higher than the ad-
 jacent parts of the country: And the state is from
 eighty to one hundred and sixty miles from the ocean.

The most common method of determining the
 mean degree of heat which prevails in any part of
 the earth, is by thermometrical observations. In the
 years 1789, 90, 91, I made a course of meteorologic-
 al observations at Rutland, about the latitude of
 $43^{\circ} 30'$. The greatest height of Farenheit's ther-
 mometer during that period, was $99\frac{1}{4}$, on July 13,
 1791. The least height was 27 below 0, on De-
 cember 19, 1790. These may be esteemed as
near the extremes of heat and cold, in this climate.
 The *mean heat*, deduced from the whole number of
 observations, was $43^{\circ}\frac{1}{2}$.

The temperature of the climate may also be de-
 termined by observations of the heat which pre-
 vails in deep wells and springs. The heat of the
 atmosphere,

atmosphere, is derived from the heat, which takes place at the surface of the earth. In passing through the atmosphere, the solar rays do not communicate any heat to the particles of air. The rays must first fall upon the earth, be stopped, and collected, before they produce their effect. And no greater heat can ever be communicated to the atmosphere, than was first communicated to the surface of the earth. Hence we find the temperature of these wells and springs, which are so far beneath the surface of the earth, as not to be much affected by the heat in summer, or by the cold in winter, is the same as the mean temperature of that climate; or the mean heat of the atmosphere, in that place. The temperature of the water, in the deep wells in this place, is exactly the same as the mean heat of the atmosphere. I have repeatedly examined the temperature of the water in a well near the State House, by estimation forty five feet in depth, and I have always found the heat to be $43\frac{1}{2}$ without any variation in summer or winter.

Another view of the climate may be taken from the common operations of nature, the vegetable and animal productions. The times when the trees and plants put forth their buds, leaves, flowers, and fruit,

N I S A T

On a journey from the University at Newhaven in Connecticut, to Burlington upon Onion river, I made the following observations upon the temperature of the wells, which may serve to show in what manner the heat decreases as we advance towards the north, in a country but little cultivated.

Place.	Depth by estimation.	Temperature.
Newhaven, <i>President's wells</i>	80 feet	49 $\frac{1}{2}$
Middletown, <i>Quadrin's Inn</i>	27	50
Hartford, <i>Bull's Inn</i>	40	49 $\frac{1}{2}$
Stockbridge, <i>Judge Edwards'</i>	25	50
Pinefield, <i>Strong's Inn</i>	40	47 $\frac{1}{2}$
Tinmouth, <i>Judge Blawie's Spring</i>		44
Rutland, <i>Bull's Inn</i>	45	43 $\frac{1}{2}$
Burlington, <i>Kayes's Inn</i>	25	42

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or when the different seeds are planted, spring up, are in blossom, produce their fruit, and are gathered in; when the birds of passage, or other migratory animals, make their approach or departure; observations upon such phenomena, are among the best observations we can ever have, to ascertain the relative temperatures of different climates. Referring those which relate to the migration of animals, to the description of the birds, one or two small tables will serve to give us a view of the times, when different vegetables produce their fruit, in this part of the continent.

TABLE I.

A View of the Climate, taken from the State of Vegetation in the Trees and Shrubs.

Trees and Shrubs.	Buds.	Leaves.	Flowers.	Maturity.
Elder,	April 6	April 14	June 15	
Gooseberry,	April 6	April 16	May 9	July 20
Currant,	April 6	April 16	May 1	July 1
Raspberry,	April 6	April 17	May 27	July 6
Strawberry,	April 20	April 20	May 6	June 15
Wild Cherry,	April 20	April 28	May 4	June 28
Wild Plumb,	April 20	May 4	May 1	Aug. 12
Apple Tree,	April 22	May 1	May 12	Aug. 12

TABLE II.

A View of the Climate, taken from the Fruits of the Field,

Seeds and Fruits.	Sown.	Flowers.	Gathered.
Flax,	April 16	June 25	Aug. 1
Spring Wheat,	April 15	May 30	Aug. 15
Winter Wheat,	Sept. 1	May 26	Aug. 1
Oats,	April 20	June 7	Aug. 20
Peas,	April 16	May 26	July 1
Barley,	April 20	June 10	July 28
Rye,	Aug. 20	May 27	July 28
Indian Corn,	May 15	July 12	Oct. 1
Hay,			July 10

The

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The frosts commonly cease about the beginning of June, and come on again between the first and the middle of September. When they first come, they appear not on the hills, or highest parts of the trees, but in the low and wet lands, and on the lowest parts of the trees. When a fog lies along the low lands adjoining to a river, when the winds are high, and when the lands are but partly or newly cleared, the frosts are retarded or prevented; and do not appear so soon, or so great, as in clear, low, and wet places. These circumstances seem to explain the reason why the frosts are first seen not on the high, but on the low lands. The dews and vapours are the most dense and abundant, in those places; much more so than they are at higher altitudes, or upon the hills. The first effects of the frost are not sufficient to freeze the leaves of the trees, or other vegetables. The cold at first avails only to effect the congelation of the dew and vapour; as these are chiefly to be found in the low and moist lands, and not higher than the lowest limbs of the trees, these are the places where the first effects of the frosts appear. A high wind serves to prevent these effects, by carrying off the dew and vapours; and a fog detains the heat in amazing quantities, and prevents its flowing off from the surface of the earth, either so rapidly, or in such quantities, as to occasion a frost.

In those places where the earth is not covered with snow, the frost penetrates several feet below the surface. In the winter of 1789 there was but little snow at Rutland; and the surface of the earth was frozen almost the whole winter. On March the 19th the ground was frozen to the depth of three feet and eight inches. The ice in the lakes and stagnant waters, is generally frozen in the course of the winter, about thirty inches thick; in the rivers and streams it is about twenty four; and commonly goes off the last week in March.

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4	June 28
1	Aug. 12
2	Aug. 18

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Aug.	15
Aug.	1
Aug.	20
July	1
July	28
July	28
Oct.	1
July	10

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The severest cold of our winters never kills any of our young trees, and seldom freezes any of our young cattle, although they are not housed during the winter. Nor is the cold so affecting to the human body, as the extremes, and sudden changes from heat to cold, on the sea coast. From the time that the winter first sets in, until it breaks up, we have generally a settled steady cold, for the most part without any thaw, and with but a few days in which the snow melts at all. During this period we become accustomed to the weather, and every thing in our feeling, and clothing is adapted to a steady and severe cold. Such a steady equal temperature, is far more comfortable than those great and sudden changes, which take place, where the extremes of heat and cold are frequently succeeding each other.

The temperature of the American climate is so different in different parts of the same state, and often in the same latitude, that it cannot be well understood, but by viewing it in its variations through the different parts of the northern continent. The following table is designed to exhibit such a comparative view.

Latitude	Canada	Yorkshire	England	France	Spain	Italy	Portugal	Mexico	Florida
60°	Very cold								
50°	Very cold								
40°	Very cold								
30°	Very cold								
20°	Very cold								
10°	Very cold								
0°	Very cold								
10° S	Very cold								
20° S	Very cold								
30° S	Very cold								
40° S	Very cold								
50° S	Very cold								
60° S	Very cold								

England's Bay
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 Canada
 Quebec
 Vermont
 Rutland
 Massachusetts
 New York
 Maryland
 Virginia
 North Carolina
 South Carolina
 Florida
 Mexico
 The

HISTORY OF VERMONT.

The following table shows the number of days in each month, and the number of days in each year, from the first of January, 1777, to the first of January, 1850.

Thermometrical Observations.

	<i>South Carolina.</i> Charleston. lat. 32° 53'	<i>Maryland.</i> Annapolis. lat. 36° 55'	<i>Virginia.</i> Williamsburg. lat. 36° 58'	<i>Pennsylvania.</i> Philadelphia. lat. 39° 55'	<i>Massachusetts.</i> Cambridge. lat. 42° 25'	<i>Connecticut.</i> Hartford. lat. 41° 53'	<i>Canada.</i> Quebec. lat. 45° 30'	<i>Hudson's Bay.</i> Plover's Bay. Wales East. lat. 59°
Months.	5 years old. 1778-82.	5 years old. 1778-82.	5 years old. 1778-82.	5 years old. 1778-82.	5 years old. 1778-82.	5 years old. 1778-82.	5 years old. 1778-82.	5 years old. 1778-82.
January	34°	43°	48°	53°	58°	63°	68°	73°
February	28°	37°	42°	47°	52°	57°	62°	67°
March	22°	31°	36°	41°	46°	51°	56°	61°
April	16°	25°	30°	35°	40°	45°	50°	55°
May	10°	19°	24°	29°	34°	39°	44°	49°
June	4°	13°	18°	23°	28°	33°	38°	43°
July	-2°	7°	12°	17°	22°	27°	32°	37°
August	-6°	3°	8°	13°	18°	23°	28°	33°
September	-10°	-1°	4°	9°	14°	19°	24°	29°
October	-14°	-5°	0°	5°	10°	15°	20°	25°
November	-18°	-9°	-4°	1°	6°	11°	16°	21°
December	-22°	-13°	-8°	-3°	2°	7°	12°	17°
Mean of the Year.	36°	46°	51°	56°	61°	66°	71°	76°
Least Heat.	18°	27°	32°	37°	42°	47°	52°	57°
Greatest Heat.	85°	94°	99°	104°	109°	114°	119°	124°
Observer.	Living.	Brecks.	Jackson's.	Kelley's.	Williams.	Williams.	Williams.	Williams.
	Phil. Transf. Vol. 45. p. 341.	Phil. Transf. 1759. p. 58.	Notes on Virginia. p. 136.	Kelley's Travels. Vol. 2. p. 149.	Williams.	Williams.	Williams.	Phil. Transf. 1770. p. 237.

The

THE NATURAL AND CIVIL

The winds in Northamerica receive their general direction from the situation of the sea coasts, mountains, and rivers. These are very much from the southwest to northeast. The most prevalent of our winds, are either parallel with, or perpendicular to this course; Or rather, they are from the northeast, east, southwest, and northwest. More than one half of the winds which blow during the year, are from that quarter which lies between the southwest and northwest.—The west and northwest winds are dry, cooling, and elastic. These winds always begin at the sea coast. Those from the south and southwest are more warm, moist, and relaxing. The easterly winds seldom extend so far from the sea coast as Vermont. They not only lose their distressing chill and dampness, as they advance into the country, but they seldom reach so far as Connecticut river; and they are unknown on the west side of the green mountains.—The winds seem to observe something like a regular course, during the day. At sunrise there generally seems to be a calm; about seven or eight o'clock, the winds begin to rise, which at nine or ten becomes a fresh breeze; and increases until one or two o'clock; From about three or four, the wind decreases until eight or nine in the evening; when it again becomes calm, and continues thus through the night. This general routine seems to be observed more generally in the latter part of winter, and in the spring, than at other times of the year. But there are times in those seasons of the year, when the wind rages without much intermission for two or three days together.

A general table of their directions at different places upon the continent, will give the best views of their comparative courses.

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HISTORY OF VERMONT.

The Direction of the WINDS or gusty Flats in Northern Vermont.

Place.	Time.	Seasons											
		N.	N. E.	E.	S. E.	S.	S. S. W.	W.	N. W.				
Maryland,	1753 & 1764	9	59	21	12	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15
Williamsburgh,	1772 to 1777	122	110	102	102	102	102	102	102	102	102	102	102
Philadelphia,	1748 & 1749	21	56	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15
Cambridge,	1784 to 1788	61	127	121	121	121	121	121	121	121	121	121	121
Rutland,	1789	153	13	16	16	16	16	16	16	16	16	16	16
Quebec,	1743 & 1744	1	194	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Hudson's Bay,	1768 & 1769	169	78	36	36	36	36	36	36	36	36	36	36

The

The quantity of rain which falls at those places in Northamerica where meteorological observations have been made, has been found to be more than double to that which generally falls in the same latitude in Europe. We cannot well account for this, without supposing that the immense forests of America, supply a larger quantity of water for the formation of clouds, than the more cultivated countries of Europe. Many parts of America do however, suffer severely, by drought. This is very seldom the case in Vermont. The lands are naturally moist, the mountains supply water for regular rains, and the heat of the sun is not so intense as suddenly to disperse the vapours, dry up the waters, or parch the land. These kinds of observations will be reduced to the smallest compass, and give the most complete comparative view, by exhibiting them in the form of a general Table.

Year	1780	1781	1782	1783	1784	1785	1786	1787	1788	1789	1790	1791	1792	1793	1794	1795	1796	1797	1798	1799	1800
1780	100	110	120	130	140	150	160	170	180	190	200	210	220	230	240	250	260	270	280	290	300
1781	110	120	130	140	150	160	170	180	190	200	210	220	230	240	250	260	270	280	290	300	310
1782	120	130	140	150	160	170	180	190	200	210	220	230	240	250	260	270	280	290	300	310	320
1783	130	140	150	160	170	180	190	200	210	220	230	240	250	260	270	280	290	300	310	320	330
1784	140	150	160	170	180	190	200	210	220	230	240	250	260	270	280	290	300	310	320	330	340
1785	150	160	170	180	190	200	210	220	230	240	250	260	270	280	290	300	310	320	330	340	350
1786	160	170	180	190	200	210	220	230	240	250	260	270	280	290	300	310	320	330	340	350	360
1787	170	180	190	200	210	220	230	240	250	260	270	280	290	300	310	320	330	340	350	360	370
1788	180	190	200	210	220	230	240	250	260	270	280	290	300	310	320	330	340	350	360	370	380
1789	190	200	210	220	230	240	250	260	270	280	290	300	310	320	330	340	350	360	370	380	390
1790	200	210	220	230	240	250	260	270	280	290	300	310	320	330	340	350	360	370	380	390	400
1791	210	220	230	240	250	260	270	280	290	300	310	320	330	340	350	360	370	380	390	400	410
1792	220	230	240	250	260	270	280	290	300	310	320	330	340	350	360	370	380	390	400	410	420
1793	230	240	250	260	270	280	290	300	310	320	330	340	350	360	370	380	390	400	410	420	430
1794	240	250	260	270	280	290	300	310	320	330	340	350	360	370	380	390	400	410	420	430	440
1795	250	260	270	280	290	300	310	320	330	340	350	360	370	380	390	400	410	420	430	440	450
1796	260	270	280	290	300	310	320	330	340	350	360	370	380	390	400	410	420	430	440	450	460
1797	270	280	290	300	310	320	330	340	350	360	370	380	390	400	410	420	430	440	450	460	470
1798	280	290	300	310	320	330	340	350	360	370	380	390	400	410	420	430	440	450	460	470	480
1799	290	300	310	320	330	340	350	360	370	380	390	400	410	420	430	440	450	460	470	480	490
1800	300	310	320	330	340	350	360	370	380	390	400	410	420	430	440	450	460	470	480	490	500

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The Quantity of RAIN which falls at sundry Places in Northamerica

HISTORY OF VERMONT.

BY J. M. HARRIS, M.D.

The Quantity of RAIN which falls at sundry Places in Northamerica, in the Course of one Year, compared, from annual Observations.

Months.	Southampton Charleston. 3 Years Ob. 1732-1745.	Virginia Wiltonsbere. 3 Years Ob. 1729-1737.	Massachusetts Cambridge. 5 Years Ob. 1734-1738.	Verde Kutland. 5 Years Ob. 1739-1743.
	Mean height in inches.	M. altitude in inches.	M. altitude in inches.	M. altitude in inches.
January	2664	3,195	3,503	3,497
February	3735	2,049	2,648	2,784
March	3329	3,950	2,516	3,101
April	2074	3,686	2,725	3,012
May	3979	2,871	5,861	3,716
June	6009	2,751	2,083	3,914
July	5840	4,497	5,271	2,315
August	6964	9,153	3,278	2,106
September	4944	4,761	5,791	3,481
October	4,50	3,633	2,466	5,662
November	2,194	2,617	5,851	4,502
December	3,523	7,877	3,433	3,291
Total	47,666	47,938	35,936	47,179
Great rain in 12 hours	9.86			
Great rain in 2 hours	5.30			
June 18, 1750.				5.217

During

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During three months in the year, this part of America is covered with snow. On the mountains the snow is generally from two and an half to four and an half feet deep; and does not go off until after the middle of April. In the lower grounds, the snow for the most part, is from one, to two and an half feet deep; and remains until about the 20th of March. — The advantage derived to the earth from the quantity and duration of the snow, is every where apparent. As soon as it is melted on the mountains, the earth appears to be greatly fertilized: The spring comes on immediately; and the vegetables of every kind are green, and flourishing. With a very little cultivation, the earth is prepared for the reception of the seed; and the vegetation becomes extremely quick and rapid.

The effects being so apparent, a general opinion seems to have taken place, that the snow communicates to the earth some nitrous salts or enriching substance which tends to increase its fertility. In Feb. 1791, I melted as much snow, as afforded six gallons of water. The snow was collected as it was falling: Being evaporated there remained eleven grains of calcareous earth, five grains of an oily substance, and two grains of saline matter. The fertilizing effect of snow, cannot therefore be derived from any nitrous salts, which it receives or contains when it is falling through the atmosphere. Suspecting it might acquire some saline mixtures by laying on the earth, Jan. 30, 1792, in an open field covered with grass, I collected as much of the snow which lay next to the earth, as produced six gallons of water. This snow spread over an area of sixteen square feet, and had lain upon the ground fifty nine days. Upon evaporating the water there was not more saline matter, or calcareous earth, than in the former experiment; but a much larger quantity of oily substance. The oil was of a dark brown colour, not inflammable.

ble, and weighed four pennyweights and nine grains, troy weight. From the former experiment, it appears that the biggest part of this oily matter accrued to the snow after it had fallen upon the earth; And to this oily substance, is probably to be imputed that dirty or sooty appearance, which the snow is generally observed to have, after it has begun to thaw. If the snow which I removed contained the same quantity of oil as that which I examined, a considerable nutriment might be preserved to the earth from this cause. The depth of the snow was thirty inches. The depth of that quantity which I collected to melt, as nearly as I could determine was three inches. This will give two ounces, three pennyweights and eighteen grains, as the quantity of mucilaginous matter, which would have descended upon sixteen square feet of the earth, from the quantity of snow that was then upon the ground.

As the snow thus prevents all walk from the surface of the earth, it performs another and more important office, that of preserving its internal heat. The internal parts of the earth through the territory of Vermont, are heated to about the forty fourth degree of Fahrenheit's thermometer. When the heat of the atmosphere is greater than this, a part of that heat will flow into the earth, and thus the heat of the earth will be increased. When the heat of the atmosphere is less than forty four degrees, the heat will flow out of the earth into the atmosphere, and in this way the internal parts of the earth will be losing their heat, or becoming colder. This is the case during the winter months; or rather, from the middle of October, to the beginning of April. Hence the surface of the earth when exposed to the atmosphere, becomes frozen to a greater or less depth, according to the degree and duration of the cold. The snow tends very much to prevent this. By covering over the surface of the ground a considerable depth,

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the snow by its nature and colour, prevents the intense heat of the earth from flowing into the colder atmosphere, and the atmosphere from coming into contact with the earth. In this way while the earth is covered with a deep snow, its heat is preserved, and the surface, in the coldest weather, is kept warm. To ascertain to what degree the heat of the earth was affected, by the quantity of snow that lay upon it, on Jan. 14, 1791 (an extreme cold winter) I dug through the frozen surface in a plain open field, where the snow had been driven away by the wind, and found the ground was frozen to the depth of three feet and five inches. In the woods, where the snow was three feet deep, I found on the same day the heat of the earth, six inches below the surface, was thirty nine degrees. The surface of the earth had been frozen to this depth, before it was covered with snow. The frost was not only extracted, but the surface of the earth was heated seven degrees above the freezing point, in consequence of the snow with which it was covered.

This will help us to account for the beneficial effects, which are derived from the snow, in all cold climates. Different degrees of heat are necessary, for the preservation and growth of different vegetables. None of them grow, when they are frozen; and most of them will perish when the cold at their roots is very severe. A thick covering of snow prevents these effects. The earth is kept open, and the roots of the vegetables are preserved comparatively warm. The snow is continually melting at the surface of the earth: It moistens, and enriches the soil; keeps off the frost and wind, and prevents all evaporation from the surface of the earth. The earth thus prepared by heat and moisture, and a collection of all its effluvia, is in a fit state for that sudden and rapid vegetation, which takes place in all cold climates, immediately upon the melting of the snow.

The

The weather is generally fair in the winter; and often, with an hazy atmosphere. The snows are frequent, but they generally come in small quantities, and are over in one or two hours. They are not attended with high winds, or heavy storms; but they come from all points of the compass, except the east; very frequently from the west, and north-west. Hail is not uncommon in the winter, but rain is not frequent.—About the middle of March the spring commences. The winds and weather are then very unsettled until the beginning of April. In April and May the weather becomes mild and pleasant, attended with frequent showers.—In the summer months the weather is generally fair, clear and settled. The winds are mostly from the south, and south-west; the heat in the middle of the day is often very uncomfortable, but the nights are almost ever cool and pleasant.—From the beginning of September, until the middle of October, we have commonly the most agreeable season, with moderate westerly winds, and a clear sky.—The latter part of October and November, are generally cold, wet and uncomfortable; attended with frequent rains, some snow and high winds.

Thunder and lightning are common in the months of May, June, July and August; but seldom in the other months. The Aurora Borealis is the most common in the months of March, September and October; but it is not unusual at other times of the year. Heavy and long storms of snow, or rain, are scarcely ever known: But sudden and violent whirlwinds or hurricanes sometimes arise, and do much damage in the fall; but we seldom receive any injury from the hail.—Annual courses of meteorological observations properly reduced, will afford the most complete information of the weather, and meteors, in the different parts of North America.

The

The State of the WEATHER at sandy Places in Northwesterly Winds.

Place.	Time.	Bar.	Therm. by.	Wind.	Humid.	Bar.	Therm. by.	Wind.	Humid.
Maryland,	1753 & 1754	314	179	45	21	325	180	45	21
Philadelphia,	1748 & 1749	235	141	83	21	325	180	45	21
Cambridge,	1784 to 1788	564	531	75	20	325	180	45	21
Ratland,	1789	451	642	83	41	325	180	45	21
Quebec,	1748 & 1744	277	128	83	25	325	180	45	21
Hudson's Bay,	1768 & 1769	360	131	85	26	325	180	45	21

The weather at the above places is generally very variable, and often very disagreeable. The wind is frequently from the north-west, and is attended with rain, and sometimes with snow. The temperature is also very variable, and often very disagreeable. The humidity is also very variable, and often very disagreeable.

The

HISTORY OF VERMONT.

The above accounts are designed to exhibit a brief view of our climate. But instead of remaining fixed and settled, the climate is perpetually changing and altering, in all its circumstances and affections: And this change instead of being so slow and gradual, as to be a matter of doubt, is so rapid and constant, that it is the subject of common observation and experience. It has been observed in every part of the United States, but is most of all sensible and apparent in a new country, which is suddenly changing from a state of vast uncultivated wilderness to that of numerous settlements and extensive improvements.—When the settlers move into a new township, their first business is to cut down the trees, clear up the lands, and sow them with grain. The earth is no sooner laid open to the influence of the sun and winds, than the effects of cultivation begin to appear. The surface of the earth becomes more warm and dry. As the settlements increase, these effects become more general, and extensive. The cold decreases, the earth and air become more warm, and the whole temperature of the climate becomes more equal, uniform and moderate. At the same time the lands and roads become more dry and hard. The stagnant waters disappear, small streams and rivulets dry up, and the redundant waters are carried off. The number and quantity of the snows decrease; the winds receive new directions, and the weather and seasons become much altered. These changes every where attend the cultivation of the country; and have formed a remarkable change of climate in those states, which have been long settled.

In this change of climate, the first effect which is generally observed, is an alteration in the temperature. The cold of the winters decrease; the rivers are not frozen so soon, so thick, or so long, as they formerly were; and the effects of extreme cold, in every respect, appear to be diminished. A remark-

able change of this kind, has been observed in all the settled parts of Northamerica. The bays and rivers in Newengland, are not frozen so hard, or so long, as they were at the first settlement of the country.* At the first settlement of Philadelphia, the river Delaware was commonly covered with ice, about the middle of November, old style.† It is not now commonly covered with ice, until the first week in January. Similar observations have been made with regard to the ice in Hudson's river. The baron *Labontas* gave this account of the river St. Lawrence, at Quebec, in 1690: "I put to sea the 20th of November, new style, the like of which was never seen in that place before. The ice had covered the river on the 13th and 14th of November, but was carried off by a sudden thaw."‡ The river is not frozen over now until the latter end of December, or the beginning of January. The ancient people at Quebec, in 1749, informed Mr. Kalm, that the winters in Canada were formerly much colder, than they were then.§ Similar observations have been made in almost every part of Northamerica, where settlements and cultivation have taken place.

Although the general effect has been every where apparent, it is not an easy thing to ascertain the *degree*, to which the temperature has changed, in any particular place. When our ancestors first came into America, thermometers were not invented. And they have not left us any accurate meteorological remarks or observations, from which we can determine the exact degree of cold, which prevailed in their times. Upon looking over the most ancient writers of Newengland, the only account I have found,

* Newengland's Prospect, by W. Wood; wrote in 1633, p. 4.

† Kalm's Travels, Vol. I. p. 410.

‡ Smith's History of Newyork.

§ Voyages to Northamerica, p. 165.

¶ Kalm's Travels, Vol. II. p. 382.

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found, which will afford any distinct information upon this subject, is the following passage, refer- ring to years previous to 1633. "The extremity of this cold weather lasted but for two months, or ten weeks, beginning in *December*, and breaking up the tenth day of *February* (2d. new stile) which hath become a passage very remarkable, but for ten or a dozen years, the weather hath held himself to his day, unblocking his icy bays and rivers, which are never frozen again the same year, except there be some small frost until the middle of *March*." The winter is less severe now, in several respects: the extremity of the cold weather does not come on so soon by several weeks; the bays at Boston, instead of being annually covered with ice, are but seldom frozen to this degree; and they do not continue in this state a longer time than eight or ten days. In the year 1782, the harbour between Boston and Charlestown was frozen to such a degree, that horses and sleighs passed over the ice, for five or six days. This was the beginning of such an effect, as that which is mentioned in the ancient account. The ice became fixed and permanent on February 3, and continued in this state until February 10. During that time I found the lowest degree of Fahrenheit's thermometer to be -9° ; the greatest degree was 28° ; and the mean heat was 13° . It may be presumed therefore, that the freezing of the bays of which Wood speaks, could not have taken place, or continued, in a less degree of heat than this. This will give us 13 degrees of Fahrenheit's thermometer, as the mean heat which took place during eight or ten weeks of the winter, so far back as the year 1630. By the meteorological observations which I made in the University at Cambridge for seven years, from 1780 to 1788, I found the mean heat in the month of December was $29^{\circ} \frac{1}{4}$; in January it was $22^{\circ} \frac{5}{8}$; and

2 Wood's Prospect, p. 4.

and in February it was $29^{\circ} 9'$. These numbers express the present temperature of the winter at Boston. If this computation be admitted, the change of temperature in the winter at Boston, from the year 1690 to the year 1788, must have been from ten to twelve degrees.

A permanent alteration in the temperature of the climate or atmosphere, supposes an alteration equally great and permanent, in the heat of the earth. Whether the heat of the earth is thus affected by cultivation, and what will be its effect, I endeavoured to ascertain in the following manner. On the 23^d of May, 1789, I sunk a thermometer to the depth of ten inches below the surface of the earth. Upon repeated trials the quicksilver stood at fifty degrees: This was in a level open field, used for pasture or grazing, and fully exposed to the sun. The same experiment was then made in the woods, where the surface of the earth was covered with trees, and never had been cultivated. To ascertain the gradual increase of heat at each place, the observations were often repeated. The result was as follows.

Time.	Heat in the Pasture.	Heat in the Woods.	Difference.
May 23	50	46	4
28	57	48	9
June 15	64	54	10
27	65	54	11
July 16	64	54	10
August 30	65	55	10
15	68	58	10
24	69	55	14
September 15	59	55	4
October 1	59	55	4
15	49	49	0
November 1	43	43	0
16	43	43	0

The

The effect of cultivation with regard to the heat of the earth, so far as it can be collected from these experiments, appears to be this: Exposing the land to the full force of the solar rays in this latitude will produce an heat at the depth of ten inches below the surface, ten or eleven degrees greater than that which prevails in the uncultivated parts of the country; and this effect continues while the solar rays are sufficient to increase the heat of the earth. This additional heat in the earth, will be sufficient to produce the same alteration in the temperature of the air, for whatever degree of heat prevails in the earth, nearly the same will be communicated to the lower parts of the atmosphere. Thus the earth and the air, in the cultivated parts of the country, are heated in consequence of their cultivation, ten or eleven degrees more, than they were in their uncultivated state. It should seem from these observations that the effect, or the degree of heat produced by cultivation, is the same with the change of climate, that has taken place in the eastern part of Massachusetts.

Another remarkable effect which makes part of the change of climate, and always attends the cultivation of the country, is an alteration in the moisture or wetness of the earth. As the surface of the earth becomes more warm, it becomes more dry and hard, and the stagnant waters disappear. Alterations of this kind, have been common, and great, in all the ancient settlements in the United States. Many of the small streams and brooks are dried up; Mills, which at the first settlement of the country, were plentifully supplied with water from small rivers, have ceased to be useful. Many places, and large swamps, are become among the richest of our arable lands. In the new settlements, the change is effected in two or three years: Fields of corn and wheat are attended with the most rapid vegetation,

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The

and the greatest increase, in lands, where the waters, five or six years ago, were stagnant, and in such quantities as to be spread over the largest part of the ground. One of the first effects of cultivation is the dispersion of these waters, and a change in the soil, from the appearance of a swamp, to that of a dry and fertile field.

There are two ways in which cultivation operates to produce this effect. By the cutting down of the trees, the dispersion of a vast quantity of fluid, emitted by their evaporation, is prevented; and by laying the lands open to the influence of the sun and winds, the evaporation of the stagnant waters is greatly promoted. — The effect of the first, from experiments which will be related when the vegetable productions are considered, may be estimated at three thousand and eight hundred gallons of water thrown off from the trees on one acre, in the space of twelve hours, in hot weather. To ascertain the effect which might arise from the latter, on June 27th, 1789, a fair, calm, and hot day, I placed a china saucer on the ground, in the woods, where it was covered from the solar rays by the trees, the leaves of which at the height of ten or twelve feet, were very thick. Another saucer in all respects similar to this, was placed on the ground in an open field adjoining, where it was fully exposed to the wind and sun. I poured into each of them equal quantities of water; at the end of three hours the evaporation from the latter, was to that from the former, as six, eight to one. — With regard then to the moisture or want of it of the country, it appears that settlement and cultivation will be sufficient to prevent the discharge of three thousand and eight hundred gallons of water, over one acre of land, in twelve hours, during the hot weather; and at the time to effect the dispersion of six, eight times as much water from the surface of the earth, as would have been dispersed in its uncultivated

uncultivated state. If we may judge upon a matter which cannot be reduced to exact calculation, it should seem that the cause was here equal to the effect.

A change in the climate hath also been manifest in the apparent decrease of the snow, in all the ancient cultivated parts of the United States. Whether there has been any alteration in the annual quantity of rain in any part of America, we cannot determine, for want of meteorological observations; but a great decrease of snow has been observed in all the ancient settlements. At the first settlement of Newengland, the earth was generally covered with snow for more than three months in the year. It began to fall in large quantities by the first of December, and seldom went off until some time in March. This is yet the case in the inland and mountainous parts of the country. The snow covers them for three months, and is scarcely ever carried off by a thaw until the spring comes on. In those parts of the country which have been long settled and cultivated, the snows have been declining for many years. They are neither so frequent, deep, or of so long continuance, as they were formerly; And they are yet declining very fast in their number, quantity, and duration. This event is derived from the change of temperature, which has taken place in the atmosphere; and probably will keep pace exactly with it. There has also been an apparent alteration in the direction of the winds. The prevalency and extent of the westerly winds, seem to be abating: Or rather the easterly winds are certainly increasing in their frequency and extent. These winds are now very frequent in the spring, in all that part of the country, which lies within sixty or seventy miles of the sea coast. Half a century ago, the easterly winds seldom reached farther than thirty or forty miles from the sea shore. They have

now advanced as far as the mountains, which are generally eighty or an hundred miles from the ocean. As the country becomes settled and cleared, they are found to advance more and more, into the internal parts of the country. — It can hardly be doubted, but that this event is owing to the increasing cultivation of the country. As the woods are cut down, the earth and atmosphere become more heated than the ocean: The direction of the winds will of course be from the sea, towards the land. As the country becomes more settled and cleared, it is probable these winds will continue to advance further towards the west.

The same causes which produce a change in the heat of the earth, in its wetness, in the snow and winds, will produce as great a change in the weather and seasons. While the state of a country remains unaltered, the general course and appearance of nature will be the same, from one age to another. Summer and winter, spring and fall, the productions of the earth, the state of the air and weather, will be subject to but little annual alteration or change. But when the whole face and state of a country are changing, the weather and seasons will also change with them. — This is an event that has already taken place in the most ancient and cultivated parts of America. When our ancestors first came into New-England, the seasons and weather were uniform and regular. The winter set in about the beginning of December, old style, and continued until the middle of February. During that time the weather was generally fair, and cold, and without much change. Towards the end of February the winter generally broke up. When the spring came on, it came on at once; without repeated and sudden changes from heat to cold, and from cold to heat. The summer was extremely hot and sultry, for a month or six weeks; but it was of a short duration. The autumn commenced

commenced about the beginning of September ; and the harvest of all kinds was gathered by the end of that month.—A very different state of things now takes place, in all that part of Newengland, which has been long settled. The seasons are much changed, and the weather is become more variable and uncertain. The winter is intermixed with great and sudden thaws, and is become much shorter. The changes of weather and temperature, are great and common in the spring ; and at that season there is generally an unfortunate fluctuation between heat and cold, greatly unfavourable to vegetation, and the fruits of the earth. The summers are become more moderate in respect to the extreme heat of a few weeks ; but they are of a much longer duration. The autumn commences, and ends, much later than formerly: The harvest is not finished until the first week of November ; and the severity of winter does not commonly take place, until the latter end of December. But the whole course of the weather is become more uncertain, variable and fluctuating than it was in the uncultivated state of the country.

It is in these particulars, the change that has taken place in the heat of the earth, in its wetness, in the snow, winds, weather and seasons, that the change of climate in Northamerica has principally appeared. That this change of climate is much connected with, and greatly accelerated by the cultivation of the country, cannot be doubted. But whether this cause is sufficient to account for all the phenomena, which have attended the change of climate in the various parts of the earth, seems to be uncertain.

C H A P. V.

VEGETABLE PRODUCTIONS.—*Forest Trees, esculent and medicinal Vegetables. Remarks on the Magnitude, Number, Age, Evaporation, Emission of Air, Heat, and Effect of the Trees.*

WHEN the Europeans first took possession of Northamerica, it was one continued forest, the greatest upon the earth. The country was every where covered with woods, not planted by the hand of man; but derived from, and ancient as the powers of nature. The great variety of plants and flowers, the immense numbers, dimensions, and kinds of trees, which spread over the hills, valleys, and mountains, presented to the eye, a most magnificent and boundless prospect. This is still the case with the uncultivated parts of the country.

Much the largest part of Vermont is yet in the state, in which nature placed it. Uncultivated by the hand of man, it presents to our view a vast tract of woods, abounding with trees, plants, and flowers, almost infinite in number, and of the most various species and kinds. It would be the employment of many years, to form a complete catalogue of them. I shall not attempt to enumerate any, but those which are the most common and useful.

FOREST

FOREST TREES.

The TREES which are the most large and common are the

- White pine. *Pinus strobus.*
- Yellow pine. *Pinus pinea.*
- Pitch pine. *Pinus taeda.*
- Larch. *Pinus larix.*
- Hemlock. *Pinus abies.*
- White spruce. } *Pinus canadensis.*
- Black spruce. }
- Fir. *Pinus balsamea.*
- White maple. *Acer negundo.*
- Red maple. *Acer rubrum.*
- Black maple. *Acer saccharinum.*
- White beech, } *Fagus sylvatica.*
- Red beech, }
- White ash. *Fraxinus excelsior.*
- Black ash. *Fraxinus americana.*
- White birch. *Betula alba.*
- Black birch. *Betula nigra.*
- Red or yellow birch. *Betula lenta.*
- Alder. *Betula alnus.*
- White elm. } *Ulmus americana.*
- Red elm. }
- Black oak. *Quercus nigra.*
- White oak. *Quercus alba.*
- Red oak. *Quercus rubra.*
- Chestnut oak. *Quercus prinus.*
- White hickory, or Walnut. *Juglans alba.*
- Shagbark. *Juglans alba, cortice squamoso.*
- Butternut. *Juglans alba, cortice cathartico.*
- Chestnut. *Fagus castanea.*
- Buttonwood. *Plantanus occidentalis.*
- Basswood, or lime tree. *Tilia americana.*
- Hornbeam. *Corpinus betulus.*

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FOREST

Wild

Wild cherry, several species.
 Sassafras. *Laurus sassafras*.
 White cedar. *Taxa occidentalis*.
 Red cedar. *Juniperus virginiana*.
 White poplar, or Aspen. *Populus tremula*.
 Black poplar, or Balsam. *Populus nigra*.
 Red willow. *Salix*.
 White willow. *Salix alba*.
 Hackmatack.

E S C U L E N T.

The following are small trees, shrubs, or vines, valuable on account of their salubrious and pleasant fruit.

Red plumb.	}	<i>Prunus sylvestris</i> .
Yellow plumb.		
Thorn plumb.		
Black cherry.	}	<i>Cerasus sylvestris</i> .
Red cherry.		
Choke cherry.		
Juniper.	<i>Juniperus sabina</i> .	
Hazlenut.	<i>Corylus avellana</i> .	
Black currant.	<i>Ribes nigrum</i> .	
Wild gooseberry.	<i>Ribes glofularia</i> .	
Whortleberry.	}	<i>Vaccinium corymbosum</i> .
Bilberry.		
Blueberry.		
Chokeberry.		
Partridgeberry.	<i>Arctus viridis</i> .	
Pigeonberry.	<i>Cissus</i> .	
Barberry.	<i>Berberis vulgaris</i> .	
Mulberry.	<i>Morus nigra</i> .	
Black grape.	<i>Vitis labrusca</i> .	
Fox grape.	<i>Vitis vulpina</i> .	
Black raspberry.	<i>Rubus idæus</i> .	
Red raspberry.	<i>Rubus canadensis</i> .	
Upright blackberry.	<i>Rubus fruticosus</i> .	

Running

- Running blackberry. *Rubus moluccanus.*
 Brambleberry. *Rubus occidentalis.*
 Cranberry. }
 Bush cranberry. } *Vaccinium oxycoccos.*
 Strawberry. *Fragaria vesca.*
 Dewberry. *Rubus cespitosus.*
 Cloudberry. *Rubus chamamorus.*

These fruits are in great abundance in the uncultivated parts of the country ; but they seem to arrive to their highest perfection of numbers, magnitude, and richness, in the new fields and plantations. There are other vegetables which are also *esculent*, and valuable, chiefly on account of their *roots*, or *seeds*. Among these are the

- Artichoke. *Helianthus tuberosus.*
 Ground nut. *Glicine apios.*
 Long potatoe. }
 Red potatoe. } *Convolvulus batatas.*
 Wild leek.
 Wild onion.
 Wild oat. *Zizania aquatica.*
 Wild pea.
 Wild hop. *Humulus lupulus.*
 Indian cucumber. *Medeola.*

M E D I C I N A L.

Many of the vegetables which are indigenous to this part of America, are applied to medicinal purposes. Of this nature are the

- Bitter sweet. *Solanum.*
 Angelica. *Angelica sylvestris.*
 Black elder. *Sambucus nigra.*
 Red elder. *Viburnum opulus.*
 Sarsaparilla. *Aralia.*
 Pettymorrel. *Aralia nigra.*
 Solomon's seal. *Convallaria.*

- Maiden hair. *Adiantum pedatum.*
 Arsmart. *Polygonum sagittatum.*
 Wild rose. *Rosa sylvestris.*
 Golden thread. *Nigella.*
 Mallow. *Malva rotundifolia.*
 Marshmallow. *Althæa.*
 Lobelia, several species.
 Senna. *Cassia lignifera.*
 Clivers. *Gallium spurium.*
 Blue flag. *Iris.*
 Sweet flag. *Acorus.*
 Skunk cabbage. *Arum americanum.*
 Garget. *Physolacca decandra.*
 Blood root. *Sanguinaria.*
 Pond lily. *Nymphaea.*
 Elecampane. *Inula.*
 Black snake root. *Aster racemosus.*
 Seneca snake root. *Polygala senega.*
 Pleurisy root. *Asclepias decumbens.*
 Liquorish root.
 Dragon root. *Amur.*
 Ginseng. *Panax trifolium.*

Ginseng was formerly esteemed a plant indigenous only to China and Tartary. In 1720, it was discovered by the Jesuit *Laflan*, in the forests of Canada; and in 1750, it was saved in the western parts of Newengland. It grows in great plenty and perfection, in Vermont. The root has many virtues; but we do not find them to be so extraordinary, as the Chinese have represented. It was a valuable article in the commerce of Canada in the year 1759, and large quantities were purchased in this state but a few years ago; an injudicious method of collecting, curing, and packing it, has greatly injured its reputation; this, with the large quantities in which it was exported, have nearly destroyed the sale.

To

To this account of medicinal plants, it may not be improper to subjoin those, which in their natural state, are found to operate as *poisons*; the most of which, by proper preparations, become valuable medicines. Of these we have the

Tiorn apple. *Datura stramonium*.

Henbane. *Hyoscyamus niger*.

Nightshade. *Solanum nigrum*.

Ivy. *Hedera helix*.

Creeping ivy. *Rhus radicans*.

Swamp sumach. *Rhus toxicodendrum*.

Baneberry. *Aëæa spicata*.

White hellebore. *Veratrum album*.

In addition to these, there is a great variety of plants and flowers, the names and virtues of which, are unknown. Some of our vegetables deserve a particular description, on account of their uncommon properties: Thus, the Bayberry (*Myrica carifera*) is distinguished by a fine perfume, and a delicate green wax. The Prickly Ash is valuable for its uncommon aromatic properties. The Witch Hazel (*bamamelis*) is endowed with the singular property of putting forth its blossoms, after the frost has destroyed its leaves. The Indian Hemp (*asclepias*) may be wrought into a fine, and strong thread. The Silk Grass another species of the *asclepias*, contains a fine soft down, which may be carded and spun into an excellent wick yarn. The berries of the common Sumach (*rhus*) are used to great advantage in medicinal applications, and in several kinds of dyes. It would be a very useful, but a laborious employment, for the botanists to give to the world an enumeration, and scientific description of our indigenous vegetables. The *Flora Americana*, would be the most valuable addition, that could be made to the works of the celebrated *Linæus*: But it cannot be completed without the united assistance of wealth, genius, time, and labour.

To

To

To this imperfect catalogue of our vegetables, I shall add some remarks on the magnitude, number, age, evaporation, emission of air, heat, and effect of the Trees.

MAGNITUDE.—The magnitude to which a tree will arrive depends upon the nature of the tree, and of the soil. The following are the dimensions of such trees as are esteemed large ones of their kind, in this part of America. They do not denote the greatest, which nature has produced of their particular species,* but the greatest of those which are to be found in most of our towns.

Trees.	Diameter.		Height. Feet.
	Feet.	Inch.	
Pine,	6	0	247
Maple,	5	9	From 100 to 300 feet.
Buttonwood,	5	6	
Elm,	5	0	
Hemlock;	4	9	
Oak,	4	0	
Ballwood,	4	0	
Ash,	4	0	
Birch,	3	0	

NUMBER.—The number or thickness of the trees, seems to depend chiefly on the richness of the soil. In some parts of the country they are so thick, that it is with difficulty we can ride among them. In other places, they have resolved themselves into trees of large dimensions, which are generally at the distance of eight or ten feet from each other. On one acre, the number of the trees, is commonly from one hundred and fifty to six hundred and fifty; varying in their number, according to the richness of the soil, and the dimensions the trees have attained. Estimating a cord to be four feet in height, and width,

* A white pine was cut at Dunstable in New Hampshire, in 1736, the diameter of which was seven feet, eight inches.

and eight feet in length, the quantity of wood which is generally found on one acre, is from fifty to two hundred cords: Where the large pines abound, the quantity of wood is much larger than what is here stated; but these trees are never measured as cord wood, but always applied to other purposes.

AGE.—There is a circumstance attending the growth of trees, which serves to denote their age, with great accuracy. The body of a tree does not increase by an universal expansion of all its internal parts, but by additional coats of new wood: And these are formed every year, by the sap which runs between the bark, and the old wood. When a tree is cut down, this process of nature becomes apparent in the number of parallel circles, or concentric rings, which spread from the centre to the circumference of the tree. In many observations made by others, and by myself, upon trees whose ages were known, the number of these circles was found to agree exactly with the age of the tree.—By this method of computation, I have always found the pine to be the most aged tree of our forest, several of which were between three hundred and fifty and four hundred years of age. The largest trees of other species, are generally between two and three hundred years. In the more advanced periods of vegetable life, this method of computation often fails: The decays of nature generally begin in the central, which are the most aged parts. From them, the mortification gradually extends to others; and thus, the internal parts of the tree, die in the same order in which they were produced; the progress of death, regularly and steadily following the same order and course, which had been observed in the progress of life. In this state of a tree, no computation can be made of its age: But it seems most probable, that the time of its natural increase and decrease, are nearly the same; and that the natural period of vegetable

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etable life, is double to that, which the tree has attained, when it first begins to decay at the heart.

EVAPORATION.—Besides the growth, there are other processes carried on by nature in vegetables, of which we have no suspicion, until their effects become apparent. This is the case with the evaporation which takes place from the woods, during the summer months. Every tree, plant, and vegetable, is then pouring into the atmosphere, an amazing quantity of fluid.—On the 12th of June, 1789, I put the end of one of the limbs of a small maple tree, into a bottle containing about one pint. That part of the limb which was within the bottle, contained two leaves, and one or two buds. The mouth of the bottle was stopped up with beefwax, that no vapour might escape. In five or six minutes, the inside of the bottle was clouded, with a very fine vapour; and in about half an hour, small drops began to collect on the sides, and run down to the bottom. At the end of six hours, I weighed the water which had been collected in the bottle during that time, and found it amounted to sixteen grains, troy weight.—The tree on which this experiment was made, was eight inches and an half in diameter, and thirty feet in height. To make an estimate of the quantity of water, thrown off from this tree into the atmosphere, in a given portion of time, I endeavoured to ascertain the number of leaves which it contained. With this view (after I had made some other experiments) I had the tree cut down; and was at the pains to count the leaves, which it contained: The whole number amounted to twenty one thousand one hundred and ninety two: Admitting the evaporation to be the same from the other leaves of the tree, as it was from those on which the experiment was made, the quantity of water thrown off from this tree in the space of twelve hours, would be three hundred and thirty nine thousand and seventy two grains.

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grains.—Upon examining the number and dimen-
sions of the trees, which covered the ground where
I made the experiment, I think it would be a mod-
erate computation, to estimate them as equal both
in magnitude and extent, on every square rod, to
four such trees as that which I had examined. This
will give six hundred and forty such trees, for the
quantity of wood contained on one acre. This es-
timation is less than the quantity of wood, which is
generally found upon one acre of land, in this part
of America.—The weight of one pint of water, is
one pound avoirdupoise, or seven thousand grains,
troy weight ; and eight such pints make one gallon.
Making the calculation upon these principles, it will
be found that from one acre of land thus covered
with trees, three thousand eight hundred and seven-
ty five gallons of water are thrown off and dispersed
in the atmosphere, in the space of twelve hours.

This computation, will not appear extravagant to
those, who have seen the great quantity of juice,
which naturally flows out of some of our trees, when
they are tapped in the spring. A man much em-
ployed in making maple sugar, found that for twen-
ty one days together, one of the maple trees which
he tended, discharged seven gallons and an half each
day. A large birch which was tapped in the spring,
ran at the rate of five gallons an hour, when first
tapped ; and during the season of the running of
the sap, it discharged sixty barrels in one spring.
The consequence of this waste of the juices, was the
death of the tree, the ensuing summer. I have
this account from the Hon. *Paul Brigham, Esq;*
These accounts serve to show, what a quantity of
fluid, is naturally contained in some of our trees ;
and from a source so plentiful, a copious evapora-
tion might naturally be expected.

EMISSION OF AIR.—Another curious operation,
which nature carries on in vegetables, of the highest use,
but

but wholly invisible to us, is the emission of a large quantity of air. The trees, vegetables, and flowers, while they are discharging a large quantity of water into the atmosphere, and, at the same time emitting or throwing off a much larger quantity of air. On the 15th of June, 1789, I put the same part of the maple tree into a bottle, as I had done in the experiment of June 12th. The bottle, with the limb of the maple thus enclosed, was then filled up with water; and immersed in a large drinking glass, which had been filled before: In this situation the bottle was inverted, and fixed so as to have its mouth about three inches under the surface of the water, in the drinking glass.—In fifteen minutes, air bubbles began to appear around the leaves of the maple; and soon after to ascend to the upper part of the bottle, and collect into larger bubbles; which, as they increased, resolved themselves into one. At the end of six hours, I found the quantity of water which had been forced out of the bottle, by the air which was collected in it, amounted to sixty one grains. The quantity of air therefore, estimated by its bulk, which was emitted from the limb of the tree, was to the quantity of water thrown off from the same limb, as sixty one to sixteen. Making the calculation in the same manner as before, this will give fourteen thousand seven hundred and seventy four gallons, as the quantity of air, thrown off in twelve hours, from one acre of land, thus covered with trees.—The purity and salubrity of this air is as remarkable as the quantity of it. It has been found that an animal will live five times as long in this kind of air, as in common air of the best quality. The purity of the atmosphere, is constantly impaired by the respiration of animals, by combustion, the putrefaction of bodies, and by various other causes. In such ways, the air over large and populous cities, is so greatly and constantly corrupted, that it would soon

soon become unwholesome and noxious to the inhabitants, if it was not removed, or purified. Nature has made abundant provision for this purpose, in the immense quantities of air, which new countries supply. The trees and vegetables perpetually produce it, in large quantities, and in the purest state; and the winds carry it from one country to another, where it is most wanted.

HEAT.—The principle by which these operations are carried on, and which seems to have the greatest effect in vegetation, is heat. Different vegetables require different degrees of heat, or different climates, to give them their greatest degree of increase and perfection. All of them cease to grow, when their roots are in a state of congelation. As soon as the warmth of the spring comes on, the sap begins to ascend in their trunks, and branches: A fermentation takes place in all their juices, and the vegetation becomes more or less rapid, as the heat of the season advances. In Vermont, about the 10th of May, the maple, which is one of the most numerous and forward trees of the forest, begins to put forth its leaves. In one or two days after, the whole body of the woods, appear of a beautiful light green; and are constantly growing of a darker colour, for ten or fifteen days, when the darkest shades become fixed. During this period, the juices of the trees appear to be in a state of high fermentation, their internal heat increases, and the effects of their vegetation appear in an infinite variety of buds, leaves, and flowers. To ascertain the degrees of heat, in different trees, at different times of the year, and to mark their effects on the leaves, and fruits, the following experiments were made. With an auger, of one inch diameter, I bored an hole twelve inches long, into the body of the tree: In this hole, I enclosed a thermometer of Fahrenheit's scale, stopping the orifice with a cork, until the quicksilver had acquired the degree

degree of heat, which prevailed in the internal part of the tree. The result of these experiments, is set down in the following Table.

Time 1789.	Heat in a Maple.	Heat in a Birch.	Heat in a Pine.	Heat in an Ash.	Remarks on the state of the Trees.
May } 26					Leaves of the Maple, about one sixth of their natural growth. The other trees just in their bud, without any leaves.
27	58	60	60	60	
28					
June 30	72	72	73 $\frac{1}{2}$	76	Leaves on each tree, fully grown.
July 30	70	67	69	68 $\frac{1}{2}$	No appearance of decay in the leaves.
Sept. 15	62	56	61 $\frac{1}{2}$	59 $\frac{1}{2}$	Leaves on the Maple, Birch, and Ash, begin to decay, and turn white.
Octob. 15	45	48 $\frac{1}{2}$	46	47	Leaves of the Maple turned yellow, and begin to fall. Leaves of the Birch turned white, and dead; and about one half of them fallen. Leaves of the Ash, all fallen. Leaves of the Pine, green through the year.
Nov. 16	43 $\frac{1}{2}$	43 $\frac{1}{2}$	43 $\frac{1}{2}$	43 $\frac{1}{2}$	No leaves on the Maple, Birch, or Ash. The heat of the trees become exactly the same with that of the earth, at the depth of ten inches below the surface.

From these observations it should seem, that the temperature or heat of trees, is not the same as that of the earth, or atmosphere; but is a heat, peculiar to this class of bodies. It is probably the same, in all trees of the same kind, in similar circumstances and situations. The degree and variations of it, seem to depend on the fermentation of the juices, and the state of vegetation. It is not improbable
the

the heat of the same kind of trees, may be different, in different latitudes : Whether this is the case or not, can be known only by observations, made in different countries.—This heat which prevails in trees, seems to be the great principle or agent, by which the two fluids of water and air, are separated from one another, and emitted from the trees. The quantity of water evaporated from the trees on one acre, in twelve hours, we have found to be three thousand eight hundred and seventy five gallons : That of air, fourteen thousand seven hundred and seventy four gallons. Before the evaporation, both these fluids seem to have existed together in a fixed state ; making a common mass, every where dispersed through the body, limbs, and leaves of the trees. When the heat of the internal parts of the trees, became from fifty eight to sixty degrees of Fahrenheit's thermometer, the buds were formed, the leaves put forth, and the one fluid, seems to have been separated, or formed into the two fluids, of water and air. It seems probable from this, that both these fluids had the same origin, that heat was the principle, or cause by which they were separated ; and that about fifty eight, is the degree of heat, which is necessary to begin the separation of the air from the water.

EFFECT.—The effect of this perpetual vegetation, growth, and decay of vegetables, is an extreme richness and fertility of soil. Neither destroyed or removed by the hand of man, the vegetable productions of the uncultivated parts of America, return to the earth by decay and death, and corrupt on the surface from which they grew. It is not only from the earth, but from the air and water, that trees and plants derive their nourishment, and increase : And where no waste has been occasioned by man or other animals, it is not impossible that the vegetables may return more to the earth, than they have taken from

from it; and instead of serving to impoverish, operate to render it more rich and fertile. Thus does the soil, in the uncultivated parts of the country, from age to age derive increase, richness, and fertility, from the life, growth, death, and corruption of her vegetables.—This effect has been so great in America, that when our lands are first cleared of the wood, we always find a black, soft, rich soil, of five or six inches depth; wholly formed of decayed or rotten leaves, plants, and trees. The extreme richness of this factitious soil, produces a luxuriancy of vegetation, and an abundance of increase in the first crops, which exceeds any thing that can afterwards be procured, by all the improvements of agriculture.

POWERS OF VEGETABLE LIFE.—The power with which nature acts in the productions of vegetable life, in this part of America, may be deduced from such circumstances as have been mentioned: From the immense extent of our forests; from the magnitude, number, and variety of our trees, and plants; from their rapid increase, and duration; and from the total want of sandy deserts, and barren places. These and other circumstances, denote an energy, a power in the vegetable life, which nature has never exceeded in the same climate, in any other part of the globe.

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*NATIVE ANIMALS.—An Account of the Quadru-
peds; with Observations on their Habitation,
Origin, Migration, Species, Magnitude, Propagation,
and multiplying Power. Also Birds, Fishes, Rep-
tiles, and Insects.*

THE uncultivated state of America
was favorable to the productions of animal life.
A soil naturally rich and fertile, and powers of vege-
tation extremely vigorous, produced those immense
forests, which spread over the continent. In these,
a great variety and number of animals had their re-
sidence. Fed by the bounty and productions of na-
ture, unimpelled but by a few and unarmed men,
the productions of animal life every where appeared
in the various forms of quadrupeds, birds, fishes,
and insects, and their increase and multiplication,
became quick and rapid.

QUADRUPEDS.

OF that species of animals which are known by
the name of quadrupeds, America contains nearly
one half : Of these about thirty six, are found in
Vermont. Our forests afford shelter and nourish-
ment for the moose, bear, wolf, deer, fox, wild cat,
raccoon, porcupine, woodchuck, skunk, martin, hare,
L rabbit,

rabbit, weasel, ermine, marten, mole, and musk. In our rivers, ponds, and lakes, the beaver, muskrat, mink, and otter, are to be found in large numbers.

The largest animal known in Vermont, is the moose. It seems to be of the same species as the elk, and in its general form, it resembles the horse. His head is large, the neck short; with a thick, short, and upright mane. The eyes are small; the ears are short, long, very broad, and thick; under the throat, there is a fleshy protuberance; the nostrils are large; the upper lip is large, and hangs over the lower. His horns are pointed, and when fully grown are about four or five feet from the head to the extremity: There are several knobs or branches to each horn, which generally extend about six feet in width from each other. The horns weigh from thirty to fifty pounds, and are shed every year. The hoofs of the moose are cloven; his gait, is a long shambling trot; his course, very swift, and straight. When he runs, the rattling of his hoofs, is heard at a considerable distance; in miry places, his hoofs are spread several inches from one another; and when with the greatest ease, that he leaps over the highest of our fences. The moose is generally of a grey, light brown, or mouse colour. The food of this animal is grass, shrubs, the boughs and bark of trees, especially the beech, which they seem to prefer above all others, and a species of maple which is called moose wood. In summer, they keep pretty much in families. In the winter, they herd together to the number of twenty or thirty, in a company: They prefer the coldest places; and when the snow is deep, they form a kind of yard, consisting of several acres, in which they constantly trample down the snow, that they may more easily range round their yard; and when they cannot come at the grass, they live on the twigs and bark of the trees. Their defence is chiefly

chiefly with their food, with which they will contend. The female is less than the male, and generally without horns. The rutting season is in autumn: The female generally brings forth two at a birth, in the month of April, which she nurses a whole year. One of these animals in Vermont, was found by measure, to be seven feet high. The largest, are estimated by the hunters to weigh thirteen or fourteen hundred pounds.

The BEAR is frequently to be met with in this part of America, and is always of a black colour. It is not an animal of the most fierce, and carnivorous disposition. There have been instances, in which children have been devoured by the bear; but it is only when it is much irritated, or suffering with hunger, that it makes any attack upon the human race. At other times, it will destroy swine and young cattle, but has not been known to make any attack upon men, but always aims to avoid their pursuit. The food of this animal is corn, sweet apples, acorns, and nuts. In the end of autumn, the bear is generally very fat, and chooses for the place of his retreat the hollow of a rotten tree, or some natural den, or cavern in the earth. In such a situation he uses no exercise, appears to be asleep, loses but little by respiration; and is always found without any provision; and it is not until the warmth of the spring returns, that he leaves his retreat, or goes abroad in quest of food. This animal is valuable for its flesh, grease, and skin. The female generally bears two cubs a year. The bear arrives to a great magnitude in this part of the continent. The largest, of which the hunters give us any certain information, weighed four hundred and fifty six pounds.

One of the most common and noxious of all our animals, is the WOLF. In the form of his body, the wolf much resembles the dog. He has a long head, a pointed nose, sharp and erect ears, a short

and

and thick neck, with sharp and strong teeth. His eyes generally appear sparkling, and there is a fierceness, and a fierceness in his looks. The colour of the wolf is commonly a dirty grey; with some tinges of yellow about his eyes and legs. — This animal is extremely fierce, sanguinary, and voracious. When a number of them associate, it is not for peace, but for war and destruction. The animal, at which they most of all aim, is the sheep. When they can find a flock of these, they seem to delight in slaughter; tearing their flesh, and sucking their blood after they are fully satisfied with the fat of their tender parts. They attack the deer, foxes, rabbits, and are enemies to all other animals; and their attacks are generally attended with the most horrid howling. — They generally flee before the face of the hunter; but when they have once tasted of human flesh, they become more fierce, and daring, and seem to be inflamed with greater fury. In such a state, there have been instances in Vermont, in which the wolves have ventured to make their attacks upon men; but they generally retire upon their approach. They are not often to be seen in the day, but in the night venture into our yards, and barns. — These animals are yet in great numbers, in this state; they destroy many of our sheep, in the night; and find a safe retreat in our woods, and mountains; but are gradually decreasing, as our settlements increase, and extend. — The wolf is a very prolific animal. The female is in season in the winter, but the male and the female never pair. The time of gestation, is about three months and an half; and the young whelps are found from the beginning of May, until the month of July. The hunters have sometimes found in their dens, a male, a female, and a litter of nine young whelps. One of the largest wolves in Vermont, weighed ninety two pounds. There is nothing valuable in these animals but

but their skins, which afford a warm and durable fur.

The Deer is one of our most common and valuable animals. In the spring he sheds his hair, and appears of a light red; this colour gradually grows darker until autumn, when it becomes black, or circumscissed brown; and remains thus through the winter. His horns are slender, round, projecting forwards, and bend into a curve; with several smaller shoots on the interior side. These branches do not commence, until the deer is three years old; from which period, a new one rises every year; and by this circumstance, the hunters compute their age. These horns are cast every spring; the new ones, in the course of a year, will grow two feet in length, and weigh from two to four pounds.—The amorous season with these animals, is in the month of September. From September to March, the bucks and does herd together; early in the spring they separate, and the does secrete themselves in order to bring forth their young; which generally happens in the month of April. The female generally bears two, and sometimes three, at a birth. The fawns are red, most beautifully spotted with white. They are easily tamed, and become as gentle and domestic as a calf.—The deer is an animal of great mildness, and activity. They are always in motion; and leap over our highest fences, with the greatest ease. The largest of which I have a particular account, weighed three hundred and eight pounds. The deer are numerous in Vermont; and on account of their flesh and skin, are of much value. The reindeer is not to be found in this part of the continent.—But there seems to be another species of the American deer, distinguished chiefly by its horns, and often by its colour. The horns of this deer are never extensive, broad, and branched, like those of the common deer; But they are round, thick, but little curved, and not
more

more than ten or twelve inches in length. This species is generally larger than the other: Several of them have large white spots, and some have been killed which were wholly white.

The Fox abounds much in this part of America. The species of position, and habits of this animal, are every where known. We have four kinds of foxes in Vermont.

The *Red Fox* bears upon a yellowish, or rather a straw colour. This is esteemed the common fox, and is the most frequently to be found. At its full growth in the fall, this animal weighs twenty pounds.

The *Grey Fox* resembles the other in form and magnitude, and appears to differ from it only in colour, which is of a beautiful silver grey.

The *Chestnut Fox* resembles the other in form and magnitude, but has a black streak, passing transversely from shoulder to shoulder; with another along the back, to the tail. The other parts of this animal are of a red, or more generally of a grey colour.

The *Black Fox* is the largest, and most valuable of all. The fur of this fox is the most fine, soft, and rich of any. One of the largest of the black foxes, was found to weigh twenty three pounds.

The fox is a very voracious animal, devouring all kinds of poultry, birds, and animals, which they can overcome. Flesh, fruit, honey, and every part of the farmer's dairy are devoured by him with great avidity.—This animal is very prolific. The female is in season every year, in the winter; and generally produces in the month of April; the litter is generally from three to six.

The *CATAMOUNT*, seems to be the same animal, which the ancients called *Lynx*, and which is known in Siberia, by the name of *Ounce*. In the form of its body, it much resembles the common cat, but is of a much larger size. It is generally of a yellow grey

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HISTORY OF VERMONT.

grey colour, bordering upon a red or sandy, and is larger than our large dogs.— This species is the most fierce and voracious of any animal, which we have in Vermont. Some years ago, one of these animals was killed at Ferrisburgh. It took a calf out of a pen, when the fence was fastened, and carried it off upon its back. With this load it ascended a ledge of rocks, whose one of the sides was fifteen feet in height. Two hunters found the cat upon an high tree. Discharging their pistols, one of them wounded it in the leg. It descended with the greatest agility, and fury, did not attack the men, but seized their dog by one of his ribs, broke it off in the middle, and instantly leaped up the tree again with astonishing swiftness, and dexterity. The other hunter shot him through the head, but his fury did not cease, but with the last remains of life.— These animals have been often seen in Vermont; but they never were very numerous, or easy to be taken. Of their fecundity, I have no particular information. On account of their fierceness, activity, and carnivorous disposition, the hunters esteem them the most dangerous of any of our animals. The weight of one of them, was estimated by the hunter, at one hundred pounds. The length of his body was about six feet, that of the tail, three; the circumference of the body was two feet and an half, and the legs were about thirteen inches long.

What is called the **WILD CAT**, is an animal, in most respects similar to our common cats; but different in its disposition, and dimensions. It is much larger, stronger, and fiercer, than any of our domestic cats; and seems to be of the same disposition, and colour, as the wolf. One of the largest of them was found by the hunter, to weigh fifty-seven pounds.

The **BLACK CAT** does not appear to be distinguished from the former, in any other respect than its

its colour. It is altogether black, and seldom grows to a large size, as the former. It seems to be of a distinct species; is as fierce and venomous as the other kind.—These animals are frequently found in the woods, very wild, especially here in Canada, of greatavity, and are not, but never can be tamed, or made to serve as our common cat. They are much valued on account of their fur. The black ones are called by the Indians, the *Woolanig*. The largest of which I have any account, weighed twenty three pounds.

Another animal, which does not greatly differ in appearance from a wild cat, has been called the *Wolverine*. The body of this animal is about two feet and an half in length. It has a short tail, and is of the same colour as the wolf.—This animal is of a very fierce, and carnivorous disposition. Concealing himself among the rocks and bushes, or taking a station upon the limb of a tree, he watches for the approach of prey. If the deer, or the moose comes within his reach, he darts upon their backs, fastens upon their neck, and with great dexterity opens their jugular vein with his teeth.—This animal is scarce, and not to be found but in the northern, and most uncultivated parts of the State. I have no account of its fecundity, magnitude, or other particulars.

THE RACCOON, in its shape or general form, resembles the cat, but has a larger body, with thicker and shorter legs. The feet have five long and slender toes, armed with sharp claws. The males have generally a large white stripe, and the females a smaller one, which runs across the forehead. The tail is long, and round, with annular stripes in it. This animal dwells in the retired part of the woods, runs up the trees with great agility, and ventures to the extremes of the boughs. Its fur is thick, long, and soft; and of a dark grey colour. The weight of one of the largest in Vermont, was thirty two pounds.

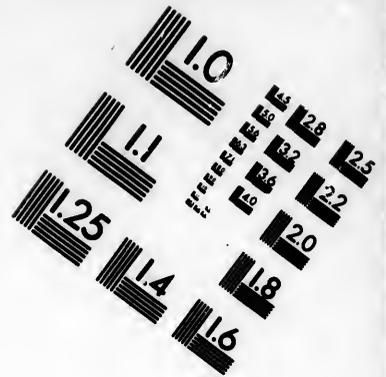
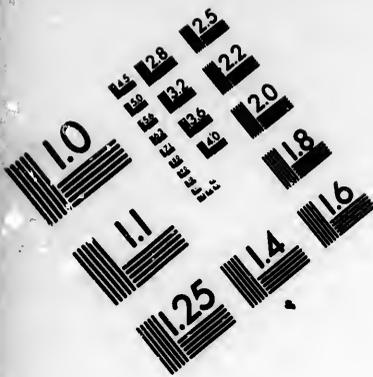
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pounds. It is often found in hollow trees, and its flesh is excellent food.

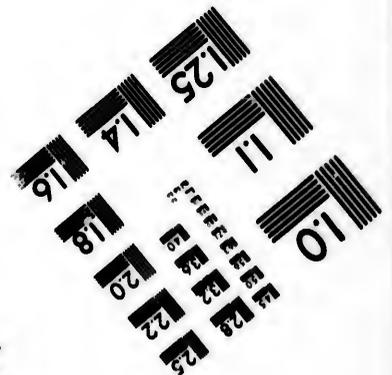
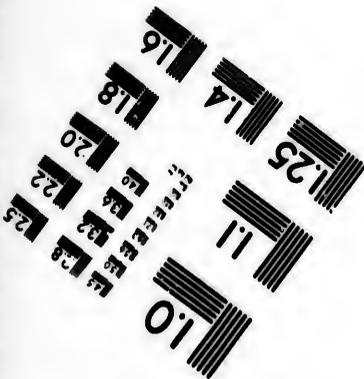
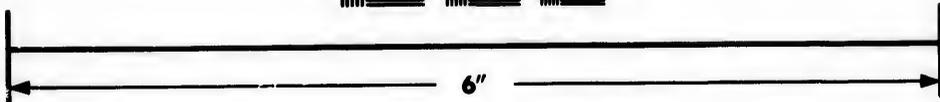
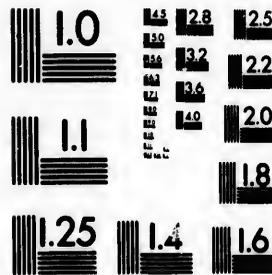
The PORCUPINE, or Hedgehog, is not uncommon in Vermont. What is singular and most distinguishing in this animal, are the quills with which he is armed. These quills are about four inches in length; and of the size of the quills of a pigeon. When the porcupine is attacked by an enemy, he places his head between his fore feet, and erects these quills all around, in the form of an hemisphere. He has no power to eject them from his body, or dart them against his enemy, as has been frequently said. But they are so loosely inserted in his flesh, and of such a particular construction, that they are easily extracted, and like a barbed dart stick fast, and work themselves into the flesh of any animal that touches their extremities; nor can they be easily withdrawn, without tearing the flesh, but by incision. On this account they prove extremely dangerous to the dog, or to any other animal that makes an attack upon the porcupine.—The colour of this animal, is grey: His motion is extremely slow. The female produces her young every year; the time of gestation is about forty days, and she generally brings forth three or four at a birth. One of the largest of these animals, weighed sixteen pounds: The flesh is said to be agreeable, and wholesome meat.

Another animal, which we frequently find in the fields, is the WOODCHUCK. This animal is about sixteen inches in length; its body is large, and round; its legs are short, and its fore feet are broad, and fitted for the purpose of burrowing into the earth.—The colour of the woodchuck is brown, his fat is extreme, the flesh is wholesome and palatable food, his fur is not very valuable. This animal resides in a hole which he digs in the ground, and feeds upon grass, corn, beans, and other vegetables. The female generally produces four or five at a birth. One





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of the fattest which I have seen, weighed eleven pounds: I believe this was one of the largest size.

The SKUNK is one of the most extraordinary animals, of which we have any account. It seems to be of the same species with the polecat; but is of a less size, and differs from it in several respects.—Its hair is long, and shining, of a clouded or dirty white, intermixed with spots of black. Its tail is long, and bushy, like that of the fox. It lives chiefly in the woods, and hedges, but often burrows under barns and out houses. When undisturbed, this animal is without any ill scent, or disagreeable effluvia. Their natural evacuations are not more nauseous, than those of other animals. Whole nests of them will lie under the floor of a barn, and so long as they are undisturbed, no disagreeable odour will be perceived during the whole winter. Their flesh, when it is properly dressed, is sweet and nourishing.—When pursued or attacked, the skunk discovers its extraordinary powers, by a singular and most effectual method of defence. It emits a fluid of the most nauseous and intollerable scent, that has ever been known. So odious, subtle, and penetrating, is this ill scented matter, that there is no animal which can long endure it, or will venture to approach the skunk, when he is throwing it out. It infects the air to the distance of half a mile all around: And no method has been found, to extract the scent out of any object, on which the odious fluid has been thrown. Time and air, after a long period, affords the only complete remedy. By accurate dissection lately made by Dr. *Mitchell*, it has been found that this ill scented fluid, is entirely distinct from the urine. It is contained in two bags, situated in the posterior parts of the body; and surrounded by the circular muscles in such a manner, that by their constriction, the fluid is forced out with great velocity and force. The

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urinary organs are totally distinct from these bags.* The female produces a litter every year; and they generally amount to five or six in number. One of these animals weighed seven pounds and an half, but whether it was one of the largest size, I cannot determine.

The **MARTIN** is an animal peculiar to cold climates. It is found in large numbers in Vermont, but chiefly in the most retired, and thickest parts of the woods. Its colour is a dark brown, with tinges of yellow; sometimes the colour approaches to a black. The fur is fine, soft, and much esteemed.— This animal is from eighteen to twenty inches in length. A large one was found to weigh five pounds and one quarter of a pound. The female produces from three to six young ones, at a litter. The martin and sable denote the same animal in Vermont.

The **HARE** is about eighteen inches in length; it is always of a white colour, and has a fine, and beautiful fur; its flesh is a very nourishing, and delicious food. This animal is very prolific. The time of gestation is about thirty days; The female bears three or four at a birth, and has several litters in the course of a year. A large hare weighs eight pounds. The hunters find large numbers of these animals, in this part of the country.

The **RABBIT** is something less than the hare, but in greater numbers. His colour, both in summer and winter, is a light grey, or a dirty white. The length of the rabbit, is about sixteen or seventeen inches; one of the largest of them, weighed seven pounds. The rabbit is more prolific than the hare. The female bears sooner, and has from four to eight, at a litter. These animals are readily found, in every part of the state.

The **WEASSEL** has the form and appearance, of a squirrel; but is more slim, and active. His eyes have

* American Museum, Vol. V. p. 487.

have an uncommon frightfulness; his look is keen and piercing; and his motions are so quick, and various, that the eye can scarcely follow them. This animal is of a red or brown colour, and has a white belly. Its fur is very fine, and soft. His food is corn, nuts, eggs, and all kinds of small animals. The weasel is often found in hollow trees, and he frequently enters into houses, barns, and other buildings, in search of grain, chickens, mice, and young animals. In Vermont, the weasel is about twelve inches in length; very narrow and slim, and weighs about twelve ounces. The female bears three, four, or five, at a birth; but they do not appear to be very numerous.

The **ERMINE** is the most beautiful quadruped, which is seen in our woods. In its form, dimensions, activity, and fecundity, it resembles the weasel; but is rather larger; one of them weighed fourteen ounces. Its colour is a beautiful white. The tail is tipped with a beautiful black. Some of these animals have a stripe of dark brown, or mouse colour, extending along the back, from the head to the tail; the other parts being perfectly white. This little, brisk, light, and beautiful animal, has the most fine and delicate fur, that can be imagined; and the animal itself is one of the greatest beauties of nature.

Of the **SQUIRREL** we have four or five species; grey, black, red, striped, and flying.

The *Grey Squirrel* is the largest, and most common. This squirrel is about thirteen or fourteen inches in length, with a large bushy tail, as long as the body. It is of a beautiful silver grey colour, and has a fine soft fur. Its nest is in the crotch, or hollow of a tree; its food, corn, acorns, and nuts. It lays up a store of these provisions against winter, in the hollow of old trees. The female bears her young in the spring, and has generally three or four at a birth.

The

The largest of these grey squirrels, when they are fully fattened in the fall, weigh three pounds and an half.

The *Black Squirrel* resembles the former in every respect, but its colour, and size. It is wholly black, without any change in its colour, at any time of the year. Its size is something less than that of the grey squirrel: The largest I have known, weighed but two pounds and an half.

The *Red Squirrel* does not appear to differ from the black, in any other particular, but the colour.

The *Striped Squirrel* is smaller than either of the other. The largest of these does not weigh more than nine or ten ounces. This squirrel digs a hole in the ground, for the place of his residence. He provides a store of nuts, acorns, and corn, against winter. These are carefully deposited in his nest, and he resides in the earth, during the severity of the season.

The *Flying Squirrel* is the most curious, and beautiful of all; and of the same size as the striped one. This squirrel has a kind of wings, by which he will pass from one tree to another, at the distance of thirty or forty feet. None of our animals have a more fine or delicate fur, than this little squirrel. He feeds on the buds, and seeds of vegetables; and generally has his nest in decayed, and rotten trees.

The *Mole*, *Shrew Mouse*, *Ground Mouse*, and *Field Mouse*, are to be found in this part of America; They are so small, and well known, that they do not require a particular description. The hunters inform me, that there are several kinds of mice to be found in the woods, which have not been described: But neither the grey rat, the black rat, or the water rat, is to be found in any part of the state.

The quadrupeds which have been described, are to be found only upon the land. There are others

of

of an *ambitious* nature, which live upon the land, or in the water; these are to be found in the rivers, ponds, and lakes.

One of the most sagacious and useful of these, is the BEAVER. On account of his natural constitution and instincts, his social nature, the works he performs, and the uses to which he is applied, the beaver is the most extraordinary of all our animals, and deserves a more particular description.

The American beaver is between three and four feet in length, and weighs from forty to sixty pounds. His head is like that of a rat, inclined to the earth; his back rises in an arch between his head and tail. His teeth are long, broad, strong, and sharp. Four of these, two in the upper, and two in the under jaw, are called *incisors*. These teeth project one or two inches beyond the jaw, and are sharp, and curved, like a carpenter's gouge. In his fore feet the toes are separate, as if designed to answer the purposes of fingers and hands: His hind feet are accommodated with webs, suited to the purpose of swimming. His tail is a foot long, an inch thick, and five or six inches broad. It is covered with scales, and with a skin similar to that of fish.

In no animal does the *social instinct and habit* appear more strong, or universal, than in the beaver. Wheresoever a number of these animals are found, they immediately associate, and combine in society, to pursue their common business, and welfare. Every thing is done, by the united counsels, and labours, of the whole community. Their societies are generally collected together, in the months of June and July; and their numbers when thus collected, frequently amount to two or three hundred, all of which, immediately engage in a joint effort, to promote the common business and safety of the whole society; apparently acting under a common inclination, and direction. When the beaver is found

in a solitary state, he appears to be a timid, inactive, and stupid animal. Instead of attempting any important enterprize, he contents himself with digging a hole in the earth for safety and concealment. His genius seems to be depressed, his spirit broken, and every thing enterprizing is lost in an attention to personal safety; but he never loses his natural instinct to find or form a pond.* When combined in society, his disposition, and powers assume their natural direction, and are exerted to the highest advantage. Every thing is then undertaken, which the beaver is capable of performing.

The society of beavers seems to be regulated and governed, altogether by natural dispositions and laws. Their society, in all its pursuits and operations, appears to be a society of peace and mutual affection; guided by one principle, and under the same direction. No contention, disagreement, contrary interests, or pursuits, are ever seen among them; but perfect harmony and agreement, prevails through their whole dominions. The principle of this union and regulation, is not the superior strength, art, or activity of any individual: Nothing has the appearance, among them, of the authority, or influence of a chief, or leader. Their association, and management, has the aspect of a pure and perfect democracy; founded on the principle of perfect equality, and the strongest mutual attachment. This principle seems to be sufficient to preserve the most perfect harmony, and to regulate all the proceedings of their largest societies.

When these animals are collected together, their first attention is to *the public business and affairs of the society*, to which they belong. The beavers are amphibious.

* A young beaver was tamed in the southern part of this state. He became quiet, inoffensive, and without any disposition to depart. But was most of all pleased, when he was at work, forming a dam, in a small stream near the house.

amphibious animals, and must spend one part of their time in the water, and another upon the land. In conformity to this law of their natures, their first employment is to find a situation, convenient for both these purposes. With this view a lake, a pond, or a running stream of water, is chosen for the scene of their habitation, and future operations. If it be a lake, or a pond that is selected, the water is always of such depth, that the beavers may have sufficient room to swim under the ice; and one, of which they can have an entire, and undisturbed possession. If a stream of water is chosen, it is always such a stream, as will form a pond; that shall be every way convenient for their purpose. And such is their foresight and comprehension of these circumstances, that they never form an erroneous judgment, or fix upon a situation that will not answer their designs and convenience.—Their next business, is to construct a dam. This is always chosen in the most convenient part of the stream; and the form of it, is either direct, circular, or with angles, as the situation and circumstances of the water and land require: And so well chosen is both the place, and the form of these dams, that no engineer could give them a better situation and form, either for convenience, strength, or duration.—The materials of which the dams are constructed, are wood, and earth. If there be a tree on the side of the river, which would naturally fall across the stream, several of the beavers set themselves with great diligence, to cut it down with their teeth. Trees to the bigness of twenty inches diameter, are thus thrown across a stream. They next, gnaw off the branches from the trunk, that the tree may assume a level position. — Others, at the same time, are cutting down smaller trees, and saplings, from one to ten inches diameter. These are cut into equal and convenient lengths. Some of the beavers drag these pieces of wood to

the side of the river, and others swim with them to the place, where the dam is to be built. As many as can find room, are engaged in sinking one end of these stakes, and as many more in raising, fixing, and securing the other end. While many of the beavers are thus labouring upon the wood, others are equally engaged in carrying on the earthen part of the work. The earth is brought in their mouths, formed into a kind of mortar with their feet and tails, and spread over the vacancies between the stakes. Saplings, and the finest branches of trees, are cutted and worked up with the mud and clay, until all the vacancies are filled up, and no crevice is left in any part of the work, for the water to find a passage through. The magnitude and extent of the dams, which the beavers thus construct, is much larger than we should imagine was possible to be effected by such labourers, or instruments. At the bottom, the dam is from six to twelve feet thick, and the top, it is generally two or three feet in width. In that part of the dam, which is opposed to the current, the stakes are placed obliquely, but on that side where the water is to fall, the stakes are placed in a perpendicular direction, and the dam assumes the same form, and position, as the stakes. The extent of these works, is from fifty to an hundred feet in length, and always of such a height, as to effect the purposes they have in view. The ponds which are formed by these dams, are of all dimensions, from four or five, to five or six hundred acres. They are generally spread over lands abounding with trees, and bushes, of the forest wood: maple, birch, aspen, poplar, willow, &c. The beaver to preserve their dams, the beavers always leave sluices, or passages near the middle, for the redundant water to pass off. These sluices are generally about eighteen inches in width, and depth, and many

many in number, as the waters of the Arroyo generally require. When the public works are completed, their *domestic concerns* and *affairs* must engage their attention. The dam is no sooner completed, than the beavers separate into small bodies, to build cabins, or houses for themselves. These houses are built upon piles, along the borders of the pond. They are of an oval form, resembling the construction of an haycock, and they vary in their dimensions, from four to ten feet in diameter, according to the number of families they are designed to accommodate. They are always of two stories, generally of three, and sometimes they contain four. Their walls are from two to three feet in thickness, at the bottom; and are formed of the same materials as their dams. They rise perpendicularly a few feet, then assume a curved form, and terminate in a dome or vault, which answers the purpose of a roof. These edifices are built with much solidity, and neatness. On the inward side, they are smooth, but rough on the outside, always impervious to the rain, and of sufficient strength to resist the most impetuous winds. The lower story is about two feet high. The second story has a floor of sticks, covered with mud. The third story is divided from the second, in the same manner, and terminated by the roof raised in the form of an arch. Through each floor, there is a communication, and the upper floor is always above the level of the water, when it is raised to its greatest height. Each of these huts have two doors; one on the land side, to enable them to go out and procure provisions by land; another under the water, and below where it freezes, to preserve their communication with the pond. If this, at any time, begins to be covered with ice, the ice is immediately broken, that the communication may not be cut off with the air.

In

In their hives, the families of the beavers have their residence. The smallest of their cabins, contain one family, consisting generally of five or six beavers; and the largest of the buildings, will contain from twenty to thirty. No society of animals, can ever appear better regulated, or more happy, than the family of beavers. The male and the female, always pair. Their selection is not a matter of chance, or accident; but appears to be derived from taste, and mutual affection. In September, the happy couple lay up their store of provisions, for winter. This consists of bark, the tender twigs of trees, and various kinds of soft wood. When their provisions are prepared, the season of love and repose commences. And during the winter they remain in their cabins, enjoying the fruits of their labours, and partaking in the sweets of domestic happiness. Towards the end of winter, the females bring forth their young, to the number of three or four. Soon after, the male ventures to gather fish and vegetables, as the spring opens; but the mother remains at home, to nurse and rear up the offspring, until they are able to follow their dams. The male occasionally returns, but not to tarry, until the fall of the year. But if any injury is done to their public works, the whole society are soon collected, and join all their forces to repair the injury, which affects their commonwealth.

Nothing can exceed the peace and regularity, which prevails in the families, and through the whole commonwealth of these animals. No discord or contention ever appears in any of their families. Every beaver knows his own apartment, and store house; and there is no pilfering or robbing from one another. The male and the female are mutually attached to, never prove unfriendly, or desert one another. Their provisions are collected, and expended, without any dissension. Each knows its own family,

ity, instinct, and propriety, and they are not less
 to injure, oppose, or hinder us with our anathema.
 The same order and management generally, that is
 the common pole, in different degrees of heaviness,
 never sinks with upon the water, or upon any other
 or animals. When they are struck by their ene-
 mies, they instantly plunge into the water, and sit
 upon their backs. And when they cannot escape,
 they fall on easy facilities, and are not so much
 in the same necessity for their safety, as the beavers
 are to great eminence. Their structure, and
 forms, solidity, heaviness, and cleavability, of their dams
 are equal to any thing of the kind which has ever
 been performed by man. They always form a right
 judgment, which way the stream will fall. And when
 it is nearly cut down, they appoint one of their
 number, to give notice by a stroke of his tail, when
 it begins to fall. With their tails, they measure the
 lengths of their dams, of the lakes they are to make,
 of a breadth that is useful in their works, and of the
 length of the timber that is necessary to repair it.
 When an enemy approaches their dominions, the
 beaver which makes the discovery by striking on
 the water with his tail, gives notice to the whole vil-
 lage of the approaching danger, and all of them in-
 stantly plunge into the water. And when the hunt-
 ers are passing through their country, some of their
 number appear to be sentinels, to give notice of their
 approach.

The colour of the beaver is different, according to
 the different climates, which they inhabit. In the
 most northern parts, they are generally black; in Ver-
 mont they are brown; and their colour becomes
 lighter as we approach towards the south. Their
 fur is of two sorts, all over their bodies. That which
 is longest, is generally about an inch long, but on
 the back, it sometimes extends to two inches, grad-
 ually shortening towards the head and tail.

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part is coarse and of little use. The other part of the fur consists of a very fine and thick down, of about three quarters of an inch long, so soft that it feels like silk, and is that which is used in manufacture. *Castor*, of so much value in medicine, is produced from the body of the beaver. It is contained in four bags in the lower belly.

The largest of these animals, of which I have any certain information, weighed sixty three pounds and an half. But it is only in a situation remote from, and undisturbed by the frequent appearance of men, that they attain their greatest magnitude, or their highest perfection of society. The beaver has deserted all the southern parts of Vermont, and is not to be found only in the most northern, and most solitary parts of the State.

The *Musk* seems to be a smaller kind of beaver, resembling it in every thing but its tail. It lives also an amphibious animal, and forms a den of sticks and mud, in some stagnant water, but is less fearful of the approach of men, and affords a very strong musk. These animals are to be found in very considerable numbers, in our creeks and lakes; but are much less numerous, than they were formerly. The muskrat, in this part of America, is about fifteen inches in length; the greatest magnitude I have known is five pounds and three quarters of a pound. A litter of these muskrats, will frequently amount to four, five, and sometimes six, and last

Another of our amphibious animals, is the *Mink*. It always resides in the neighbourhood of rivers, ponds, or lakes, and provides a place of residence, by burrowing into the earth. The mink is about twenty inches in length; his legs are short, his colour brown, and his fur is more valuable than that of the muskrat. One of the largest which I have known, weighed four pounds and one quarter of a pound. The female produces two or three, at a birth.

The *Otter* is a voracious animal, of great activity and fierceness. When it is fully grown, it is five or six feet long; with sharp and strong teeth, short legs, and membranes in all the feet, and fitted either for running, or swimming.—The otter explores the rivers and ponds in search of fish, frogs, water rats, and other small animals: And when these are not to be had, he lives on the bough and bark of young, or aquatic trees. He has generally been ranked among the amphibious animals, which can live either in the air, or water; but he is not properly an amphibious animal, for he cannot live without respiration, any more than the land animals. The female is so heat in the winter, and bears her young in the month of March; the litter generally consists of three or four. The fierceness and strength of the old otters, is such, that the dog can seldom overcome them: And when they cannot escape, they will attack the hunter with great rage.—The colour of this animal is black, and its fur is much esteemed. The otter formerly abounded very much in our creeks, and rivers, and especially in those, which emptied themselves into Lake Champlain: On this account, one of them still bears the name of *Otter-creek*; but the animal is now become scarce. The largest otter, of which I have a particular account, weighed twenty nine pounds and an half.

To this account of the quadrupeds of Vermont, I shall subjoin some reflections on the general state of these animals, in America.

The enumeration very imperfect.—Our accounts of the quadrupeds in this, and in every part of America, must be viewed as greatly imperfect. The descendants of Europe have settled along the sea coasts, and they have penetrated to the lakes, and most of the navigable rivers. But the internal parts of South-America, are but little known: And all that immense tract of country, which lies to the north, and to the west

west of the lakes, is wholly unexplored. It is not to be doubted, but these extensive regions, abound with quadrupeds. Of what species, and how numerous, we cannot so much as conjecture. When the country shall be fully explored, and when all naturalists shall have visited and examined the internal parts, the history of the animals of America, may be brought to some perfection; but at is far from it, at present. All the animals which have been enumerated, are only those which are frequently found, in a small part of the continent.—That an animal of great and uncommon magnitude, has existed in Northamerica, and in Siberia, is certain from the bones of the animal which yet remain. On the banks of the Ohio, and in many places further north, tusks, grinders, and skeletons, of an enormous size, are to be found in great numbers. Some of them lie upon the surface of the ground, and others are five or six feet below it. Some of the tusks are near seven feet long, one foot and nine inches at the base, and one foot near the point, the cavity at the base, nineteen inches deep. From the size and thickness of these bones, it is certain that they could not belong to the elephant; but denote an animal five or six times as large, and of the carnivorous kind.—We have the testimony of the Indians, that such an animal still exists in the western parts of America: And it would be contrary to the whole economy of nature, to suppose that any species of her animals, is become extinct. This animal must formerly have been numerous, at those places, where their bones are found in such numbers. The probability is, as the means of subsistence were destroyed, they perished further to the westward. But until those parts of America shall be explored, little information is to be expected concerning this animal of the most enormous bulk. And we may as well call it the *Mammoth*, as by any other name; or the *Esquæ Elephant*, as it has

has been made by Dr. Huxley. From this and from many other considerations, it appears that the communication of the quadrupeds is extremely imperfect. —

Observation.—The animals which are found in the face of the earth, are Smith's notices, for the climate and country, where they reside, or the nature of their vegetable, has a constitution adapted to every country; and where none, but where are suited to those particular parts of the earth, where they will survive to their greatest perfection. As camels to perpetually feed, for the burning sands of Arabia, and the reindeer will flourish the best in Lapland, Hudson Bay, and those northern countries, where the cold is the most intense. The origin therefore of different quadrupeds, is to be sought in those climates, that appear to be the best adapted to their growth and multiplication. — There are animals in the torrid zone in America, which are never found in any other part of the earth. This is the case with the *Tayr* of Brazil, the *Puma* and *Jagor*, the *Lion*, and *Pan*. These animals have never wandered to any other part of the globe. They are therefore to be esteemed indigenous, or natural to the hot climate of America. The same is the case with the animals of the torrid zone in Asia, and Africa. The elephant, and rhinoceros, are productions of Asia. The desert of Libya and Babelulgeid in Africa, may be termed the native country of lions, tigers, and panthers. No part of the climate of America is so intensely hot, or sandy, as to render it the proper country for the production or increase of animals, so fierce and noxious. These quadrupeds of hot climates, have never wandered from the one country, to the other: Not because they could not find a passage, but because they must have passed through a climate, the cold of which, being such as they could not endure, was an effectual bar to their passage. —

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There are other quadrupeds which are common to America to the north of Asia, and Europe. Of this kind are the buffalo, white bear, carabou, black bear, elk, moose, red deer, fallow deer, wolf, fox, glutton, lynx, wild cat, beaver, badger, red fox, grey fox, black fox, otter, muskox, vixon, porcupine, martin, water rat, weasel, ermine, flying squirrel, mole, and mouton. If we add the unknown animal, which we have called the mammoth, the number of those quadrupeds which are common to both hemispheres, will amount to thirty. All of them, are the quadrupeds of cold countries; fitted by nature to that climate, through which the passage must have been, from the one country to the other. The original situation therefore of these quadrupeds, must have been a cold country. But whether they passed from the northeastern parts of Asia, into America; or whether they issued from the northwest parts of America, into Asia, we have no way to determine. The probability is equal, upon either supposition. All that we can determine is, that they were originally the quadrupeds of a cold climate.

MIGRATION.—Animals of every kind when oppressed by hunger, harassed by their enemies, or when they can find a more comfortable situation, will migrate from one country to another. Their migration when chosen and voluntary, is always with a view to better accommodations; to a situation more favourable for food, growth, and multiplication. Directed by the hand of nature, their natural progress is not to a worse, but to a better situation. They do not leave their own country, to settle in one less suited to their subsistence, and increase; but to acquire greater advantages; an increase of food, numbers, and vigour.—Whether the migration of quadrupeds then was from Asia, or from America, there can be no doubt, but that they found in the country to which they repaired, a climate, soil, and means of subsistence,

subsistence, equally favourable to them, as those which they left. Had there been any very great difference in the provisions and accommodations of nature, in either country, the quadrupeds that could easily migrate, would not have remained, for any considerable time, common to them both.—Nothing therefore can be less probable, or more contrary to the laws, tendencies, and operations of nature, than the European idea first introduced by M. Buffon, that the quadrupeds of Europe migrated into a country in America, where every thing was adapted by nature, to their diminution, degradation, and decrease. Had not the northern parts of Asia, and America, been well suited to the subsistence, vigour, and increase, of these quadrupeds, there would not have been any voluntary migration, from the one to the other; nor would these animals have remained, for so long a time, common to them both.

§ 212. —How far nature has proceeded in the production of quadrupeds, we have not as yet sufficient information to determine. There may be many species, yet unknown, in those parts of the earth which have not been explored: Nor is the enumeration complete, in those countries which are known. The most that has been done in this branch of natural history, is to be found in the celebrated work of M. Buffon. As the result of his inquiries and information, this able philosopher concludes that the whole number of quadrupeds, which are spread over the face of the earth, will form about two hundred different species or kinds. Of these, one hundred are found in America, and about seventy five are peculiar to it.—If the power, the force, or the vigour of animated nature, is to be estimated by the species of quadrupeds, which different countries contain, the conclusion will be, that nature has acted with the greatest vigour and energy in America.

ca. In the different climates in America, nature has produced seventy five species of quadrupeds: The number of those which are peculiar to the other parts of the globe are one hundred. The dimensions of America, compared with the dimensions of Asia, Africa, and Europe, by the computation of the modern geographers, are as one hundred and forty one to two hundred and forty nine. The ratio of one hundred and forty one to two hundred and forty nine is the same as seventy five to one hundred and thirty two. And so many species should be found, in the other parts of the globe, to preserve an equality. But this is thirty two more, than nature has produced. In respect then to the different species of quadrupeds, if we are to judge by any enumeration which has yet been made, the greatest force and vigour of nature is found in America.

MAGNITUDE.—The magnitude which any animal will attain, seems to depend much upon its original constitution, the climate, and proper nourishment. In the original constitution of each animal, the Creator seems to have established certain laws, respecting its form, generation, expansion, and support. The proper magnitude of the animal, is therefore assigned by nature, to each species: To this way, the original limits are fixed; above, or below which, no individual of that species can rise, or fall. Within these limits, those variations may take place, which we mean to express, when we call the animal great, or small. But no circumstance will reverse the laws of nature, enable the different species of animals to exchange their proper form, and magnitude;

Cuthrie's Geography, p. 25.

† The enumeration of quadrupeds seems to be too imperfect to afford any accurate calculations of this kind. According to M. Buffon's latest conclusion, in his *Epoques de la Nature*, there are three hundred species of quadrupeds. America according to the Abbe Clairgero, contains about one half of these.

itude, to debase the ox into a mole, or to exalt the mole to the size of the ox. — Nature has also fitted each quadruped for the climate, in which it was originally placed, and in that climate only, will it attain its proper perfection. The lion would lose its fierceness, and perish, if it was removed to Lapland, and the reindeer would diminish, and die, if it was carried to the sandy deserts of Africa. In those climates only, to which nature has adapted each animal, will it attain its greatest magnitude, and most perfect form. — The animal, to which nature has thus assigned its proper constitution, and climate, must be preserved and supported by proper food, or nourishment. A deficiency here, will bring on leanness, impotency, a diminution of size, and a gradual waste and consumption of the whole species. But when the climate, and the food, are both suited to the natural constitution of the animal, their joint influence will produce the greatest size or magnitude, that species will admit.

By comparing the magnitudes of such quadrupeds in Europe, and in America, as are common to both, and derive their support from the hand of nature, we shall of consequence, have another comparative view of the vigour and force, to which animated nature arrives, in each country. Several of those quadrupeds, whose weight has been ascertained in Vermont, M. Buffon has given us the weight of in Europe. They are these.

	Weight in Europe.	Weight in Vermont.
The Bear	368 7	456
Wolf	69 8	93
Deer	288 8	308
Fox, red	18 6	20
Porcupine	2 3	16
Martin	1 9	5 4
Polecat	3 3	7 8

Hare

	Weight in Europe	Weight in Vermont
Hare	7 5	8 5
Rabbit	8 4	7 1
Weasel	2 2	1 1
Ermine	3 2	1 2
Flying Squirrel	1 2	1 2
Beaver	18 5	6 3
Otter	8 9	2 9

From this comparison it appears, that every one of these animals, is larger in America; than it is in Europe. The inference is clear, and decisive: It is in America, and not in Europe, that these quadrupeds of a cold climate, attain their greatest magnitude; and highest perfection.

If the comparison should be made, between the quadrupeds of the torrid zone, the reverse will be found to be the case. The elephant, the rhinoceros of Asia, are much larger than the quadrupeds of Peru and Brasil. The truth is, America is the most favourable to the production, and growth, of the quadrupeds of cold climates; Asia is the most favourable to the production, and growth of the quadrupeds of a hot climate. But the greatest of all animals, the Mammoth, was not an animal of the torrid, but of the temperate zone; and was the production of both countries, of Asia, and of America.

TEMPER AND DISPOSITION.—Most animals have a particular disposition and character assigned to them by nature, indelibly fixed, and which distinguishes the whole species. Thus some are naturally fierce, sanguinary, and carnivorous; while others are mild, temperate, and gentle: And all of them, are not a little influenced, by the climate they inhabit.—In the hottest climate, and in the burning sands of Africa, the most ravenous, and the fiercest animals abound; The lion, the tyger, and the panther, are there, in their greatest size, their largest numbers,

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numbers, and most extreme fierceness. In such places, the vegetables also contain their strongest qualities; the drugs, perfumes, and poisons, are the most active, subtle, and powerful.—In America, every thing in her vegetables, fruits, and animals, is more mild, and temperate. The quadrupeds that most abound, are the lama, paco, buffalo, elk, deer, fox, beaver, hare, rabbits, and squirrels; animals, marked with a mildness, and gentleness of character. Those that are the most fierce, the bear, the wolf, the wildcat, the otter, the cougar, or tiger, are seldom known to make their attacks upon men, unless they are compelled to it by extreme hunger, provocation, or self defence.—It was not therefore with the most fierce and ravenous animals, that America abounded. Her quadrupeds were of a more mild, and temperate disposition. To these, her climate gives the greatest life, the highest perfection, and the largest increase.

INCREASE AND MULTIPLYING POWER.—The increase and multiplying power of animals, is derived partly from nature, and partly from situation, and other circumstances. Nature has made those animals which are the most large, fierce, and voracious, the least apt to multiply. The smaller and more useful any quadruped is, the more rapid is its increase. All of them bring forth their young, at that season of the year, when nature has made the most suitable and ample provision for their food and support. And then they do multiply with the greatest rapidity, when they are the least molested by man.—But whatever be their multiplying power, it would require a long period of time, before they would arrive at that increase of numbers, in which their progress would be checked, by the want of food. They would naturally spread over the whole continent, before they arrived to such a state. This they had done in every part of America, when it

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was first discovered by the Europeans: Every part of the continent fitted for their nourishment and growth, abounded with them. How far nature may proceed this way, or what is the greatest number of quadrupeds, that the uncultivated parts of any country will support, we have no observations to determine. But it seems probable, that the *Waxwings* had already taken place; that America contained her full number of quadrupeds. No observations or phenomena, denote that there has been any increase of these animals, in the uncultivated parts of the continent, since its first discovery; or that they ever were more thick and numerous, in any other part of the globe. — How long a period nature required to advance to this state in America, we have no data to determine. But if we may judge of the energy with which she acts, from the effects of her multiplying power, the conclusion will be, that in no country has she displayed greater powers of fecundity than in America. These circumstances denote an high activity, in the origin of the American quadrupeds; and a great fertility in that climate and country, in which they have attained their greatest numbers, their greatest magnitude, and their greatest fecundity.

BIRDS.

THE birds which abound in every part of America, make a curious and beautiful part of her natural history. *Catesby* has given an elegant description of the birds of Carolina. *Beltz* has furnished a good catalogue of those of New Hampshire. Most of the birds which have been mentioned by these authors are to be found in all the northern states. As we approach further towards the north, a great number and variety of water fowls to be found, in the lakes, rivers, and harbours, which have never been described, or classed.

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In Vermont we have most of the birds, which are known in the inland parts, and lakes of the northern climate. Some of them seem to be fitted by nature, to endure all the severity of our climate, and are to be seen in the coldest weather of our winters. Of this kind, are

The Crow. *Corvus corax.*

Hawk, forked tail. *Falco furcatus.*

Owl. *Strix asio.*

Blue Jay. *Corvus cristatus.*

Snowbird. *Emberiza hyemalis.*

Parridge. *Perdix floppris.*

Woodpecker, red headed. *Picus capite toto nigro.*

There are several other birds, the robbin, blackbird, lark, snipe, bluebird, &c. which are seen as soon as the snow goes off, in the spring. They are not seen in the winter, but they are found late in the fall. From their late and early appearance, it is not improbable that some of them may tarry here through the winter.

Those which are esteemed *birds of passage*, with the usual times of their appearance, and departure, are

	Time of Ap- pearance.	Departure.
The Snowbird. <i>Emberiza hyemalis.</i>	Nov. 20.	April 1.
Wild Goose. <i>Anas canadensis.</i>	March 15.	Nov. 20.
Wild Pigeon. <i>Columba migratoria.</i>	March 20.	Oct. 10.
House Swallow. <i>Hirundo cauda-veiculata.</i>		Apr. 20. Sep. 10.
Rare Swallow. <i>Hirundo rustica.</i>		Apr. 20. Sep. 10.
Ground Swallow. <i>Hirundo riparia.</i>		Apr. 20. Sep. 10.
Black Martin. <i>Hirundo perpurca.</i>		Apr. 20. Sep. 10.

The Snowbird is a beautiful, active, sprightly, little animal. They are generally of a grey colour, and less than a sparrow. Flocks of them appear, as soon as the snow begins to fall in any considerable quantity; and generally a day or two before. They perch on the spires of vegetables above the snow, on

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the bushes, and trees; and collect on the spots of bare ground. In the most severe forms of snow, these birds appear to be the most active and lively. They feed on the seeds of vegetables, and are extremely fat, and delicious; but they are too small to be molested on this account. They seem to be of different colours, black, white, and gray; but they all disappear as soon as the snow goes off.

The **WILD GOOSE**, from the beginning of April, to the middle of November; resides chiefly in the more northern, and northeasterly parts of America. In those parts they produce their young, and are to be found in the rivers and harbours, in immense numbers. In November they come in large flocks from the north, and northeast, and pass off to the southwest. In March and April, they return from the southwest in a contrary direction, and go back to their summer habitation. These flocks frequently consist of fifty or sixty: They fly at a great height, and appear to observe great regularity in their passage. They sometimes follow one another in a straight line, but are more generally drawn up in the form of a wedge; and appear to be led by one of the strongest, and most active. While they keep together, they seem to understand their course perfectly well; but if by any means their order is broken, and the flock dispersed, several of them wander out of their course, appear to be perplexed, descend to the earth, and are often killed or taken. When tamed, they will join with a flock of domestic geese; but at the usual times of migration, are very apt to join any flock, which approaches near to them, in their passage.

In the **WILD PRYORON**, the multiplying power of nature acts with great force and vigour. The male and female always pair: They sit alternately upon the eggs, and generally hatch but two at a time; but this is repeated several times in a season.—The

accounts which are given of the number of pigeons in the uncultivated parts of the country, will appear almost incredible to those who have never seen their nests. The surveyor, *Richard Hoden*, who ran the line which divides Massachusetts from Vermont, in 1741, gave this account of the appearance, which he met with to the westward of Connecticut river: "For three miles together the pigeon's nests were so thick, that five hundred might have been told on the beech trees at one time; and could they have been counted on the hemlocks, as well, I doubt not but five thousand at one turn round."* The remarks of the first settlers of Vermont, fully confirm this account. The following relation was given me, by one of the earliest settlers at Clarendon: "The number of pigeons was immense. Twenty five nests were frequently to be found on one beech tree. The earth was covered with these trees, and with hemlocks, thus loaded with the nests of pigeons. For an hundred acres together, the ground was covered with their dung, to the depth of two inches. Their noise in the evening was extremely troublesome, and so great that the traveller could not get any sleep, where their nests were thick. About an hour after sunrise, they rose in such numbers as to darken the air. When the young pigeons were grown to a considerable bigness, before they could readily fly, it was common for the settlers to cut down the trees, and gather a horse load in a few minutes." The settlement of the country has since set bounds to this luxuriancy of animal life; diminished the number of these birds, and drove them further to the northward.

We have four species of SWALLOWs in this part of America. 1. The house swallow. This may be readily distinguished from the rest, by the greater forkedness

* Belknap's History of Newhampshire, Vol. III. p. 171

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forkedness of its tail. It has also a red spot upon its forehead; and under its chin. This species build their nests in chimneys. Their nests are made of small sticks, cemented together, with a kind of gum, and mud; they are covered or arched over the tops, and the aperture is on one side. These swallows appear the earliest of any, in the spring: And a few days before their departure in the fall, they associate on the tops of buildings, dry trees, and bushes, as if about to depart in companies. 2. The barn swallow. The size of this, is rather less than that of the other; and the tail is not forked so much. This swallow builds his nest in barns and out houses; and they are formed of grass, straw, and feathers. Their eggs are speckled, of a dark brown and white. It is called the barn swallow from the place in which it generally builds its nest. 3. The ground swallow. This is the smallest of the whole species. These swallows form a hole in sandy banks, and on the sides of rivers, of eighteen or twenty four inches in length. Their nests are made at the extremity of these holes, of straw and feathers, laid together in a loose and careless manner. Their eggs are perfectly white. The holes in which they are laid, are designed only for their nests: None of the swallows ever remain in them, during the winter. 4. The black martin. This is the largest of all our swallows. They build their nests under the eaves of houses, in the secret or retired places of out houses, and old buildings. Their nests are made of straw and feathers. They arrive the latest, and disappear the soonest of any of the swallows, which visit us.

The usual times of the appearance and disappearance of these birds, serve to mark the temperature of the climate, with as much precision, as any of the phenomena of nature. But they do not seem to be properly birds of passage. At *Danby* in this state, the inhabitants report, that some of them were taken out

out of a pond in that town, some years ago. A man was employed in the winter, to procure the roots of the pond lily, for medicinal purposes. Among the mud and roots which he threw out, several swallows were found inclosed in the mud; alive, but in a torpid state. The account is not doubted among the inhabitants; but I have not the testimony of any persons who saw these swallows.—It has been doubted by some able naturalists, whether it is possible for the swallow to live in such a situation. I saw an instance, which puts the possibility of the fact beyond all room for doubt. About the year 1760, two men were digging in the salt marsh at Cambridge, in Massachusetts: On the bank of Charles's river, about two feet below the surface of the ground, they dug up a swallow, wholly surrounded and covered with mud. The swallow was in a torpid state, but being held in their hands, it revived in about half an hour. The place where this swallow was dug up, was every day covered with the salt water; which at every high tide, was four or five feet deep. The time when this swallow was found, was the latter part of the month of February; but the men assured me, they had never found any other swallows in such a situation. The species called the house or chimney swallow, has been found during the winter, in hollow trees. At *Middlebury* in this state, there was a large hollow elm, called by the people in the vicinity the swallow tree. From a man who, for several years, lived within twenty rods of it, I procured this information: He always thought the swallows tarried in the tree through the winter, and avoided cutting it down, on that account. About the first of May, the swallows came out of it, in large numbers, about the middle of the day; and soon returned. As the weather grew warmer, they came out in the morning with a loud noise, or roar, and were soon dispersed: About half an hour before sun down, they returned in millions,

ions, circulating two or three times round the tree, and then descending like a stream, into a hole about sixty feet from the ground. It was customary for persons in the vicinity, to visit this tree, to observe the motions of these birds: And when any person disturbed their operations, by striking violently against the tree, with their axes, the swallows would rush out in millions, and with a great noise. In November, 1791, the top of this tree, was blown down twenty feet below where the swallows entered. There has been no appearance of the swallows since. Upon cutting down the remainder, an immense quantity of excrements, quills, and feathers were found; but no appearance or relics of any nests.

Another of these swallow trees, was at *Bridport*. The man who lived the nearest to it, gave this account: The swallows were first observed to come out of the tree, in the spring; about the time, that the leaves first began to appear on the trees. From that season, they came out in the morning, about half an hour after sunrise: They rushed out like a stream, as big as the hole in the tree would admit, and ascended in a perpendicular line, until they were above the height of the adjacent trees; then assumed a circular motion, performing their revolutions two or three times, but always in a larger circle, and then dispersed in every direction. A little before sundown, they returned in immense numbers, forming several circular motions, and then descended like a stream into the hole, from whence they came out in the morning. About the middle of September, they were seen entering the tree, for the last time. These birds were all of the species called the house or chimney swallow.—The tree was a large hollow elm, the hole at which they entered was about forty feet above the ground, and about nine inches diameter. The swallows made their first appearance in the spring, and their last appearance

ance in the fall, in the vicinity of this tree; and the neighbouring inhabitants had no doubt, but that the swallows continued in it during the winter. A few years ago, a hole was cut at the bottom of the tree; from that time, the swallows have been gradually forsaking the tree, and have now almost deserted it.

Neither of these accounts are attended with the highest degree of evidence, which the subject may admit of. But I am led to believe from them, that the house swallow, in this part of America, generally retires during the winter, in the hollow of trees; and that the ground swallows find security in the mud, at the bottom of lakes, rivers, and ponds.

Of the *Singing Birds*, the following are the most distinguished, either by the variety of their notes, or by the melody of their sound:

The Robin. *Turdus migratorius.*

Skylark. *Alauda alpestris.*

Thrush. *Turdus rufus.*

Thrasher, or Mock Bird. *Turdus polyglottus.*

Bobolink. *Emberiza erythraea.*

Yellow bird. *Fringilla aurea.*

Bluebird. *Motacilla cyanea.*

Wren. *Motacilla regulus.*

Red winged Blackbird. *Turdus niger alis superno
rubentibus.*

Catbird. *Muscicapa vertice nigra.*

Golden Robin, or Goldfinch. *Ortolus aureus.*

Springbird. *Fringilla.*

Hangbird. *Oriolus icterus.*

The only natural music, is that of birds. In the uncultivated state, and parts of the country, this delightful sound is not to be heard. Either disgusted with so gloomy a scene, or disliking the food in the uncultivated lands, the musical birds do not deign to dwell in such places; or to put forth their melody to the rocks, and to the trees. But no sooner has man discharged his duty, cut down the trees, and opened the

the fields to the enlivening influence of the air and the sun, than the birds of harmony repair to the spot, and give it new charms by the animating accents of their music. From break of day until about nine o'clock, the lovely harmony is heard from every quarter. About that time of day, the music ceases. The musicians repair to other employments; and there is no further concert, until next morning. This is one of the most delightful scenes which nature affords: But like most of our delicate pleasures, it is not to be enjoyed, but in the cultivation of them.

A great variety of birds generally resort to the ponds, rivers, and lakes; which, on that account, are commonly distinguished by the name of *Water Birds*. Among these aquatic birds, the most common are: The Goose, three species, *Anas canadensis*; the Duck, eight or ten. *Anas*; the Goldeneye, the Common Teal, two. *Anas*; the Mallard, the Goldeneye, the Heron, two, *Ardea*; the Great Egret, the Gull, two, *Larus*; the Great Northern Diver, the Sheldrake, three. *Mergus*; the Common Loon, the Crane. *Ardea canadensis*; the Bald Eagle, the Stork. *Ardea ictonia*; the Great Blue Heron, the Loon. *Columba maculosa*; the Common Noddy, the Waterhen. *Alca arctica*.

There are many other birds, which do not fall under either of the above descriptions. Of this kind, the following are the most common and numerous.

The Eagle, two species. *Falco*.
 Hawk, four. *Falco*.
 Owl, three. *Syrinx*.
 Woodpecker, seven or eight. *Picus*.
 Kingbird. *Lanius tyrannus*.
 Crow Blackbird. *Gracula quiscalis*.
 Cuckoo. *Cuculus americanus*.
 Kingfisher. *Alcedo alcyon*.
 Woodcock. *Scolopax rustica*.

Woodsnipe.

Woodcock. *Scolopax fides*.
 Quail. *Coturnix*.
 Turkey. *Meleagris gallopavo*.
 Partridge. *Coturnix coturnix*.
 Wild Duck. *Colinus virginianus*.
 Mallard Duck. *Colinus carolinensis*.
 Blue Jay. *Cyanocitta cristata*.
 Kingbird. *Tyrannus carolinensis*.
 Mockingbird. *Mimus polyglottus*.
 Starling. *Sturnella magna*.
 House Finch. *Trachospiza alpestris*.

In addition to these, there is a mamillary biped, the Bat (*Vesperugo murinus*;) And a great variety and number of small birds, which have never been enumerated, described, or classed. We meet with them every day in the fields; but they are not distinguished by any proper names.

It is worthy of remark that in the birds of America, nature proceeds from her most minute and curious, to the most sublime and magnificent productions. The *Hummingbird* is the least of all birds. The *Cassidix*, a bird of Southamerica, in bulk, strength, and courage, is the greatest. Both of these are peculiar to America. The gradation from the least to the greatest, through all the intermediate steps and degrees, is nicely and beautifully filled up, with an infinite variety of others.

F I S H E S.

OF the great variety of fish, which nature has produced in the waters of America, but a small part are found in the internal parts of the continent. The largest collection of waters which we have in Vermont, are the lakes Champlain, Memphremagog. Connecticut river, with the ponds and streams connected with them. In these waters we have The Sturgeon. *Acipenser furio*.

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Salmon. *Salmo*.
 Salmon Trout. *Salmo salar*.
 Bass. *Percus ocellata*.
 Pickerel, or Pike. *Esox lucius*.
 Shad. *Clupea aleosa*.
 Alewife. *Clupea*.
 Eel. *Muræna anguilla*.
 Trout. *Trutta*.
 Red Perch. *Percus fluviatilis*.
 White Perch. *Percus lucio-perca*.
 Pout. *Silurus felis*.
 Shiner. *Percus nobilis*.
 Chub. *Percus philadelphicus*.
 Bream. *Percus chrysoptera*.
 Bret. *Clupea minima*.
 Menow.
 Sucker.
 Dace.

Migration is not peculiar to the birds: Several kinds of fishes, have as regular periods of approach, and departure, as the birds of passage. This is the case with the salmon. In the spring, about the 25th of April, these fish begin to pass up Connecticut river, and proceed to the highest branches. About the same time, or a little later, they are found in Lake Champlain, and the large streams which fall into it. So strong is this instinct of migration in the salmon, that in passing up the rivers, they force their passage over cataracts of several feet in height, and in opposition to the most rapid currents. They are sometimes seen to make six or seven attempts, before they can succeed to ascend the falls. When they are thus going up in the spring, they are round and fat, of an excellent taste, and flavour. From the first week in May, to the second week in June, they are taken in great numbers. When they arrive at the upper parts of the rivers, they deposit their spawn, and remain there during the summer season;

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season; but become very lean, and flaccid. Towards the latter end of September, they return to the ocean; but so much emaciated, that they are not taken, or used for food. Some of these salmon in the spring, will weigh thirty five or forty pounds. They migrate only to cold waters. None of them are ever found to the south, or west, of Connecticut river. Those that go further to the northward, and pass up the river St. Lawrence, are generally more large and rich, than those which come from the southward.

The *Salmon Trout*, in its form, dimensions, and appearance, very much resembles the salmon; but the meat is of a finer grain, and of a more delicate taste, and flavour. This trout is found in Lake Champlain, and in the rivers and ponds, which are connected with it. These fish are taken with the hook and line, like the cod and haddock. Trouts from seven to ten pounds, are common. In a pond at Leicester in this state, some have been taken which weighed twenty five pounds: Others much larger have been seen leaping out of the water, which the fisherman supposed would weigh from thirty five to forty pounds.

The *Pike* or *Pickers* abounds much in Lake Champlain. It is there called by the name of Muschilongoe, and grows to a great size. They are easily taken with a spear, and some of them have weighed forty pounds, and were six feet in length.

Of the small fish, which reside in the brooks and small streams, the most numerous and useful, are the trout, perch, and sucker. The trout, in its colour, form, and taste, resembles the salmon trout, but is of much smaller dimensions. The largest of them, will not weigh more than two pounds and an half, or three pounds. This fish is found in all the streams, which have their origin in the mountains; and generally very near their sources, in the high lands.

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The perch and the sucker are also very numerous, and useful, and of nearly the same dimensions. The most uncommon instance, which I have ever seen, of the multiplying power of nature, was in the increase of these fish. At Tinmouth, is a brook about twenty or thirty feet wide, and two or three deep ; in which the trout and sucker were to be found of the common size, and number. A dam was built across this stream, for the purpose of supplying water for a sawmill. This dam formed a pond, which covered by estimation, about a thousand acres, where the trees were thick, and the soil had never been cultivated. In two or three years, the fish were multiplied to an incredible number. They were become so numerous, that at the upper end of the pond, where the brook fell into it, in the spring the fish are seen running one over another ; embarrassed with their own numbers ; and unable to escape from any attempt that is made to take them. They are taken by the hands, at pleasure ; and the swine catch them without difficulty. With a net, the fishermen often take a bushel at a draught, and repeat their labour with the same success. Carts are loaded with them, in as short a time, as the people could gather them up, when thrown upon the banks ; and it is customary to sell them in the fishing season, for a shilling by the bushel. While they have thus increased in numbers, they are become more than double to their former size.—This extreme increase does not seem to be derived from any other cause, than that of collecting the waters in such a quantity, as to form the pond ; and thus increase the means of subsistence, by carrying the water over a large tract of rich, and uncultivated land. Events of a similar nature generally take place, when an artificial pond is made in any part of the country, not before

before cultivated; and probably from the same cause.*

In the production of fish, nature seems to have been extremely prolific, in every part of America. Their species, their multiplying power, and the age at which they become prolific, are beyond our knowledge; and computation. The brooks, rivers, ponds, and lakes, are every where, stored with them. The sea coasts are one continued range of fishing banks, covered with cod, haddock, and other animals of the ocean. The *whale* is generally esteemed the greatest animal, which nature has produced in the water: In the seas of America, this is to be found in its greatest perfection of magnitude and numbers.

Fossil shells are frequently found at some distance from the banks of our lakes, rivers, brooks, and meadows. Some have been found on the sides, or rather in the gullies of the mountains. Such productions require a collection of water for their formation. Naturalists have proposed many theories and speculations, to account for the collection of water in such places, where there are now no appearances of the kind.

In their descent from the mountains, the brooks and rivers must every where have formed themselves into lakes, ponds, and small collections of water.

* The number of fish in the rivers of Southamerica, is fully equal to any thing that takes place, in the northern parts of the continent. "In the Meragnon," says P. Acugna, "fish are so plentiful, that, without any art, they may take them with their hands."

"In the Orinoco," says P. Gumilla, "besides an infinite variety of other fish, tortoises or turtle abound in such numbers, that, I cannot find words to express it. I doubt not but that such as read my account will accuse me of exaggeration: But I can affirm, that it is as difficult to count them, as to count the sands on the bank of that river." Hist. del. Orenoque, ii, c. 22. p. 59. M. de la Condamine confirms their accounts.

And it was not until after long periods of time, that they could form for themselves channels of such depth as to discharge the waters which had been thus collected. Some of these ponds were formed on the sides of the mountains, and others overflowed what are now called the meadows; and many of their ancient phenomena yet remain. The waters have long since formed the channels, by which they are now discharged into the ocean. In such places fossil shells are yet found: They are the productions of former times, when those places were covered by the waters descending from the mountains; then collected into quantities for want of natural channels, now drawn off by the depth of the channels which the waters have formed, and constantly rendered more and more deep.

REPTILES AND INSECTS

THAT class of animals, which are distinguished by the names of reptiles, and insects, are numerous in every part of America. They abound the most, and are of the largest size, in the hottest parts of the continent. In a climate so cold as that of Vermont, they are comparatively of but a few species, and small in their size; but they exist in great numbers. The following are our

AMPHIBIOUS REPTILES

- The Turtle, two species, *Testudo*.
- Toad, *Rana*.
- Frog, five. *Rana*.
- Lizard, *Lacerta punctata*.
- Swift, *Lacerta fusciata*.

There are several accounts in natural history, of toads being found in the hearts of trees, and in solid rocks; wholly inclosed, and shut up from the air,

air, and all appearance of food; and being taken alive, out of such situations. In the Memoirs of the Academy of Sciences, there is an account that in the year 1731, a toad was found in the heart of an old oak near Nantz, without any visible entrance to its habitation. From the size of the tree, it was concluded, that the toad must have been confined in that situation, at least eighty or an hundred years.* We have several instances in Vermont, equally extraordinary. At Windsor, a town joining to Connecticut river, in September, 1790, a living frog was dug up at the depth of nine feet, from the surface of the earth. *Stephen Jacobs*, Esq; from whom I have this account, informs me, that the place where this frog was found, was about half a mile from the river, on the intervale lands, which are annually overflowed by its waters. At Castleton, in the year 1779, the inhabitants were engaged in building a fort, near the centre of the town. Digging into the earth five or six feet below the surface, they found many frogs, apparently inactive, and supposed to be dead. Being exposed to the air, animation soon appeared; and they were found to be alive, and healthy. I have this account from General *Clarke*, and a Mr. *Moulton*, who were present when these frogs were dug up. Upon viewing the spot, it did not appear to me, that it had ever been overflowed with water, but it abounded with springs. A more remarkable instance was at Burlington, upon Onion river. In the year 1788, *Samuel Lane*, Esq; was digging a well near his house. At the depth of twenty five or thirty feet, from the surface of the earth, the labourers threw out with their shovels, something which they suspected to be groundnuts, or stones covered with earth. Upon examining these appearances, they were found to be frogs; to which,

* *Smellie's*, Philosophy of Natural History, p. 122.

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which, the earth every where adhered. The examination was then made of the earth, in the well, where they were digging. A large number of frogs were found covered with the earth, and so numerous, that several of them were cut in pieces by the spades of the workmen. Being exposed to the air, they soon became active; but unable to endure the direct rays of the sun, the most of them perished. This account is from Mr. Lane, and Mr. Lawrence one of the workmen, who were both present when the frogs were dug up. From the depth of earth, with which these frogs were covered, it cannot be doubted but that they must have been covered over in the earth, for many ages, or rather centuries. The appearances denote that the place from whence these frogs were taken, was once the bottom of a channel or lake, formed by the waters of Onion river. In digging the same well, at the depth of forty one feet and an half from the surface, the workmen found the body of a tree eighteen or twenty inches in diameter; partly rotten, but the biggest part sound. The probability is, that both the tree, and the frogs were once at the bottom of the channel of a river, or lake; that the waters of Onion river, constantly bringing down large quantities of earth, gradually raised the bottom: That by the constant increase of earth and water, the water was forced over its bounds, and formed for itself a new channel or passage, in its descent into Lake Champlain.—How vigorous and permanent must the principle of life be, in this animal! Frogs placed in a situation, in which they were perpetually supplied with moisture, and all waste and perspiration from the body prevented, preserve the powers of life from age to age! Centuries must have passed since they began to live, in such a situation; and had that situation continued, nothing appears, but that they would have lived for many centuries yet to come!

SERPENTS.

The Rattle Snake, *Crotalus horridus*,
 Black Snake, *Crotalus molitor*,
 Green Snake, *Crotalus viridis*,
 Striped Snake, *Agkistrodon*,
 Water Adder, *Crotalus fuscus*.

These are all the species of this kind of animals,
 of which I have any account; and these are but fel-
 dom to be met with in Vermont.

There is a curious phenomenon respecting two
 of these species, which seems to deserve further in-
 quiry. The farmers, and other persons who fre-
 quently meet with the rattle snake, and with the
 black snake, seem universally to believe that each of
 these animals, have a power of *fascination*, or as it
 is commonly expressed, of *charming* birds, and other
 small animals. The account which is generally
 given, is this: The snake lies stretched out his
 full length, in some open place, his head raised
 eight or ten inches from the ground, his colours
 glow with their greatest brightness; his eyes play
 with an uncommon brilliancy, and fire; and are
 readily fixed on the enchanted animal. During
 this scene, the bird appears to be in the greatest dis-
 tress; is constantly putting forth the most mournful
 accents; at the same time, is performing a number
 of irregular circular motions; and at the end of
 each, approaches nearer to the snake: This scene
 continues, and is incessantly repeated, until the bird,
 without any power to escape, comes within the reach
 of the voracious jaws of the serpent, when it is in-
 stantly seized: But if the snake is attacked, or so
 disturbed during the operation, that his attention is
 turned another way, the charm is broken; and the
 bird recovering his liberty, immediately flies off.—
 I have never myself seen any thing like this fascinat-
 ing

ing form; but I have had occasion, especially in the
 from more than a dozen parties, whose inquiries
 cannot in the smallest degree, call in question.
 There is some, however, for mistakes in their mode
 of observations; and in most of them, the insects were
 disturbed, before the form was finished. That there
 is something curious in their appearance, cannot be
 doubted. But whether these insects have had their
 ers, or by what causes such events are produced,
 seems to require more accurate observations, and a
 more philosophical investigation.

I N S E C T S.

The insects are too minute, and numerous, to be
 particularly described. The most common are the
 beetle, grasshopper, cricket, butterfly, firefly, black-
 fly, moth, flea, ant, mosquito, spider, hornet, wasp,
 bumble bee, honey bee, various kinds of bugs, and
 several species of worms. Of these the mosquito is
 the most troublesome. The wasp, the Mexican fly,
 and the locust, are not known in this part of the
 continent.

Of the bee, there is a species which is generally
 called with us, the *Apis*. This is indigenous
 to the country, and much larger than the common
 bee. It forms a nest upon the ground; and pro-
 duces a species of honey, in transparency, beauty,
 and sweetness, fully equal to that of the honey bee;
 but much less in quantity. Whether the honey
 bee is a native of the country, seems to be viewed
 by some as uncertain. I do not find much reason
 to doubt, but that it was in America, before the Eu-
 ropeans made their first settlements in the country.
 From the pictures and tribute rolls of the Mexicans,
 it appears that the honey bee was known, and that
 honey was one part of the annual tribute which was
 paid to their emperors before the arrival of the Span-
 iards.

iards. *Clavigero* in his history of Mexico, confirms these accounts; and mentions six kinds of bees which make honey; two of which have stings, and one in all respects agrees with the honey bee of Europe. A species of the honey bee, but without stings, was found in Chiapa, and Yucatan. The same according to Margrave, was found in Brazil. In 1540, among the provisions of the natives of Florida, "a pot full of honey of bees," was found by Soto.—From these accounts, it is not to be doubted, but that the honey bee was indigenous, and had spread over the empire of Mexico. To the east, it had advanced as far as Florida; and to the south, to Yucatan, and the country of Brazil. To an immense country then, the honey bee was indigenous, and common.—There was no cause in the nature of the animal, or of the climate, to prevent their spreading to the northward. They live in the hollow trees in the woods of Vermont, from year to year, and are always found, of their full dimensions, vigorous, and plentifully supplied with honey; and they bear the cold of our winters, much better in the hollow of a large tree, than in any of our artificial bee hives. They live and abound in Russia, where the climate is much more severe, than is in this part of America: They would therefore naturally extend, and spread along the country, where they could find the means of subsistence, and a climate not equited to their support. It has always been found far beyond the English settlements. From our earliest acquaintance with Lake Champlain, it was to be found in the open lands, along those shores; at the distance of an hundred miles from the English or French settlements; and long before those settlements had begun to attend to the cultivation of this animal; And from the first settlement of New England, hunting for their nests, has been a favourite and profitable amusement.—But of this

chief food of the bee is from the blossoms and flowers of plants, it does not multiply so fast in the uncultivated parts of the country, as where the improvements of agriculture and gardening, are constantly producing a greater variety, and number of vegetables.

To the tribes of reptiles and insects, we have affixed the idea of something unpleasant, diminutive, or odious. The designs, the wisdom, and the power of the Creator, are not to be estimated by such feelings, fears, and prejudices. The reptile, the insect, the fish, the bird, and the quadruped, are as much as the other, denoted wisdom, power, and design, in the author of nature: And they are alike evidences, and instances, of the power of animated nature, in the different parts of the earth. We may therefore as justly and clearly deduce the energy and force of animated nature in any country, from the number and magnitude of the insects, as from the species and dimensions of any other animals. The European philosophers have dwelt with wonder and astonishment, on the numbers and size of these animals in America. The facts are justly stated, in several of their accounts; and they ought to have concluded from them, that the soil was uncommonly rich, fertile, and luxuriant. Anxious to find marks of degradation in America, they have almost universally advanced a contrary conclusion: That this prolific power of nature, denoted an uncommon corruption, and degradation of climate. No conclusion was ever farther from the truth, or more remote from probability. It is only a rich soil, and a temperate climate, which can produce what they call a rank vegetation, or numerous reptiles and insects, of the largest size.

From this imperfect view of our quadrupeds, birds, fishes, and insects, instead of finding them more but weak and feeble in America, as M. de Buffon has

has supposed; * her animals appear to be marked with an energy, and a magnitude, superiour to what is found in Europe; and equalled only, by the magnificent and vigorous productions of Asia.

• “ La nature vivante est beaucoup moins agissante beaucoup moins forte.” Hist. Nat. xviii. 122. edit. Paris, 1764.

[The following text is extremely faint and largely illegible due to fading and bleed-through from the reverse side of the page. It appears to be a continuation of the author's discussion on natural history and agriculture.]

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C H A P. VII.

ORIGINAL INHABITANTS.—*The Employments, Civil Government, System of War, Education, Manners, and Customs of the Indians; the Advantages, and Disadvantages of the Savage State.*

IN the formation of the mountains, rivers, vegetables, and animals, the powers of nature appear to rise in a steady and beautiful progress. This progress seems to be completed in the production of a rational, moral, and accountable animal. This animal is *Man*: And he evidently appears in every part of the globe, to be at the head of all the productions of nature: But the men of different countries and nations, appear to be very different from one another.

The original inhabitants of this country were the *Indians*: These were the only species or kind of men, that had spread over America. It will be more difficult to give a just account of *the Man of America*, than to describe its vegetables, and animals. The latter are subject to stated, and invariable laws; they pass through but few changes and variations, and are always to be found in that state, in which nature placed them. Man is subject to a great variety of alteration, and improvement. In his rudest and most simple state, he appears but little superior to the brute; in his highest improvement and polish of manners, he appears at an infinite remove from the

bare

—bare animal; and in all the stages of his progress from the one state to the other, he passes through an endless variety of situations and circumstances, which are constantly giving a new appearance to his capacity, powers, passions, manners, and pursuits. The natural history of man is therefore the most difficult, but it is also the most useful and important subject we can contemplate. In examining the history of the Indian of America, we shall find man in the most simple mode, and unimproved state, in which he has ever been placed, or viewed.*

APPEARANCE AND COUNTENANCE.—The appearance of the Indians was different from any, under which man had ever been viewed before. The colour of their skin is of a reddish brown, nearly resembling the colour of copper, but rather darker. Their faces are broad, the nose appears flattish, their eyes black, small, and very active. The hair of their heads is always black, coarse, long, and perfectly straight; and they generally appear without any beard. The men are taller than the Europeans, but rarely corpulent; and their bodies appear to be firm, strong, and well proportioned. Their features are regular and well adjusted, but their countenance discovers something wild, fierce, and sullen. None of them are seen crooked, mutilated, or deformed; defective in any of their senses, or deficient in any of their bodily organs; but straight, well built, and robust. In the appearance, aspect, and countenance of the Indians, there is an uncommon uniformity, and resemblance. It is the same in all climates, and in all the tribes of America. It does not vary

*The following account relates chiefly to the Indians in the northern parts of America. I have received much assistance from the writings of Dr. Robertson, and other authors. But the authorities, on which the accounts are founded, are chiefly the relations of those persons who have lived among the Indians, and been intimately acquainted with them.

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with heat, cold, situation, employment, or other circumstances; but the Indian countenance has the same combination of features, and peculiarity of aspect, in every part of America.

EMPLOYMENT, AND METHOD OF PROCURING SUBSISTENCE.—The food proper for man, is to be found in every part of the earth. But the means and the method of procuring it, are different among different nations, and in different stages of society. — The savages of Northamerica had discovered the properties and effects of those seeds, berries, and roots, which the earth spontaneously produces; and one part of their food was derived from this source. Fishing was another method which they used to procure subsistence. The great plenty and variety of fish, with which the rivers of America abounded, rendered this kind of provision easy to be procured, and of great use. The Indian had acquired much skill and address, in his method of catching the fish; and he was accustomed to dry, and smoke them, in order to preserve them. The falls of rivers were the places, to which they most resorted for this purpose. And most of these falls were the places, where some of their tribes or small companies resided: And they were generally distinguished by some particular Indian name. — A more general and effectual method of support, was hunting. The fruits which the earth spontaneously produced, were but few, and of short continuance. A few tribes only could be accommodated, by the vicinity and convenience of a river: But game was every where to be found. The bear, the deer, the beaver, the fox, and other animals, were in great numbers, and in every part of the northern continent. From these, the Indian derived his most sure, and plentiful support. But this method of procuring food, required great efforts of invention, and activity. The strength, the fierceness, and the swiftness of the wild animals, the fecundity

bleness of the weapons, the bow, arrow, and club, with which the savage attacked them, joined to make the business of the hunter laborious and difficult; and called forth all the active powers of the savage. And here, he appeared to the greatest advantage; fertile in invention, sagacious in distinguishing and observing, nice and accurate in tracing the animal; indefatigable and persevering in the pursuit. An employment which thus gave exertion to all the invention, courage, force, and vigor of the man, naturally became the most honourable employment: And the most dexterous hunter became the most distinguished savage of the tribe.—To these methods of procuring food, were added some feeble attempts in agriculture. Indian corn, beans, pumpions, and squashes, were the only plants they cultivated. The culture of these was wholly in the hands of the women. Without the use and knowledge of any of the domestic animals, altogether destitute of the proper instruments of husbandry, their efforts were weak and languid, and the supplies they derived this way, were but small.

These were all the methods of procuring food, with which the Indians were acquainted. They afforded them but a scanty and precarious support. When the game was plenty, and the hunter successful, they had an abundance of food. When the season of the year was unfavourable, and their success but small, they were reduced to scarcity and want. Their sufferings this way, were sometimes extremely severe. And there was no year, in which they were not subject to these extremes, of great plenty, and severe famine.

The appetite of the Indian conformed to this state of things. In the seasons of plenty, the savage indulged himself to great excess; In the time of famine, the Indian bore his hunger with astonishing patience, and firmness. So accustomed was he to this

irregular

irregular method of living, that each and family were equally furnished with the same; and the constitution and health of the Indians was vigorous, under the constant use of their own medicine, and the assistance of the Europeans, and the assistance of the Indians, which was the cause of their health and vigor. The Indians were divided into several societies, which were called by the name of the Indians, who were the most numerous, and the most powerful, they will always be divided in the same form of society. Mutual wants, dangers, necessities, interests, and benefits, operating with the assistance of the Indians, will not fail to produce the effect. The situation and employment of the Indians, determined what the nature and laws of this society must be, among them. The chief source of subsistence among them, was hunting. On this account, a large territory became necessary for the support of a small number of people. Like the game, which they hunt, they must be dispersed over a large tract of country, or they cannot procure food. In this stage of society, the extent of its territory must be large, the number of people will be small, and all hostile tribes must be kept at such a distance, as not to encroach upon the territory of the game. This was the state, in which the savages were found. Divided into a number of tribes, small in the number of people, large in the extent of territory, and generally unfriendly and hostile to each other.

NATURE OF THE INDIAN CIVIL GOVERNMENT.

From this state of society, arose a species and form of government peculiar to the Indians. The *scope* and *object* of government among the savages, was not the property, security, or conduct of the individual; but the property, and safety of the tribe. The idea of property is suggested by nature; and was clear, distinct, and just, in the mind of the rudest Indian. The fish in the river, and the game in the forest,

were not the products of his own labour, and that had no idea, but they belonged to the tribe, the society, or to an individual, but when they were acquired by his personal exertion, or other private means, that they were his property, and he had a right to dispose of them as he pleased. The goods which were taken, were not personal, but public property. They belonged to the tribe. No individual claimed a right in them, no private man was ever free of officers. These were the public goods, which were longed equally to all, and to which all had a right to repair in quest of subsistence, and which were common property. It was the duty of the tribe to plant his corn, no one had a right to withhold it from the tribe and the common use. It was his duty to relinquish his possession, in favour of the tribe, to have a right to take possession of the goods of the tribe, and the property that he had done. If he was a man of labour and industry, he was the proprietor of the individual. The right of the tribe was to regulate the land, or the territory, and the property of the tribe. The former was of a single nature, for well understood, and he understood it, that for controversy could not arise about it. Custom and consent was sufficient to adjust and regulate everything of the nature. The latter comprehended all the property, the means of subsistence, and that on which the whole tribe depended for their existence. This was the great object and aim of their government, to protect and defend that on which the whole tribe subsisted. In such a state of society, the injuries that would be done to individuals would not be many in their number, or often of such a kind, as to endanger the subsistence of the tribe. The right of redressing them, was therefore left in private hands. This has always been the case, in the infancy of society and government. If injuries were done, if blood was shed,

it belongs to the Legislature, and they of the inland
 persons in that regard, as if the chief interest, is
 the only way of counsel and advice. The friends
 of these just persons, might except at their neglect,
 or of the Legislature itself, if it were not for they
 might expect, if it was not so, all was settled
 in a quiet and friendly manner. But God, who
 is so true, that he will not be deceived, with a re-
 sistance, and the usual, as to things less than the
 situation and conduct of the people, as to the
 (The first) and nature of the Indian government,
 and the first things that can be derived, or im-
 proved, there was nothing, nothing, goods, or means
 of improvement, among them. The whole thing
 attended to, either in their public councils, or
 cases of writing, records, and history, to preserve the
 memory of their words and actions, their most impor-
 tant business, the dependence of what may be said
 or done, and the observation, and a knowledge
 of their former circumstances. It is by them that the
 debates, and resolutions, are chiefly carried on.
 Their councils are free, solemn, and deliberate. Ev-
 ery circumstance that they can foresee, is taken into
 consideration. The probable advantages and dis-
 advantages of every measure, are examined and
 weighed, and the prospects of success and disap-
 pointment, are resolved in their debates; and noth-
 ing is omitted, which occurs to their views or ex-
 pectations. The whole is done in a tone of con-
 sultation, and advice. And the advice has no other
 force or authority, than what is derived from its sup-
 posed wisdom, honor, and propriety.
 The strength and nature of the government, is plac-
 ed wholly in the public sentiment. The chief has
 no authority, to enforce his measures, or compel to
 his measures. His is not directed like the rest of
 the tribe; his house and furniture are the same as
 those of others. There is no appearance, or mark
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of distinction, no ceremony, or form of introduction into office. No eagle or token of authority, or power. In every external circumstance, the chiefs are upon a level with the rest of the nation, the only which gives weight and authority to their advice is the public opinion of their superior wisdom and experience. Their laws stand on the same foundation. There was no written law, no sacred rule of conduct. No public proceedings, established courts, forms or modes of proceeding. The contests and occasions of contention were so few, that they did not much affect the tribe. And when the chiefs interposed in the concerns of individuals, it was not to compel, but only to equate and advise them. The public opinion pointed out what was right, fit, and proper to be enacted, laws and rules of conduct. These rules of laws derived from nature, were seldom wrong, obscure, or inconsistent, but generally plain, clear, and useful. Their penalties and punishments were derived from the same source. Loss of character, and reputation, disgrace, exiles, from the tribe, and death, were the punishments to which offenders were exposed, according to the nature and aggravation of their crimes. These punishments were not described, and assigned to a particular crime by a written law, but they rested upon the public opinion of the tribe, and derived great force and power from it. An offender who had been greatly and deeply guilty, fled from the tribe, as the only way to safety, peace, and rest.

There was a *simplicity* and *propriety* in this government, or rather, it was fully adequate to its end and design, and to the situation and state of the savage. A modern statesman would smile at the idea of an Indian government? And because he could find no written constitution, or bill of rights, no mutual checks, and balances, accountability, and responsibility, pronounce it weak, foolish, and contemptible.

But

But it was not only derived from the nature of man, but from the nature of the state, and the nature of the society. The idea of property, was to them not only a right, but also a duty, which is related, were it not for the law, to the nature of man, and the nature of the state. The rights of the individual, his freedom and liberty, were so strongly felt, and so universally acknowledged, that no person dared to invade them. The principles of the society retained a just and a full punishment, in the offence, and contempt, and anger, they brought upon the guilty. This individual had all the society, in the public sentiment, and habits, that govern men, in an empire, and a law. All that was to be defended was the territory, the interest, the independence, and sovereignty of the tribe; and every part of the government was adapted and designed to that end, and to induce a national spirit of vigilance and independence.

As a general result, and design, the society was equal, and independent, among all the members of the tribe, in respect to rights and privileges, the sovereignty of no superior. Of abasement, humiliation, dependence, or servitude, he had no idea. Depending on his own exertions for food and raiment, he had never looked to another for assistance, protection, or wealth. When the interest of the tribe was in question, or in danger, the wisdom and experience of years was consulted, to advise and determine. And their councils became matters of great respect. But constraint, compulsion, and force, was the object of the highest detestation and horror. Every measure of the government tended to confirm and increase the spirit of freedom, equality, and independence, and to render it strong, fierce, and permanent, through the whole tribe.

But

system

SYSTEM

Some of the most learned and illustrious of the
 with regulations of the law gave the people a
 equal and proper share for their enjoying the
 could that lead to this, an imposition of money
 upon the people, and a monopoly of the people
 over the most dear, or most useful, of their own
 rights and property, which also diminished. They that
 only understood their own private rights, but that
 were perfectly well acquainted with the rights and
 property, that were vested in the nation. Both sides
 claimed the soil in their respective names. Their right
 was viewed as complete, perfect, and exclusive.
 Such as entitled them to the full and entire posses-
 sion, and to oppose by force and violence, all un-
 lawfully, upon the soil, or upon the use of it, to
 their enjoyment. The demands of justice, concerning
 was sufficient, and all defects and irregularities
 through force and injustice, were condoned, taking
 place. Hence arose insupportable jealousies, rival-
 ries, and contentions, which, as they continued, the
 fierceness of the savage temper, and his high sense
 of injury, was increased, and his indignation, in the
 the last, most of the Indian tribes under stated, and for
 some had become a source of discord, among the
 neighbouring tribes. Hence this contest, and the
 of their interests and possessions, and the
 . The manner in which the Indian party lost their
 war, is very different from that of civilized nations.
 To defend themselves against an enemy, they have
 no other fortification but an irregular line of trees
 trees, which they call a circle, or fort, and consist of
 a square without bastions, surrounded with palisades
 does. This was crossed where the most considera-
 ble number of the tribe resided, and next to the
 about a hundred men, their wives, and
 children, while there. At the time, the general
 . The weapons of the Indians were a club made
 of hard wood, a bow and arrow. Thus armed, the

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In the action with him a small band of men, and is completely equipped for a campaign. While he takes the field, not with such a number of warriors as they tribes can supply. During these marches, they are disposed to struggling and pushing, that they may be able to supply the wants of their hunting, and when they approach, they are not without provisions, their trails are marked by the Indian Abbe, when necessary. At a general meeting, the Indians assemble in the morning, and hunters are taught to be vigilant, and vigilant, in following and capturing the game. Their mode of war is the same, as that of hunting. Their great ingenuity, they will find and follow the track of their enemies. While in hunting, patience and perseverance, they will wait for the animal, when they find him, and then strike to the heart. In the same manner they will attack an enemy, and proceed, they will strike with their arrows, and with great force, to their hearts, they always endeavor to secure themselves. In the same manner, they will never meet their enemy in the open field, and in a general terms, they are not so bold. The mode of the Indians, in deciding a battle in the open field, they regard as a necessity and want of prudence. Their established custom is to obtain a superiority in situation, number, or arms, or some other circumstances, before the battle: in which way, to prefer to the lives of their own party, and destroy their enemies, with as little loss as possible to themselves. A victory obtained with the loss of many of their own party, is a matter of grief and disgrace, rather than of exultation. And it is no honor to fall in the field of battle, but viewed rather as an evidence of want of wisdom, discretion, and circumspection. When the attack is to be made, nothing can exceed the courage and impetuosity of the savage. The onset begins with a general outcry, terminating in a universal yell. Of all the sounds that discord has produced,

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oration of dress, was reserved for the man. The share that fell to the woman, was only that which remained, when her husband was completely decked. When he was about to join the council of his nation, or was going forth to war, he was most solicitous to appear in his richest ornaments and finest decorations.—A custom prevailed among the Indians, of rubbing and anointing their bodies with grease, oil, and different kinds of gums. These were often mixed with different colours, and formed a very durable paint, or kind of varnish. This may properly be estimated as a part of the Indian dress. And it was well adapted to defend the body, against the extreme moisture and cold of the forest, and lake, to protect them against the numerous tribes of insects to which they were exposed, and to check the profuse perspiration to which they were subject, at different times and places.

INDUSTRY.—When engaged in hunting and war, the savage appears active, enterprising, and indefatigable. But when these favourite occupations are ended, an universal inactivity, and indolence, take place. The time of the Indian is spent in eating, sleeping, and sitting still. When he applies to any kind of labour, it is with little activity, and with a great aversion. They will spend whole years in making a pipe, forming a canoe, or building a hut. The labours of agriculture, are wholly assigned to the women: Inactive and slothful, the man cannot be roused up to any kind of labour and labour. His time is of no value to him. Every thing but hunting and war, is esteemed below his dignity and attention. And of all employments, the lowest and most base, in his view, is digging, toiling, and labouring in the earth.—The most indolent, slothful, and contemptible, in civilized nations, have the same idea of honour and industry: that labour, especially agriculture, is beneath their dignity and honour.

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DIRTINESS.

DIRTINESS.—Cleanliness seems to be inseparably connected with industry, and some degree of refinement. Delinquents of both, the savages of Northamerica were sunk into the lowest estate of filth and dirtiness. Nothing can exceed the nastiness that appears in their food, in their cabins, and in their garments. The vessels in which they cook and eat their victuals, are never washed. The dirt and grease in their huts, are never removed or swept away. Their garments are never changed or washed, until they wear to rags, and waste away. No idea of cleanliness seems to have entered into their minds. This seems to be one of the customs, common to all savages: Inactive and lazy, they are all extremely filthy and dirty.

GAMING.—Gaming is an amusement, to which indolence and want of employment naturally lead. Above the occupations of labour, and without a taste for useful employments, many in civilized life seek a relief in gaming, for the pains of indolence; and for a method, to move and agitate a languid band. Moved by the same cause and motive, the savage also falls to gaming, as the most favourite amusement: Indolent and lifeless in all the exertions of labour, he becomes deeply engaged, impetuous, and noisy in play. Every thing he possesses, is staked at these diversions; and he looses his peace, his senses, and all that he is worth. But these amusements do not issue in contention and quarrels: Though carried on with a frantic eagerness, they are generally managed, and terminate in good humour and peace.

SONGS.—Averse to all abstract meditations, the Indians are much delighted with songs. To an European ear, their songs do not afford much entertainment; nor can such discern harmony, melody, or any variety in their tunes. However this may be, the savages are always delighted with music. Their songs are of a grave and serious turn. They never

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never relate to the concerns of gallantry and love, but to their most serious employments. They have songs for war, songs for victory, and songs for death. Each of them is designed to excite and call forth the sentiments, feelings, and passions, that such occasions require; and they have a great influence on their feelings, and actions. Amidst the severest sufferings of death, this is the resort of the savage; and when burning at the stake, the last consolation, is to sing the song of triumph and death.

DANCING.—Dancing has been one of the favourite amusements of all nations. In civilized societies, this amusement is designed to promote a refinement of manners; and serves to excite the sensibility, and delicacy, which attaches and refines the sexes. Dancing is also the favourite employment of the savage, in every part of the globe. It calls forth his active powers, which, when unemployed, languish and decay for want of exercise. And in no employment, does he become more animated, vigorous, and eager.—Instead of being an amusement, an affair of gallantry, love, or refinement, dancing, among the savages, is a ceremony of great importance and solemnity. With this ceremony war is declared, an ambassador is received, and peace is concluded. It is by a dance, that every important transaction in public or private life, is celebrated.—Their dances are generally carried on by the men, and it is but seldom that the women are permitted to join in them. All the steps, figures, and motions of the dance, are expressive; and significant of the business or transaction, it is designed to denote. If war is to be proclaimed, the dance is expressive of the resentment and rage they bear to their enemies, and of the hostile manner, in which they mean to treat them. If a party are going forth against their enemies, the dance of war is to be performed. In this, the transactions of the whole campaign are to be expressed.

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The warriors are represented as departing from their country, entering that of the enemy, surprising and conquering their foes, seizing prisoners, scalping the dead, and returning in triumph to the applause of their country. The performers appear to be agitated with all the natural passions and feelings, that take place in any of these scenes. The caution, the secrecy, the fierceness and cruelty of the warriors, is represented in a natural and animated manner. The whole is designed to excite those passions and feelings in the warrior, which it is designed to represent. And so quick, exact, and dreadful, is the representation, that the uninformed spectator is struck with horror, and looks to see the ground covered with mangled limbs, and slaughtered bodies.—If peace is made, this is also celebrated by a dance. The ambassadors and the warriors smoke in the same pipe, and join together in the same dance. The dance is adapted to signify, that the hatchet is buried, that the blood is all washed away, and that the ghosts of the slain are appeased, and at rest; and that both nations are now to live, in all the friendship and familiarity of brotherhood. Thus instead of being barely an amusement and diversion, dancing among the Indians, is a very important and serious ceremony; designed to represent some important transaction, and to inspire those feelings and passions, which it should naturally produce.—Is it not remarkable, that among the savages in the first stage of society, dancing should be adapted to public and national purposes; that all the steps, figures, and motions of it, should be arts of imitation; and that among civilized nations, all the steps and motions should be without design, insignificant, and without any meaning at all?

BEARD.—The customs and methods of different nations, have been various and different, respecting their beards. Some have carefully preserved them

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as the tokens of manhood, gravity, and majesty. Others have curled, twilled, and braided them, to give the appearance of elegance and beauty: Others have entirely cut them off, as articles of embellishment; and to acquire greater softness, mildness, and amiableness of appearance. These different customs and fashions, do not appear to be derived from any permanent cause, or instinct founded in nature; but to be matters of fancy, superstition, convenience, or vanity. — In this respect the Indians had a custom different from those of other nations. It is their universal and constant practice, to pluck them out by the roots; and to destroy, as far as possible, the appearance of any beard at all. Every man has an instrument made for this purpose: It consists of a wire, twilled round a stick, in such a manner as to draw the hair out of the flesh, and extract the root. The Indian carries such an instrument with him: And it makes a regular and constant part of what he esteems his dress, to extract and destroy his beard. So fond are they of this custom, that whenever the Indian can obtain a looking-glass, his first business is to examine his face, and with this kind of tweezer, pluck out all the hairs he can discover. They generally recommend this custom to their captives, as what would increase their beauty, and destroy their hairy appearance, which the savage greatly dislikes.

Some philosophers have supposed, that the beardless countenance of the Indian, is derived, not from custom, but from nature: That the Indian is without any beard, or hair on any part of his body, except the eyebrows and head: That this arises from a defect in the powers and vigour of nature; and is an evidence of weakness, impotency, and want of manhood. The fact, and the conclusion, are both

mistake. Nature is the same in the Indian, as it is in the European: And on whatever part of the body it has assigned hair to the one, it has given it to the other. I am assured of this from those who have slain, stripped, and buried their warriors: I have the same information from those, who have been their captives; and who have seen all the members of an Indian family, dressed and undressed, and in all situations. The same is asserted by those, who have lived among the civilized tribes, and been called to perform offices of humanity, to the Indians of each sex. The beardless countenance of the Indian then, is not to be ranked among the curious and extraordinary phenomena of nature, but is to be placed among the customs peculiar to the Indian tribes.

DRUNKENNESS.—Drunkenness is one of those vices, which prevail among a rude and uncultivated people. The savages of Northamerica, are universally addicted to it. Before they were acquainted with the Europeans, they had discovered a composition, or liquor, of an intoxicating nature, made out of maize or Indian corn. But the difficulty of procuring a large quantity of this liquor, prevented any general intemperance, or excess. No sooner had they tasted of the spirituous liquors brought by the Europeans, than they contracted a *new appetite*, which they were wholly unable to govern. The Europeans found it the most lucrative branch of the Indian trade, to gratify this inclination. With an avidity, which is altogether uncontrollable, the Indians ran into the liquor. The first object of inquiry with them, was whether the trader had brought any brandy: or rum; and no considerations could restrain them in the use of it. The old and the young, the sachem, the warrior, and the women, whenever they can obtain strong liquors, indulge themselves without moderation, and without decency.

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ey, until universal drunkenness takes place. All the tribes whether placed in a temperate, or in a warm climate, appear to be under the dominion, and unable to govern this appetite.

An effect so universal and singular, must have an general and universal cause. The cause will be found to have a deep and a strong foundation in their manner, custom, and habit of living. Their constant method of living, was on raw or roasted meat, and fresh water. This did not excite the fires of nature; and naturally produced a temperance for every thing, which was astringent, stimulant, and inflammatory. When they met with ardent spirit, they found that, which is the most highly gratifying to such an appetite. The hardships and sufferings to which the Indian was exposed, their want of comfortable refreshments and support, and the extremes of heat, cold, and moisture, to which they were subject, were constantly adding new force, to an appetite already excessive. Few of the white people, who have been reduced to such a situation for a few months, have been able to preserve their temperance. The Indian proved wholly inadequate to the trial. Unaccustomed to lay any restraints on his appetites and passions, and unable to bear but a small quantity of the liquor, to which he had been unused, he is overcome upon the first trial. His appetite, the more inflamed by irregular enjoyment, becomes more keen and raging, until extreme excess puts it out of his power to indulge himself any longer. Nothing but a total change of the whole method of his living, will enable him to preserve that temperance and regularity, which to a person surrounded with all the comforts of life, is an easy and a common attainment.

CRUELTY.—There are no passions in the human mind, which operate with so much force and fierceness, as those of anger and revenge. The customs

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and maxims of polished societies, with all the aid of their laws and religion, have not as yet been able to give a due regulation or restraint to these passions. In many cases, an offended individual cannot be made to believe, but what it is right and best for him, to be the judge and the avenger of his own injuries; and that it is the mark of meanness, to leave it to the laws of society, to make a proper retaliation to the wrong he has received. Higher attainments shall yet be made in the state of society, before an adequate restraint and regulation will be found for these passions.—In the breast of a savage, they rage without any controul: Instead of being taught any restraint, the young savage is taught in early life, to gratify and indulge them. The whole force of education, example, custom, habit, and manner of living, operate with a declivive influence, to give them new force and vigour. By the government of the tribe, the revenge of injuries is left in the hands of every individual; and to be patient and moderate, is the highest mark of meanness and want of spirit. To give further force to the spirit of vengeance, all the maxims and customs of war, have placed the point of honour, in rendering the spirit of revenge, implacable, unabating, and such as never can be satisfied, subdued, or lost. Aided by all these motives and considerations, anger and revenge, become fierce, brutal, horrid, bloody, and implacable passions, in the breast of the savage: More like the destructive rage of a bear of prey, than like a passion in the heart of a human being.—The effect, is a barbarous and unrelenting cruelty: Far from pitying, sparing, or forgiving, the savage aims at the ruin, destruction, and utter extermination of his enemies. Hence the method of carrying on his war, was to destroy men, women, and children: To plunder and burn their towns and villages: To torture and torment their prisoners: And to sweep off whole tribes, with an universal

universal and undistinguished carnage. This seems to have been the wish and aim of every tribe, when they engaged in war. A barbarous, unrelenting cruelty distinguished and marked all their steps.

The cruelty of the Indians seems to have arisen from the passion of anger and revenge. It is not to be denied but that there are other passions, which have carried civilized nations to the same dreadful extremes in cruelty.—*Avarice* led the Spaniards to perpetrate more enormous crimes and cruelty upon the Indians, than the Indians were ever capable of returning. The scene of promiscuous calamity, destruction, murder, and butchery, which the Spaniards carried through all parts of Southamerica, in the number, design, degree, duration, variety, and enormity of its cruelties, far exceeded any thing that was ever perpetrated by the Indians. If we are to believe the declarations of a celebrated modern statesman, the avarice of a company of merchants, had murdered millions and millions of mankind, by having them to death in *Bengal*.—The spirit of *superstition* and *bigotry*, is equally cruel and unrelenting. The murders of the inquisition labilled for centuries: They were sanctioned by law, and are not yet done away. Imprisonment, confiscation, and death in its most awful forms, were the punishments which bigots, whenever they had power, never failed to inflict with great pleasure, upon those who were wise and virtuous enough to oppose them. The massacre on St. Bartholomew's day, in 1572, was one of the most barbarous and horrid of all human transactions. In the midst of the most polite city in Europe, the king, princes, nobility, and priests, turned monsters, assassins, and butchers; and murdered thirty thousand of their fellow men, on account of their religion. Their rage was attended

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with

* Mr. Burke,

with circumstances of inhuman cruelty and barbarity, far exceeding the fierce and bloody passions of the savages of America. — Our own countrymen ought not to forget, that *revenge* has also transported them into a conduct, equally inhuman and barbarous as that of the Indians. At the conclusion of the Indian war, in 1676, the government tried several of their captives, by the English laws; Some were condemned, and executed upon the gallows; and others were sent to consume their days, in the slavery of the Westindian islands: A punishment, to them more severe than death.

In the cruelty and barbarity of the Indian, man appears in a situation but little removed from the brutal ferocity of the beast of prey. But when avarice, bigotry, and revenge, produce the same infernal spirit among civilized nations, cruelty appears with a more diabolical aspect; not like the rage of wild beasts, but like the fury and vengeance of a combination of apostate spirits. — The progress of knowledge, humanity, and refinement, will afford the only effectual remedy for this evil.

Such were the regulations, customs, and manners of the Indians, the original men of America. They have been viewed by philosophers, in the most opposite and contrary lights. Some have supposed that the Indians were in the infancy of existence, that the whole continent of America was but lately raised out of the sea, and that her inhabitants were in a state of degradation, unworthy to be compared with the men of the more ancient and improved hemisphere.* On the contrary, others have contended that in the rudest and most simple state, man attains an independence, a dignity, and a nobleness of mind, which is never found, but is always lost, amidst the refinements of polished societies: That

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the highest dignity and nobleness of man, is derived solely from nature, and is always debased and corrupted by polish, refinement, and the arts.*—To view this subject in its proper light, it will be necessary to compare the savage with the civilized state, and to mark the various *Advantages*, and *Disadvantages* of it.

THE SAVAGE STATE FAVOURABLE TO THE HEALTH, ACTIVITY, AND VIGOUR OF THE BODY.—Among the *advantages* that were connected with the savage state, it may justly be esteemed one, and a matter of much importance, that it was favourable to the vigour, activity, and health of the body. It is by exertion and exercise, that the body acquires its most improved state of activity, firmness, vigour, and health. Accustomed to range the forests in quest of game, the Indian acquired an habit and activity in travelling, that exceeded that of any other people. In the expedition, swiftness, and perseverance of his course, he much exceeds the European.—No people bear hardship, suffering, and fatigue so well: The extremities of heat and cold, of hunger and thirst, of bad weather, and of bad accommodations, are perfectly familiar to the Indian: And he bears them with a much less effect upon his constitution, than the men who have been used to better accommodations.—Unaccustomed to the steady and regular employments of agriculture, his body does not acquire the strength that the Europeans have. And when the exertion, is an exertion of strength, and steady labour, the white man is found to be the strongest. Those only of the Indians, who have been educated and trained up to steady and hard work, are equal to the white men in bodily strength. In running the race, and in bearing hardship, the Indian exceeds; but in strength of body, and bearing hard and steady labour, he is generally unequal to the European.

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* Roussau.

In respect to health, the savage was generally equal to the civilized. Used to all the variations of the weather and climate, he suffered but little from such changes. The diseases to which the Indians were subject, were chiefly those which arose from exercise, hardships, and fatigues. Fevers, the asthma, and paralytic disorders, made the capital articles in the history of the Indian diseases. But that numerous and fearful train of maladies, which arise from luxury, sloth, intemperance, and want of exercise, were unnamed, and unknown among the Indian tribes.—In their villages there seemed to be a greater number of decayed and aged persons, than are generally to be found among an equal number of white people. But as they had not the art of numbers and computation, no exact accounts could be procured of their age. This article rests therefore rather upon appearance, and indication derived from decrepit and shrivelled bodies, than from any proper and authentic accounts of the years and longevity, to which they attain. All appearances however seem to indicate, that activity, vigour, health, and age, were to be found to great advantage in the savage state.

FAVOURABLE TO FIRMNESSE AND FORTITUDE OF MIND.—The situation and employment that promoted the vigour and health of the body, tended to produce independence, firmness, and fortitude in the mind. Inured to suffering, hardship, and danger, the mind of the savage was formed to an habitual firmness, and courage. His mind became composed and collected in critical and dangerous situations: And he suffered but little from apprehensions of fear.—The spirit of freedom and independence, was cultivated and confirmed by every circumstance attending his education, employment, and reputation. Neither corrected nor checked in his early years, retarded or stopped in any pursuit, he knew
of

of no controul or restraint. Master of his own passions, and never willing to moderate his passions, the spirit of freedom and independence took the entire possession of his soul. Moved by, and perpetually conscious of this independent spirit, he acted in circumstances of distress and danger, with amazing force and magnanimity of mind.—But that which the savage esteemed his greatest glory and highest dignity, was his fortitude and bravery. To bear hardship, to endure suffering, to be unmoved in the midst of torment, and to rise superior to any thing that could be laid upon him: this, was the highest honour, and the noblest attainment of the warrior. And in this, it is not to be denied, that the human mind attained in the savage state, a fortitude and a magnanimity that it does not attain, amidst the refinements, customs, and maxims of polished nations.

Amazed at the firmness and fortitude, which the savage displays in the most dreadful of all situations, several philosophers have aimed to discover some apathy, some natural defect, or want of sensibility in his frame, which qualified him to bear pain with less feeling, and with more fortitude, than other men. There is no such defect in his constitution. His magnanimity arises from a sense and principle of honour. This is the first principle he is taught; the sole object of his education, profession, and pursuit. Amidst the rudeness and hardihood of the savage state, this principle acts with more force and vigour upon the human mind, than it ever acquires amidst the refinements and softness of a more polished state of society. Refinement, and the arts, soften and relax the mind; philosophy debilitates the body, while it aims to correct all rudeness and excess, in the mind, and to give it a full habit and tone of thinking and acting: But in the rudeness of the savage state, every thing concurs to give an unaltered firmness to the body, and to the mind; the principle

ciple of honour has nothing to oppose or relax it. And it will be in the most hardy body and mind, that nature and honour will act with the greatest force and vigour. The principles of religion only, have ever produced a similar phenomenon. The heroic spirit of the martyr, undaunted and triumphant in the torture, and in the flame, has alone exceeded or equalled the fortitude and magnanimity of the man of nature.

FAVOURABLE TO POLITICAL TALENTS, AND VIRTUES. The savage state was also friendly to some of the political talents and virtues. *The love of his country*, derived from nature, cherished by education, ambition, precept, and example, became a very powerful principle in the breast of a savage. His affections were confined to the limits of his own tribe, and his views never extended any further. His glory terminated in the services he could render to it. And the greatest of all attainments was to expand the national fame, reputation, and conquests. To this he became attached by birth, education, and interest; by ambition, honour, and a thirst for glory. Every passion that glowed in the breast of the savage, served to increase and add strength to the love of his country. No motives of ambition, gain, revenge, or policy, ever lead him to betray its interests or councils, to desert to the enemy, or to prove a traitor to the country and tribe, that gave him birth. This principle connected together the members of the same tribe: It seems to have taken the deepest root, to have acted with the greatest force, and to have been the least corrupted, in the savage state.

When the interests of their country were to be considered, much *prudence* and *wisdom* were displayed in their councils. The chiefs and elders consulted with great deliberation, seriousness, and calmness; and without any appearance of provocation, resentment,

ment, or impatience at contradiction and opposition. Every proposal was considered; the probable effects and consequences, advantages and disadvantages, were examined and weighed. No heat, anger, ill nature, or reflections upon one another, but perfect calmness prevailed: And that conclusion was embraced, which appeared to be most beneficial to the tribe. Those of the Europeans who have attended these councils of the savages, have compared them to the accounts historians have given us, of the proceedings of the senators in the ancient republics. They bore the appearance of solemnity, gravity, and deliberation. In these councils, *integritas* and *publica virtus* was always preserved. The objects they had to determine, were not of a trivial or insignificant nature: They were those, which involve all that is the most dear, valuable, and important to man, in any stage of society. The preservation and protection of their property, the safety and the lives of their wives, children, and fathers, the existence, the independence, and the freedom of their country. The councils of civilized nations may be employed upon objects of a much greater extent, but they never can contemplate objects of more importance, of greater value, or of a higher nature. In attending to them the mind of the savage became composed, sedate, grave, and serious. He had no private interest to corrupt him, no broken fortune to be repaired, nothing to be expected from the misfortunes of his country, from lucrative jobs, posts of honour and profit, from the management of the public wealth, or from the weakness, prejudice, and favourite passions of a prince. No emoluments or advantages could accrue to him, but those of the public good. In such a situation, corruption would not enter into the councils of the savages. There was nothing to be gained by intrigue, dissimulation, or knavery.

* Charlevoix iii. 26. Smith's Hist. Newyork, p. 53. Phil. Edit.

knavery. All the advantages that could arise to individuals, and arise from the general good of the state. And where there was nothing to be gained by corruption, there was nothing left for their counsellors, but to display their greatest wisdom, integrity, and public spirit.

The nature of their government, and constitution was also favourable to *eloquence*, and the art of *public speaking*. This seems to have been the only art in which the Indians were to any purpose. Unable to remember an irregular unconnected discourse, the Indian was extremely fond of regularity and method. When he spoke, his speech was short and laconic, and the meaning was conveyed in bold and strong metaphors. When they return an answer, they repeat the whole that has been said to them, and reduce it into a brief and regular order. Their words are but few, the language strong, and figurative; the figures expressive, vigorous, and bold; their manner, grave and solemn; the tone, determined and decided; and the sentiment they mean to convey, to clearly expressed; that they are never misunderstood. An historian who was present at several of their conferences with the English, gives this account of the appearance and manners of their orators. Their speakers believe themselves with surprising force, and great propriety of gesture. The fierceness of their countenances, the flowing blanket, elevated tone, naked arm, and erect stature, with a half circle of auditors seated on the ground, and in the open air, cannot but impress upon the mind, a lively idea of the ancient orators of Greece and Rome. — Some of their speeches in magnificence of sentiment, in the force of expression, and in the elegance of the arrangement, have been fully equal to the productions of the Grecian, Roman, or British eloquence. And in no case

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The history of Vermont is a history of progress, of a people who have made a way for themselves in a rugged and difficult terrain. From the early days of exploration and settlement to the present, the state has been a land of freedom and opportunity. Its people have shown a remarkable capacity for innovation and hard work, and their achievements have been a source of pride and inspiration for all who live in this beautiful state.

The early settlers of Vermont were men of vision and courage, who sought a new home for themselves and their families. They found a land of vast natural resources, of fertile soil and abundant timber. They set to work with a determination and a spirit of enterprise that has never since been equalled in this state. They cleared the land, built the first settlements, and laid the foundations of a new and noble republic.

In the days of the American Revolution, Vermont was a land of heroes and of great deeds. Her people stood firm against the tyranny of Great Britain, and they fought bravely for the cause of liberty and independence. Their actions were a shining example to all who sought freedom and self-government. They were the first to proclaim the rights of man, and their principles have since become the guiding light of our nation.

The history of Vermont is a story of progress and of achievement. It is a story of a people who have made a way for themselves in a rugged and difficult terrain. They have shown a remarkable capacity for innovation and hard work, and their achievements have been a source of pride and inspiration for all who live in this beautiful state.

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I have been reading the account of Sir W. Johnson's account; Phil. Trans. Vol. LXII. page 149.

And this revolution became more clear, when the
 people were informed that the king had
 granted a charter of liberties, which was
 confirmed by the parliament, and that the
 king had sworn to observe it. This was
 the first time that the people were
 informed of their rights, and that the
 king was bound to observe them.

The immediate consequence of this
 charter was, that the king could no
 longer take away the liberties of the
 people, without their consent. This was
 the first time that the people were
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 was the first time that the people were
 informed of their rights, and that the
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But the most important consequence
 of this charter was, that the king
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 the first time that the king was
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nature;

has made much more rapid progress than it could have done in any other part of the world. The progress of agriculture, commerce, and manufactures, has been so rapid, that it is probable, in a few years, it will be equal to any other part of the world. The progress of the arts and sciences, has also been rapid, and it is probable, in a few years, it will be equal to any other part of the world. The progress of the moral sense, and the refinement of manners, has also been rapid, and it is probable, in a few years, it will be equal to any other part of the world. The progress of the human mind, and the refinement of the human mind, has also been rapid, and it is probable, in a few years, it will be equal to any other part of the world. The progress of the human mind, and the refinement of the human mind, has also been rapid, and it is probable, in a few years, it will be equal to any other part of the world.

the metals, particularly that of iron. From the
 metal obtained, shaft every instrument that is em-
 ployed in their agriculture. Cast-iron, brass, pew-
 silver, the silver of the silver, and all sorts of this
 metal, in every kind of art that they pursued. The
 Indian was in no capacity to arrive at such an im-
 provement. Copper, silver, and gold, were not
 found in their part of the world, mountains,
 and rivers, and were the metals, which were not
 known till then. But nature never intended the
 formation of man. It made him through two or
 three tedious operations by fire, before he appears
 in his perfect and useful form. With the former
 metals, the Indian in some parts of America, was
 well acquainted: But of the nature and uses of iron,
 all of them were wholly ignorant. Destitute of this
 capital advantage, all their tools and instruments, like
 his Europeans, would have been wholly useless.
 Their axe was made of a flint-stone. Their
 knife was formed out of a shell, or bone. Every
 other instrument was equally imperfect; and ill con-
 trived. The arms they had contrived for defence,
 or attack, were equally feeble and awkward. A club
 made of hard wood, a stick hardened in the fire, a
 lance armed with a flint or a bone, a bow and an ar-
 row, constituted the whole military of an Indian
 war. Of domestic utensils and household furniture,
 they had nothing that deserved the name. A bed-
 chair, a table, a pot, a kettle, or an oven, were whol-
 ly unknown. Their bread was baked on the coals.
 Their meat was broiled in the same manner. Their
 greatest art in cookery, was their method of boiling
 their food. A piece of wood, or a spire, with ex-
 treme labour, was formed into a hollow, and filled
 with water, and this water was made to boil, by
 throwing into it stones heated red hot.

The greatest performance of the Indian genius,
 was the construction of his canoe. With infinite
 labour,

THE HISTORY OF VERMONT
TO THE NATURAL AND CIVIL

and the use of boats, and the employment of iron till
labour they, however, followed the Arts, and
gave it a form adapted to the purposes of navigation,
and gave the Indians a form of the Indian which
was a very large boat, or a canoe, made of
single bark, and of another kind of canoe,
was formed out of the bark of the Birch, or Birch,
This was the weak part of the Indians, and was ex-
tremely difficult to carry, and was of uncertain
duration, to carry four or five Indians, and to
load the one of them could easily carry it on his
back. The dexterity of his management, the firm-
ness of his voyage, and the way in which the In-
dians pass the late rains, and waves in this kind of
canoe appeared surprising to those persons, who
were well acquainted with the arts of navigation.
As it seems to have been the nearest attainment to
the genius or invention of the Indian, had ever

in the application and use of particular vegeta-
ble, animal, and mineral substances, the Indians seem
to have had some information, which ought to have
been more attended to, and better ascertained. They
certainly knew of some poisons, which gave the
most vivid and permanent colours, and of others
which contained the most subtle, active, and power-
ful poisons. In several cases of poisons, wounds,
and some other disorders, the Indians had the knowl-
edge of very valuable medicines. And they derived
support, refreshment, and medicine, from several
plants and vegetables, in which the English had not
discovered any such virtues or powers. The knowl-
edge of such facts, was the result of such observa-
tions, as experience naturally produced. But as the
Indian never attempted to improve any information
which he had, and knew of no method to preserve it
but tradition, he made small advances in this kind of
knowledge, and it was rather a matter of secrecy,
than of investigation. Nor was there any thing in
his

his situation, or employment, adopted, yet call forth
the latent powers of the mind, and to produce the
fruit of industry and improvement. It is observed
that the most advanced nations of the world, and
the most civilized nations of Virginia, have been
found to be the most industrious of that particular
continent. It is not unusual to find that the
people of the United States, who are engaged in
agriculture, are more industrious than any other
people in the world. The number of families in
England, at the close of the last century, was
of the United States, where
ed, a farm of one hundred acres, and of
family of ten persons. This amount to
persons, on one square mile. The Indian population
then, compared to what has since taken place in
those parts of the United States, which have been
ded and cultivated, was in no higher a proportion
than one to ten. A difference of this kind is
in the production of the same kind of soil, or
fect in the savage. The population of the
United States, from a variety of circumstances,
has increased so rapidly, that it is now found to
be in a great measure equal to the population of
any other part of the world. In the state and
situation of the Indians, there were fewer
circumstances favorable to population, than in
any other part of the world. The
constitution, form, and shape of his body, were
was bounded to the Indian. In the dimensions and
size of his body, in the proportion and position of
all his limbs, in strength, and power, he rather exceeded
than fell short of the Europeans. All that have
been acquainted with the savages, have been struck
with this circumstance. In no race of men, but
the human body appeared to be better formed, more
easily adapted, or to be more perfectly proportioned
to all its motions and parts. No deficiency, however,

Jefferson's Notes on Virginia, p. 100.

The results of the investigations of the human race are of course
 far more extensive than those of any other science. It is not
 possible to give a full account of the progress of this science
 in any one volume. The most complete and accurate account
 of the progress of this science is given in the *Journal of the
 American Anthropological Association*. The progress of this
 science is the result of the combined efforts of the American
 anthropologists and the European anthropologists. The American
 anthropologists have been particularly successful in their
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which have been mentioned, are sufficient to account for all that has been observed, in the progress of the human population, in that climate. The number of the first inhabitants was small, and the progress of civilization was slow and gradual. However, the Indians have been placed in a situation favourable to increase, they have become gradually prolific as the descendants of Europe. Several of the traders among the Indians have married with their women: When the Indian women have been thus provided with comfortable food, raiment, and places of abode, and relieved from the fatigues and distresses of the savage state they have raised up a large and numerous families, as are found in the houses of the white people. And among themselves, when a tribe was discovered on the bank of a river abounding with fish, they remained undisturbed by their enemies; their numbers increased, their women became more valued and esteemed, and population assumed a greater rate. In some parts of America, the Indians had advanced beyond the savage state, and acquired some of the arts and conveniences of the civil state. In these places, the same increase of numbers took place among them, that is seen among other nations. The intercourse between the sexes approached nearer to civility and refinement. Greater attention was paid to the women. The men became sensible, how much their virtues might be improved, by the civility and tenderness of the female. In the empire of Peru and Mexico, the Indians had made considerable advances to such a state. And their population had become vigorous and rapid. Their numbers resembled the appearance of things in Europe; and their cities abounded with inhabitants, sixty thousand families, were said by Cortez to be contained

contained

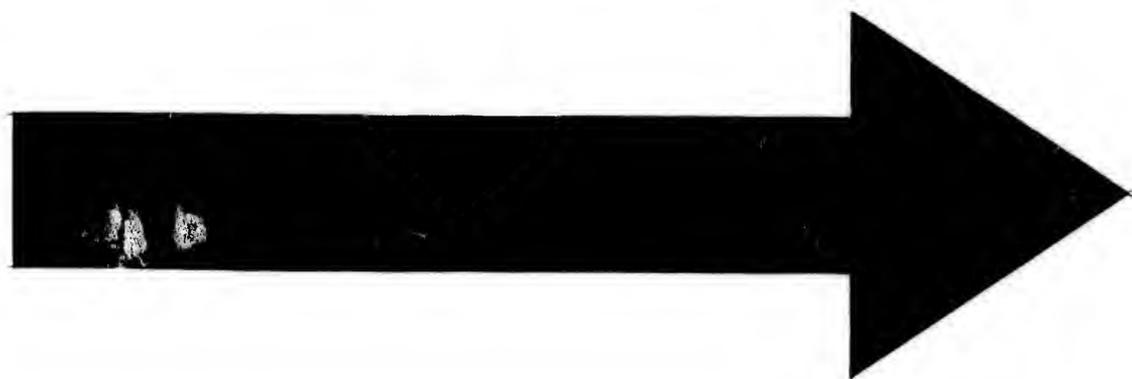
...which have been mentioned... the Indian population was not derived from any of the... box arose from a fountain, in which every... France, etc. but finally to... the... all... to...

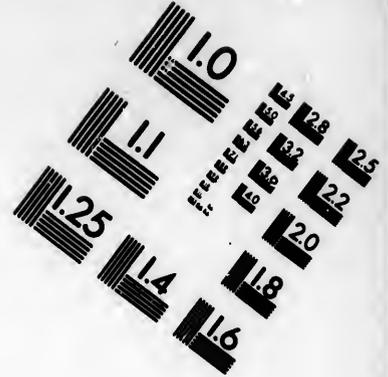
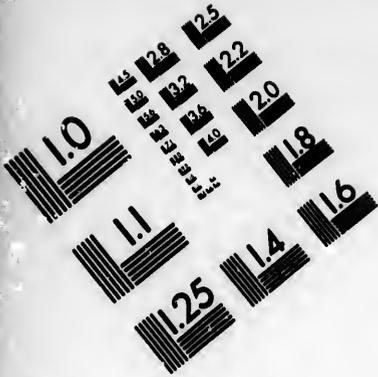
From the... and... of the... some philosophers of great eminence and abilities, have formed the most extravagant... One has asserted that the Indian of America, has an inferior constitution to the European; that he is weak, and deficient in the organs of generation; without ardour and impotent with the female; and deficient of natural affections to his wife and children. It is said that he is not descended from the same men... but is a distinct original, and species. And it seems to be generally... and believed, by the... have given... accounts, that the man of America was of less force, energy, and vigour, than the man of Europe, and labour'd under some physical defects or degradation.

The clearest proof, and the most unexceptionable evidence, ought to have been produced, before a philosopher admitted as facts, things so repugnant to the general principles and laws of nature: if had this been attempted, it would have corrected the error; for the facts are all in opposition to what has been so often asserted, and quoted. No such animal was ever seen in America, as the Indian... de Buffon described in Paris. If the facts had been...

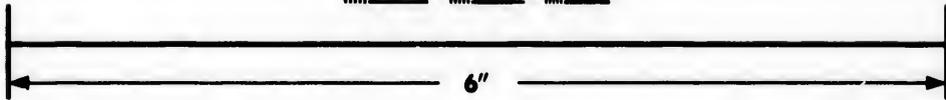
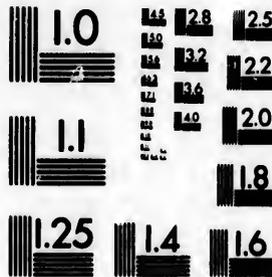
M. de Buffon, xviii. 246.

Kalm's Sketches Hist. of Man, Vol. I. Sketch 1. Vol. III. Sketch 12.





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the arts, that the polished manners, fine hair, and energetic and energetic of the children of the white people, when carried

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1886

THE HISTORY OF VERMONT
IN ITS NATURAL AND CIVIL STATE

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Printed by [illegible] in the City of New York
1850

CHAP.

HISTORY OF VERMONT.

DIVISION OF VERMONT.

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In the year 1777, the first settlement was made in the town of Ferrisburgh, by a party of men from New York, who had been driven from their homes by the Indians. They were followed by others from New England, and in 1779 the town was incorporated. In 1792, the town of Ferrisburgh was divided into two towns, Ferrisburgh and Ferrisburgh, and in 1800 the town of Ferrisburgh was divided into three towns, Ferrisburgh, Ferrisburgh, and Ferrisburgh. In 1805, the town of Ferrisburgh was divided into four towns, Ferrisburgh, Ferrisburgh, Ferrisburgh, and Ferrisburgh. In 1810, the town of Ferrisburgh was divided into five towns, Ferrisburgh, Ferrisburgh, Ferrisburgh, Ferrisburgh, and Ferrisburgh. In 1815, the town of Ferrisburgh was divided into six towns, Ferrisburgh, Ferrisburgh, Ferrisburgh, Ferrisburgh, Ferrisburgh, and Ferrisburgh. In 1820, the town of Ferrisburgh was divided into seven towns, Ferrisburgh, Ferrisburgh, Ferrisburgh, Ferrisburgh, Ferrisburgh, Ferrisburgh, and Ferrisburgh. In 1825, the town of Ferrisburgh was divided into eight towns, Ferrisburgh, Ferrisburgh, Ferrisburgh, Ferrisburgh, Ferrisburgh, Ferrisburgh, Ferrisburgh, and Ferrisburgh. In 1830, the town of Ferrisburgh was divided into nine towns, Ferrisburgh, Ferrisburgh, Ferrisburgh, Ferrisburgh, Ferrisburgh, Ferrisburgh, Ferrisburgh, Ferrisburgh, and Ferrisburgh. In 1835, the town of Ferrisburgh was divided into ten towns, Ferrisburgh, Ferrisburgh, Ferrisburgh, Ferrisburgh, Ferrisburgh, Ferrisburgh, Ferrisburgh, Ferrisburgh, Ferrisburgh, and Ferrisburgh. In 1840, the town of Ferrisburgh was divided into eleven towns, Ferrisburgh, and Ferrisburgh. In 1845, the town of Ferrisburgh was divided into twelve towns, Ferrisburgh, and Ferrisburgh. In 1850, the town of Ferrisburgh was divided into thirteen towns, Ferrisburgh, and Ferrisburgh. In 1855, the town of Ferrisburgh was divided into fourteen towns, Ferrisburgh, and Ferrisburgh. In 1860, the town of Ferrisburgh was divided into fifteen towns, Ferrisburgh, and Ferrisburgh. In 1865, the town of Ferrisburgh was divided into sixteen towns, Ferrisburgh, and Ferrisburgh. In 1870, the town of Ferrisburgh was divided into seventeen towns, Ferrisburgh, and Ferrisburgh. In 1875, the town of Ferrisburgh was divided into eighteen towns, Ferrisburgh, and Ferrisburgh. In 1880, the town of Ferrisburgh was divided into nineteen towns, Ferrisburgh, and Ferrisburgh. In 1885, the town of Ferrisburgh was divided into twenty towns, Ferrisburgh, and Ferrisburgh. In 1890, the town of Ferrisburgh was divided into twenty-one towns, Ferrisburgh, and Ferrisburgh. In 1895, the town of Ferrisburgh was divided into twenty-two towns, Ferrisburgh, and Ferrisburgh. In 1900, the town of Ferrisburgh was divided into twenty-three towns, Ferrisburgh, and Ferrisburgh.

of character was looked upon as the same. And these men, every where appeared to be the same race, of kind of people. — In every part of the continent,

sistent, the Indians were marked with a distinctive
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* Robertson's History of the American Yacht Club, p. 108.
 † Ulloa, Notic. Americanus, p. 308.

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... des Indes ...
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2. In the empire of Peru, there were several ap-
 pearances of Spanish customs and manners, and
 appearance, the arts, and the reputation, knowledge
 of Mantu Capac and Mama Oollo; the knowledge
 of

And the discovery of the passage between the two
 continents was made by the English in the year 1771, by
 Captain James Cook, in his second voyage. The
 discovery of the passage was made by the English
 - but from the fact, that the English had discovered
 it, it is evident that the passage was discovered
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ed not only by a familiarity of manners and customs, but by the similitude of language, and a collection of similar words, made from all the widely dispersed islands and countries visited by this celebrated navigator.

A people who had thus spread over one half of the globe, from the coast of Africa towards America, and who had settled all the islands that lay between them, could scarcely have avoided arriving upon the western coast of America, and leaving some of her people there. Several of the islands that were settled, were near the American coast; and it must have been much easier to have discovered the continent, along the western coast of America, than to have found so many small and scattered islands. It is therefore highly probable, that the same people who spread over the islands in the Pacific ocean, should at times arrive also on the western shores of the continent.—In both these ways, might people from different nations in Asia, find a passage into America, and at very different periods of time.

The Indians however, were not the only men which appeared in America. Another race or kind of men were settled in the northern parts of the continent. These have been called *Eskimox*. In their colour, dimensions, features, and customs, they differed much from the red men. They were of a yellow, or brownish complexion: Their size about four feet in height; their faces long and wrinkled; their noses thick and compressed; their eyes small and sunk; their cheeks much raised; their eyebrows and eyelids thick; with small legs and hands. This nation had spread over the most northern parts of America. They are found in Greenland, on the coast of Labradore, in Hudson's bay, and in all the coasts and islands on the west side of America, opposite to Kamtschacka. Their migrations had extended to Norton's sound, Onolaska, and Prince William's

William's bound; one thousand five hundred leagues from their nations in Greenland and Labrador. The sameness of the people in these different places, has been ascertained by their manners, customs, features, and complexion; but more decidedly by such an affinity and similarity of language, as leaves no room for doubt. It will be easy to determine from whence this nation of the *Esquimaux* proceeded. Every thing in the appearance of this people, denotes them to be the same with the Laplanders, the Zemblans, the Samojeeds, and the Tartars in the east. Like them they are a nation of dwarfs; largest towards the south, but decreasing and dwindling towards the north. They have all the same sallow complexion, deformed features, ugly appearance, and singular customs.—Whether the inhabitants, could pass from the northern parts of Europe into America by land, is as yet unknown. But the passage by water, was at all times easy; and certainly, at a very early period. In the voyage from Norway to Iceland, and from Iceland to Greenland, or the coast of Labrador, the first part of the voyage was much the largest: And this was practised from the earliest times, of which we have any account. For the ninth century, when navigation was extremely imperfect, the passage from Europe to America was so well understood, that the Norwegians planted and settled their colonies in Greenland. There is but little room then to doubt, but that the nation of the *Esquimaux* was derived from the same people in the north-west parts of Europe.—Their descent therefore must have been from the Tartars of Asia, for it was from them, that the Laplanders, who are spread over the north-western parts of Europe, were derived. In the year 1769, Pere Hall, an astronomer of Hungary, was sent into Lapland to observe the transit of Venus. This able philosopher had a good opportunity to become acquainted with the manners, customs, features, and language
of

of the inhabitants in that part of the globe: By his account, "it appears that the Laplanders are only degenerate Tartars; and that they, and the Hungarians, originally sprung from the same breed of men, and from the same country."¹⁸

The two kinds of men then that were in America, were derived from the same source. The Indians and the Esquimaux, were both descended from the man of Asia; and probably the most of them, from the same nation, the Tartars.—In America then nature had not made different races of men, fitted for, and originally placed in different climates. The men of America were the same with the men of Asia: And both of them migrated from one place to another, and spread through all the various climates of the earth. They were distinguished by the differences of complexion, dimension, features, arbitrary customs, and peculiarities of manners, as much as the inhabitants are in other parts of the globe. But these differences must have been derived from climate, food, manner of living, or some other circumstance; for they certainly were not derived from a different origin, or any particular local creation.

The constitution of man appears to be the same, in every part of the globe. Nature has given to him the same physical and moral powers, capable of different degrees of improvement, according to the state of society in which he shall be placed. But in no country, or part of the globe, does man appear to be an animal of climate. Among animals nothing is more apparent, than that some are animals of climate; that is, they are fitted by nature and constitution to some particular part of the globe, where alone they can subsist, multiply, and obtain their proper perfection. Thus the animals peculiar to the torrid and frigid zone, never have their particular climates out of choice; and when a change

¹⁸ Kaims' Sketches of the Hist. of Man, I. p. 11,

of climate is forced upon them, they degenerate, and walk away. It is evident, that man is not such an animal. He can multiply, and attain his proper perfection, in all the various climates of the earth. Nature has not furnished him with any kind of covering, fitted to a hot, to a temperate, or to a cold climate: This is left to his own reason and industry, according as his situation may require. Nor has nature assigned to him any particular, invariable colour. Black is the absence or want, and white is the mixture of all colours: And these are the extremes between which, all the various complexions fall. Nature therefore has not assigned to man any covering, or any invariable colour, or any thing in his constitution, that has fitted him particularly for the torrid, temperate, or frigid zone: But has given him a nature and constitution, adapted to every climate. And in every climate which produces his proper food, the white, the red, and the black men, will subsist, multiply, and attain their proper perfection.—If nature has thus made man the animal of all climates, would it not be altogether unphilosophical, to look out for local creations; or to introduce miraculous interpositions of the Deity, to explain those differences among men in other places, which in America, we are certain were derived from natural causes?

ANTIQUITY.—In attempting to estimate the antiquity of the most polished nations, we can derive but little information from history. No records, no monuments, no writings can be found, that reach back to so ancient a period. Least of all is this to be expected from a race of savages, which had not the knowledge of letters. All the information we can obtain, must be derived from such circumstances and events, as imply or denote certain periods of years; and of these there are but few, in the transactions of the savage state.

Some

Some information may be collected from the extent of the country they had settled. The continent of America, in its dimensions, amounts to one third part of the habitable globe. Over the whole of this continent had the savages extended, when it was first discovered by Columbus, in the year 1492. Their population had then attained its greatest perfection. No increase of their numbers has any where appeared to take place, since that time. No circumstance or event has taken place during the three hundred years, that the Europeans have been acquainted with the Indians, which can lead us to suspect that the savage state either has, or can admit of a greater population, than what it had already attained. Nor is it probable, that any increase of numbers, and population, could have taken place, while hunting continued to be the method of procuring subsistence.—From the observations that were made in Virginia, and Massachusetts, it has been computed that the population of the Indians upon the sea coasts, could not be estimated higher than one for every square mile. In the inland parts of the country, the Indian population certainly did not exceed this. Geographers have computed the number of square miles in America, to amount to fourteen millions, one hundred and ten thousand, eight hundred and seventy four. We cannot make a nearer computation, than to suppose this was about the number of Indians it required in the hunter's state, to spread over the whole continent.—How long a period would it require, for the savages to increase to such a number? There has been no instance of a more rapid increase, than that of the British colonies in America. They were aided by new emigrations from Europe: But so much were they retarded and broke up in their settlements by war, before the American revolution, that they did not in fact double their numbers in thirty years. The families of the Indians

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dians did not contain more than half so many members, as those of the white people. The Indian population then will be highly estimated, if we compute it to one half of that of the white inhabitants, and instead of thirty, admit sixty years as the period of doubling. Assuming the population to have proceeded from one male and female, this would require thirteen centuries and an half to have spread over the whole continent, and produced one inhabitant to every square mile.—The period of population could not have been less than this. But probably this period was completed long before Columbus came into America. The Indians in several places, had gone out of the hunter's state. On the sea coast they were advancing into something like monarchy. In Mexico and Peru they were become extremely numerous, and had established extensive and powerful empires; the duration of which, could be traced back four or five hundred years. From their extent and population then, we deduce with some degree of probability, that the Indians must have been settled in America eighteen centuries when Columbus first discovered the continent. This will carry us back three centuries before the christian era.

The number and variety of their *languages* implies and requires a much longer duration, and an higher antiquity. The Indians of America had not only spread over the continent, but they had every where formed themselves into a number of small tribes. If we may judge of the number of these tribes from what took place in Newengland, and Virginia, they must have amounted to thousands. Several of these tribes had subsisted so long in a national form, and as a distinct people, that they had formed a particular language for themselves. There were three original languages spoken in Canada; the Sioux, the Huron, and the Algonquin.* In Newengland, there

were

* Abbe Raynal, V. 109.

were one or two others. In these, different from either of them, were discovered. In each of these, the number of the people was nearly as many as their tribes made but a small part of the common period of time does not require may be separated into different dialects. But for these dialects to recede one another, as to lose all resemblance and affinity, and several new languages to be formed, radically differing from one another, could not take place, or be effected, until the tribes had subsisted for many centuries, as distinct and separate nations. We cannot estimate this process by fixed periods of time, because we have no facts from which a computation can be made. But it may be compared to the decay and progress of things, in the other hemisphere. And we find the number of languages, radically differing from one another, more numerous among the Americans, than they were in Asia and Europe. Is not this an indication, that the red men of America are as ancient as the heber nations of the earth in existing and science they had none. But their situation and necessity would operate as vertebly, and as regularly upon them, as upon any other people. And would it not require as long a period of time as produce, and to form a language among the savages, as among any other people. This circumstance seems to denote an antiquity, fully equal to that, which is claimed by many of the nations of the other hemisphere.

Their antiquity may also be traced back to the time, when the most useful arts were unknown; and

Hutchinson, l. 457, 479. Jefferson's Notes on Virginia, p. 99. Clavigero's Hist. of Mexico.

when metal must for necessity procure are h much are of are be with t origin loom, our t But w be lost to whi arts m human all me equally five, to same q use of perien afford, never to app the co the In not the domest edge in themse sealed in Asia and be known therefo

when the rest of Asia had not the use of the metals, or of domestic animals. Some of the arts must have been nearly coeval with the human race; for neither food, clothing, or habitation, could be procured without some of them. Some of the arts have been gradually advancing, without owing much to any original inventor. And many of them are of such antiquity, that their origin and inventor are beyond the reach of history. This is the case with the most necessary and useful arts of life. The origin of spinning, and knitting, of the plough, the loom, and the forge, were more ancient than any of our historical monuments, records, or traditions. But when those arts were invented, they never could be lost. Amidst the wars, changes, and revolutions, to which nations are exposed, what is called the fine arts may perish and be lost. But no vicissitudes of human affairs tend to destroy these arts, by which all men derive their subsistence; and which are equally necessary to the conqueror and to the captive, to the oppressor and to the oppressed. The same observation may be made with respect to the use of domestic animals. A people that have experienced the advantages derived from the food they afford, and from the labour they perform, would never lose this kind of knowledge; but endeavour to apply it to such kind of animals, as they found in the country to which they repaired.—Of all these, the Indians of America were ignorant. They knew not the use of the metals, spinning, weaving, or the domestic animals. They had derived no such knowledge from their ancestors, nor had they acquired it themselves. At what period then, must they have settled in America? Before these arts were known in Asia. Before the Scythians became husbandmen, and before the most necessary and useful arts were known in the midst of Asia.—Without attempting therefore to go back to the beginning of the creation

of God, we can find circumstances that will carry us as far back into antiquity, as any other nation can pretend. The history and pretensions of the Chinese, do not only, as far as any circumstances of greater antiquity, than those which have been mentioned. And it will be from circumstances hard fitted, not from tradition, that we must trace the antiquity and origin of modern nations.

PROGRESS OF SOCIETY.—The progress of Society among the Indians, would make a curious, and the most useful part of their history. The rude, and most fertile Soil that took place among them, was that which I have been describing. Whence ever the Savage continued to derive their support from hunting, they continued from age to age in the same condition, and without improvement. Where the means of subsistence were plentiful, and easy to be procured, the Indians had advanced beyond the state of a hunter, and began to increase their numbers, and their agriculture. In such places, flocks of Indians to cultivate a different form, from what is born in their rude, and most simple state, an insensible tendency of it was easy, where it commenced, and in the Southern parts of Mexico, and South Virginia, in the of the tribes were advancing fast to the form of hereditary monarchy. In the latter of these it was already established. This was the case in Florida, among the Natchez on the Mississippi, in Cuba, Hispaniola, and all the large Islands. In Bagana, Mexico, and Peru, monarchy had acquired its perfect form, its full powers, and a complete establishment. In each of these places, the progress of government had been from perfect freedom and independence, thro' almost absolute and unlimited monarchy. In the course of this progress, two remarkable circumstances appeared. In one part of America, an empire and a monarchy was established, in another, a republic resembling those which had arisen in the other Hemisphere.

phere: In another part of America, an empire and
 a monarchy was produced, far superior to those
 which were produced in the other parts of the globe.
 In the empire of Mexico, almost every thing had
 taken the Asiatic, and European course. The great
 body of the people were reduced to a degraded and
 humiliating state; and held their lives, and per-
 formed their labours, under various names and de-
 grees of degradation and abasement. A body of
 nobility were possessed of ample territories, of great
 privileges, powers, and honours, under different
 names and degrees. Above, and over all, was the
 monarch, enjoying supreme power and dignity. Af-
 ter being elective during the reign of eleven of their
 sovereigns, the monarchy was become almost abso-
 lute and hereditary, in Montezuma. The system of
 religion agreed perfectly well to the nature of the
 government: It was severe, cruel, and barbarous;
 and delighted in the spouting and shedding of
 blood. Human sacrifices of all sorts were esteemed
 the most acceptable, and availing; and the priests
 had the privilege, the honour, and the profit, of an-
 nouncing or removing the vengeance of the gods.
 This system of monarchy had acquired a stability, a
 regularity, and a vigour, equal to any monarchy that
 was then upon the earth. Upon comparing the
 spirit of monarchy, untempered by representation,
 in America, in Asia, and in Europe, the spirit and
 the principles of it, will be found every where to
 have operated alike. It degrades the body of the
 people below the condition and nature of man. It
 exalts the nobles and the sovereign above the condi-
 tion and state, which nature designs or admits. In
 one form or another it has always been attended with
 a persecuting, cruel, and bloody religion, put into
 the hands of a wealthy, and powerful priesthood.
 It has constantly produced the spirit of war and de-
 struction, and generally derived to itself security,
 wealth,

with a power from the sun, darkness, and
 cold, and I have told you the manner how the
 people of Peru were a division of the nation
 into two kingdoms, of account, which were their
 titles, and were produced the constant steady
 and constant of their government, in every part
 of the globe, has been the distinguishing and certain
 effect of this form of government. The spirit and
 principle have ever we have been the same, not the
 manner, which the great Montezquios wished to ill
 effect to, and wanted to find in it, but that total
 want of regard and accountability to man, which,
 with great majesty and propriety, has been lately
 shewn in *the people*, by the manner in which
 the empire of Peru was formed and governed
 by a species of monarchy, different from what has
 ever been seen among any other people. It was a
 hereditary monarchy, for a period of more than five
 hundred years, and was invested with hereditary
 and absolute power. They claimed this authority
 not as derived to them in any manner or degree from
 the people, but as the absolute and exclusive dona-
 tion of heaven. They subjoined themselves to be
 the children of the sun, and clothed with divined
 unlimited power, to direct all the civil and religious
 affairs of the people. The sovereign was named
 Inca, and his sacred and pure were the family of the
 Incas, by the choice of the people, that they were
 universally esteemed incapable of committing a crime,
 or falling into an error. No other family might
 marry or mingle with it, for fear of polluting the
 heavenly blood. The people looked up to them
 as to beings of a superior and heavenly race. And
 all disobedience to them, was viewed not barely as
 a crime committed against men, but as an act of con-
 tempt against God. The nobility of course was
 nothing more than families of office. Though a dis-
 ference of rank had taken place throughout the em-
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pure, all like the children of the sun, were thought
 to belong to the same nation. They were
 were well clothed, and fed, clean, and
 ed for their industry, economy, and
 mind, and happiness. I know this people
 though absolute despots, established a
 the most mild and gentle, that has ever
 in any part of the earth. The morals of the
 were so pure, that fetters and
 The genius of the government was
 punishments were ever exacted, and
 were they were viewed as the necessary
 addition of sinners. Their government
 of prosperity and virtue, was offered by
 the dominion of God and his laws. Their
 of religion like their government, was
 and pacific. The chief business of the
 fertility, beneficence, joy, and life, was
 of their education. They offered
 those productions, which they derived from
 cultivating the earth, enriched by the
 They presented to him specimens of
 ingenuity, which they had performed
 by his light. And they brought to him
 some of those animals, which were
 enriched by his influence; but they
 never seized their altars with human
 blood, or admitted the savage idea,
 that the fumes of beneficence could
 be pleased with the pollution of
 cruelty, and destruction of man. Their
 children partook of the same spirit of
 mildness, and wisdom. They sought
 not to exterminate, but to conquer.
 They conquered not to enslave, but
 to improve, and civilize, and refine.
 No cruel wars, or cruel captives,
 and No barbarous markets of blood,
 of grace, of triumph, or slavery, were
 known among the prisoners. They
 were taught the same laws of
 government and religion, as the rest
 of the people. They were admitted
 to the same privileges, and
 treated

found, with all its beauty and richness. Of all the monarchs of the East, the noblest and the greatest, he distributed the manifold blessings of peace and happiness to the people whom he had subdued. He was the genius, the spirit, and the effect, of the system of monarchy that was established in Persia. It would not be false to pronounce it superior to any that was then to be found upon the face of the earth. The genius and the spirit of it, were above all others, mild and gentle: The object and the end of it, were in fact, the improvement and the happiness of the people. And if any government ever produced this effect, that government was the monarchy of Persia: Not the attainment of the most polished nations of Asia and Europe, of their arts, sciences, and improvements; but of the greater wisdom and civility of the Indians, and incas of America.

We have here a phenomenon, new, and almost incredible in the political world: Absolutism, unlimited, and hereditary monarchy, which has never failed before or since, to prove one of the best and wisest, which has fallen upon mankind; in Persia gentle, mild, and beneficent: And was conducted by employes during the reign of twelve successive monarchs, to refine, civilize, and improve the people; and to do the greatest good to mankind. This system was not founded in truth, or in reason, but in delusion and superstition. What could give us a disposition to steady, uniform, and beneficent? Not the form, but the principle of it. It contained the best and the purest principle, that ever entered the mind of human government. Its origin, duration, and power, depended wholly upon the genius and spirit of it. The incas claimed immediate descent, and relation to the sun. The sun was the emblem of peace, and benevolence. Had the monarch changed his character by enormity in crimes and vices,

view, or by a constant abuse of power, nature would
 have taught the Pequians that masters in education,
 science, and strategy, could not learn from
 youth children of the Desert. If the Indians
 viewed in this light, all his civility, and his
 would have ended. His power was founded
 on the opinion the people had of his
 divine descent, qualifications, character, and virtues.
 So Columbus had the same reason, to persuade the
 opinion, that through the whole period of christian
 missions, they had taken the most favorable
 to consider or oppose it, by any just and
 conduct. As while his reign lasted, the
 friends and benefactors of the people, the public
 term and veneration was paid. In the
 and usefulness of the fact, the people
 saw the children of the Sun. And in
 and opinions of the people, the first
 felt, and political, and moral, but
 had plainly, and in the heart of every
 child of the Sun, the seeds of
 and abominable inquiry, his dominion
 and that empire should have consulted
 opinion, but a monstrous and
 Instead then of being founded in
 the people like the empire of Mexico, the
 of Peru had the singular good fortune
 founded in the public sentiment. This
 the Inca accountable to the people for every part
 his conduct. And the sense of constant
 kept a constant sense of duty, and therefore
 mind. This under the form of absolute
 monarchy, the government of Peru, the
 man advantage of excluding all
 without distinctions and claims, and
 the best and purest principles, upon which
 government can ever be founded. The
 seem to have been the only people, among whom
 regard

THE NATURAL AND STABLE

ward to the great continent and islands, which the
European nations have discovered, have been
the theatre of the most cruel and oppressive
treatment, and the most extensive and destructive
warfare. The Indians of America, it is now every
where tending to decay and dissolution; and this
has been its tendency, ever since the first arrival of
the Europeans. In the destruction of the Empires
of Mexico, and Peru, Cortes and Pizarro performed
the most barbarous transactions that ever were done
by man. And wherever the Europeans have been,
war, calamity, and destruction, have been
entailed on that unhappy race of men. The vices
we have taught them, the diseases we have spread
among them, the incompetence they have learnt of
us, and the destruction of their name, are evils for
which the Legislature wants to find a remedy. A
contempt of our morals, a horror at the cruelty
that has attended our commerce with them, and the
political advances we have made into their country,
have filled their minds with prejudices against our
arts and improvements. This, added to the fre-
quency and bitterness of their wars, to their constant
diseases and sufferings, and to a defective popula-
tion, has too plainly denoted the event. The con-
stant wars and decay of this people, must end in
their total destruction: According to the present
course and tendency of things, in two or three cen-
turies, the whole race must become extinct.—In-
stead of wishing for such an event, it would add to
the glory of the United States to make a serious at-
tempt to reform them. It has been the practice of ar-
bitrary governments to sport with the liberties, and
lives of a people, in contempt of the government of reason and nature,
and to attempt to conciliate the affections of a
free, brave, independent, and generous people. It
would be a greater glory than we have ever yet
attained,

THE NATURAL AND CIVIL

... the general part of the land, containing more than one hundred thousand acres. But it was not until the year 1774, that the *First Settlement of Vermont by the English. Grants from New Hampshire. Proceedings of New York. Violent Opposition of the Settlers. American War. Declaration of the Freedom and Independence of the State.*

THE large and valuable tract of country, which is now known by the name of Vermont, was situated, between the New England provinces, New York, and Canada. Its distance from the English settlements along the sea coast, and from the French on the river St. Lawrence, prevented any settlements being made in it, at an early period, by either nation. But both of them were making continual advances towards it. So early as the year 1614, the Dutch had advanced one hundred and sixty miles up Hudson's river, and built a fort at Albany. In 1640, the French had extended far up the river St. Lawrence, and began their settlements at Montreal. In 1633, the English began the town of Springfield, upon Connecticut river; and by 1670, had extended as far up the river, as Deerfield. On September 20, 1696, Colonel Fletcher, governor of New York, made a grant to Godfrey Darius, a clergyman at Albany, of a tract of land on the east side of Hudson's river. This tract extended from the northernmost bounds of Saratoga, to the rock Reservoir, (now called Split Rock, in the township of Willborough), about seventy miles in length, and in

with this year according to the part thereof that were built for, after is no any On an advantage their the circumstances exposed. In the three, their 5:17 the a sets Merrick side ending a street line. v. mitte and. N. tablis hamp

width, twelve miles from Hudson's river. In 1699, this grant was declared by the government of New-York to have been extravagant, and vacated on that account. — In 1716 a tract of land was granted by the general court of Massachusetts, in the southeast part of the state, containing more than one hundred thousand acres. But it was not until the year 1724, that any settlement was made, within the bounds of Vermont. The government of Massachusetts, then built fort Dummer, upon Connecticut river. This fort, was then admitted to be within Massachusetts, afterwards it was found to be in Newhampshire, and is now in Vermont. This was the first settlement, any civilized nation had ever made, in this state. On the other side of the state, the French made their advances up Lake Champlain, and in 1731, built their fort at Crown Point, and began a settlement on the east side of the lake. This part of America became of course, the seat of war, and was constantly exposed to the depredations of both nations, and their Indian allies.

The provinces of Massachusetts and Newhampshire, had a long and sedious controversy, respecting their divisional line. This was not settled until March 5, 1749, when George the second, determined, "that the northern boundary of the province of Massachusetts be, a similar curve line, pursuing the course of Merrimack river, at three miles distance, on the north side thereof, beginning at the Atlantic ocean, and ending at a point due north of Patucket falls; and a straight line drawn from thence, due west, until it meets with his Majesty's other governments." This line was run in 1749, and has ever since been admitted as the boundary line, between Massachusetts and Newhampshire. By this decision, and the establishment of this line, the government of Newhampshire concluded, that their jurisdiction extend-

of a far west, as Massachusetts had claimed and was
 titled; that is, within ninety miles of the four
 river. The King of Great Britain, had repeatedly rep-
 resented to the assembly of New Hampshire, to
 make provision for the support of Fort DuRoi, on
 a fortress, which had now fallen within their juris-
 diction, and was known to stand on the west side of
 Connecticut river. From these circumstances, it
 was not doubted either in Britain, or in America,
 but that the jurisdiction of New Hampshire extended
 to the west of Connecticut river; but how far to the
 west, had never been examined, or called into ques-
 tion. *Dr. W. Wentworth* was at that time gover-
 nor of New Hampshire. In 1749, he made a grant
 of a township, six miles square. It was situated
 twenty miles east of Hudson's river, and five miles
 north of Massachusetts line. In relation to his own
 name, he gave to this township, the name of Ben-
 sington. For the space of four, or five years, he
 made several other grants, on the west side of Con-
 necticut river. In 1755, hostilities commenced be-
 tween the English, and the French in America, which
 put a stop to the application and grants, and issued
 a war between the two crowns. In 1760, the op-
 erations of the war, in this part of America, were
 continued, by the surrender of Montreal, and the
 entire conquest of Canada. — During the progress of
 the war, the New England troops cut a road from
 Charlestown in New Hampshire to Crown Point, and
 were frequently passing through these lands; and
 their fertility and value, became generally known.
 Upon the cessation of hostilities, they were eagerly
 sought after, by adventurers and speculators. By
 the advice of his council, the governor of New
 Hampshire directed a survey to be made of Con-
 necticut river, for sixty miles; and three lines of town-
 ships, to be laid out, on each side. The application
 for lands constantly increased, and new surveys were
 made.

and the same year, the first of the year 1683, was then sixty miles long, and the square was bounded on the west of Connecticut river. The whole number of grants, in one or more parts, amounted to one hundred and thirty. And the extent was from Connecticut river, to what is estimated twenty miles east of Hudson's river, so far as that extended to the northward, and after that, as far west as the eastern base of Lake Champlain. The multiplication of the colony, and the number of the settlers, increased with surprising rapidity, and Wentworth had an opportunity to accumulate a large fortune, by the sale and donations which attended the business, and by a return of five hundred acres, which he made in gratuity to his son for himself, viz. in the year 1684.

The government of New York intending to have the disposal of the lands, was alarmed at these proceedings. Charles the second, in 1664, gave by a grant an extraordinary grant to his brother, the Duke of York, containing, among other parts of a charter, that all the lands from the west side of Connecticut river, to the east side of Delaware bay. This grant was inconsistent with the charter, which had before been granted to Massachusetts, and Connecticut, and neither of them admitted it to have any effect with regard to the lands which they had settled, or claimed to the west of Connecticut river. And there were no principles, which apply to human affairs, by which this grant could bear a strict examination. If it be examined geographically, the bounds of it were contradictory, indefinite, and impossible. If it be subjected to a legal construction, the whole of it, upon James's accession to the throne, merged in the crown, and at his abdication, passed to William his successor. If it be considered as an instrument of government, it did not establish any colony or province of New York, or any power to govern any

such province. Upon this inadequate and blunder-
 ing declaration of Charles the second, New York
 set on foot their claim, and hope of obtaining the lands,
 which New Hampshire was granting. To check the
 proceedings of New Hampshire, and to intimidate the
 settlers, Mr. *Andros*, lieutenant-governor of New
 York, issued a proclamation, asserting the grant to
 the Duke of York, asserting their validity, claiming
 the jurisdiction as far east as Connecticut river,
 and commanding the sheriff of the county of Al-
 bany to make a return of the names of all persons
 who under the colour of the New Hampshire grants
 had taken possession of any lands to the west of the
 river. To prevent the effects that might arise from
 this proclamation, the governor of New Hampshire
 put forth another proclamation; † declaring the grant
 to the Duke of York to be obsolete, that New Hamp-
 shire extended as far to the west as Massachusetts
 and Connecticut, that the grants made by New
 Hampshire would be confirmed, if the jurisdiction
 shall be altered, the settlers were exhorted not to
 be intimidated, but to be industrious and diligent
 in cultivating their lands, and the civil officers were
 required to exercise jurisdiction as far westward as
 grants had been made, and to punish all disturbers
 of the peace. This proclamation served to quiet
 the minds of the settlers. And after such assurances
 from a royal governor, they had no idea that a con-
 flict between two provinces, respecting the extent of
 their jurisdiction, would ever affect the property of
 such individuals, as had fairly purchased their lands
 under a charter from a royal government.

New York had as yet founded her claim to the
 lands, upon the grant to the Duke of York; but that
 sagacious government did not choose to rely upon
 so precarious a ground. Applications were made

1763. Dec. 15.

1764. March 13.

to the crown representing that it would be equally for the convenience and advantage of the people who were settled west of Connecticut river, to be annexed to New York, that the course of business should always lie that way, and that the people were desirous to be included in that government. The result of these applications, was a decision in favour of New York. On July 20th, 1764, his Majesty ordered and declared, "The western banks of the river Connecticut, from where it enters the province of the Massachusetts bay, as far north as the forty fifth degree of northern latitude, to be the boundary line, between the two provinces of New Hampshire and New York." This determination of the king, did not appear to be founded on any former grant to the Duke of York; but was a decision, *de novo*, as the occasion and convenience of the people, were supposed to require. In this decision of the boundary line, there was nothing claiming to the people, who had settled on the new lands. They had no title of consequence, or jurisdiction, or opposing the government of New York. They considered the title to their lands, would not be in any way affected, by the decision, but rather confirmed. And that the determination was expressed in language, *de novo* designed to relate to the future, and not to any past transactions, or times. Had the government of New York assigned the same construction to the royal decision, no controversy would ever have arisen; the settlers would have remained quiet and easy, under their jurisdiction. But a very different construction was put upon the royal determination, in New York. The government of this province

The inhabitants complained that a petition was presented to the king, signed with their names, but unknown to them. In their first petition to Congress, Jan. 7. 1776, they give this account of the petition, "We have often heard, and verily believe [it was] in your petitioners' names."

parties and families, who had claims upon the
whom the New-Hampshire government had no
right and always had been the common land of New-
York, which of course made that the ground which
had been made by the purchase of New-Hampshire;
was granted, as that had always belonged to New-
York, and therefore had a claim upon it to some
purpose.

In conformity to this explanation, the grants from
New-Hampshire, were considered by the government
of New-York, as illegal, and of no authority. The
new district was divided into four counties: The
southern parts, were annexed to the county of
Albany; the northern, were formed into a county
by the name of Charlotte. On the east side of the
great river, two counties were formed; Cumberland,
to the south; and Gloucester, to the north;
and in these courts were regularly held. The set-
tlers were required to surrender the charters, which
they had received from New-Hampshire; and so take
out new grants, from New-York, which were stand-
ed with great fees, and expenses. Some of the courts
complied with this requisition, and thought their lands
the better for it, but the greater part refused it;
and where it was not complied with, on the part of
the grantees, new grants were made of their lands,
to such petitioners, as would advance the fees which
were demanded. Actions of ejectment were com-
menced in the courts at Albany, against several of
the ancient settlers; and the decisions of the courts,
were always in favour of the New-York proceedings,
and against all titles and grants, derived from the
government of New-Hampshire. — The case of the set-
tlers did not admit of any relief, from the customary
forms of law; but only from the equity, the wisdom,
and the moderation, of a provincial government:
But moderation, and tenderness of the rights of in-
dividuals, unable to defend their claims, was not to
be expected from adventurers, and speculators, who
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had an opportunity to transfer the lands they purchas-
ed, under the authority of the act, and to purchase
them. The gentlemen and others of the latter
rank in New-York, availed themselves of this state of
things, and derived much, and various profits,
by staking a forced grant of the lands, that the gov-
ernor of New-Hampshire had acquired, by making
the first purchase of the lands of the Indians.

Although it proved an easy thing for the sheriffs
under New-York, to render judgment against the set-
tlers, it was not found so easy a matter, to carry their
judgments into execution. When the sheriffs of
these counties came to eject the inhabitants, from their
lands and lands, they generally met with an ardent op-
position, from the petitioners, and were not suffered
to proceed to the execution of their office. The
minds of the settlers, instead of being dejected into
submission, seemed to derive new powers, from op-
position. And the people soon began to assemble,
to defend one another, in their opposition to the
courts, and officers of New-York.

When it was found, that there was an ardent op-
position, and combination, against the proceedings of
the courts at Albany, an attempt was made by the
government of New-York, to engage the militia to as-
sist and support the sheriff. The people who were
thus forced to march, in support of the sheriff, had
no affection for the business. They were not
in sentiment, with the settlers, and had no dis-
position to hazard their lives, in support of a quar-
rel, which they plainly saw, was designed only for
the emolument of a few speculators, whose claims
and conduct, did not appear to them, to be so justifi-
cable as those of the people, against whom they were
compelled

* The fees to the governor of New-Hampshire, for granting
a township, were about one hundred dollars; under the govern-
ment of New-York, they generally amounted to two thousand or
two thousand six hundred dollars.

compelled to take arms. The Sheriff soon found that very little dependence could be placed on the posse, which attended him. Upon the appearance of an armed opposition from the farmers, the New York militia could do little but march, and the Sheriff found his posse was no more availing, when he was surrounded with the posse comitatus, when he was without them, notwithstanding his posse was now but a mob. This circumstance afforded much encouragement to the inhabitants, and they began to believe they should find their support from the general sentiments of the people in the adjacent States, which they could not find from law. Their opposition became more general, and during a and some of the officers of New York became sufferers, for attempting to carry into execution the judgments of their courts. In this course, the difficulties and dangers were constantly increasing, until several on both sides were much abused, and wounded, and no officer from New York dared to attempt to dispossess any of the settlers of their farms. The actions of judgment however still went on in the courts at Albany, but no attention was paid to them, nor was any defence made by the settlers, but they were never suffered to be carried into execution. And when all other methods had failed, the most active of the leaders were indicted as rioters.

The main body of the settlers at this time consisted of a brave, hardy, intrepid, but uncultivated set of men. Without many of the advantages of education, without any other property than what hard labour, and hard living had procured, destitute of the conveniences and elegancies of life, and having nothing to soften or refine their manners, roughness, excess, and violence, would naturally mark their proceedings. To deny such people justice, was to prejudice and arm them against it, to confirm all their suspicions

Aspirations and projects against their health, and to give them an equal and equal of pleasure to the state and violence. When the government of New York, gave to their proceedings, the names of riots and mobs, abuse and outrage to their officers, it is probably the expression of a very just sense, at the appearance of their conduct, and opposition to the same. But when they called their opposition, felony, treason, and rebellion against lawful authority, the people of the adjacent provinces, seem to have believed that the government of New York was not so culpable, in making and executing such laws, as caused their cities to their hands in question than the rioters were, in acting in open and avowed opposition to them.

In this scene of violence, and opposition to the proceedings of New York, *ELIAS ALLEN* placed himself at the head of the opposition. Bold, enterprising, ambitious, with great conduct, in his own affairs, he undertook to direct the proceedings of the ministers. He wrote and dispersed several pamphlets to display the injustice, and designs, of the New York proceedings. And so oppressive were these measures, that although Allen was a very indifferent writer, his pamphlets were much read, and regarded, and had a great influence upon the minds, and conduct of the people. The uncultivated roughness of his own temper and manners, seems to have assisted him in giving a just description of the views and proceedings of speculating land jobbers. And where all was a scene of violence and abuse, such a method of writing did not greatly differ from the feelings of the rioters, or from the style of the pamphlets that came from New York. But though he wrote with asperity, a degree of generosity attended his conduct; and he carefully avoided bloodshed, and protested against every thing that had the appearance of meanness, injustice, or

sent, and that the Governor of the said Province, should
 attending upon them, in all such cases, and should
 and doctrine, in order to give them the most
 felicity, to be found in any condition, and that
 the business of settling new towns, and other
 business, and that the Governor should be
 especially, when the Governor could not
 apprehend, and that he should be
 1811, and that the Governor of the said
 an attempt to be made, in order to
 with the Governor. In the year 1789, the
 the River, the Bay, and the Harbour, of
 singular, and the Governor, and the
 lay before him, the cause of the
 lings; assuring them, that both he and the Council
 were disposed to follow their own
 action, and that the Governor would
 and engaging, full, and complete, and
 persons, they might, and that, in
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 ed persons, and explanations, of
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 day, and that the Governor
 York, to negotiate the business, and
 they reported, that the Governor
 expressions of his own, and that
 grievances, before the Council, and
 that they were, and that the
 afford the inhabitants of those
 relief, in his power, by suspending
 pleasure should be known, and
 of the crown, and that the
 stood charge; and should recommend
 owners of the contested lands, under
 grants from
 New York

May 19.

1811

[The text in this column is extremely faded and largely illegible. It appears to be a historical narrative, possibly related to the American Revolution or the War of 1812, given the context of the page number and the adjacent page's content. The text seems to describe a military or political situation involving a governor and a commander-in-chief.]

* Allen's Narrative, p. 49—58.
 † March 9. Allen's Narrative, p. 23—26.

[The text in this column is also extremely faded and illegible. It appears to be a continuation of the historical narrative from the adjacent page, possibly describing military movements or political decisions.]

(The said) to be accepted and taken to be part
 of the said territory, and to be held of the said
 King, his heirs, and assigns, forever, and to be
 without benefit of clergy; and that it shall and may
 be lawful, and for the Supreme court of Judica-
 ture of this colony, or the courts of oyer and ter-
 minor, or general goal delivery; for the respective
 courts aforesaid, to award execution against such
 offenders as shall be indicted for a capital off-
 ence, perpetrated after the passing of this act: in
 such manner as if he or they had been convicted and
 sentenced by the Supreme court of Judicature, or be-
 fore such courts of oyer and terminary, or general
 goal delivery, respectively." All crimes committed
 on the 17th day, or by this act subject to be tried in
 the county, and by the courts at Albany, or in the
 town of New York, a proclamation was issued by the govern-
 or of New York, ordering a reward of ten pounds
 head, for apprehending and securing John Bull,
 Seth Warner, and six others, of the most obnoxious
 of the seceders. *videlicet* *John Bull* *et* *sexta* *et* *hinc*
 With this act all prospects of peace, or submission
 to the government of New York, ended. At a general
 assembly of the committee for the townships on
 the west side of the green mountains, it was resolv-
 ed to "That for the future, every necessary prepara-
 tion be made, and that our inhabitants hold them-
 selves in readiness, at a minute's warning, to aid and
 defend such friends of ours, who, for their merit to
 the great and general cause, are falsely denominated
 rixers; but that we will not do any thing, more to
 left, but on the defensive, and always encourage the
 execution of law, in civil cases, and also in criminal
 prosecutions, that are so indeed; and that we will
 1774."

...to the utmost of our power, the officers are
 obliged to... further, and in...
 ...of the... of Albany, and
 ...conscious to the New
 ...made this public declaration:
 "We will... and... any person or persons
 ...that shall... to be secretary, aide
 ...in taking any of us."

...government of New York, a plan
 ...at this time, by some of the
 ...to have the New-York
 ...into a royal government, as a
 ...was a colonel in one of the
 ...had large possessions on Long
 ...To effect his design, he went to the
 ...and seems to have met with
 ...On March 16th, 1775, he wrote to
 ...that he was appointed to the gov-
 ...of Crown Point, and... and
 ...upon all the Hampshire inhabitants,
 ...to show their loyalty to the king,
 ...but they would, they them-
 ...as loyal subjects, as he had represented

...An event took place in the spring of the year
 1774, which served still further to exaggerate all par-
 ...in consequence of the proceedings of the
 ...the American colonies had met in
 ...Sept. 5, 1774, and the Congress had ad-
 ...to maintain their liberties, in such
 ...ways as should be found necessary. The courts of
 ...were held under the royal authority,
 ...in all the adjacent provinces, were either shut up,

* April 10: Page 45.
 † Sheron's letter to Capt. Hawley, dated London, March
 16, 1775.

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On the 11th day of April, 1775, the court for the trial of the cause of the petitioners, was held at Westminster, on Monday the 11th of the said month. The petitioners appeared in person, and the defendant by his counsel. The court was opened by the petitioners, and the defendant took possession of the court room, entered the court house at an early hour, and remained in the court room, until the opening of the court, the petitioners remaining in their quarters. About eleven o'clock at night, the petitioners, and the other members of the court, assembled by force, and entered the court house. Being informed that the petitioners had the court house surrounded several times with the highest degree, by the said process. The next day they assembled in large numbers in the court house. A counsel attended, and jurymen were sworn in a verdict, that the petitioners were the court party. Some of the officers were officers, and carried to the goal at Westminster. But upon their application to the chief justice of New York, they were released from their confinement, and returned home. In consequence of this event, the committee of safety of the people met at Westminster, April 11th, 1775. Among other measures, they came to the following resolve: "That it is the duty of the inhabitants, wholly to renounce and resist the administration of the Government of New York, until such time as the lives and property of the inhabitants may be secured by it: Or until such time, as they can have opportunity to lay their grievances before his most gracious Majesty in council, together with a proper remonstrance against the unjust and oppressive conduct of that government, with an humble petition to be taken out of so oppressive a jurisdiction, and

E. e

and Narratives of the Massacre at Westminster court house, by Reuben Jones.

either intended to keep their good-will, or to
 of and incorporated into a new body, or they appear
 but for the submission of the British to the American
 Both parties were in this state of indecision, and
 cooperation, when the American war broke out at
 Lexington, April 8th, 1776. By this event a new
 scene, and greater object, presented itself to the
 previous policy, for proceeding in the
 ties; and turned their attention from their particu-
 lar contest, to the general cause of America. The
 attention of all officers of the army was immediately
 engaged, local and provincial councils were
 dissolved, by the novelty, the grandeur, and the
 importance of the contest, that then opened between
 Britain and America. The spirit of liberty soon became
 the object for its employment. At the commencement
 of hostilities with Britain, some of the principal lead-
 ers of the American measures, concluded it would
 be a matter of much importance, to secure the Brit-
 ish fleet on Lake Champlain, before they could
 get any intelligence of the American war. A vessel
 was sent from Connecticut, to engage the people
 of the New Hampshire grants, upon this expedition.
 They immediately undertook the business, and in a
 few days raised a body of troops, which was
 deemed sufficient for the purpose, and marched
 with Arnold, or rather put himself at the head of
 the troops. He mingled with the enemy, and secured
 and took Tyconderoga and Crown Point, on
 the night of the 22d, he receded, Montgomery to the
 siege of St. John's, but venturing to land on the
 island of Montreal with a few men, he was taken
 prisoner by the British and carried many hardships
 and labors, during a long and severe confinement.
 (Warren)

Proceedings of the committee on the Warrant, April
 21, 1776.

Person, who had also been proscribed by the govern-
 ment of New York, entered with much spirit into the
 American cause. His assent, courage, and firm-
 ness, recommended him much to the officers, under
 which he served. Congress wished to have a regi-
 ment composed of the settlers upon the grants. The
 command of it was given to Warner, and on every
 occasion he proved a brave, judicious, and excellent
 officer.

Amidst all the difficulties the people had passed
 through, they had been without any form of civil
 government. The consult with New York had now
 ceased, and their attention was chiefly taken up with
 the affairs of the war. The method in which they
 had managed their general concerns, was by meetings
 of towns and plantations, by committees, officers,
 and leaders, nominally appointed, and submitted to,
 by general consent and approbation. The people
 had been unable to raise any considerable sum of
 money, on any occasion, but the affairs of the war
 had so multiplied emissions of paper currency, that
 this difficulty was in some measure removed. But
 the constant difficulty and embarrassment of con-
 ducting their public affairs, without the advantages
 of government, had given rise to combinations of a
 general nature, among several of the towns, and
 partial conventions had been holden at several times,
 and places, on each side of the mountains. But no
 general plan of combination and union, had taken
 place; nor does it seem, that the people at this pe-
 riod of their affairs, had entertained the idea of form-
 ing themselves into an independent State. But it
 had become a matter of general inquiry and conver-
 sation, What should be done? And what measures
 ought to be adopted for the public safety? The
 situation of the inhabitants at this time, seems to have
 approached nearly to what has been called by some,
 a State of nature. A large number of people were
 scattered

forfeited their rights of Liberty, do furnish elements, or a great distance from each other, upon duty any form of government, any established laws, or civil officers, or Nature, and Liberty had formed them as associates, and to combine together, to promote their common safety and interest. But they had not entertained the idea, of setting up an independent government, or formed any plan for their future proceedings, or regulation. They seem to have been waiting, for the course of a transaction pointed out to them, what was practicable, and expedient.

To obtain information, in the fall of the year 1776, some of the leading members went to Philadelphia, to procure the advice of Congress. They did not obtain any formal act or advice from that body, but upon their return dispersed a number of letters, expressing it as the opinion of several members of Congress, that the people should form a temporary association, and government by committees and conventions, as the circumstances of the people might require. Accordingly, on January 16, 1776, a convention met at Dorset, and drew up a petition to Congress. Their application they filed. The humble petition, address, and remonstrance of that part of America, being situate south of Canada, and west of Connecticut river, commonly called, and known by the name of the New Hampshire Grants. They avow their readiness to bear a full proportion of the American war, their ability and zeal in the common cause, and a willingness to be called upon for this purpose, whenever Congress should judge it necessary: But declare they are not willing to put themselves under the provincial government of New York, lest it should be afterwards construed to imply an acknowledgment of that authority. They conclude with requesting, that whenever the Congress should find it necessary to call for their services, they may not be called upon as inhabitants of New York,

Edw. R. T. 1776. Printed and Sold by J. B. R. at the Sign of the Crown in the City of New York.

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as well as one subject to the jurisdiction, and jurisdiction of Congress, in the decision of the petitioners, as to the validity of the title of the petitioners, granted and that the petitioners might be granted in any of the instances, might consider about on what point the petitioners might be granted in any of the instances.

The committee, on the first application, the people had referred made to Congress, the committee in Vermont was referred, reported on their opinion, that it be recommended to the petitioners for the present to submit to the jurisdiction of New York, and to assist their application in the contest with Great Britain, but that such submission, ought not to prejudice their right to any final decision, or to be construed to admit the jurisdiction of New York over the country, when the present troubles should be decided. This advice was such, as might have been expected. At a period when the fate of all the American colonies was at stake, the committee could not but wish, that all local or provincial considerations might subside. To avoid any decision upon the matter at that time, the petition was withdrawn.

On July the 4th, 1776, the Congress made a declaration of Independence, declaring in the name, and by the authority of the people of the United Colonies, that they were, and of right ought to be, free and independent states; that they were absolved from all allegiance to the British crown; and that all political connection between them and the kingdom of Great Britain, was totally dissolved. By this sound and decisive policy, the United Colonies were delivered from the embarrassments, with which they had before been perplexed. It was no longer of any importance to them, what were the powers and prerogatives of the crown, or what was the origin, or extent of liberty, under the British constitution. One question only, remained to be decided; and that

? First petition to Congress, dated Dorset, Jan. 17, 1776.

was, whether for the future they were to be conquered provinces, or free and independent states?

But while the declaration of Independence, clearly stated to the United Colonies, the ground on which they were to stand, it left the people of the New-hampshire grants, in a situation more uncertain and critical, than that, in which they had been before. Col. Sizer had obtained a commission from the crown, to be governor of Tyconderoga, Crown Point, and the adjacent country; but to what extent, was unknown. New-hampshire had renounced all political connexion with them. The controversy with New-york was reviving. The convention of that state had unanimously voted on August 20, 1776, "That all quitrents formerly due to the king of Great Britain, are now due, and owing to this convention, or such future government as shall hereafter be established in this state." To submit to the claims of New-york, was to give up the whole of their property, and to reduce themselves to a state of dependence, and beggary. To oppose her claims and power, would probably bring on, not only a contest with New-york, but with the Congress also. And to continue without some form of government, was impossible.

A situation attended with so many difficulties, gave rise to a variety of opinions. Some were for attempting to return to New-hampshire. Others saw no other method of proceeding, but submission to New-york. The more resolute, were for assuming the powers of government, and hazarding all the consequences of such a measure. To ascertain what the prevailing opinion

was, the grants made by the governors of New-hampshire, the annual quitrents reserved to the crown on every hundred acres, were one shilling proclamation money, equal in value to nine pence sterling; in the grants made by the governors of New-york, these quitrents were raised to two shillings and six pence sterling.

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opinion was, it was judged necessary to call a general convention. This convention was called by circular letters, from some of the most influential persons; it consisted of fifty one members, representing thirty five towns, and met at Dorset, July 24th, 1776. At this session, the convention agreed to enter into an association among themselves, for the defence of the liberties of their country; But that they would not associate with either of the counties, or with the provincial Congress of New York, and that any of the inhabitants of the New Hampshire grants, who should enter into such an association, should be deemed enemies to the common cause.

The sentiments of the people, were now very generally tending towards a total separation from New York. On September the 25th, the convention met again, and resolved without any dissent, "to take suitable measures as soon as may be, to declare the New Hampshire grants, a free and separate district."—And that "no law or laws, directions or directions from the State of New York, should be accepted."

In January 1777, a general convention of representatives from the towns on both sides of the mountains met at Westminster. The sentiments of their constituents, were now well known: And after a very serious debate and consultation, the convention concluded that there was no other way of safety left, but to form themselves into a new state, and assume all the powers of government. Accordingly, on January 16th, having resolved upon this measure, they made and published the following declaration:

"This convention, whose members are duly chosen by the free voice of their constituents, in the several towns on the New Hampshire grants, in public meeting assembled, in our own names, and in behalf of our constituents, Do hereby proclaim, and publicly declare, that the district of territory comprehending,

hending, and usually known, by the name and description of the New Hampshire grants, ought to be, and is hereby declared henceforth to be, considered as a free and independent jurisdiction, or state; to be forever hereafter called, known, and distinguished by the name of *New Hampshire*, alias *Kerri-mans*. And that the inhabitants that at present, or that may hereafter become resident within said territory, shall be entitled to the same privileges, immunities, and franchises which are, or that may at any time hereafter be allowed, to the inhabitants of any of the free and independent states of America: And that such privileges and immunities shall be regulated in a bill of rights, and by a form of government, to be established at the next session of this convention.

Having taken this decisive step, they drew up a declaration and petition to Congress, in which they announced to that body, as the grand representative of the United States, that they had made and published a declaration, "that they would at all times thereafter, consider themselves as a free and independent state, capable of regulating their own internal police, in all, and every respect whatsoever, and that the people in the said described district, had the sole exclusive right of governing themselves, in such manner and form, as they, in their wisdom, should choose, not repugnant to any resolves of the honorable, the continental Congress." And that they were at all times ready, in conjunction with their brethren in the United States, to contribute their full proportion towards the maintaining the present just war, against the fleets and armies of Great Britain. They petitioned Congress that their declaration might be received, that the district therein described, might be ranked among the free and independent

* Records of the Convention.
 † A Copy, attested by J. Fay, clerk.

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pendent American States; and delegates therefrom, be admitted to a seat in Congress. This declaration and petition was signed, and presented to Congress in behalf of the inhabitants, by four of the most respectable members of the convention; *Jonas Fay, Thomas Chittenden, Herman Allen, and Reuben Jones.* No measure was ever more necessary, or more happily chosen, than this. New Hampshire had wholly rejected them. They never had submitted to the government of New York, but steadfastly opposed her authority. By the dissolution of all connexion with the crown of Great Britain, they concluded they were no longer subject to the claims of New York, founded on the arbitrary decisions of that crown. The period was now come, when as they expressed it, they were reduced to a state of nature. Some form of government, must be adopted. They had the same right to assume the powers of government, that the Congress had. The step seemed to be absolutely necessary, for the immediate safety and protection of the people: And now was the time, when the power of government could be assumed, with the greatest safety and advantage. To be irresolute or timid, was to lose an opportunity, which might never return. And whatever opposition might be made to their measures, they could meet it with greater force, when they had declared themselves a free and independent state, and knew by what authority they acted. Every part of the United States, was at that period, contending against oppression; and every consideration that could justify the proceedings of Congress, was a reason, why the people of Vermont, should take that opportunity, effectually to guard against their former sufferings. Happily for themselves, and for the state, they adopted that firm and temperate policy, which alone was adequate to the object.

C H A P. X.

Proceedings of Newyork. Resolves of Congress. Controversy with Newhampshire. Claims of Newhampshire, Newyork, and Massachusetts. Appointment of Commissioners, to confer with the Inhabitants. Interposition of Congress. Conduct of Vermont. Measures pursued by Congress. Further Claims of Vermont. Proceedings and Views of the British Generals, and Ministers. Resolutions of Congress. Proceedings of Vermont, Newyork, and Newhampshire. Advice of General Washington. Proceedings of Vermont. Votes of Congress. Remarks on the Design, and Effect of these Votes.

THE conduct of Vermont in declaring their independence, was viewed by the adjacent States, in very different lights. Newhampshire appeared willing to admit, and acknowledge it. In Massachusetts and Connecticut, the measure was rather applauded, than condemned. But to Newyork, the conduct of the people in attempting to form a new state, appeared as a dangerous revival of their former opposition and rebellion to lawful authority.

The committee of safety for that state, were then sitting. Apprehensive of the consequences, they immediately took up the matter; and by their direction, the president of the Newyork convention, on January 20th, 1777, gave this information to Congress, "I am directed by the committee of safety of Newyork,

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Newyork, to inform Congress, "that by the arts and influence of certain designing men, a part of this state hath been prevailed on to revolt, and disavow the authority of its legislature.—The various evidences and informations we have received would lead us to believe that persons of great influence in some of our sister states, have fostered and fomented these divisions.—But as these informations tend to excite some members of your honourable body, of being concerned in this scheme, decency obliges us to suspend our belief.—The convention are sorry to observe, that by conferring a commission upon Col. Warner, with authority to raise the officers of a regiment, to be raised independently of the legislature of this state, and within that part of it, which hath lately declared an independence upon it, Congress hath given but too much weight to the insinuations of those, who pretend that your honourable body are determined to support these insurgents; especially, as this Col. Warner, hath been constantly and invariably opposed to the legislature of this state, and hath been, on that very account, proclaimed an outlaw by the late government thereof.—It is absolutely necessary to recall the commissions given to Col. Warner, and the officers under him, as nothing else will do justice to us, and convince those deluded people, that Congress have not been prevailed on to assist in dismembering a state, which of all others, has suffered the most in the common cause." To persuade Congress to engage in this cause, another application was made to that body, on March the 1st: In this the convention of Newyork represent, that they depend upon the justice of that honourable house, to adapt every wise and

* Attested copy of a letter from the Honourable A. Ten Broek, president of the convention of Newyork, dated Jan. 20, 1777.

and salutary expedient, to suppress the mischiefs which must ensue to that state and to the general confederacy, from the unjust and pernicious projects of such of the inhabitants of New York, as merely from selfish and interested motives, have fomented the dangerous insurrection: That Congress might be assured that the spirit of defection, notwithstanding all the arts and violence of the seducers, was by no means general: That the county of Gloucester, and a very great part of Cumberland, and Charlotte counties, continued steadfast in their allegiance to the government of New York; and that there was not the least probability, that Col. Warner could raise such a number of men, as would be an object of public concern.

The proceedings of Vermont had now assumed a regular form; and become an object of general attention. In April, a paper was printed at Philadelphia, subscribed Thomas Young, and addressed to the inhabitants of Vermont: To this address was prefixed a resolution, which Congress had passed May 18, 1776, recommending to the respective assemblies and conventions of the United Colonies, where no government sufficient to the exigencies of their affairs had been already established, to adopt such government, as in the opinion of the representatives of the people, should best conduce to the happiness and safety of their constituents. In the address to the inhabitants of Vermont, were these paragraphs: "I have taken the minds of several leading members, in the honourable the continental Congress, and can assure you, that you have nothing to do, but to send attested copies of the recommendation to take up government to every township in your district, and invite all your freeholders and inhabitants to meet in their respective townships, and choose

Letter from A. Ten Broeck of March 1, 1777.

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choose members for a general convention, to meet at an early day, to choose delegates for the general Congress, a committee of safety, and to form a constitution for your state. Your friends here tell me, that some are in doubt, whether delegates from your district, would be admitted into Congress. I tell you to organize fairly, and make the experiment, and I will ensure your success, at the risk of my reputation as a man of honour or common sense. Indeed they can by no means refuse you! You have as good a right to choose how you will be governed, and by whom, as they had."*

Publications and measures thus avowing the cause, and designed to establish the independence of Vermont, were beheld by Newyork, with great indignation and concern. On May the 28th, the council of safety for that state, made a third attempt to engage the attention of Congress: By their direction, their president wrote to that body, that a report prevailed and daily gained credit, that the revoltors were privately countenanced in their designs, by certain members of Congress; that they esteemed it their duty to give them such information, that by proper resolutions on the subject, Congress might cease to be injured, by imputations so disgraceful and dishonourable. "However unwilling we may be to entertain suspicions so disrespectful to any member of Congress, yet the truth is, that no inconsiderable numbers of the people of this state, do believe the report to be well founded."†

To bring Congress to some decision upon the matter, on June 23d, one of the delegates of Newyork laid before that body, the printed letter and publication of Thomas Young. Congress took up the

* Printed letter to the inhabitants of Vermont, April 11, 1777. by T. Young.

† Pierre Van Cortlandt's letter to Congress, May 28, 1777.

the matter, and ordered the printed paper, the letters which had been received from the convention of New York, and from the inhabitants of the New-Hampshire grants, to be referred to a committee of the whole; and after several adjournments, on June 30th, passed the following resolves:

Resolved, That Congress is composed of delegates chosen by, and representing the communities respectively inhabiting the territories of New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, as they respectively stood at the time of its first institution; that it was instituted for the purpose of securing and defending the communities aforesaid, against the usurpations, oppressions, and hostile invasions of Great Britain; and therefore it cannot be intended that Congress by any of its proceedings would do, or recommend, or countenance, any thing injurious to the rights and jurisdiction of the several communities, which it represents.

Resolved, That the independent government attempted to be established by the people, styling themselves inhabitants of the New Hampshire grants, can derive no countenance, or justification, from the act of Congress declaring the United Colonies to be independent of the crown of Great Britain; nor from any other act, or resolution of Congress.

Resolved, That the petition of John Fay, Thomas Chittenden, Heman Allen, and Reuben Jones, in the name and behalf of the people, styling themselves as aforesaid, praying that their declaration that they would consider themselves as a free and independent state, may be received; that the district in the said petition described, may be ranked among the free and independent states; and that delegates

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"*Resolved*, That Congress by raising and officering the regiment, commanded by Col. Warner, never meant to give any encouragement to the claim of the people aforesaid, to be considered as an independent state; but that the reason which induced Congress to form that corps, was, that many officers of different states, who had served in Canada, and alleged that they could soon raise a regiment, but were then unprovided for, might be reinstated in the service of the United States."

Having recited the paragraphs in the letter from Thomas Young, which have been quoted, they next resolve, "That the contents of the said paragraphs, are derogatory to the honour of Congress, are a gross misrepresentation of the resolution of Congress therein referred to, and tend to deceive and mislead the people to whom they are addressed."

These resolves were favourable to the government of Newyork: From their spirit and style, and the manner in which the business was introduced, the people of Vermont concluded, they were drawn up under the influence of that state; and that their independence must be supported, with the same firmness and spirit, with which it had been declared: And they served only to confirm the resolution of a people, who with all the hardihood of antiquity, were well acquainted with the nature and origin of their own rights.

During this period, no controversy had arisen with Newhampshire. That state had gone farther than any other, to admit and acknowledge the independence of Vermont.—On the 6th of July, 1777, the American army stationed at Tyconderoga, was forced to abandon that important post to the formidable

* Journal of Congress, June, 1777, p. 258, 259, 260.

dable army commanded by General Burgoyne. The people in most of the towns on the west side of the mountains, were obliged to abandon their habitations, with circumstances of great distress and confusion.

The convention of Vermont was then sitting, at Windsor. Their committee wrote in the most pressing terms,* to the committee of safety at Exeter in Newhampshire, for assistance; informing them at the same time, if none should be afforded, they must immediately retire into the Newengland states, for support and safety. The assembly of Newhampshire was immediately called together: They put a large body of their militia under the command of General Stark, and gave him orders to "repair to Charlestown on Connecticut river; there to consult with a committee of the Newhampshire grants, respecting his future operations, and the supply of his men with provisions; to take the command of the militia, and march into the grants; to act in conjunction with the troops of that new state, or any other of the states, or of the United States."† About the same time, ‡ Mr. *Wears* president of Newhampshire, in behalf of the council and assembly, wrote to *Ira Allen*, secretary of the state of Vermont, announcing the assistance they were sending; the style and expressions of his letter were addressed to Vermont, as a free and sovereign, but a new state. From these events it was not doubted in Vermont, but that Newhampshire had already acknowledged her independence; and would use her influence, to have it acknowledged by Congress.

But the conduct of some of the inhabitants of Newhampshire, soon occasioned a controversy of a

* July 8.

† Belknap's History of Newhampshire, Vol. II. 413.

‡ July 19.

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very serious nature, with that state. New Hampshire was originally granted as a province, to John Mason; and was circumscribed by a line, drawn at the distance of sixty miles from the sea. All the lands to the westward of that line, were properly royal grants, and had been annexed to New Hampshire, by force of royal commissions. The inhabitants on the eastern side of Connecticut river, well knew what the original bounds of New Hampshire were, and they were desirous to join the inhabitants on the west side of the river, in setting up a new state.—With these views, it was not a difficult thing, to find reasons to justify their proceedings. They urged, that the province of New Hampshire could not originally extend further, than sixty miles from the sea coast: That the additional towns were annexed to that state, solely by virtue of the royal commissions: That these commissions could be of no force, or operate no longer, than while the power of the crown subsisted: That as all royal authority was done away, the obligations which had annexed them to the province of New Hampshire, was done away with it: And that it now belonged to the people to determine, what state they would join, and what government they would be under. These ideas were propagated with much success, in the towns adjoining Connecticut river; conventions were holden, and in the course of a few months, a petition was presented, in the name of sixteen towns in New Hampshire, announcing “that they were not connected with any state, with respect to their internal police,” and requesting the state of Vermont, to receive them into an union and confederation with them.

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* Observations on the right of jurisdiction of New Hampshire grants: Printed 1778. Public defence of the right of New Hampshire grants, &c. Printed 1779.

† March 12, 1778.

The assembly of Vermont was perplexed with this application. Most of the members from the west side of the mountains, viewed it as a dangerous measure; and the majority of the assembly, appeared to be against receiving any of the towns from Newhampshire. The towns in Vermont which adjoined to Connecticut river, were generally in favour of receiving the towns from Newhampshire; and went so far as to propose withdrawing from their connexion with Vermont, and setting up another state. There was no method to preserve their own union, but to refer the question to the decision of the people: And the party in favour of the Newhampshire proposals, were extremely diligent and active, in securing a majority of the members, against the next meeting of the assembly. When the assembly met, it was represented to them, that the inhabitants of the towns which had applied for a union with Vermont, were almost unanimous in their votes, and that Newhampshire, as a state, would not object against said towns joining with Vermont. A vote was carried in favour of their union and confederation: † And the assembly of Vermont resolved further, That any other towns on the east side of Connecticut river, might also be admitted into the union, on producing a vote of the majority of the inhabitants, or on their sending a representative to the assembly of Vermont.—Having thus effected their purposes, the sixteen towns announced to the government of Newhampshire, that they had withdrawn from their jurisdiction, and wished to have a divisional line established, and a friendly correspondence kept up. ‡

These

* Allen's vindication of the conduct of the general assembly, &c. page 19.

† June 11, 1776.

‡ June 25.

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These proceedings were founded upon principles, which might introduce endless contentions and divisions, among the United States; and they justly proved greatly alarming to Newhampshire.

Mahock Wares, Esq. was at that time president of that state, a gentleman of great wisdom and virtue. In the name of the assembly he wrote to Mr. *Chittenden* governor of Vermont,* claiming the sixteen towns as part of the state of Newhampshire. His claim was founded on the known boundaries of that state, before the revolution; on their sending delegates to the convention, in 1775; on their applying to the assembly of Newhampshire, for arms and ammunition; on their receiving commissions from the government, and having always acted as a part of it. He gave information at the same time, that the minority in those towns, had claimed protection from that state; which the assembly of Newhampshire, viewed themselves as bound on every consideration, to afford. And he urged the governor of Vermont, to exert his influence with their assembly, to dissolve so irregular and dangerous a connexion.—That he might avail himself of the highest authority in America, Mr. *Wares* wrote also to the delegates of that state in Congress,† urging them to take advice, and procure the interposition of Congress; intimating his apprehensions, that this would be the only method, in which the controversy could be settled, without the effusion of blood, as all attempts for reconciliation had been in vain.

Nor were the governor and council of Vermont without their difficulties, in the management of these affairs. To guide the movements of a people, irritated by a long series of injuries, and now too much elated by success, was a critical and difficult business. Aware of the applications that would be made to Congress,

* August 29,

† August 19,

Congress, in September they sent Col. Ethan Allen, as their advocate to that body, and to procure information, in what light their proceedings were viewed at Philadelphia. Upon his return he made report * that Congress was unanimously opposed, to their forming any connexions with the people of Newhampshire; And that if those proceedings were disannulled, none of the members of Congress, except the delegates from Newyork, would oppose their independence.

The next assembly of Vermont met in October, at Windsor. Representatives from ten of the sixteen towns, took their seats in the assembly. A question was moved, "Whether the towns on the east side of Connecticut river, which had been admitted into an union with Vermont, should be erected into a county by themselves?" The vote passed in the negative. Finding by this, and some other votes, that the assembly declined to do any thing more, to extend their jurisdiction to the east of Connecticut river, the members from those towns withdrew from the assembly, and were followed by fifteen of the representatives from some of the towns in Vermont, adjoining to the river, with the deputy governor, and two assistants. The assembly of Vermont consisted of but sixty members, two thirds of which were necessary to make a house, to do business: And this, was just the number that was left, when the seceding members had withdrawn. The remaining members went on with the public business, and continued their session until the business of it was finished: But he referred the matter to their constituents, to instruct them how to proceed with regard to the union with Newhampshire, at their next session. — The members who had withdrawn themselves

* October 10.

† Allen's Vindication, p. 14. 16. 22. 44.

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themselves from the assembly, formed into a convention, and gave an invitation to the towns on both sides of Connecticut river, to unite, and to meet with them, in a convention at Cornish, in Newhampshire, Dec. 9, 1778.—The interests and views which produced these proceedings, were pretty well understood, and proved greatly injurious to Vermont. The people on both sides of Connecticut river, wished to form a government, the center and seat of which, should be upon the river. The people on the west side of the mountains, were averse to this plan, and to any connexion with Newhampshire.

On December the 9th, the convention which had been called, met at Cornish, one of the sixteen towns. They agreed to unite, without any regard to the limits which had been assigned to Newhampshire, in 1764; and to make the following proposals to that government. Either to agree with them on a divisional line, or to submit the dispute to Congress, or to arbitrators mutually chosen. If neither of these proposals should be accepted, and they could agree with Newhampshire upon a plan of government, they resolved further, "We will consent that the whole of the grants connect with Newhampshire, and become with them one entire state, as it was limited and bounded, before the settling of the said line in 1764." Until one of these proposals should be complied with, they resolved to trust in providence, and defend themselves.—There were but eight towns from Vermont, which were represented in this convention; and some of them declined to act in making any overtures to Newhampshire, to extend their jurisdiction over the state of Vermont. But the proceedings of the convention, served to discover to the whole body of the people, what had been the views of the leading men, in proposing the union
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of the sixteen towns from New Hampshire: It was now manifest, that their whole aim, had been to form a government, the center and seat of which, should be upon Connecticut river. This would be effected, either by connecting a considerable part of New Hampshire, with Vermont; or by breaking up the government of Vermont, and connecting the whole of it, with New Hampshire: The one or the other of these measures, they were earnest to effect; and either of them would probably have formed a state, the metropolis of which, must have been upon the river which divides the two states;—To get rid of a connexion, which had occasioned so much trouble and danger, the assembly of Vermont, on Feb. 12, 1779, voted to dissolve the union, which had subsisted between them, and the towns in New Hampshire; and immediately communicated their resolves to that government.* Encouraged by these divisions, the assembly of New Hampshire was persuaded by some of her leading members, to claim the whole tract of country, which belonged to her before the royal determination in 1764: Accordingly that state put into Congress, a claim to the whole territory of Vermont. New York took the same step, and put in her claim to the whole of the lands. As New Hampshire had not the least pretence, upon any principle whatever, to make such a claim it was not doubted in Vermont, but that intrigues had been formed by the leading men in those two states, to divide Vermont between them. The range of mountains, which runs through the state, would afford a natural line, for such a division: And this measure would unite the two states of New Hampshire and New York; and put an end to all future controversy, with the people of Vermont; either respecting their limits, the validity of their grants, or the powers of government

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* 1779, June 24.

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which they had assumed. And if these two states could be united, there was a fair prospect that the rest would leave them to settle the affairs of Vermont, which began to bear a very serious aspect, and might prove troublesome to Congress.—The other states had not as yet concerned themselves, about their controversies; but Massachusetts now interposed. Whether aiming to disappoint the views of Newhampshire and Newyork, or in earnest to secure a part of the controverted lands, that state also put in a claim to a large part of Vermont: And her claim had a much better appearance, than that of Newhampshire: For although the line between Massachusetts and Newhampshire might be esteemed to be settled, yet the line between Massachusetts and Newyork had never been determined.

While these controversies had been carried on with Newhampshire, the debate with Newyork had not at all subsided. In a letter of July 7th, 1778, Mr. *Clinton*, governor of Newyork, wrote to one of his friends in Vermont, that he "would still as on a former occasion, earnestly recommend a firm and prudent resistance to the draughting of men, raising taxes, and the exercise of every act of government, under the ideal Vermont state; and in such towns, where our friends are sufficiently powerful for the purpose, I would advise the entering into association, for the mutual defence of their persons and estates against this usurpation." In a letter of July 8th, he warmly urged Congress to come to some decision on their controversy with Vermont; blamed the inhabitants for the violence of their proceedings, affirmed that it would soon bring on a civil war, and that all the grievances of the people of Vermont had suffered, arose from the former government of Newyork, and not from the present.†

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* Copy of a letter from governor *Clinton*, to *Pelotiah Fitch*, Esq;
† Attested copy.

In 1779, the controversy with New York, bore a more hostile appearance. It first shewed several persons in the southern part of the state, then called the county of Champlain by New York, who were attached to the authority of that state, and opposed the government of Vermont. To some of them, governor *Cassius* had given commissions. They asserted that they had a regiment of about five hundred men; and that a committee of the county, was also opposed to the authority of Vermont. The government of Vermont found it necessary, to put an end to these hostile associations; and Col. *Ethan Allen* was directed to raise a part of the militia for that purpose. Upon this intelligence, a Colonel bearing a commission under the government of New York, wrote to governor *Clinton*, for his advice and direction, suggesting the necessity of having the militia of Albany held in readiness to attack any armed force, that should gather with that design; and that it would be an easy thing to get intelligence, by employing the enemies of Vermont, in their own towns, to give information. In answer to this application, the governor of New York recommended, in general, firmness and prudence, and in no instance to acknowledge the authority of Vermont, unless where there was no alternative left between submission and inevitable ruin. He assured them, at the same time, that if any attempt was made by Vermont to reduce them by force of arms, he would instantly issue his orders to the militia, who were properly equipped, and who would be led against the enemies of the state, wherever they might happen to be.

Alarmed with these prospects, Mr. *Clinton* wrote to the president of Congress, May the 18th, that

* Patterson's letter to Governor *Clinton*, of May 5, 1779; and Minot's petition of May 4, 1779.

† *Clinton's* letter to S. Minot, of May, 14, 1779.

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matters were fast approaching to a very serious crisis, which nothing but the immediate interposition of Congress, could possibly prevent, that he daily expected he should be obliged to put out a force, for the defence of the whole, and to New York; that the wisdom of Congress would direct to them, what would be the consequences of postponing the controversy, especially with respect to the decision of the courts; but that justice, the best of government, the peace and safety of society, would not permit them, to continue any longer passive spectators of the violence committed on their fellow citizens.* These letters, and sundry other papers relating to the disputes with New Hampshire, were laid before Congress, May 29th, 1779, and were referred to a committee of the whole. On June 1st, Congress resolved, "that a committee be appointed to repair to the inhabitants of a certain district, known by the name of the New Hampshire grants, and inquire into the reasons why they refuse to continue citizens of the respective states, which heretofore exercised jurisdiction over the said district. And that they take every prudent measure to promote an amicable settlement of all differences, and prevent divisions and animosities, so prejudicial to the United States."†

While the governor of New York was taking these measures with the party that adhered to him in Vermont, and with Congress, *Allen* marched with an armed force, and made prisoners of the Colonel, and militia officers, who were acting under the authority of New York. Complaint was immediately made to governor *Clinton*, with an earnest request, that he would take the most speedy and effectual measures for their relief.‡ On June the 7th, Mr.

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*Clinton** *Clinton's* letter to Congress, of May 18, 1779.† *Journal of Congress*, June 1, 1779, p. 497.‡ *S. Minot's* letter to governor *Clinton*, of May 28, 1779.

Clinton wrote again to Congress, informing them what had happened, and expressing their astonishment and particularly at the appointment of commissioners to confer with the British, and at the length of their journey, and at the expense, and at the delay of New York. Congress ordered that the resolutions of the 16th Congress should be read, and that the officers should be that they should be their liberty, and should be immediately liberated, and that their committee who were appointed to confer with the British should be directed to make inquiry into the matters and things contained in Governor Clinton's letters, and that all further proceedings be postponed until they should report.

Five commissioners were appointed to visit in Vermont. Of these but two, Dr. Witherspoon, and Mr. Aile, attended. These gentlemen, together with Bennington in June, made many inquiries and had several conferences with the friends of Vermont, and with others who were in the interest of New York. They proposed several questions to the Governor of Vermont, to which he returned written answers. Their aim seems to have been to bring about a reconciliation between the parties. Upon their return they made a report to Congress July 12th; but which evidently denoted, that not part of the business on which they were sent, had been effected.

Four different claims were now before Congress to the same tract of country, and the controversy had become so intricate, and warlike, that very serious consequences were justly to be feared. It became necessary for Congress to interpose, and at all par-

Journal of Congress, June 16, 1779, p. 255, 260.

Account of the proceedings of Mr. Witherspoon, and Mr. Aile.

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Revolutions

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Resolved unanimously, That it be, and hereby is
had solemnly recommended to the Legislatures of New-
hampshire, Massachusetts, and the Republic north-
with us the laws, and orders of the foregoing Congress, to
be made and settled: and differences between them,
relative to their respective boundaries. — Resolved
unanimously, That Congress will on the first day of
February next, proceed without delay, to hear and
examine into the disputes and differences relative to
jurisdiction aforesaid, between the said three States
respectively, or such of them as shall pass the laws
beforementioned on the one part, and the people of
the district aforesaid, who claim to be a separate ja-
risdiction on the other, and after a full and fair hear-
ing, will decide and determine the same according to
equity. — Resolved unanimously, That it is the duty
of the people of the district aforesaid, who deny the
jurisdiction of all the aforesaid States, to abstain
in the mean time, from exercising any power over
any of the inhabitants of the said district, who pro-
fess themselves to be citizens of, or to owe allegiance
to any of either of the said States, but that none of
the towns, either on the east or west side of Con-
necticut river, be considered as included within the
district, but such as have hitherto actually joined in
denying the jurisdiction of either of said States, and
have assumed a separate jurisdiction, which they call
the state of Vermont. — And further, That in the
opinion of Congress, the said three States aforesaid,
ought in the mean time to suspend executing their
laws over any of the inhabitants of said district, ex-
cept such of them, as shall profess allegiance to, and
confess the jurisdiction of the same respectively, —

Resolved

Resolved unanimously, That in the said resolution, Congress, no more proposed, that the said territory of Vermont may be admitted, rejected or established, being in said district, or in any other district of Congress in the said resolution, to be granted or sold.

From these resolutions it was apparent, that the views of Congress were to evade any determination, and to pacify and quiet all parties for the present; and that it was of much more importance, in their view, to preserve the union and affection of the free states, than that of Vermont. At a time when the fate of America depended upon preserving the union of the states, and all might have been lost by the disaffection of any one, perhaps this evasive policy was the best. It seems to have alienated all parties, but Vermont. The states of New Hampshire, and New York, passed the act, which Congress had called for. Massachusetts did not, and probably with a view to prevent the district of Vermont from being sacrificed by either, or both of the other states.

It was impossible, that Vermont should comply with the resolves of Congress. The four separate jurisdictions existing at the time, being in the same territory, as the resolutions recommended, would at any time have been absurd and impossible; least of all was it to be admitted or attempted, after the people had declared themselves to be a free and independent state, assumed the powers of government, and exercised them in all cases, and in every part of the state. They had already formed their constitution, enacted a code of laws, erected courts of justice, and fully exercised all the powers of government. The plan of four separate jurisdictions, which Congress proposed, was incompatible with any state of society; and the more dangerous, as New York was constantly aiming to break up the government.

Journal of Congress, September 24, 1779.

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government of Vermont by granting commissions to
 her adherents, encouraging insurrections, and promot-
 ing dissensions between her subjects, and at the same time, driving their cattle on their
 lands, and all the public lands of the State. Nothing remained for Vermont in this situation,
 but to take a decisive part, and appear with firm-
 ness and resolution for independence, which her
 representatives and declared, by the desire of the
 people. Her rulers did not prove deficient in resolu-
 tion: Well acquainted with their own rights and
 interests, they determined not to sacrifice them, ei-
 ther to the intrigues of the adjacent States, or to the
 policy of Congress. The governor and council
 published an appeal to the candid and impartial
 world, in which they declare that "they could not
 view themselves as holden either in the light of God
 or man, to submit to the execution of a plan which
 they had reason to believe was commenced by
 neighbouring States: That the liberties and privi-
 leges of the State of Vermont, by said resolutions,
 are to be suspended upon the arbitration and final
 determination of Congress, when in their opinion
 they were things too sacred ever to be arbitrated
 upon at all, and what they were bound to defend,
 at every risk; That the Congress of the United
 States, had no right to intermeddle in the internal
 police, and government of Vermont: That the State
 existed independent of any of the thirteen United
 States, and was not accountable to them, or to their
 representatives, for liberty, the gift of the beneficent
 Creator: That the State of Vermont was not repre-
 sented in Congress, and could not submit to resolu-
 tions passed without their consent, or even knowl-
 edge, and which put every thing that was valuable

Drawn up by Stephen R. Bradley, Esq; published Dec.

18, 1779.

other States: And on June the 9th they resolved
 to differ the matter to the 15th of the same
 month. Upon the receipt of the
 resolution of Vermont they were
 divided; they were divided
 Vermont is born in
 natural right which
 pendency, it was
 put on which Congress
 independence, and
 of to enlarge the
 liberty of
 being struck
 the authority of
 Congress to
 gold; that as they
 were not members
 of the United States,
 it was assumed
 as if they were
 citizens, the offer
 or accept terms
 of cessation of
 ties with Great
 Britain, without
 the approval of
 any other man,
 or body of men,
 for, as provided
 neither Congress,
 nor the legislature
 which they represent,
 will support
 independence, but
 devote her to
 the support of
 government of any
 other power, she
 will not
 dissent to move
 to continue
 hostile to Great
 Britain, and
 maintain an
 important frontier
 for the benefit
 of the United
 States, and for
 no other
 than the ungrateful
 one, of being
 enslaved by them,
 but notwithstanding
 the usurpation,
 and injustice of
 neighbouring
 governments
 towards Vermont,
 and the late
 resolutions of
 Congress, from
 a principle of
 virtue, and
 close attachment
 to the cause
 as well as from
 a thorough
 examination
 of their own
 policy, they were
 induced once
 more to enter
 with the United
 States of America,
 of which Congress
 were the legal
 representative
 body.†

* Journal of Congress, March 21, 1780, p. 81, 82, 84.
 † Gov. Chittenden's letter to Congress, of July 25th, 1780.

inges before and the assembly) then sitting. What-
 does/ this is) the intention of the Massachusetts
 tards, was desirous of being united with the same,
 in a separate independent government, upon such
 principles as should be mutually thought the most
 equitable and beneficial to the whole. And a resolu-
 tion of this application, the Legislature resolved,
 on Feb. 27th a. 1776. In order to give the great-
 est distinction on the two sides of the river (Gee-
 nee) and the better to enable the inhabitants on
 the two sides of said river to defend their families,
 the Legislature of this state, do lay jurisdiction
 down on all the lands whosoever shall be bounded
 river, north of the Massachusetts, west of the Malen
 line, and south of latitude 45°; and that they do
 not exercise jurisdiction for the time being. (a) The
 convention of the New Hampshire towns, was then
 sitting at Cornish, on the opposite side of the river;
 and on February 28th the articles of union were
 agreed upon and confirmed; and the assembly of
 Vermont resolved, that they should be held fast. &c.
 A petition had also been received from a number
 of the inhabitants in the adjacent parts of New York,
 praying that Vermont would afford them protection
 against the enemy in Ontario, and receive them into
 union with her, that their forces might be mutually
 joined for the defence of the frontier, and forming at
 the same time that if their petition was rejected,
 they would retire with their families and effects, in-
 to the interior part of the country for safety. This
 petition of the inhabitants, the necessity of defend-
 ing the frontier, and the measures New York were
 pursuing to gain the Vermont, were assigned as rea-
 sons by the Legislature, why Vermont ought to re-
 ceive these inhabitants, into her union. Accordingly
 on Feb. 28th, it was resolved, that the Legisla-
 ture in
 Journal of the Assembly of Vermont, Vol. 1, page 40

area of this tract, but yet reserved claims to all the land within the tract, that was then in the State of Massachusetts, and extending down to the mouth of the river; the east of the center of the described tract of said river, and the land thence, from thence east, north, west, being extended to the latitude 45° 30' and south of the same line, including all the lands and waters to the place where this State now exercise jurisdiction, and not to extend jurisdiction for the time being, and no better to be had.

That, while New Hampshire and New York were extending their claims over the whole territory of Vermont, Vermont adopted the same policy, and in conformity to the position of the inhabitants, extended her claims over a large part of the territory of both these States. But it did not until perhaps was held

Great success attended this policy: Not only the sixteen towns in New Hampshire which had formerly joined, but those in Vermont which had been affected upon the dissolution of the former union, and those that had been attached to New York immediately joined in the measure. Most of the towns in the adjacent counties of Goshen, and Grant, in New Hampshire, declared for the union. And at a session of the assembly of Vermont in April, thirty five towns in the western parts of New Hampshire, were represented. The adjacent settlements in New York generally embraced the same measure, and several petitions were received from their inhabitants at this session of the assembly, requesting the legislature of Vermont, to exercise jurisdiction over them without any further delay. A committee was appointed by the assembly, to confer with a convention of those districts, and on May eighth, articles of union were agreed to, by the representatives of twelve districts in New York, and the committee from Vermont.

Journal of the assembly of Vermont, vol. 1, Feb. 1777

Vermont. On the 17th of June, 1778, a bill was
 introduced by the legislature, and passed, which
 was of the following tenor: "That the assembly of
 Vermont do and do cause to be printed, and
 distributed, a report of the committee on the
 petition of the people of Vermont, and
 of the singular proceedings of the British
 who had been instituted in the state of
 Vermont, and generally believed that negotiations
 were at this period, carried on between some of the
 gentlemen in Vermont, and the British general in
 Canada, and New York. This report served to engage
 the adherents to British government, and to
 the friends of the new state. And such was the
 interest of numbers, population, and power,
 which Vermont had now acquired, that she
 had in fact nothing to fear from the
 power or from the policy of her
 opposers. And notwithstanding the
 resolves of Congress, she proceeded to
 make grants of her lands, without
 paying any regard to the grants
 which had been made by New York,
 which she had made in construction
 of the former grants from New
 Hampshire. From these courses respecting
 Vermont, the British general and
 ministers conceived high expectations,
 that they should be able to derive
 great advantages. Unacquainted with
 the feelings, the views, or the
 spirit of the people, conceiving for
 freedom, they calculated upon the
 system of corruption, and had no
 doubt but they should find a
 people who would readily
 detach themselves from their
 attachment to the American cause,
 and unite to the British govern-
 ment. With this view they entered
 upon measures to persuade Vermont
 to become a British province.

The wife and six of the British general de New
 castle was first conveyed in a sloop from Col. Burt
 Robinson to Edward Allen, an American Colonel
 in the American service. The letter was sent New
 York March 20th by a sloop delivered to Allen in
 the street at Arlington in July, by a British soldier
 in the habit of an American soldier. His this letter
 Robinson began the subject thus, "I have just now
 deciding a will, which is to be made with
 the free good intention, that incline me to make it
 I have often been informed that you and many of
 the inhabitants of Vermont are opposed to the wild
 and chimerical schemes of the Americans, in attempt-
 ing to separate this continent from Great Britain, and
 to establish an independent state of their own, and
 that you would willingly assist in raising America
 again to Great Britain, and restoring that happy con-
 stitution we have formerly and happily de-
 served. If I have here rightly intimated, and these
 should be your sentiments and inclination, I beg you
 will communicate to me, without reserve, whatever
 proposals you would wish to make, to be presented
 or in chief, and I hereby promise that I will faithfully
 lay them before him, according to your direc-
 tions, and favour myself, I could in this good office
 as any person whatever. I can make no proposals
 to you, until I know your sentiments, but think upon
 your taking an active part, and embodying the
 inhabitants of Vermont in favour of the crown and
 England, in the remainder in chief shall die
 rest, that you may obtain a separate government
 under the king and constitution of England, and that
 men formed into regiments under such officers as
 you shall recommend, be on the same footing as the
 provincial corps are. If you should think prop-
 er to send a friend of your own, here, with proposals
 to the general, he shall be protected, and well treat-
 ed here, and allowed to return, whenever he pleas-

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copy of the letter of the late, Allen, immediately communicated to the government, and a copy for the principal gentlemen in Vermont, was directed to the printer, that it "I was not particular as to retaining any answer, but to let the interested persons obtain their own, and that it might be printed."

On Feb. 2d, 1787, Robinson wrote another letter to Allen, including a copy of the former, which he supposed had been mislaid; as he had a copy of an answer to it, in which he writes, "The frequent accounts we have had for three months past, from your part of the country, confirms me in the opinion I had of your inclination to join the king's army, and to assist in restoring America, to her former peaceable and happy constitution." This induced me to make another trial, in sending this to you especially, as I can now write with more authority, and assure you, that you may obtain the terms mentioned in the above letter, provided you, and the people of Vermont take a decisive and active part with us. He requests an answer, and that some method might be pointed out, for carrying on a correspondence for the future; and information, in what manner the people of Vermont could be the most serviceable to the British government, either by joining with the northern army, or to meet and join an army from New York.

Allen received no answer to either of these letters, but on March 9th, 1781, inclosed them in a letter to Congress, informing them of all the circumstances which had attended the business. In his letter to that body, he made several observations, justifying the conduct of Sherman, asserting her right to independence, and expressing his determinate resolution to do every thing in his power to establish it. Con-

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Copy of Robinson's letter, by E. Allen.
Copy of Robinson's letter to Feb. 2, 1787, by E. Allen.

THE MATHEMATICAL APPROXIMATION

School of his own integrity, and justice, that his
 name and suffering in the cause of his country were
 known to all America, he puts in this Bill a firm
 and confident, that Congress will not dispute a firm
 attachment to the state of this country, though
 I do not hesitate to say, I am fully grounded in opi-
 ion, that Vermont has an indubitable right to agree
 on, or make a cessation of hostilities with Great Britain,
 provided the United States permit in making her
 application for a union with them. For Vermont
 of all people would be the most miserable were she
 obliged to defend the independence of the United
 States, and they at the same time, at full
 liberty to corrupt and ruin the independence of
 Vermont. I am persuaded, when Congress consider
 the circumstances of this state, they will be much
 surprised that I have transmitted about the enclosed
 letters, that I have kept them in custody so
 long, for I am absolutely determined to defend the
 independence of Vermont, as Congress, and that of
 the United States, and rather than fall, will unite
 with my Countrymen, the Green Mountain Boys, in the defence
 of our mountains, and resist our enemies with
 our arms, a large vessel, and a great many
 of our arms, took place in the spring of last year 1776,
 which furnished the British with an opportunity, to
 make a similar attempt from Canada. A number
 of men had been made prisoners in a descent, which
 the British made upon Killbuck, in the month of
 May. Their friends applied to government, to send
 to send a Regiment to Canada, to negotiate their release
 on exchange. The government complied with their
 request, and in the month of July, a flag was sent
 with a letter to the commanding officer in Canada.
 In the fall, the British came up Lake Champlain, a
 great force. The commanding officer brought a very
 favourable report, in relation to the above, favourable

E. Allen's letter to the President of Congress, March 21st, 1776.
 Brewster

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favorable answer from general Sullivan, to Governor Chittenden's letter, and Genl. John Allen, then a brigadier general, and commanding officer to Vermont, proposing a cessation of hostilities with Vermont, during a negotiation for the exchange of prisoners. Allen agreed to the proposal, upon condition that it should extend to the adjacent frontiers of New York. The British officer appeared to be unwilling to treat with any part of America, but Vermont, but finally agreed to every thing which Allen proposed.

Before the snow melted into their winter quarters, Colonel In Allen, and Major Joseph Fay were appointed by the governor of Vermont, commissioners, to negotiate the proposed exchange of prisoners. They proceeded to treat with the British agents, Captain J. Sherwood and George Smith, on this subject. The British agents availed themselves of the opportunity, to explain their views, to make their proposals, and to offer to complete an establishment for Vermont, from the royal authority, as should be desired. The commissioners from Vermont treated the proposals with affability, and good humour; and though they avoided bringing any thing to a decision, the British concluded they were in a fair way to effect their purposes; and the campaign ended, without any further hostilities to Vermont.

The next year, the British entered upon the business, with high expectations of success; and it was the interest of Vermont, not to undervalue them. New York had withdrawn their troops, from the post at Chenango, all the continental troops, had been ordered out of the territory; and the adjacent states, did not afford them any assistance. The people of Vermont were exposed to the whole force of the enemy in Canada, and had neither magazines, money, or an army, to oppose to the enemy, at the northward,

northward, who were seven thousand strong. No way of safety remained for Vermont, but to submit our lot to either that by policy, which we did not do, or by power. The latter course would have been that they were indignantly rebuked by the continent, or force them into a submission to New York, and that it was clearly their duty, to provide for the safety of the people, in the only way that remained, by managing the British attempts to corrupt them, to their own advantage.

On May 1st, Colonel Ira Allen was sent to Canada, with a commission to negotiate the exchange of prisoners. The British agents concluded, that the day of their complete success, was at hand. They complied with every thing which Allen required, and urged incessantly to have Vermont declare itself a British province, with assurances, that every thing she could ask for should be granted by the British generals, and confirmed by the king, in the most ample manner. Colonel Allen was fully equal to the business, which had been entrusted to him, and both he, and his employers, were among the firmest friends to the independence of Vermont, and of America. With a singular talent at negotiation, he suffered the British agents to deceive themselves with an idea of their own success, and completely effected his own views, in leading the enemy into an agreement, that no hostilities should be commenced against the state of Vermont. — In July, Major Joseph Fay was sent to the enemy on Lake Champlain, and completed an exchange of prisoners; And in September, Allen and Fay had another conference with the British agents, which like the former, left the British in high expectations of making Vermont a British province, and procured to

Governor Chittenden's letter to General Washington, of November 12th, 1776.

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Vermont the great advantage, that the enemy took of all hostilities against her, and returned all her inhabitants, which had been taken prisoners.

On October 19th, 1781, Lord Cornwallis surrendered with his army to General Washington. When the news of this important event arrived, the general assembly of Vermont were sitting at Charlestown. The enemy had come up the lake with a large force, and were then at Tyconderoga. They had concluded, that their business was so far effected with Vermont, that they might make an open proclamation of their designs and offers. Their agents had accordingly brought with them, a number of printed proclamations, announcing the royal offers to the people of Vermont, and inviting them to unite, and become very happy, as a royal province, under the King's government. The British agents sent on their letters to Charlestown, announcing the measures they were pursuing, and proposing to publish and disperse their proclamations, immediately among the people. They were told in answer, that the news of Cornwallis's surrender, would render such a step extremely dangerous, and was the sure way to prevent all prospect of success; and that they must wait, until time should determine, what was practicable and prudent.—Mortified by the disaster of Cornwallis, but comforted with groundless expectations and hopes, they returned in a peaceable manner down the lake, and went into winter quarters, without having done any injury to Vermont, through the whole campaign.

In the winter of 1781, the enemy in Canada, were extremely impatient to know, what effect the surrender of Cornwallis had produced on the minds of the people of Vermont. In February and in April, the British agents wrote in the most pressing terms, for information. Their anxiety and views will best appear, from the style of their letters: The following

following extract, is from a letter from one of the British agents, dated 25th Feb. 1793. It is, in many respects, to be considered as a most judicious and able piece of his excellency [General Haldimand] has been to send the same, with this, which having examined, I can only request you to send it in the most judicious, unobtrusive manner, the present will be the intention of the people, and leading men of your State, respecting our former negotiations, and what effect the late catastrophe of Lord Cornwallis, has on them.—Will it not be well to consider, the many chances, and vicissitudes of war? However brilliant the last campaign may appear, the next may wear a very different aspect. Add to this, the great probability of your being raised, by your haughty neighbours, slated by (what they call) a signal victory; and I hope you will see as I do, that it is more than ever your interest, to unite yourself with those, who wish to make you a happy and free government. Will there be a proper time to send the proclamations? I repeat my request, that you will tell me, without reserve, what may be expected in future.

On the 2d of April, the British agents write in this style, "In confidence, we take this opportunity to acquaint you, by the authority of his Excellency General Haldimand, that he is still inclined to treat amicably with the people of Vermont; and these his generous and humane inclinations, are now seconded by much stronger powers from his Majesty, than he has hitherto enjoyed for that purpose.—We do in confidence, officially assure you, that every article proposed to you in his excellency's former offer, as well as the consumation of the safe and well unions, in their utmost limits, will be amply and punctually complied with.—We hope, your answer may be such, as to unburden our anxious minds. Extremely fearful about the event, and impatient at

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not receiving an answer on April 26th, they were
 again, and carried their offers and promises to a still
 greater extent. His excellency has no objection
 of his first object, and I am happy to be able to
 this, so inform you, that the general has lately re-
 ceived by way of Halifax, full powers from the king
 to establish a military government, including the
 full extent of the said and well known, with every
 privilege and immunity, formerly possessed to you,
 and he is likewise fully authorized, as well as in-
 ducingly inclined, to provide amply for ~~the~~
 and to make ~~the~~ brigadier general, in the list,
~~the~~ field officers, with such other re-
 wards, as your loyalty, and good services in bring-
 ing about the revolution, may in future merit. In
 short, the general is vested with full powers, to make
 such rewards, as he shall judge proper, to all those,
 who distinguish themselves, in promoting the happy
 unions. And as his excellency has the greatest con-
 fidence in you, and ~~the~~, much will depend on
 your recompositions. ~~under the~~
 In July, Colonel Ira Allen was sent again into
 Canada, with a letter from the governor of Vermont,
 to General Haldimand, requesting the release of two
 officers, belonging to Vermont, who were then pri-
 soners in Canada. The British agents were univer-
 sally desirous, of bringing their negotiations with
 Vermont, to an immediate decision. All the arts of
 negotiation were employed, on the one hand, to
 persuade Vermont, to declare herself a British prov-
 ince; and, on the other, to avoid this step, without
 bringing on a renewal of hostilities. A secret treaty
 was offered, and much urged. And in the event,
 Haldimand agreed to continue the suspension of
 hostilities; and wrote a very friendly letter to Gov-
 ernor Chittenden, fully complying with his request
 of liberating the prisoners, and announcing his pa-
 cific disposition towards Vermont, in this unexpect-

... manner. You may be assured that the intention of the British government is not to force any settlement on you, but to encourage you to settle on your own terms, and to promote the settlement and cultivation of that new country, to the interest and happiness of themselves, and their posterity.

With this year, the war, and the negotiations, came to an end, leaving favourable impressions on the government of Canada, towards Vermont. The last letter the British agents wrote upon the business, was on March 25th, 1782: before the news of the peace, was officially known, or fully believed in Canada. Their views and sentiments, at that period, were thus expressed, "I am commanded to acquaint you, that actuated from the beginning, by an sincere desire of serving you, and your people, as well as of promoting the royal cause, by reuniting you with the mother country, his excellency meters lost an opportunity of representing every circumstance that could be advanced in your favour, to the King's ministers, in the hope of accomplishing a reconciliation. — His excellency will continue by such representations, to do all in his power, to serve you, but what effect it may have, at this late period, is very uncertain. While his excellency sincerely regrets the happy moment, which it is much to be feared cannot be recalled, of restoring to you the blessings of the British government, and views with concern the fatal consequences approaching, which

Haldimand's letter to Governor Chittenden, dated Quebec, 25 August, 1782.

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he has so long, and so frequently professed from your proceedings, to derive some benefit from a conciliatory and humane sentence, which could lead to your satisfaction, or the better disposal of the uncertain state of affairs, determined by the treaty, or what is doing, or perhaps done, in a general accommodation. He does not think it will be refused, to give any opinion, which may influence you, perhaps to the prejudice of your interests, or that might interfere with the views of government. If the report now prevailing, has any foundation, a very short time will determine the fate of Vermont.—Should any thing favourable present, you may still depend on his excellency's utmost endeavours, for your salvation.

This terminated a controversy, which occasioned many and various conjectures, at the time when it was carried on. On the part of the British, it consisted of constant attempts and endeavours to persuade the leading men of Vermont, to renounce their allegiance to the states of America, and become a British province. On the part of the gentlemen of Vermont, the correspondence consisted of evasive, ambiguous, general answers and proposals, calculated, not to destroy the British hopes of sedition, but carefully avoiding any engagements or measures, that could be construed to be in aid of the government. And it had for its object, a cessation of hostilities, at a time when the state of Vermont, deserted by the continent, and unable to defend herself, lay at the mercy of the enemy in Canada.

Eight persons only in Vermont, were in the secret of this correspondence. Each of them were known to be among the most confirmed friends, to the American cause. They had avowed their sentiments, and embraced the cause of their country, from the beginning of the American war: They had suffered severely,

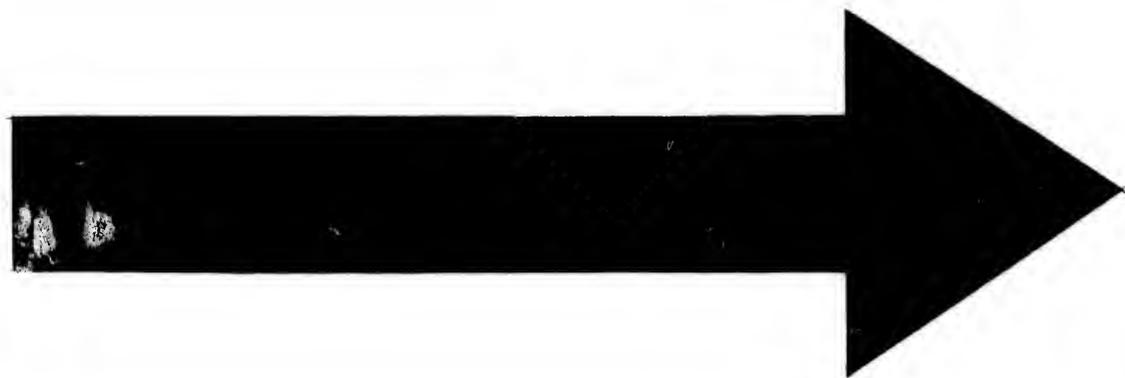
...of Vermont and formed extensive judgments with regard to the issue. They concluded with the prospect, that they should draw off a considerable part of the continent to their government and interests; the British generally, a solid and honorable regard for money, rendered her prisoners, forbade their troops to enter or attack her territory, and considered the people rather in the light of friends, than enemies. Thus while the British generals were vainly imagining that they were deceiving, corrupting, and seducing the people of Vermont, by their superior art, flattery, and intrigues; the wiser policy of eight honest farmers, in the most uncultivated part of America, disarmed their northern troops, kept them idle and inactive during three campaigns, assisted in reducing Cornwallis, protected the northern frontiers, and finally saved a state.

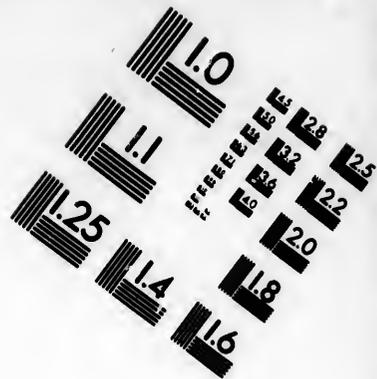
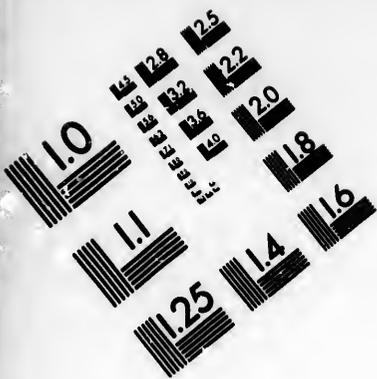
Not only the British generals, but so much was the British government deceived by their appearances, that the ministers flattered themselves, that they had nearly effected the denfection of Vermont from the American eagle, and drawn them over to the British interest. Lord George Germain was at that time minister of state, for the American department. A letter which he wrote to Sir Henry Clinton, commander of the British troops in New York, was intercepted and carried into Philadelphia. The letter was dated Whitehall, February 7, 1781, in which he wrote thus, "The return of the people of Vermont to their allegiance, is an event of the utmost importance to the King's affairs; and at this time if the French and Washington really meditate an irruption into Canada, may be considered as oppelling an unformountable bar to the attempt. General Hal-

confer with the said Committee, and that the said Com-
 mittee, on behalf of the Congress, do hereby request
 and signify unto you, and to the said Committee, that
 you will be admitted into the said Committee, and that
 the said Committee are hereby instructed to give notice to the
 Agents of the State of New Hampshire, and of New York,
 to be present at the said Conference, to be held at New York
 on the 11th of August, 1781. Resolved, That it is the in-
 dispensable preliminary, to the negotiation of the
 independence of the people, inhabiting the territory
 called Vermont, and their admission into the Federal
 Union, that they explicitly relinquish all demands of
 lands, or jurisdiction, on the east side of the West
 bank of Connecticut river, and on the west side of a
 line beginning at the north east corner of the State
 of Massachusetts, thence running east by west with
 of Hudson river to the first fall river, the jurisdiction
 only in its general course, then by the most direct
 of the townships gained by the late purchase of
 New Hampshire, to the river running from Northbury
 to Lake Champlain, thence along the said river
 Lake Champlain thence along the shore of Lake
 Champlain to the latitude forty five degrees north
 intersecting a parcel of land between Middlebury, and
 the waters of Lake Champlain, and so northward
 With this resolution of Congress, a packet of papers
 was sent by General Washington to General Bitt-
 erson, desiring to know what were the sentiments,
 views, and intentions of the people of New Hampshire,
 whether they would be satisfied with the independ-
 ence, proposed by Congress, or that they should in
 consequence, be join with the colony, that become
 a British province. The government returned an
 equitable, and decisive answer. That there were no
 people in the continent, more attached to the cause

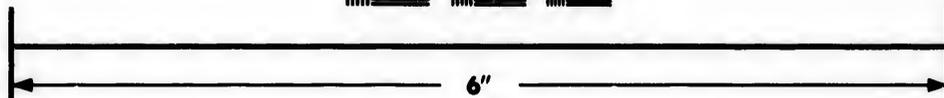
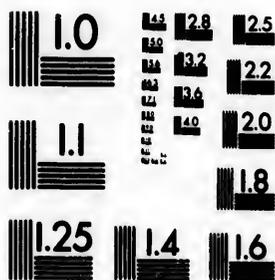
The members of Congress, in their capacity of the representatives of the people, have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 14th inst. in relation to the petition of the citizens of New York, for the admission of that State into the Union. The members of Congress are sensible of the importance of the subject, and are desirous to give it the consideration it merits. They are also sensible of the necessity of a uniformity of sentiment among the States, and are desirous to see the Union preserved in its original purity. They are therefore desirous to see the petition of New York referred to a committee, who may be able to report thereon in a proper manner. They are also desirous to see the petition of New York referred to a committee, who may be able to report thereon in a proper manner. They are also desirous to see the petition of New York referred to a committee, who may be able to report thereon in a proper manner.

+ Journal of Congress, April 1781, p. 26-29, memo.





**IMAGE EVALUATION
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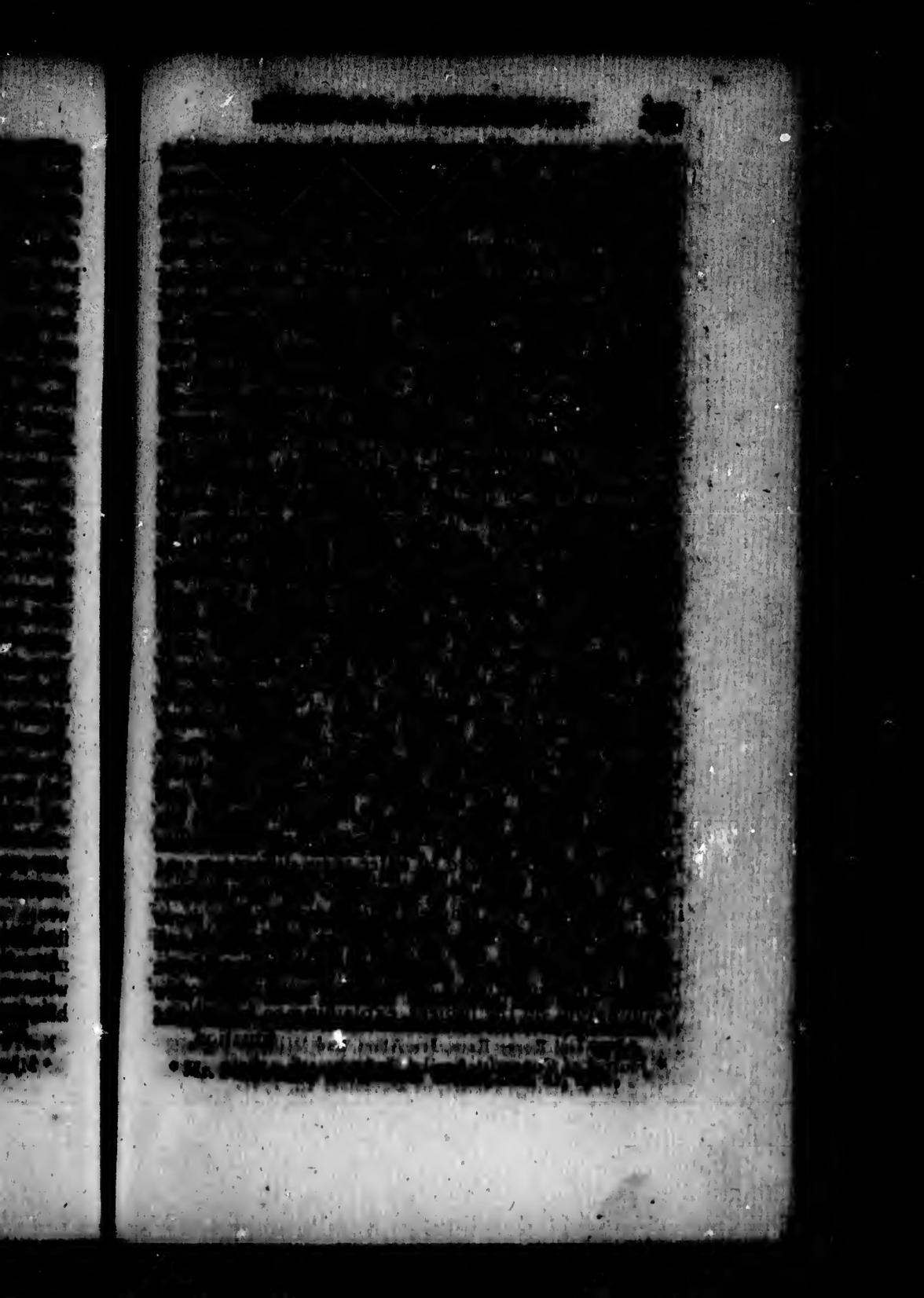
23 WEST MAIN STREET
WEBSTER, N.Y. 14590
(716) 872-4503

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W. J. ...
...



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these provisions of order to...
L. W. Spinks, letter of December 19, 1901

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of August last, in guaranteeing to the states of New-
 york

the first of the month of January, 1793.
 The House was then organized by the
 speaker and members of the House,
 and the following day the House
 adjourned till the first of February.
 Under the auspices of the House,
 the first of the month of February,
 1793, the House of Representatives
 employed in effecting a compromise with the
 Congress, was debated and the House
 finally determined to purchase the
 territory of Vermont. The House
 passed in October, 1793, a resolution
 which had passed on August 17, 1793,
 very gravely and in a manner
 proposed in Congress to be
 one month from the date to
 be communicated to the
 habitants of Vermont, in
 order to give them an opportunity
 immediately to signify their
 should have been made known
 ing to exercise their rights
 to New Hampshire and New York, and
 confer, each a copy of a return of
 tion of delinquencies to the United States,
 altho' such persons had application for
 habitants, and others, under the
 federal laws, who violated the
 that the House of Representatives
 be imposed as a penalty on the
 would extend for all the lands within the
 the territory of the State of New York,
 to New Hampshire, and all the lands
 ward of the State of New York,
 that the House of Representatives
 United States, do without delay or further order
 carry these resolutions into full execution. — But af-
 ter

him to stay & assist in the business of the State until the 1st of July 1792. He was made and sworn in, that the State should be free from all debts, and that the State should be free from all taxes, and that the State should be free from all other burdens. He was also made and sworn in, that the State should be free from all other burdens, and that the State should be free from all other burdens.

From their votes it was apparent, that the State had a right to demand of the Congress, that they should be free from all debts, and that the State should be free from all taxes, and that the State should be free from all other burdens. The Congress, however, refused to do so, and the State was obliged to pay the debts, and to pay the taxes, and to bear all other burdens. This was a great injustice to the State, and it was a great injury to the people of the State. The Congress, however, refused to do so, and the State was obliged to pay the debts, and to pay the taxes, and to bear all other burdens.

The proceedings of Congress, in this respect, were a great injury to the State, and a great injury to the people of the State. The Congress, however, refused to do so, and the State was obliged to pay the debts, and to pay the taxes, and to bear all other burdens. This was a great injustice to the State, and it was a great injury to the people of the State.

Extract from the minutes of Congress, of April 17, 1792.

A Copy of the letter from the Hon. James Fay, Major Estlin, and Isaac Tichenor.

HISTORY OF THE REVOLUTION

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When the late resolutions of Congress became known in Vermont, the general opinion was that the Assembly had been duped by the words of Congress to bring about a union with the great work and... would be no longer... which might be... the Assembly of Vermont... CHAT... by force... any body... who... on

*Disorders in Vermont. Resolutions of Congress.
Remonstrances against the Proceedings of Congress.
Peace with Great Britain. Disunions of Ver-
mont to an Union with the Confederate States.
New Federal Constitution. Proposals of New York.
Settlement of the Controversy with that State. Ad-
mission of Vermont into the Federal Union. Polit-
ical Effects of these Controversies.*

IN the internal government of the state, Vermont had met with good success. The people were not fully united in the measure, when the powers of government were first assumed. Some were upon principle, attached to the government of New York. Those who were of a timid constitution, were fearful of the consequences. Those who wished to be free from the restraints of law and government, were clamorous about tyranny and oppression. Several of these sought protection from New York, avowed their allegiance to that state, and received commissions for civil and military offices, under that government; and were extremely active to oppose and disturb the government of Vermont. Notwithstanding these attempts, the government of Vermont had been constantly gaining strength, not only among the people who were already settled in the territory, but by the accession of large numbers of people.

by the late of New York having been... military... Vermont... Sept. 24th... their... matter was determined.

On December the 5th, the burghers... again, and Congress... her own engagements to Vermont... ill judged policy, to embrace the cause of the... and to pass resolutions full of... and threatening against the proceedings... Their... was in this...

By the United States in Congress assembled, Decr 5, 1782. Whereas it appears to Congress by... the people inhabiting theq district of country on the west side of Connecticut river, commonly called the New Hampshire grants, and claiming to be an independent State, in contempt of the authority of Congress, and in direct violation of their resolutions of the 24th of September, 1779, and of the 2d of June, 1780, did, in the month of September last, proceed to exercise jurisdiction over the persons and properties of sundry inhabitants of the said district, professing themselves to be the subjects of, and to owe allegiance to the State of New York, by whose... have been condemned to banishment, not to return on pain of death.

Journal of Congress, Nov 14, 1782.

read available to the public. It is not clear from the image whether this is a separate page or a continuation of the previous one. The text is a historical account of Vermont's independence and the actions of Congress.

... but which Congress had declared to be illegal. When they were told that the British had not joined the confederation, they had no objection to making a separate peace with the British. The United States, however, would not allow this. They had not received any authority from the British which they had not received from the United States. That Vermont had declared its independence, as Congress had done, was not a crime. To pass resolutions prescribing measures to a Congress had to prescribe measures to receive the banished, and make them criminals of the property which they had taken from them by due course of law. They were reminded that they were pursuing the same course against Vermont, which Britain had done against the American Colonies, and which had been found necessary to oppose at every step. Their proceedings tended to make the liberty and natural rights of mankind a mere bubble, and the spoil of state politicians. That it was of no importance to America to pull down arbitrary power in one place, that they might establish it in another. That the inhabitants of Vermont had lived in a state of independence from the first settlement of the country, and could not now submit to be resolved out of it by the influence which New York, their old adversary, had in Congress. That they were in full possession of freedom, and would remain independent, notwithstanding all the power and influence of New York. That they had no controversy with the United States, complexly considered, but were at all times ready and able to vindicate their rights and liberties, against the usurpations of the State of New York.

With regard to that part of the resolves, which declared "the proceedings of Vermont to be derogatory to the authority of the United States, and dangerous

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HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES

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Government...
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[The main body of the page is almost entirely obscured by a dense, dark, horizontal band of noise or heavy redaction, making the text illegible.]

State of Vermont appointed commissioners on
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HISTORY OF VERMONT

J. W. B. ...

1857

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no ...

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VERMONT STATE ARCHIVES

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general fear of the Govt. which prevailed, and the
 from proceeding as usual. In 1771, the
 was there any person being in the country, in 1771,
 1771, during the absence of the British
 authority of New York at
 shot through the body of the
 gave such a general alarm, that
 more cautious to avoid the
 In the days of the controversy,
 country was much prevented by
 which inflamed, and the violence they
 In the latter part of the year 1767, the
 with New Hampshire bore a very
 Chesterfield in that State was one
 had joined with Vermont, and
 and still adhered to the
 and a constable under the
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 and, under the authority of
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 sent three agents to
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 ry of Vermont was arrested
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 The matter being laid before
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 in

in 1777, the people, raised on liberty, and...
such things, under the shadow of the sword...
ment. Under the royal government, the proceeds...
to the people, the government, how was it...
to the people, the people to prevent...
when the people takes the power of govern...
in their own hands, their errors, certainly...
ought to have been corrected, by the...
the first year, to have rendered the State of...
New York, the people, and in the year...
since that time, the people, in opposition to her...
claims, and the people of the State of Vermont.

New Hampshire, the people, for...
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and ability, appeared in the colonies, and that the people were willing to be drawn into the American union.

Amidst the errors and evils which attended these controversies, they were found to produce some good effects. They served to excite and draw forth abilities and powers, which proved of great service to their country, when they came to be employed in the grand contest with Britain. They led the people to acquire just sentiments of the value of men and of the nature, importance, and extent of government. At that period, every man in America seemed to operate, to promote, and to acquire knowledge. The principles of civil liberty, which were at that time imperfectly understood, were more generally known, and more generally practiced, than at any former period.

The newspapers, which were then published, were the first of the kind in the colonies, and they were the first to give a general view of the state of the colonies, and to show the progress of the American mind.

When the colonies were first settled, the people were almost entirely ignorant of the principles of government, and they were almost entirely ignorant of the rights of man.

It was not until the middle of the last century, that the people began to acquire a just sense of their rights, and to demand a more extensive participation in the management of their affairs. This was the result of the progress of the American mind, and of the influence of the principles of civil liberty, which were then more generally known and more generally practiced.

THE MATHEMATICAL PHILOSOPHER. CHAP.

...the ... of ...

...the ... of ...

*The Development of the State
The Agricultural, Manufacturing, Mining, Commerce,
The Profit of Labor.*

...the ... of ...

EMPLOYMENTS

has found out a way to make our planet bear more
 face, and your ally. I have been from searching
 to those employments which are the most necessary
 and the most useful to man, seem to be the most
 nearly connected with morality, and the most
 cultivated appears to be the most easily
 corrupted. The man that is engaged in
 finding the faults, or the errors, or the
 seeming have but little to correct
 many histories of corruption, there is not
 count, that the body of the husbandmen
 came a corrupt, venal, and debauched
 They must first be led to desert their own
 or they shall be blinded and deceived,
 can be made fit tools for politicians to
 manage. Their profession tends to render them
 industrious, hardy, incorrupt, and honest
 men. It is never in the body of the
 but among the speculators, politicians, and
 of mobs, that we look for a settled trade, and high
 attainments, in honesty and corruption.

MANUFACTURES. Next to agriculture, the chief
 source of employment is manufactures. These are
 chiefly of the domestic kind, designed to procure
 clothing for families. In no part of the United
 States does the farmer meet with more success in
 raising sheep. The climate agrees well with the
 breed of sheep, that is spread over the territory.
 And the richness of the pasture, in new settlements,
 gives an extraordinary incentive to the man, and
 richness to the fleece. It is not uncommon to see
 sheep of two or three years old, to weigh
 and twenty pounds, and to afford
 pounds of wool. And from the wool
 raising, the bigger part of the farmers manufacture
 the woolsens, which are used in their families.
 no places does flax succeed better, than on
 lands. The common produce from one acre is

from

four, four, or five hundred pounds. Every family
 has a quantity of fax, and carries on a small manufac-
 ture of it. Their domestic manufactures
 are of the highest importance to the people. When
 the country shall be well settled, wool, and fax will
 be the most useful productions. At
 present there is not enough of either annually pro-
 duced to supply the inhabitants. ⁵⁵Great advantages may be derived to the state,
 from the ⁵⁶manufacture of iron. Large quantities of
 iron ore are found in several of the towns, on the
 west side of the green mountains. Ticondoga, Rut-
 land, Puttord, and Shoreham, contain great quanti-
 ties. The ore in these towns is of a reddish kind,
 mixed with earth impregnated with yellow ore. It
 melts easily, and produces from one seventh to one
 fourth of iron. The iron is mostly of the cold state
 kind, works easily, and makes excellent nails. The
 principal part of the ore that has hitherto been used
 in this state, has been brought from a mountain on
 the west side of Lake Champlain, about four miles
 north of Crown Point. This ore is of a black,
 heavy kind, mixed with iron, mixed with a green rust
 stone. The iron in this ore, appears in large grains,
 some of them nearly as large as a pea. These grains
 appear to be of pure iron. Some of this ore is so
 peculiarly rich, that when it is well managed, it will
 yield four tenths of pure iron, but is exceeding
 hard to melt. When the ore is well worked, it pro-
 duces the best iron for chains, horse shoes, nails, &c.
 and such matters as are drawn lengthways. When
 applied to uses which require plating widthways, it
 does not answer in good a purpose, though it is
 neither coldshire, nor redshire. The same kind of
 ore is found in many of the mountains, on the west
 side of the Lake, as far south as its waters extend.
 A country thus abounding with the richest kind of
 iron ore, naturally invites the settlers to the iron
 manufactures.

and they have already secured several forges and furnaces. In Benning county they have one forge; in Rutland county thirteen; in Addison county four; and in Chittenden county two. In addition to which three furnaces are also erected in the county of Rutland. From these works large quantities of bar iron are annually produced. The manufacture of iron is already become common, and probably some other branch of the iron manufacture, may soon be seen. These manufactures, like every other in the new settlements, are as yet in their infancy. But if we may judge from the plenty of the iron and sulphur, with which an immense quantity of the best kind of iron ore may be procured, we shall be apt to conclude that Nature has designed this part of the United States, to be the seat of very flourishing manufactures of every thing that can be made of iron, or steel. The manufacture of iron and steel, is still more extensive, and useful. The immense quantity of wood, with which the country is every where covered, may supply any quantity of timber for this purpose; and the great economy which takes place in collecting the ashes, made either by culinary fires, or those which are designed to burn up the wood where the inhabitants are clearing the land. In almost every new settlement, one of the first intentions is to erect works for the pot and pearl ashes manufacture. And there are probably as many works of this kind, as there are settled towns in the State. The business is every where well understood, and there is no better pot or pearl ashes made in any part of America, than that which is produced in Vermont. It has hitherto taken from four hundred and fifty to four hundred and eighty bushels of ashes to make one ton of pot ash. Constant attempts are now made, to find out a way of extracting more of

the salts from the ashes, than has been heretofore done by the common method of bleaching; and all to extract more salts from the ashes, which have been thrown aside as useless. Philosophers prospect seem to have attended some chymical experiments of this kind; and improvements have been made in the method of conducting the works for the pot ash. But much further improvements are necessary, before these imperfect attempts can be of any very valuable use to the manufacturer. — The quantity of pot and pearl ashes, which is annually made in Vermont, cannot be exactly stated. From the best accounts I could procure, in the year 1793, the quantity might be estimated at about one thousand tons: Probably this may be near the truth. But whatever may be the quantity produced at present, it is rapidly increasing, and probably will for several years, bear some proportion to the increase of the inhabitants. As the mountains will not fail to supply wood for this manufacture, for centuries yet to come, it seems that Vermont will be one of the States in which this manufacture will be attended with its greatest perfection and profit.

The manufacture of maple sugar is also an article of great importance to the State. Perhaps two thirds of the families are engaged in this business in the spring, and they make more sugar than is used among the people. Considerable quantities are carried to the shopkeepers; which always find a ready sale, and good pay. — The business is now carried on, under the greatest disadvantages; Without proper conveniences, instruments, or works; solely by the exertions of private families, in the woods, and without any other conveniences than one or two iron kettles, the largest of which will not hold more than four or five bushells. Under all these disadvantages, it is common for a family to make two or three hundred pounds of maple sugar, in three or four weeks.

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This manufacture is capable of great improvement. The country abounds with an immense quantity of the sugar maple trees. The larger ones are five and six feet in diameter, and yield five gallons of sap in one day, and from twelve to fifteen pounds of sugar, during the season. The pinner and smaller trees afford sap in proportion to a still greater proportion. Were the woods furnished with proper apparatus and tools, to collect and boil the juice, the quantity of sugar might be increased, during the time of making of it, in almost any proportion. And it might become an article of much importance in the commerce of the country.—I have never tasted any better liquor than what has been made from the maple, when it has been properly refined; it has a peculiarly rich, salubrious, and pleasant taste. But it is generally made under so many unfavorable circumstances, that it appears for the most part, rough, and dirty, and frequently burnt, smoaky, or weak, when it is first made.—In one circumstance only, does nature seem to have set bounds to this manufacture, and that is with respect to time. It is only during four or five weeks in the spring, that the juice can be collected. While the trees are frozen at night, and thawed in the day, the sap runs plentifully; but as soon as the buds come on, the sap ceases to flow in such a manner, as that it can any longer be collected.—We cannot determine with much accuracy what quantity of this sugar is annually made in the state. In the town of Cavendish, in the spring of the year 1794, the quantity made by eighty three families, was fourteen thousand and eighty pounds. If the families in the other towns manufacture in the same proportion, there must be above one hundred thousand tons annually made in Vermont.

Several distilleries have of late been erected in the state. The object of them is to make such spirituous liquors,

are brought into the state are chiefly rum, wine, brandy, and gin; Cheese, livers and woolen, and the various articles of cheap clothing: Tea, coffee, chocolate, and all the articles necessary for building, which are not yet produced in the country. The exports are grain of all kinds; butter, and milk; Pot and part of other; beef, pork, live cattle, horses, olives, wool, &c. &c. &c. The amount of the shipments of an inland country, cannot be very accurately ascertained; nor have we any way to determine, what quantity of goods are annually brought into the state; or to what value, the shipments are annually amount.—The trade itself has been of great advantage, in promoting the settlement of the country; but the carriage of the articles, being chiefly by land, and through long and bad roads, has been attended with great expense; and has much prevented the raising of wheat, and other kinds of grain. The natural channel into which the trade of Vermont will resolve itself, will be a water course upon Connecticut river; and through Lake Champlain, down the necks of Madelon, and St. Lawrence. All vigorous attempts are now making, to render all these waters better suited to the purposes of navigation, the time cannot be far distant, when commerce shall be successfully carried on, because much increased, and be attended with much greater advantages to the state.

In any of these employments, the labourer has the prospect of acquiring not only a very comfortable living, but sufficient property to maintain a family. The price of labour will always bear a proportion to the profits it will produce, and to the demand which there is for it. In a new country every one that can perform a day's work, will find employment in any part of the country. In agriculture, the labourer can procure seventy dollars a year for his work, equal in value to one hundred and twenty

ty bushels of wheat. In the holy year of the year, the common price of a bushel of wheat is not more than half a dollar. All kinds of labour, as in the case of agriculture. — Of these wages it will be necessary to procure some for the labourer; the remainder the labourer is able to reserve for his purpose. Thus by labouring for one, or two, or three years, the labourer becomes independent, and works afterwards upon his own land or stock.

The writers upon political economy in Europe, are constantly mentioning the great advantages which accrue to trade and commerce, from an extreme cheapness of labour. The beneficial effects that would arise from it in America, would be no compensation for the disadvantages that would attend it. It would not be any advantage to the country, to carry on any branch of business, which would not support itself, and pay well for the labour. Least of all would it be of any public benefit, to have the profits of the labour of many, centre in the hands of a few wealthy men. This would reduce the body of the people to poverty, dependence, and venality; and introduce all that endless confusion of laws for the support of the poor, which has perplexed all the wealthy parts of Europe, for more than a century. Those laws, with their perpetual alterations, plainly denote that the difficulty does not admit any remedy from the ordinary course of law. — In every country, in which the state of society is such, that the labourers have the prospect and the hope of acquiring property, that body of men are active, enterprising, and economical, as any other order in the state. Take from them, under any pretence, the proper profits of labour, and all prospect and hope of acquiring ease and property by it, and the European consequences will follow: The poor will everywhere abound, the wealthy must maintain them, and both

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both will be dissatisfied. Speculators will be perpetually proposing new laws, and the more the laws are multiplied, the worse will be the condition of the poor, and the greater will be the expense of the rich. This will be the unavoidable consequence, when the wealth of a nation has passed into the hands of a few men: Or when the body of the workmen, instead of labouring upon their own property, continues to serve under a master.

The body of the workmen, instead of labouring upon their own property, continues to serve under a master. This will be the unavoidable consequence, when the wealth of a nation has passed into the hands of a few men: Or when the body of the workmen, instead of labouring upon their own property, continues to serve under a master.

CHAPTER

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C H A P. XIII.

STATE OF SOCIETY.—Customs and Manners.—Education, early Marriages, Adultery, Equality, Economy, and Hospitality of the People.

THE customs and manners of nations are derived from descent, situation, employment, and all those regulations which have an influence upon the state of the people; and they serve better than other circumstances to ascertain the character of nations, and to denote the state of society at any given period in their history.—The customs and manners of the people of Vermont, are principally derived from the people of New England, from whom they are descended: But in a few particulars they have received a direction, from the state of society which takes place among the settlers in a new country.

—EDUCATION.—Among the customs which are universal among the people, in all parts of the state, one that seems worthy of remark, is the attention that is paid to the education of children. The aim of the parent is not so much to have his children acquainted with the liberal arts and sciences; but to have them all taught to read with ease and propriety; to write in plain and legible hand; and to have them acquainted with the rules of arithmetic, so far as shall be necessary to carry on any of the most common and necessary occupations of life. All the children are trained up to this kind of knowledge: They

are accustomed from their earliest years to read the Holy Scriptures, the periodical publications, newspapers, and political pamphlets; to form some general acquaintance with the laws of their country, the proceedings of the courts of justice, of the general assembly of the state, and of the Congress, &c. Such a kind of education is common and universal in every part of the state: And nothing would be more dishonourable to the parents, or to the children, than to be without it. One of the first things the new settlers attend to, is to procure a schoolmaster to instruct their children in the arts of reading, writing, and arithmetic: And where they are not able to procure or to hire an instructor, the parents attend to it themselves. No greater misfortune could attend a child, than to arrive at manhood unable to read, write, and keep small accounts: He is viewed as unfit for the common business of the towns and plantations, and in a state greatly inferior to his neighbours. Every consideration joins to prevent so degraded and mortifying a state, by giving to every one the customary education, and advantages. This custom was derived from the people of New England; and has acquired greater force in the new settlements; where the people are apprehensive their children will have less advantages, and of consequence, not appear equal to the children in the older towns. — No custom was ever better adapted to private, or public good. Such kind of education and knowledge, is of more advantage to mankind, than all the speculations, disputes, and distinctions, that metaphysics, logic, and scholastic theology, have ever produced. In the plain common good sense, promoted by the one, virtue, utility, freedom, and public happiness, have their foundations. In the useless speculations produced by the other, common sense is lost, folly becomes refined, and the useful branches of knowledge are darkened, and forgot.

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EARLY MARRIAGES.—Another custom which every thing tends to introduce in a new country is early marriage. Trained up to a regular industry and economy the young people grow up to maturity, in all the vigour of health, and bloom of natural beauty. Not enervated by idleness, weakened by luxury, or corrupted by debauchery, the inclinations of nature are directed towards their proper objects, at an early period; and assume the direction which nature and society designed they should have. The ease with which a family may be maintained, and the wishes of parents to see their children settled in the way of virtue, reputation, and felicity, are circumstances, which also strongly invite to an early settlement in life. The virtuous affections are not corrupted nor retarded by the pride of families, the ambition of distinction, or the idle notions of usefiness and dangerous distinctions, under the name of honour and titles. Neither parents nor children have any other prospects, than what are founded upon industry, economy, and virtue.—Where every circumstance thus concurs to promote early marriages, the practice becomes universal, and it generally takes place, as soon as the laws of society suppose the young people of sufficient age and discretion to transact the business of life.—It is not necessary to enumerate the many advantages that arise from this custom of early marriages. They comprehend all that society can receive from this source: from the preservation, and increase of the human race. Every thing useful and beneficial to man, seems to be connected with obedience to the laws of his nature: And where the state of society coincides with the laws of nature, the inclinations, the duties, and the happiness of individuals, resolve themselves into customs and habits, favourable, in the highest degree, to society. In no case is this more apparent, than in the customs of nations respecting marriage. When

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wealth, or the imaginary honour of families, is the great object, marriage becomes a matter of trade, pride, and form; in which affection, virtue, and happiness are not contained; from which the parties derive no felicity, and society receives no advantage. But where nature leads the way, all the lovely train of virtues, domestic happiness, and the greatest of all public benefits, a rapid population, are found to be the fruit.

ACTIVITY AND ENTERPRIZE.—A spirit of activity and enterprize is every where found in a new state. Depending upon their own industry, and having nothing to expect from speculation and gaming in public funds, or from the errors or vices of government, the views of the people are directed to their own employments and business, as the only probable method of acquiring subsistence, and ease. Hence arises a spirit of universal activity, and enterprize in business. No other business or projects are suffered to divert their attention; as there is nothing to be acquired in any other way. Neither begging, or gaming, or trading upon public funds, measures, and management, can be profitable employments to the people who live at a distance from wealthy cities, and the seat of government. The only profitable business, is to pursue their own profession and calling.—To this pursuit their views become directed; and here their activity and enterprize become remarkable. No difficulty or hardship seem to discourage them; and the perseverance of a few years generally serves to overcome the obstacles that lay in their way at first. It is only those who are of this enterprising spirit, who venture to try their fortunes in the woods; and in a few years, it generally raises them into easy and comfortable circumstances.—To the most essential and necessary duties of man, heaven has annexed immediate and important blessings. The people thus active, laborious,

tious, and perpetually in hard exertions, are destitute of many of the conveniences of life, and of what is every populous city would be esteemed its necessaries. Can their health and spirits remain unimpaired amidst this sort of hard living, and hard labour? Will they not waste away thus labouring in the woods, without good living, able physicians, and the advantages of medicines? So far from it, that no people have so few diseases, multiply to fall, or suffer so little from sickness. Temperance and labour do more for them, than art and medicine can do for others. The disorders which wear away the inhabitants of peevish cities, are almost unknown in the woods. Very few die, but under the unavoidable decay of nature, and the deaths are to the tribe, in the highest proportion, than 1 to 4. Unacquainted with the instruments which are made in the medical art, the people possess no remedies, nor have any need of their assistance, or prescriptions. The benevolence of nature has reserved that health to their temperance, industry, and activity, which is never found in drugs, medicines, or any attainments of art. And while the people are thus active and industrious in performing their duty, the property and health of individuals, and the prosperity of the state, are all found to flourish together.

The nearest equality that ever can take place among men, will also be found among the inhabitants of a new country. When a number of men are engaged in the same employments and pursuits, and have all of them to depend upon their own labour and industry for their support, their situation, views, and manners, will be nearly the same; the way to subsistence, to ease, and independence being the same to all. In this stage of society, the nearest equality will take place, that ever can subsist among men.

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men. But this equality will be nothing more than an equality of rights, and a similarity of employment, situation, pursuit, and interest. In a new country this similarity will be so great, as to form a near resemblance of manners and character; and to prevent any very great inequalities of privilege from taking place in society, either from rank, offices of government, or any other cause.—But nothing ever did, or ever can produce an equality of power, capacity, and advantages, in the social, or in any other state of man. By making men very unequal in their powers and capacities, nature has effectually prevented this. The whole race resemble one another in the make and form of their bodies; in their original appetites, passions, and inclinations; in reason, understanding, and the moral sense, &c. But in these respects it is similitude, not equality, which nature has produced. To some, the Author of Nature has assigned superior powers of the mind, a strength of reason and discernment; a capacity of judging, and a genius for invention; which are not given to others. To others, the Deity has assigned a strength, vigour, and firmness of constitution, by which the bodily powers are more favoured in one, than in another. Causes thus natural and original, will be followed with their natural and proper effects. Superior wisdom and abilities, will have superior influence and effect in society. Superior strength and activity of body, will also have advantages peculiar to themselves. In making these natural distinctions, nature evidently designed to qualify men for different attainments, and employments. And while she gave to all the nature and the rights of man, she assigned to some a capacity and a power, to make a much more useful improvement and exercise of that nature, and of those rights, than she has given to others.—Thus a state of nature is itself a state of society, or at least naturally tends to produce

it. And in the earliest stages of society, all that equality will take place among mankind, which is consistent with it. Placed in a situation nearly similar, the employments, views, and pursuits of the people, become nearly the same. The distinctions derived from birth, blood, hereditary titles and honours, and a difference of rights and privileges, are either unknown or resolve themselves into nothing, among a people in such a situation; in every view, they cease to be of any use or importance to them. Their situation naturally leads them to discern the tendencies, and designs of nature. They all feel that nature has made them equal in respect to their rights, or rather that nature has given to them a common and an equal right to liberty, to property, and to safety; to justice, government, laws, religion, and freedom. They all see that nature has made them very unequal in respect to their original powers, capacities, and talents. They become united in claiming and in preserving the equality, which nature has assigned to them; and in availing themselves of the benefits, which are designed, and may be derived from the inequality, which nature has also established. Wherever a number of people are engaged in a common, economical, laborious pursuit of subsistence, property, and security; such views of their equality, and rights, immediately occur to their minds; they are easily discerned, and they are perfectly well understood.

ECONOMY.—Every thing in the situation and employments of the people, in a new country, will naturally tend to produce economy. There are no large estates, or cultivated farms, prepared beforehand for the heir. Every thing for food, raiment, and convenience, must be procured by the labour and industry of the planter; and it is not without much difficulty and hardship, that the people can procure the necessaries of life at first, or the conveniences

niences of it afterwards. What is thus procured with labour and difficulty, will be used with prudence and economy. The custom will not be to fall into scenes of expensive entertainments, amusement, and dissipation; But to provide for the calls and demands of nature, to preserve the health and vigour of the body, and to be able to raise up and support a family. And this will of course introduce a steady regard to economy, in all their expenses, habits, and customs.—The influence that this has on the affairs of individuals, and on the state of society, is every where apparent. No such degrees of wealth can ever exist in any place, as shall be equal to the demands of luxury. And where custom has introduced a habit of living and expense, above the annual income, dependence, venality, and corruption, with constant want and distress, is the never failing consequence. But the most pernicious of all the effects of luxury, is the degradation it brings on the nature of man. It destroys the vigour and powers of men, and by constantly enfeebling the body and mind, seems to reduce them to a lower order of beings. The body, weakened by excessive indolence and indulgence, loses health, vigour, and beauty, and becomes subject to a thousand emaciating pains and maladies. The mind, subdued by indolence and inactivity, scarcely retains its rational powers; and becomes weak, languid, and incapable of manly exertions, or attainments. To a state thus degraded, effeminate, and unmanly, luxury frequently reduces those, who bear the remains of the human form. Political writers have frequently argued that luxury was of real service to the nations of Europe; that it tended to find employments for the poor, and was necessary to keep the money in circulation. This reasoning cannot be contradicted; But it supposes the state of society to be essentially bad; and that it cannot be supported but

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by the management, operations, and balance of vices. In such a state of society, luxury is certainly a benefit: And the highest degree of it, would be the greatest benefit of all. It would be the best thing that could happen in such a society, for the corrupted venal part to spend their estates, by luxury and dissipation, and to have them pass into other hands. This would be far better for mankind than to have them live useless, be constantly corrupting others, or train up an emaciated scabid race, degraded by effeminacy and weakness, below the rest of the human race. Whatever might be done to load such with honours, titles, and distinctions, it will be impossible ever to make them men, or at least such kind of men, as shall be upon terms of equality with the rest of the human race.—Ardivity, industry, and economy, will prevent such a race from appearing, or such effects from taking place, in any of the new states of America.

HOSPITALITY.—That benevolent friendly disposition, which man should bear to man, will appear under different forms, in different stages of society. In the first combinations of mankind, when all are exposed to danger, sufferings, and want, it appears in one of its most amiable forms, and has been called hospitality. In this form it exists among the people who are subjected to the common danger, fatigue, and sufferings, which attend the forming of new settlements. Feeling every moment their own wants and dangers, they are led by their situation, to assist each other in their difficulties and danger. The traveller finds among them, all the relief their circumstances will enable them to afford him: And before they are able to erect houses for public entertainment, the stranger is sure to find the best accommodations, the situation of private families will admit.—This hospitable disposition seems to be universal, in all the new settlements: And the
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unfortunate and poor man finds a relief from it, which he never expects to find among a more wealthy people. No custom was ever better adapted to afford relief to an individual, or to promote the advantage of the state. A beggar or robber is scarcely ever to be seen in a country, where there is nothing to be obtained by the business. The poor find their relief in labour, and not from a multiplicity of laws, which extract large sums from others, but afford little relief to them: And from the profits of their labour, they will soon cease to be in distress. Those that appear to be objects of pity, are generally such in reality. And where the public has not been abused by such preferences, few will be exposed to suffer on such accounts. In such a state of society, hospitality naturally performs what it ought to perform: It encourages none in idleness and dissipation, but relieves those whose circumstances require relief. It provides only for those, who cannot find other resources, and aims only to put such into a situation, in which they may support themselves, and be of use to the public.

STAGE OF SOCIETY.—*Religion: Importance of this Principle, Danger of any Control in it, Equality of all Denominations, Effect of this Equality, Grants and Laws for the Support of Religion, Extent of Religious Liberty, Connection of Religion with Science and Education.*

RELIGION is one of these concerns, which will always have great influence upon the state of society. In our original frame and constitution, the Benevolent Author of our Nature, has made us rational and accountable creatures: Accountable to ourselves, to our fellow men, and to our God. These foundations of religion, are so strong, and universal, that they will not fail to have an effect upon the conduct of every one: And while they thus enter into the feelings and conduct of all the members, they will unavoidably have a great influence upon the state and conduct of society. Nor can society either set them aside, or carry on the public business without them. Instead of this, in one form or another, society will be perpetually calling in the aids of religion. When human declarations and evidence are to receive their highest force, and most solemn form, or when the most important transactions are to be performed, and offices of the highest trust and consequence are com-

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mitted to men, the last appeal will be to religion, in the form of solemn affirmation or oath.

The most pure and benevolent system of religion, which has ever prevailed among men, is that of Christianity. This religion founded in truth, and adapted to the nature and state of man, has proposed for its end and aim, that which is of the highest importance to men and to society, universal benevolence, the love of God and man, or universal virtue. But neither this, nor any other system of moral truth, can impart infallibility to men. Whatever infallibility there may be in moral, or mathematical, or in revealed truths, men may greatly mistake when they come to explain, and apply them: And instead of being above all possibility of error, they will find that infallibility belongs only to the government of God; and that it certainly is not entailed upon any parties, or denominations of men.

Nothing therefore could be more dangerous, than to allow to any of these denominations the power to make laws to bind the rest, in matters of religion. The ruling party would vote themselves to be the only pure denomination, they would make the rest contribute to their support, and establish their own sentiments and practice, as the perfection of knowledge, wisdom, and religion; and in this way adopt measures, which tend to entail all their imperfections and errors, upon future ages. The dominion of one party over another in matters of religion, has always had this effect: It has operated to confirm error, oppress the minority, prevent the spirit of free inquiry and investigation; and subjected men to the most unrelenting of all persecutions, the persecution of priests and zealots, pleading principle to justify their vilest actions.—At the same time, every good man feels himself bound not to renew or admit any such authority in matters of religion. The obligations of religion are antecedent to, and more

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strong than any obligations derived from the laws of society. The first and the most important obligation any man has, is to obey his Maker, and the dictates of his own heart. The peace of our minds depends more essentially upon this, than any other circumstance in the course of human life. What does his society require, in matters of religion, but simply to follow the laws of nature. To enjoy these, and to others; and to leave to every man a full and perfect liberty, to follow the dictates of his own conscience, in all his transactions with his Maker? And the people of Virginia have adopted this principle, in its fullest extent; some of them are episcopals, others are congregationalists, others are of the presbyterian and others are of the baptist persuasion; and some are quakers, all of whom find their need of the assistance of each other, in the common concerns and business of life; and all of them are persuaded, that the government has nothing to do with their particular and distinguishing tenets. It is not merely *toleration*, but *equality*, which the people here seek. Toleration implies either a power or a right in one party, to bear with the other; and seems to suppose, that the governing party are in possession of the truth, and that all the others are full of errors. Such a toleration is the most that can be obtained by the minority, in any nation, where the majority assume the right and the power, to bind society, by established laws and forms in religion. The body of the people, in this commonwealth, carry their ideas of religious liberty much further than this: That no party shall have any power to make laws or forms to oblige another; that each denomination may lay themselves under what civil contracts and obligations they please; but that government shall not make any distinctions between them; that all denominations shall enjoy equal

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of which they might not be legal in their own
 country, and which they might not be
 in. The rights of all religions are equal, and
 should be not particularly to one, but to all. No man is
 to be excluded from the rights of a citizen on account
 of his particular religious persuasion. The clergy
 of the several denominations, have no chance to ob-
 tain any power, by arising in their own party. The
 people are under no obligation to support any, eccle-
 sia, but what they choose to support themselves. And
 no civil advantages are to be gained, or lost,
 by belonging to one denomination, rather than to
 another. The cause and the matter of contro-
 versy, being thus taken away, there is scarcely any
 thing left, as inducement to join one denomination
 rather than another, but belief, conviction, and con-
 science. In this equality of all parties, religious
 professions become what they always ought to be,
 not matters of gain, profit, or civil distinctions, but
 matters of opinion, persuasion, and conscience. Con-
 viction and faith respecting the Duty, in which some
 expect to find the power of opposing or ruling over
 others; but the same protection and benefit from the
 government, which they are at equal expense in sup-
 porting.

The settlement and support of the ministers of re-
 ligion, has been encouraged and assisted by the gov-
 ernment. The earliest grants of land in this state,
 were made by Benning Wentworth, governor of
 New Hampshire. This gentleman was of the com-
 munion of the church of England. In the grants of
 land that were made by him, there were three rights
 in each township reserved for religious purposes:
 One to the society for propagating the gospel in
 foreign parts; one for a glebe, designed for the use
 of an episcopal clergy; a third for the first settled
 minister, intended for his private property, to en-

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encourage the settlement of a minister in the several parishes. In the grants of townships which have been made by the government of Vermont, the rights have been reserved for the support of a clergyman: One for a parsonage, defaced by the dissolution of a minister, and vendible from that purpose, another to become the property, and defacement, notwithstanding the settlement of the first minister. This right accrues to the first clergyman who is settled in the town of whatever denomination he may be. The salary of the minister arises wholly from the contract which the people may make with him. These contracts are altogether voluntary. But when made, by a law passed October 18, 1787, are considered as being of equal force and obligation as any other contracts, but no persons of a different denomination are obliged by them. The law has no reference to any particular denomination, but considers them all as having a right to make what contracts they please, with the minister they choose, and being of course bound by their own act, to fulfil their contracts. A law designed to confirm the equal rights of all is not subject to the exceptions or complaints of any party.

No embarrassments have attended any of the grants of land, which have been made for religious purposes, but those designed for a globe, and those made to the society for propagating the gospel in foreign parts. In most of the towns there are not any persons of the episcopal persuasion, nor any incumbent to have the care of the globe lots. The society for propagating the gospel in foreign parts, have not concerned themselves about the lands, which were granted to them. Both these rights have remained unimproved and uncultivated, except where individuals have gained possession of them, and it has been a disadvantage to the state, to have such tracts of land lying waste. It has been repeatedly a

matter of consideration in the general assembly, what
 ought to be done with these lands. Instead of con-
 sidering any objection upon the matter, in October,
 1767, the general assembly passed an act, authorizing
 the trustees of the several towns, to take care of
 and improve the glebe and society lands, for the space
 of seven years; and to apply the incomes to the im-
 provements of the land. It is excepted, which was
 in the petition of Mr. [?], that
 has been but little attended to, and is not at all com-
 petent to the improvement of the lands, or to render
 them beneficial to the state, or to any valuable pur-
 pose. In any view of the matter, these lands ought
 not to be suffered to remain useless, and detrimental
 to the state. If the society for propagating the gos-
 pel in foreign parts, had made such an assignation of
 them, as would have served to promote religious in-
 struction and knowledge, the people would have had
 the benefit that was intended by the grantor. If
 this be neglected an unreasonable time, it becomes
 the duty of the legislature, to prevent their remain-
 ing a public disadvantage to the state, by continuing
 uncultivated and useless.

The principles of religious liberty, are asserted in
 their fullest extent, in the constitution of Vermont.
 In the declaration of rights, there is a clause which
 seems to be adequate to the subject, and clearly ex-
 presses the religious rights of the people.— Nor
 can any man be justly deprived or abridged of any
 civil right as a citizen, on account of his religious
 sentiments, or peculiar mode of religious worship;
 and no authority can, or ought to be vested in, or
 assumed by any power whatever, that shall in any
 case interfere with, or in any manner controul the
 rights of conscience, in the free exercise of religious
 worship. In the plan of government formed in

1778, and revised in 1784, established that they had paid upon the members of the establishment, the same duties with the above declaration. It is to be noted, that all the restrictions, which the laws of this country have been done away, and religious liberty has acquired a complete establishment; by a declaration that no religion shall be received of any member of the legislature, without the consent of the people. The greater attention, which is now given to the education of the youth, would be of great advantage to the religious and civil interests of the state. The parents of New York have not the advantage of the education of their youth, or the improvement of knowledge, which the people in the other states have. The disadvantages and dangers, which arise from want of literary institutions, are greater than they were aware of. The religion of ignorance, will always be idolatry, or superstition; and it often produces an unnatural mixture of both, greatly unfavorable to the moral, and civil interests of men. When folly, in its own view, is become infallible and sacred, it opposes with obstinacy, all improvements in society; and requires, with a peculiar insolence, the submission of all other men, to its own weakness and bigotry. The only remedy for the difficulties which arise in society, from this cause, is the increase of knowledge and education. And where society is destitute of the means and institutions, which are requisite to promote knowledge, it is without one of its most essential advantages; the means of her own cultivation, and improvement.

The education of children for the common business of life, is well attended to. But the customary methods of education for the professions of divinity, law, or physic, are extremely deficient; and do not promise either eminence, or improvement. The
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• Plan of frame of government, Section V. to no. 10. of the C.

body of the people appear to the more sensible of
 this defect, than professional men themselves. From
 the first allotment of the powers of government, the
 assembly had contemplated the establishment
 of a university in the State; and with this view
 reserved one eighth of land in all the townships which
 they granted, for the use of such a university. In
 November, 1791, the legislature passed an act estab-
 lishing the university at Burlington, under a liberal
 charter, and judicious foundation. It has since
 been deemed to be highly beneficial. It is
 shown to be conducive to the arts and sciences in Amer-
 ica, by extending the benefits of education, and
 promoting an attention to the arts and sciences; it
 would greatly assist the intellectual and moral im-
 provement of the people: These improvements
 are of essential importance to men, in every stage of
 society, but most of all necessary, when they are
 forming a republic. It is also to be observed, that
 the act of the legislature, in establishing the uni-
 versity, is a strong evidence of the wisdom and
 foresight of the legislature, in providing for the
 education of the youth of the State, and in
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STATE OF SOCIETY. — *Nature of the American Gov-
 ernment. Constitution of Persons, Laws, Counties,
 and Courts. Annual Expense of Government. Public
 Revenue. Military. Popularity of the Government.*

...of the people, and the ...

NATURE OF THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT.

THE object and the princi-
 ple of government is the same in every part of the
 United States of America. The end or the design
 of it, is the public business; not the power, the
 emolument, or the dignity, of the persons employ-
 ed; but only that public business which concerns ei-
 ther the whole federal territory, or some particular
 state. The principle on which all the American
 governments are founded, is *representation*. They
 do not admit of sovereignty, nobility, or any kind
 of hereditary powers; but only of powers granted
 by the people, ascertained by written constitutions,
 and exercised by representation for a given time.

Governments founded on this principle, do not
 necessarily imply the same form. They do not ad-
 mit of monarchy, or aristocracy; nor do they ad-
 mit of what was called democracy by the ancients.
 In the ancient democracies the public business was
 transacted in the assembly of the people: The
 whole body assembled to judge and decide, upon
 public affairs. Upon this account, the ancient de-
 mocracies were found to be unfit, and inadequate to
 the government of a large nation. In America this

difficulty

difficulty never occurs: All is transacted by representation. Whatever may be the number of the people, or the extent of the territory, representation is proportioned to it; and thus becomes expressive of the public sentiment, in every part of the union. Hence the government in different states, though chiefly republics, varies in its form; committing more or less power to a governor, senate, or house of representatives, as the circumstances of any particular state may require. As each of these branches derive their whole power from the people, are accountable to them for the use and exercise they make of it, and may be displaced by the election of others, the security of the people is derived not from the nice ideal application of checks, balances, and mechanical powers, among the different parts of the government, but from the responsibility, and dependence of each part of the government upon the people.

This kind of government seems to have had its form and origin from nature. It is not derived from any of the histories of the ancient republics. It is not borrowed from Greece, Rome, or Carthage. Nor does it appear that a government founded in representation ever was adopted among the ancients, under any form whatever. Representation, thus unknown to the ancients, was gradually introduced into Europe by her monarchs; not with any design to favour the rights of the people, but as the best means that they could devise to raise money. The monarchs who thus introduced it, with a view to collect money from the people, always took care to check it when it ventured to examine the origin and extent of the privileges of the sovereign, or of the rights of the people. In America every thing tended to introduce, and to complete the system of representation. Made equal in their rights by nature, the body of the people were in a situation nearly

similar

similar with regard to their employments, necessities, and views. Without the distinctions of titles, families, or nobility, they acknowledged and respected only those distinctions which nature had made, in a direct way, of talents, abilities, and virtues. These were so family in itself, common to all, and so plain, that enough to apprehend them. A virtuous citizen would be the work of a free, sufficient to manage them. Britain used to claim to be a monarch, but she derived from the descent of her parliament, a share of the power. Nothing remained for such a people, but to follow what nature taught, and as they were so numerous to attempt to carry on their government on the form of the ancient democracies, they naturally adopted the system of representation. Every where choosing representatives, and assigning to them such powers as their circumstances required. This was naturally the system of government, that nature pointed out. And it is a system that has no where banished to prevail but in America, and what she people were naturally led to by the situation in which Providence had placed them. The system of government then in America, is not derived from superstition, conquest, military power, or a pretended compact between the rulers and the people, but it was derived from nature, and reason, and is founded in the nature, necessities, and powers, which God hath assigned to the race of mankind.

All the power that such governments can have, is derived from the public opinion. The body of the people, while they remain industrious and economical, will be steadily attached to the public interest, which will entirely coincide with their own. They will more readily discern what their interest is, and be more steadily attached to it, than is to be expected from men who are placed in offices of honour and profit. The public opinion will be much nearer

in the world, that the reasoning and reflections of freeholders or independent men? The former will be founded chiefly in desire, and aim, to promote the public safety; the latter will be undoubtedly more or less governed, by private views, interests, and animosities. And when the government has the general opinion of the people in its power, it cannot with the greatest force and power, stand up with the collected force and power of all the states united. And this is the greatest force that ever can be exerted by any government in any situation whatever. Despotism never acquires a force equal to this. When a whole nation unites, and the public spirit moves and operates in the same direction, nothing can withstand its force, and the powers of despotism, with all their standing troops and regular armies, fall before it. It is only when the public sentiment and spirit is first roused and brought into action, that government has acquired, or is able to exert the whole force of the national power. With this strength, the governments of America amidst every kind of difficulty, rose superior to all opposition; firmly established themselves, in fifteen different states; and gave additional vigour and efficacy to a federal establishment, which was designed and adapted to manage the public business of the whole system.

But whatever be the form or the power of government, it cannot attain its greatest perfection, unless it contains within itself, the means of its own improvement. The men of civilized countries, are making gradual and constant improvements in knowledge, in the sciences, and in all the arts by which life is made more secure and happy. Hence, that form of government which was best suited to their state in one stage of society, ceases to be so, in another. And unless the government itself improves, with the gradual improvement of society, it will lose much of its respectability, and power; become unsafe to

the state, and injurious to the people. Despotism has always contemplated the ruin of the people, and has aimed and succeeded to keep them in that situation. To government, founded in this principle, the improvement of society proves fatal and destructive: And there is nothing such governments are more anxious to prevent than knowledge, property, and improvement in the body of the people. — Built upon the natural and social nature of man, the American government expects to find its sure support, and permanent duration, in the gradual improvement, in the increasing knowledge, virtue, and freedom, of the human race. The present government of America, is therefore proposed to her citizens, not as the most perfect standard of what man can ever attain to, but only as the best form, which we have as yet been able to discover; not as a form, which is to bind our heirs and posterity forever, but as a form which is referred to them, to alter and improve, as they shall find best. Upon this idea, it is one of the constituent and essential parts of American government, that conventions shall be called at certain periods of time, to alter, amend, and improve the present form and constitution of government; as the state, circumstances, and improvements of society, shall then require. Thus provision is made, that the improvement of government, shall keep pace with the improvement of society in America. And no policy would appear more puerile or contemptible to the people of America, than an attempt to bind posterity to our forms, or to confine them to our degrees of knowledge, and improvement: The aim is altogether the reverse, to make provision for the perpetual improvement and progression of the government itself.

As this kind of government is not the same as that, which has been called monarchy, aristocracy, or democracy, as it had a conspicuous origin in America,

its origin and growth will be very soon made out and

and has not been followed to prevail in any other part of the world, as it is no more than just and proper, to distinguish it by its proper name, and call it the *Constitution of Vermont*.

CONSTITUTION OF VERMONT.—The government of Vermont is of the same nature, and founded upon the same principles, as the other governments in the United States. By their constitution, formed in 1777, and revised in 1786, and 1792, the supreme legislative power is vested in a house of representatives of the freemen. Every town has a right to choose a representative, on the first Tuesday of September annually. The representatives are chosen, are to meet on the second Thursday of the succeeding October, and are styled *The General Assembly of the State of Vermont*. They have power to choose their own officers; to sit on their own adjournments; prepare bills, and enact them into laws; they may expel members, but not for causes known to their constituents antecedent to their election; impeach state criminals; grant charters of incorporation, constitute towns, boroughs, cities, and counties; in conjunction with the council they are annually to elect judges of the supreme, county, and probate courts, sheriffs and justices of the peace; and also with the council, may elect major-generals, and brigadier-generals, as often as there shall be occasion: They have all other powers necessary for the legislature of a free and sovereign state: But have no power to add to, alter, abolish, or intringe any part of the constitution.

The supreme executive power is vested in a governor, or lieutenant-governor, and a council of twelve persons, chosen by the freemen, at the same time they choose their representative. The governor, or the lieutenant-governor and council, are to commission all officers; prepare such business as may appear to them necessary to lay before the general assembly:

sembly: They are to sit as judges or hear and determine on impeachments, sitting as the grand jury, for advice only; the judges of the supreme court. They have power to grant pardons, and reprieve from all cases whatsoever, except in treason and murder, in which they have power to grant reprieve, but not to pardon until after the end of the next session of assembly, and in cases of impeachment, in which there is no remission or mitigation of punishment, but by act of legislation. They may also lay embargoes, or prohibit the exportation of any commodity: for any time not exceeding thirty days, in the ports of the house only. The governor is captain general and commander in chief of the forces of the state, but shall not command in person, except as directed thereto by the council, and then only so long as they shall approve. And the lieutenant governor or by virtue of his office is lieutenant general of all the forces of the state.

That the laws before they are enacted may be more maturely considered, and the inconveniences of hasty declarations as much as possible prevented, all bills which originate in the assembly are laid before the governor and council for their review and concurrence, or proposals of amendment; who return the same to the assembly with their proposals of amendment (if any) in writing; and if the same are not agreed to by the assembly, it is in the power of the governor and council, to suspend the passing of such bills, until the next session of the legislature. But no negative is allowed to the governor and council.

The framers of the constitution were aware that the plan of government, which they had drawn up, would not be adequate to the affairs of government, when the state of the people should become different, but must necessarily vary with it. And they wisely made provision to have the whole examined

and

and provided that beyond of every three years, if the
 people in their meeting this purpose and manner of
 voting, in respect of their representatives, as he directed
 by the people every three years, the whole shall be
 revised up, and it is not to be altered from their
 said rights, just as the said articles are to be, in
 inquiry whether the constitution has been performed
 in violation of any part, whether the said revised
 articles branches of government, be a part of
 their duty as guardians of the people, or as
 to the said report, as directed to their respective
 than they are entitled to by the constitution, and
 if the public have been justly, and not
 satisfied in what manner the public have
 been disposed of, and whether the laws have been
 duly executed, Powers fully competent to these
 purposes, are granted to them. They have
 for papers, papers, and records. They have
 authority to pass public accounts, to judge impeach-
 ments, and to recommend to the legislature the
 proper laws, as shall appear to them to have
 been enacted contrary to the principles of the con-
 stitution. These powers they may exercise during
 the space of one year, from the time of their elec-
 tion; and they may call a convention to meet within
 two years after their sitting, if they judge it necessary.
 In framing a constitution of government, the
 most capital circumstances to be taken into considera-
 tion, is the condition and circumstances of the peo-
 ple, or the state of society among them. At the first
 assumption of government in Vermont, the form of
 it differed but little from the democracy of the an-
 cients. From that period, it had been constantly
 tending to give more power to the house of repre-
 sentatives. — But it is found by experience, that in
 so popular a government, nothing is more necessary
 than some provision, like that of the council of sen-
 ators, to have all the public proceedings revised at
 certain

certain period of time, and such alterations made in the constitution, as time, events, or the circumstances of the people may require. As the state of society is progressive, there is no way to have the government adapted to the state of society, but to have the government also progressive; that both may admit of the improvements, that are gradually made in human affairs. With this provision, a constitution of government, which contains many faults, will gradually stand and improve itself, without being forced to the dangers and convulsions of a revolution! And it seems to be the only provision, which human wisdom has yet found, to prevent the incorporation of such calamities.

LAW.—So much of the common law of England as is not repugnant to the constitution, or to any act of the legislature, is adopted as law within this state: And such parts of laws, and parts of laws of the kingdom of England and Great Britain, as were passed before the first day of OCTOBER, 1760, for the explanation of the common law, and are not repugnant to the constitution, or some act of the legislature, and are applicable to the circumstances of the state, are also adopted and made law in Vermont.—The criminal law of Great Britain seems to be adapted only to a very degraded, vicious, and barbarous state of society. Not less than one hundred and sixty crimes are punishable by death. Sanguinary laws and executions have there made death so common and familiar, that it seems to have become one of those common occurrences, which is constantly to be expected, and is very little regarded. Several of the punishments, in the contrivances of their cruelty, are fully equal to any thing that has ever been perpetrated by the Indians of America: In brutal rage and inhuman torture, the punishment assigned to high treason, fairly exceeds any thing the Indian genius could ever conceive.—Such a code of criminal

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nal law is wholly unfit to the uncorrupted state of the people in America; nor would they in any part of the continent be persuaded to admit it. Instead of one hundred and fifty, there are only nine crimes, to which the laws of Vermont have assigned the punishment of death: And since the first assumption of government in 1777, there has not been any person convicted of any of these crimes. — What relates to the internal affairs of government, the regulations necessary to a new society, such as are suited to our particular state of society, are provided for by statutes made for such particular cases and purposes. — To form a code of laws suited to the state of a large nation, has been justly deemed the most difficult part of government. It does not appear that human wisdom has ever been able to effect this without great errors, in any part of the earth. If it is to be obtained, the particular laws of America have now a fair opportunity to make the experiment, how far human wisdom has progressed at present, in effecting this arduous but most important attainment.

COUNTIES AND COURTS. — For the more convenient administration of justice, the state is divided into eleven counties, viz.

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| <i>Coast.</i> | <i>County Town.</i> |
| <i>Bennington.</i> | <i>Bennington.</i> |
| <i>Windsor.</i> | <i>Manchester.</i> |
| <i>Windsor.</i> | <i>Newfane.</i> |
| <i>Rutland.</i> | <i>Windsor.</i> |
| <i>Orange.</i> | <i>Woodstock.</i> |
| <i>Addison.</i> | <i>Rutland.</i> |
| <i>Chittenden.</i> | <i>Newbury.</i> |
| <i>Caledonia.</i> | <i>Middlebury.</i> |
| <i>Franklin.</i> | <i>Burlington.</i> |
| <i>Orleans.</i> | |

In the four last counties, courts are not to be holden until the first day of October, 1796. In the other counties there are probate courts, justices courts, county courts, a supreme court, and a court of chancery.

The justices of peace in each county are annually nominated, and appointed by the general assembly. They are of course the same persons, as the members of the assembly from each county, with the addition of a few others. They have power to try and determine all pleas and actions of a criminal nature, where the fines and forfeitures are within the sum of forty shillings, and the corporal punishment shall not exceed ten stripes. They may also try and determine all pleas and actions of a civil nature (other than actions of defamation, replevin, trespass upon the freehold, and where the title of land is concerned) where the debt, and other matter in demand, does not exceed the sum of four pounds, and also determine on all specialties, notes of hand, and settled accounts, not exceeding the sum of eight pounds. They may also bind over to be tried by the county or supreme court, all criminal offenders, the enormity of whose misdemeanor surpasses their power to try. No judgment rendered by a justice of peace, can be reversed by writ of error. But appeals are allowed to the next county court, in all cases where the judgment for debt or damages, shall exceed the sum of forty shillings.

In each county there is also a county court; consisting of three judges, who are also annually appointed by the assembly. The county courts, within their respective counties, are to take cognizance of all criminal matters of every name and nature (except such cases as are cognizable only in the supreme court, or before a justice of the peace) and award sentence. But any person prosecuted for a criminal offence, may appeal from the judgment of

A court of chancery is also constituted in the state of Vermont; to be holden by the court within the state, at the several times appointed by law for holding the said court. The judges of the said court are constituted judges or Chancellors of the said chancery. The judges of the said court are also constituted judges of the said court, and in the neighbourhood of the said court, to be governed and regulated conforming to the laws and precedents established in the court of the kingdom of Great Britain.

ANNUAL EXPENSE OF THE GOVERNMENT.—The annual expense of the government generally, about thirty two or thirty three thousand pounds, in the year 1792, the several salaries of the officers are as follows.

The governor's salary, one hundred pounds per annum.
Lieutenant-governor's salary, fifty pounds per annum.
Telling council, fifteen shillings per day.

Councillors' fees for attending council, seven shillings per day.

Representatives' fees for attending the general assembly, six shillings per day.

Secretary of state's fees for attending the general assembly, twelve shillings per day.

Secretary of council's fees for attending the council, nine shillings per day.

Officers attending the general assembly, Sheriff, auditor of accounts, chaplain, &c. six shillings per day.

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PUBLIC REVENUE.—The revenue of the State ariseth wholly from the taxes levied upon the people. At the time after Vermont had assumed the name of a State, the Government, very considerably enlarged, was supported by the unappropriated lands; but almost all appropriated lands derived from this source. The revenue of the State, therefore, can never be a considerable one. The only source of revenue is taxation.—In the year 1791, the taxable property of the State was valued at £324,796 18 10. The duties on imports and exports, and on cattle, were scarcely one-fifth of the value of these articles: The duties on imports could not amount to more than one-tenth of the taxable property. The only source of revenue was an abatement upon the duties on imports, which was voted of upon the bonds of the State, and the duties on exports, and on the sale of the public lands to the collector, is a fifth of the value of the goods. An abatement is made for the duties on imports, the goods of a twentieth part. These abatements being deducted, the sum for the Government is £17,354 11 6. With the addition of £385 to the same sum, was the whole expense of Government, and the duty six thousand pounds, levied in the year 1792. If this be compared with the expense of Government in Europe, the difference will be found to be infinite. The laws of Vermont will cost a nation three, thirty or forty times the sum.

The Government is supported for the benefit and remembrance of the people of Vermont. For this purpose, there is a tax levied upon the people, which is applied to the support of the Government, and the support of the public places and offices. And this is the only source of revenue.

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The increase of mankind, thus confined within certain limits by nature, is also very much affected by the state of society. The condition of the body of the people, the state of the difficulty with which they can procure property to maintain a family, the genius of the civil government, the spirit and regulations of religion, the numbers employed and the destruction occasioned by war, the institutions of culture, and the manners and customs of the people, may, and do, favour population, to a great degree, and cause it to be very different in the same climate, and at the same place, at different times. Both these causes generally combine, and operate together; and in such a manner, that we cannot separate their effects; or determine how much is to be ascribed to the law of nature and climate, and what is derived from the state of society. This difficulty attends all the tables which have been made of births, deaths, and marriages. Tables of this kind have been made for almost every nation in Europe, and for several places in America. They appear to have been the result of accurate observations and calculation. But the results at different places in the same latitude and climate, have been so different, that no general conclusions can be drawn from them, respecting the natural increase of the human race: They mark what has taken place at a given time, and place; but they afford little information of what is to be expected, from the general course of nature, in any particular country, or climate.

By the late enumeration of the inhabitants of the United States of America, a period has been found in the course of human life, above, and below which the number of the males are nearly equal. This period is nearly at the age of sixteen years. Can we not derive some information, from so remarkable a fact, respecting the increase and population of the people of the United States? And may it not be determined what

must be the operation of nature, to produce and preserve this equality of numbers, below, and above that age?

Let us attempt to compute upon a given case. Suppose the whole number of people in one of the states of America, amounted to thirty-two thousand; one half of which had not attained the age of sixteen, and the other half had passed that period. At the end of sixteen years, the whole number will have passed the mean period, and before it is that number whose age is above sixteen, making together thirty-two thousand.—To balance this number, nature must have produced in the same time, an equal number whose age will be below sixteen: That is, during this period of sixteen years, thirty-two thousand must have been born. For every one then that has passed the period of sixteen years, nature must have produced two; otherwise the balance, or an equality in the numbers below and above that age, could not be preserved. And this would also be the exact period of doubling the number of the inhabitants.

This must be the operation of nature, if the subject on whom the calculation was made, had been invariable, or subject to no diminution. But this is not the case. Death is constantly diminishing the number of those whose age is above sixteen, of those whose age is below sixteen, and it diminishes them both, in the same proportion. This curious fact is ascertained by a course of observations, made in several towns in the eastern parts of New Hampshire. At *Hampton* an accurate table of deaths, with the age of each person, was kept by the ministers of the parish, from the year, 1735 to 1794. Similar bills were kept at *East Kingston*, from 1740 to 1774: At *Newmarket*, from 1731 to 1770: At *Dover*, from 1767 to 1786. The result of these observations

Belknap's Hist. of New Hampshire, II. p. 238—248.

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is, that the whole number which died in those towns, during those years, was two thousand and ninety eight: Of these, one thousand and fifty were under sixteen years of age, and one thousand and forty eight above that age. In the result of so long a course of observations, made in four different towns, we may expect to find the regular course of nature, or the natural operation of death, well ascertained. And they seem fully to have established this curious fact, That death has an equal effect, or is constantly destroying equal numbers of those whose age is above, and of those whose age is below sixteen years.

Such is the operation and effect of death. And by constantly diminishing the numbers of mankind, it will every where prolong the period of doubling, beyond the mean period of human life. But to what degree will it retard this event; or to what length of time will it prolong the period of doubling? It will prolong the period of doubling, exactly in that ratio, which the deaths shall bear to the births, in the same period of time.—The bills which were kept in New Hampshire, do not contain an accurate account of the births, but only of the baptisms; and therefore will not serve to discover what proportion the deaths bear to the births, in those towns. But from the bills of mortality, which have been kept in Massachusetts, it has been found that the number of deaths, are annually in a constant and settled ratio to the number of births. At *Hingham*, the aged and venerable Dr. Gay, kept a very exact list of all the deaths and births in his parish, for the space of fifty four years, from 1726 to 1779, inclusive. The deaths amounted to one thousand one hundred and thirteen, the births to two thousand two hundred and forty seven. At *Ipswich*, the Rev. Dr. Cutler, made similar observations for a course of ten years, from Sept. 11, 1771, to Sept. 11, 1781. The number of deaths were one hundred

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and sixty four, the number of births three hundred and thirty one.* At Salem, an accurate and able physician and philosopher, C. A. Holyoke, M. D. has given an exact bill for the years 1782, and 1783: The deaths were three hundred and sixty four, and the births seven hundred and two. In these numbers we have the result of a course of observations carried on in three different places, during a period of sixty six years. The result of the whole, is, that the deaths were one thousand six hundred and forty one, and the births amounted to three thousand two hundred and eighty; that is, the deaths were to the births in the ratio of one to two. This is the annual and constant proportion of death to birth, in the ancient towns, along the sea coast, in Massachusetts. The increase of the people therefore derived from the births, is annually diminished one half, by the natural operation of death: And instead of doubling in sixteen years as must have been the case had no one died, the effect occasioned by death, will be, to prolong this period one half; instead of sixteen years the period of doubling will become twenty four. This will be the period of doubling in all those places, where the mean age of human life is sixteen years, and the ratio of death to birth as one to two.

From this method of reasoning, I much suspect that the age at which the numbers of people are equally divided, will in every country prove to be the time, which nature requires in that climate, to produce double the number of people that are then living: That the actual period of doubling, will in fact be retarded in exact proportion to that, which the deaths bear to the births: And that this ratio will very nearly determine what influence the state of society has, on the increase of mankind in any country or town.

* Memoirs of American Academy, Vol. I. p. 566.

† Ibid. 549.

I am not in possession of the data that would be necessary to examine this theory, by the state of things in the ancient and populous countries, of the other hemisphere. But from the enumeration that was made of the inhabitants of the United States of America, in 1790, we may venture to compute the state of things among ourselves. The number of males, their relative proportions, and the age at which the numbers below and above sixteen become equal, are as follows:

	Males below 16 years of age.	Males above 16 years of age.	Difference Above or Below 16 years of age.	Age at which the numbers below and above 16, become equal.
Northern States— <i>Vermont, New Hampshire, Maine and Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, and New York.</i>	3,175,540	3,386,600	211,060	15 24
Middle States— <i>New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Maryland.</i>	2,118,240	2,237,722	119,482	16 54
Southern States— <i>Virginia, Kentucky, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia.</i>	2,624,641	4,475,717	1,851,076	15 58

From this view of the result, it should seem that the middle and northern states were the most favourable to longevity, and the preservation of life: And that the southern states were the most favourable to a rapidity of production, and increase. Whether these circumstances will not balance each other, and produce an equality in the period of doubling cannot be determined without further observations. In *Massachusetts*, the period of doubling cannot be far from twenty four years and three months. What this period is in the other states; must be determined either from actual observation, or by ascertaining the ratio which the deaths bear to the births. If the enumeration which is to be taken in the year

1800,

1800, should be a particular with respect to the females, as the last was with respect to the males, it would enable us to ascertain several particulars in this part of the natural history of man, which cannot be determined without another enumeration.

It has been generally supposed, that the increase of mankind is most of all rapid, in a new country; and that it is in the new settlements, that nature acts with the greatest force and vigour. Vermont is now in the situation, in which a new country ought to be examined. We have no populous towns, seaports, or large manufactories, to collect the people together. They are spread over the whole country, forming small and separate settlements. Agriculture is almost the universal employment. But few are pinched for want of the necessaries of life, and nothing like luxury has yet taken place among us. The government is highly democratic. In religion the most perfect freedom and equality takes place among all parties. The taxes are no more than what are unavoidably necessary, to preserve the existence and form of government. Lands are easy to be procured, and the soil is rich and fertile.—Every family enjoys nearly the whole produce of their labour. The climate is salubrious and healthy. And neither war, sickness, or famine, have of late diminished the increase, or disturbed the labours of the people.—I do not know that we can find any new country, in which every circumstance seems more favourable to increase. Or any, in which we may more probably expect to find the *maximum*, which nature and society can produce in such a latitude and climate.—From the enumeration of the inhabitants taken in 1791, we have the following result:

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	Male below 16 years of age.	Male above 16 years of age.	Difference.	Age at which the numbers below and above 16 become equal.
VERMONT.	22,328	22,435	107	16 Years. Months.

To ascertain the effect produced by the natural operation of death, I have procured a bill of mortality for one of the principal towns for the years 1780, 90, and 91. It is made for *Rutland*, from the observations of *E. Porter*, and *D. Reed*, two able physicians.

Number of inhabitants in Rutland in 1795.	Deaths.	Births.	Ratio of the deaths to the births.	Period of doubling the life.
1407	46	223	1 to 4.85	19 Years 5 Months.

From this table it appears that the deaths in Vermont, are to the births, in the proportion of 1 to 4.85; of consequence the period of doubling in this state, at present, is nineteen years and five months.*

From such views of the increase and population in America, we can scarcely avoid comparing the state of things in the United States, with that of the ancient and populous countries in Europe. In the city of London, if we may judge from the annual bills of mortality, the human race are annually decreasing; the deaths generally exceed the births, about one tenth every year. The savage state was less unfavourable to the increase of mankind, than such large and populous cities: Instead of preserving, they tend to destroy the human race.

In most of the ancient and populous nations of Europe, their forms of government, their ecclesiastical

* Since writing the above I have received from Dr. Asaph Fletcher, an accurate observer and able physician, an account of the births and deaths in the town of *Cavendish*. In the course of seven years the number of births in that town was two hundred and ten; the number that died in the same period, was thirty. The ratio of deaths to that of births in that town, during this period, has been but as one to seven.

tical establishments, the extreme luxury of one part of the people, and the extreme poverty of the other, their long and bloody wars, their numerous fleets and armies, the numbers which are reduced to servitude, and rendered incapable of supporting families, with the impious institutions of celibacy, have nearly destroyed the natural increase of mankind; or at least they have rendered it extremely slow, and uncertain. "In Great Britain, and most other European countries, they are not supposed to double in less than five hundred years."—In vain do politicians go about to celebrate the wisdom of a state of society, which destroys the noblest fruit and production of nature: It must be essentially, and fundamentally bad. The surest proof of the prosperity of any country, is a rapid increase of the people.

• Smith's wealth of nations, Vpl. I. 94.

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their establishments (the extreme luxury of one part and the extreme poverty of the other) their laws and blood were their common curse. The number of slaves who were sold and carried to the West Indies and the West India Islands, was such as to furnish a considerable trade. The number of slaves who were sold and carried to the West Indies and the West India Islands, was such as to furnish a considerable trade.

STATE OF SOCIETY.—*Freedom! Destroyed in some Countries by the State of Society, produced by the Settlement of America, the Cause and Effect of the American War, cannot be restored by Government, depends on the State and Condition of the People.*

THE employments, the government, the religion, the customs, habits, manners, and condition of the people, constitute their state of society. In the state of society which had taken place in America, the foundations of her freedom were laid, long before the nations of Europe had any suspicion of what was taking place in the minds of men.—Conquest, religion, law, custom, habits, and manners, confirmed by military power, had established a state of society in Europe, in which the rights of men were obliterated and excluded. The property and power of a nation had passed into the hands of the sovereign, nobility and church. The body of the people were without property, or any chance or prospect of securing any; and without education or knowledge to form them to any rational principles and sentiments. Without property and without principle, they were of little or no consequence, in the view of government. When the contest was whether the king or the commons should gain more power, the meaning was not at all whether the body of the people should be raised out of their degraded

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state of ignorance, poverty, and insignificance; but whether that part of the nation, which had acquired much wealth and property, should have more influence in the affairs of government. The body of the people were esteemed as mere mob, wholly inadequate and unfit for the affairs of government. The king, lords, and commons, were agreed in viewing the mass of the people in this light. And as they had neither property, principle, or knowledge, it is probable that the opinion which their rulers formed of them, was but too just.

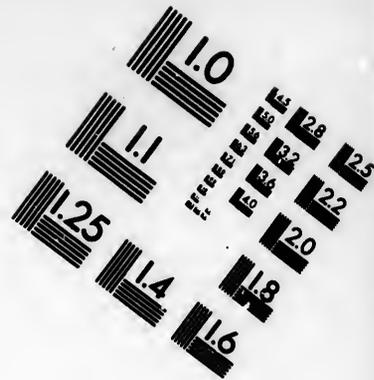
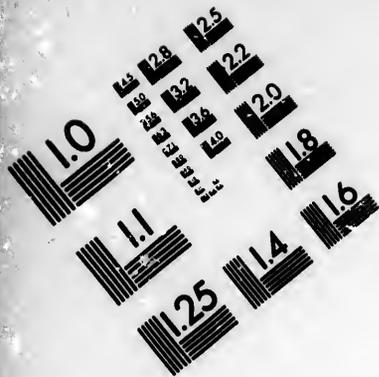
Such had been the state of society in Europe, for many centuries. Time, law, religion, and power, had combined with every other circumstance, to degrade the people; and to reduce the body of them to the lowest state of abasement, and contempt.—In a state of society, in which every thing had so long deviated from the design and law of nature, it could not be, but that the rights of men should be lost; and the idea of them had nearly perished. Nothing was to be seen but one general degradation of the body of the people, and an unnatural and excessive exaltation of those who had acquired power; every where tending to corrupt both, and to give the most unfavourable idea of the capacity of the former, and of the disposition of the latter. It required the daring spirit of Milton and Sydney, and the abilities of Locke and Montesquieu, to discover the rights of men, when men themselves for many centuries, had made the state of society wholly opposite and contrary to the state of nature. The philosopher had to deduce them from the creation, and nature of man. In this inquiry, the progress, like discoveries in other sciences, was extremely slow and precarious. Interest and reputation were against the progress of this kind of knowledge. The law, the church, and the government, were not only opposed to it, but they punished the discoverers and writers, by whipping.

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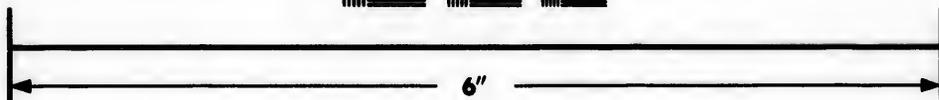
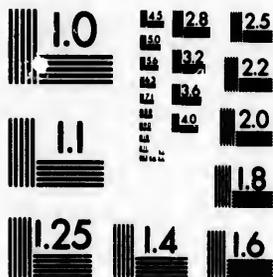
ping, imprisonments, heavy fines, and death. None but the greatest and most virtuous of men, were either able to investigate, or would dare to assert what belonged to the nature of man, and what was derived from the nature of society.

In America, every thing had assumed a different tendency and operation. The first settlers of the colonies, had suffered severely under the bigotry and intolerance of ecclesiastical power, in the days of Elizabeth, James, and Charles the first. They had not at first, any more knowledge of the rights of human nature than their neighbours, and they were as far from the spirit of candour and toleration. But when they were exposed to severe sufferings on account of their religion, they were placed in a situation, in which their *feelings* would perform for them, what their reason had not acquired sufficient force to effect. They felt, and of course saw, that there was no reason or righteousness in the punishments which were inflicted upon them, on account of their religion. In such a situation, truth occurred to them every moment ; and their situation and sufferings effectually taught them, what were the rights of men. They could at once discern and understand the voice of nature, which had no effect upon those in power, and probably would have had more upon them, had they been in the same state.—With these views they came into America. Situation and employment immediately operated to enlarge and confirm the sentiments which their sufferings had first produced. The wilderness was to be cleared up, habitations were to be built, the means of living were to be procured : These occupations were so necessary, that they became unavoidable ; and every man who did not mean to perish, was obliged to engage in them. This similarity of situation and employment, produced a similarity of state and condition ; at that time, unknown to the rest of the world : The effects





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effects of which the first settlers did not at all comprehend, themselves. The bigger part of them revered monarchy, as a sacred institution of heaven; but they felt at the same time that the honours and distinctions it produced, were of no avail to them. To be wise, strong, industrious, and healthy; to have rulers, judges, and generals; the distinctions which nature urged, they found to be of the highest importance. But to be called a duke, an earl, or a marquis, the distinctions which society had set up against nature, they found could be of no importance to them, and denoted nothing valuable in themselves. Nothing was left for them but to pursue the line and course of nature, which was that of utility and safety. And this could produce nothing but simplicity of situation, rights, privileges, and freedom. Every new settlement, was a confirmation of the same state of society; and notwithstanding the perpetual interference of royal authority, every thing operated to produce that natural, easy, independent situation and spirit, in which the body of the people were found, when the American war came on. In such circumstances, the common farmer in America had a more comprehensive view of his rights and privileges, than the speculative philosopher of Europe, ever could have of the subject. The one was in a situation, where the language, dictates, and designs of nature, were perpetually occurring to his views. The other was in a situation, where every thing in society had deviated from nature; and with infinite labour and study, the first principles, must be deduced from theory and reasoning. Hearing these principles from the state of society in America, *Rousseau*, and other writers upon American politics, met with amazing success. Not because they taught the people principles, which they did not before understand; but because they placed the principles which they had learned of them, in a very clear and striking

ing light, on a most critical and important occasion. When the war came on, the leaders of mobs, and the mobs which they created, appeared in their true light: The former sunk into contempt, and the latter were soon suppressed. The enlightened, virtuous, substantial body of uncorrupted citizens, took up the business. Unacquainted with the state of society here, Europe saw with wonder the spirit of freedom unconquerable in America. Rising, the more it suffered, the more superior to all the attempts of the wisest and most powerful nations of Europe. The ministers of Britain at that time, were men of great talents and abilities, in managing business upon the European system: But they had no idea of the state of things in America, or of a system in which nature and society had combined to produce and to preserve freedom. What they called rebellion, was only the tendency of nature and society towards freedom, made more active by their opposition. Mistaking the cause, they perpetually mistook in their measures: And what could not have happened from any other cause than that which took it, was their singular ill fortune never to judge right, either through design, or by mistake. The result was the natural effect of things. It did not partake of the nature of miracles, of the extravagant spirit of chivalry, or of the madness, of religion, or political enthusiasm. It was nothing more than the natural effect, of natural causes. Freedom, for a century and so half, had been the constant product and effect, of the state of society in the British colonies. And when the decisive time was to be made, the state of society produced its natural effect—a firm, steady, unshaking, and unceasing contest, which could not admit of any other period, but the total destruction, or complete establishment, of freedom. No

No other cause but that which first produced the freedom of America, will prove sufficient to support and preserve it. It is in the state of society that civil freedom has its origin, and support. The effect can never be more pure or perfect, than the causes from whence it arises; and all those causes terminate in the state and condition of the people. The form of government by which the public business is to be done, a bill of rights to ascertain the just claims of the people, a constitution to direct and restrain the legislature, a code of laws to guide and direct the executive authority, are matters of high importance to any people; and are justly esteemed among the wisest productions, of ancient or modern times. But no people ought to expect that any thing of this nature will avail to secure, or to perpetuate their liberties. Such things are consequences, not the causes; the evidences, not the origin of the liberties of the people. They derive their whole authority and force, from the public sentiment; and are of no further avail to secure the liberties of the people, than as they tend to express, to form, and to preserve the public opinion. If this alters and changes, any bill of rights, any constitution or form of government, and law, may easily be set aside, be changed, or be made of none effect. For it will never be dangerous for the government of any people, to make any alterations or changes, which the public opinion will either allow, justify, or support. Nor ought any people to expect, that their legislators or governors will be able to preserve their liberties, for a long period of time. A body of men who enjoy the powers and profits of public employments, will unavoidably wish to have those profits and powers increased. The difficulties they will meet with in the execution of their office, the unreasonable opposition that will be made by many to their wisest and best measures, and the constant at-

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tempts to displace them, by those whose only aim and wish is to succeed them; such things, joined with a natural love of power and profit, will not fail to convince all men in public employments, that it would be best for the public to put more confidence and power in them. While they thus wish and aim to increase and add strength to their own powers and emoluments, those powers and emoluments will be called the powers and the dignity of government. It may be doubted whether men are much to blame, for wishing and aiming at that, which their situation and employment naturally leads to. The effect seems to be universal. It has ever been the case that government has had an universal tendency, to increase its own powers, revenues, and influence. No people ought to expect that things will have a different tendency among them. That men will cease to be men, or become a more pure and perfect order of beings, because they have the powers of government committed to them.

Upon what then can the people depend, for the support and preservation of their rights and freedom? Upon no beings or precautions under heaven, but themselves. The spirit of liberty is a living principle. It lives in the minds, principles, and sentiments of the people. It lives in their industry, virtue, and public sentiment: Or rather it is produced, preserved, and kept alive, by the state of society. If the body of the people shall lose their property, their knowledge, and their virtue, their greatest and most valuable blessings are lost at the same time. With the loss of these, public sentiment will be corrupted: With the corruption of the public sentiment, bills of rights, constitutions written upon paper, and all the volumes of written law, will lose their force, and utility. Their government will immediately begin to change: And when the people have themselves lost the cause, the principle, and the spirit

it of freedom, they will no longer be capable of a free government: They are better suited for the restraints of aristocracy, or what is far better, for the regulations of monarchy. The constitutions and the laws of such a people, will so more preserve their freedom, than the tombs and the coffins of Montesquieu and Franklin will retain their abilities and virtues.

Ye people of the United States of America, behold how the precious foundation upon which ye hold your liberties. They rest not upon things written upon paper, nor upon the virtues, the views, or the designs of other men, but they depend upon yourselves; upon your maintaining your property, your knowledge, and your virtue. Nature and society have joined to produce, and to establish freedom in America. You are now in the full possession of all your natural and civil rights; under no restraints in acquiring knowledge, property, or the highest honours of your country; in the most rapid state of improvement and population; with perfect freedom to make further improvement in your own condition. In this state of society, every thing is adapted to promote the prosperity, the importance, and the improvement of the body of the people.—But nothing is so established among men, but that it may change and vary. If you should lose that spirit of industry, of economy, of knowledge, and of virtue, which led you to independence and to empire; then, but not until then, will you lose your freedom: Preserve your virtues, and your freedom will be perpetual.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

NO. I.

An Account of the Variation of the magnetic Needle, in the eastern Shores. CHAP. I. p. 10.

IN laying out lands in America, the direction of the lines, is generally taken by the magnetic needle. The instruments which have been generally used, are the Plain Table, or the Circumferencer, divided into degrees, and fitted with a magnetic needle of three or four inches radius — Had the greatest possible care been taken by able mathematicians, it would not have been possible for them, with such instruments, to have avoided many errors and mistakes. But in former days, ignorant of the variation of the needle, were ignorant, or at all attended to. Many, and almost endless controversies and disputes, have arisen from this cause. In many instances no data could be found, by which it was possible to come to a just decision; the variation of the magnetic needle, at the times when the surveyed lines were run, being forgotten. On such accounts, the knowledge of the magnetic variations in the inland parts of America, is become a matter of great importance to the people; their interest and property in many cases, being much affected by it.

From the year 1492, the directive power of the magnet has been employed with great success, in the affairs of navigation. But the first account that we have of any observed variation in its direction, was by Columbus, in the year 1492, in his first voyage to America. Until that time, philosophers universally believed that the pole of the magnet, exactly coincided with the pole of the earth; and they had no idea of any such thing, as a variation. Amidst the uncommon scenes of difficulty which opposed the views, and exercised the genius of the discoverer of America, when he had advanced two hundred leagues west of the Canary Islands, his compass began to fail him; and it was found not to point to the pole of the earth; or exactly north, but one degree to the west of that point. From that time the variation began to be observed, and became more and more known. For the last century and a half, mathematicians have made it a regular part of their business to observe it, in different parts of the earth; with the annual alterations that are constantly taking place.

In the year 1723, a very accurate observer, G. Graham, of London, discovered that the magnetic needle had a diurnal, as well

APPENDIX

in an exact variation. And it is now well known to all, that
 there that from about eight o'clock in the morning, the mag-
 netic needle varies in the west, until about two o'clock in the
 afternoon. When it has attained its greatest westward deviation,
 it gradually returns to the east, until about eight or nine o'clock
 in the evening; when it begins to advance, until the next morn-
 ing. — The expressions of this diurnal variation are become com-
 mon, and are to be found in the transactions of all philosophical
 societies. — In the most regular state of the magnetic needle,
 it is subject to two variations; an annual, and a diurnal
 one.

The effect of these variations are at all times such, that the
 magnetic needle can never give to the surveyor who follows its
 direction, a straight or an accurate line. And it ought not to be
 used at all, unless the business requires great accuracy and pre-
 cision. It is however scarcely practicable in America, to sub-
 stitute any thing better, in the room of it. Most of the lines which
 have been already run by surveyors, were run by the needle;
 this is much the most convenient instrument that can be car-
 ried, or used in the woods; and the expense of running lines any other
 way, would be too great for individuals to bear; and the survey-
 ors are not qualified to run them by the true method. For
 such reason it is probable, that the magnetic needle will contin-
 ue to be the instrument, by which the lines will be run, and
 the boundaries be laid out in America. — We must therefore en-
 deavour to provide the best remedy we can, for an error of this
 kind, which is almost easily removed. The best remedy which the
 case admits of, is an accurate observation of the variation of the
 magnetic needle, at the time when divisional lines are run.
 This should be done by some mathematicians, and in as many
 places in a State, as may be. Such observations will enable the
 best directed surveyors will be able to find, to enable them to
 determine what is the rest or true direction of their magnetic
 lines. — It is with this view, that the following Table is sub-

Year	Month	Day	Time	Variation
1790	Jan	1	10	10° 15'
1790	Jan	1	2	10° 15'
1790	Jan	1	3	10° 15'
1790	Jan	1	4	10° 15'
1790	Jan	1	5	10° 15'
1790	Jan	1	6	10° 15'
1790	Jan	1	7	10° 15'
1790	Jan	1	8	10° 15'
1790	Jan	1	9	10° 15'
1790	Jan	1	10	10° 15'
1790	Jan	1	11	10° 15'
1790	Jan	1	12	10° 15'
1790	Jan	1	1	10° 15'
1790	Jan	1	2	10° 15'
1790	Jan	1	3	10° 15'
1790	Jan	1	4	10° 15'
1790	Jan	1	5	10° 15'
1790	Jan	1	6	10° 15'
1790	Jan	1	7	10° 15'
1790	Jan	1	8	10° 15'
1790	Jan	1	9	10° 15'
1790	Jan	1	10	10° 15'
1790	Jan	1	11	10° 15'
1790	Jan	1	12	10° 15'

Magnetic

New York. H. B. Wood. Magnetic Tables. N. H. Map. Maine.

rozen; But that now it only melt out the ice like morsels of crystals. The difference in the degree of cold necessary to produce these effects, is about 6 degrees.

We have here an account of the climate in the land of Palestine, so far back as 28 and 33 centuries. Instead of treasures of gold, silver, and iron, a frozen deep, and cold barren soil, is to be seen; the inhabitants of that country now, had a hot sultry climate; in which these metals were never seen. We have also the account of the meteorological observations made at the place, where Moses and David lived. It is not probable, probably much the same, as itself places, as being in others of the same latitude and situation. We may therefore make use of these which have been taken at Grand Cairo, as the most applicable; and the best which we can find, to give us an idea of the temperature of the winter in those parts of the globe. Grand Cairo lies in the latitude of 30° north. According to Mr. Hutton's observations made there in the years 1770 and 1771, the mean heat of the whole year will be 73°. The mean heat in the month of January was 59°. That of February is 62°. It is not seldom that the mean heat of the coldest week in that winter falls under that of 8 degrees below the mean temperature of the whole month. This will give us an idea of the mean temperature of the coldest week in the winter at Grand Cairo. And this could be greatly different from the temperature of the winter in the land of Palestine. From the way of computation we shall have an idea of Fahrenheit's thermometer, as the variation which has taken place in the severity of the winters in that country, since the time of Moses.

The climate in that it also found to be very different now, from what it was 28 centuries ago. When the celebrated poet, was distinguished by his knowledge in agriculture. In this geographical he is frequently giving advice for the security of cattle, against the rigorous frosts of the land there. His directions were designed for the country round Meadia or Memphis, his native place; in the latitude of 30°. Meadiana or Meadia is the most southern part of Egypt; the place of the melting of the Nile; as all events that are common to be expected. History, Journal, and other writers in the 17th and 18th centuries speak of ice and snow as what was common in Italy. One of these writers, relates, that he had seen a piece of ice, together with a horse, how to melt for cows when the water is covered with ice. The degree of cold necessary to produce this effect, is about 6 degrees below the mean heat of the month of January in that place, is now 56 degrees; and that the mean heat of the coldest week in the winter

was 42 degrees; 17 degrees greater than that, in which the thermometer stood at the same place. The change of climate therefore in Italy during the last 42 Summers, cannot be less than 17 degrees; but from the inaccuracy of the ancient accounts it may have been many more.

A similar observation about water in the country round Capri was made by the same author. The water in 1712 was the same as in 1713. This celebrated poet was invited to Tarento by the Duke of Salaparuta. This place is in the latitude of 40° 20' and between the coast of the Sicilian Sea. The poet says, "I was in my healthment at this place, about the middle of the last summer; he informs us that he saw the water in the river with ice; that he ordered upon this to send that man and carriage pulled over it. He went further, and says, that when he called for water in a fevered vessel, it was presented to him in a glass of congelation: And that the frozen water placed, was never dissolved during the summer season. Therefore water was then in the Bay of Capri during the length of the summer was frozen over. And that in the year 1713, the Sicilian Sea was covered with ice to the Bay of Gaeta. In this manner, any meteorological observations to this with accuracy, what the greatest temperature of that Climate is; but nothing would be more extraordinary and extraordinary than to see this Climate grow cold. In 1707, the Turks were greatly successful in the conquest of most of the Christian people. And in all the adjacent country, instead of a frozen sea, frozen wine, and perpetual snow, they have now a moderate warm climate; one of the most temperate and delightful that is to be found upon the face of the earth. So far as we can judge from the general phenomena, the change of the climate there, has been exactly equal to what has taken place in Italy.

The same alteration has been observed upon the Alps and Apennines. These are the highest mountains in Europe, and divide Italy from France, the Kingdom, and Germany. The march of Napoleon's army over these mountains, was one of the most memorable exploits of antiquity. In that account of it, Long and Boulton it struck every eye, and astonished the extreme difficulties and fatigues which arose from the severe frost, the sand, and snow. This was the case in 1796, and now a 4 months march has been made over without any extraordinary sufferings, and the loss of human life is small.

The change of climate has been also very remarkable in Germany. In 1709, a severe winter was experienced, and the river By the account of Broderick's Journal. The great winter

* Sphear. Soc. Meteor. Philat. Observations Romane, Tom. II & III.
 † Phil. Trans. Vol. LVIII, for 1767, p. 37, 38.

one which covers the Roman province of the Rhine and the Danube, were frequently flung over and capable of supporting the most enormous weights. The inhabitants who often chafe that severe season for the numerous misfortunes which apprehension or danger, their numerous crimes, their cruelties, and their heavy wagons over a talk and solid bridge of wood. Modern men have not presented an instance of this kind of construction. The evidence that wood cannot support the weight of the earth, and that the best wood of the world is of a constitution that flows and is not of a nature to resist cold. As it found on the rock of a mountain, ten degrees of the pole, he found in distant parts of England and Virginia. But at present an account of a wood less common in any country to the south of the Baltic, in the time of Cæsar, the Romans, as well as the Greeks, and the wild bull, was a native of the Hessian forest, which once covered a great part of Germany and Poland.

The accounts still remain to determine several ideas of the climate of Germany at that time. The situation of the Rhine and the Danube is mentioned, as an essential circumstance to be expected, since the inhabitants of those rivers take place in the more temperate parts of Europe, and are assured that a certain and safe passage for the highest part of the year, by the great rivers. The account of the strength of the winds, the direction of the winds, the nature of the winter equal in all its effects, to that which takes place in the untemperated parts of North America. The west are more constantly froge away winter. The inhabitants find by constant experience, that at that season of the year they can trust their health, and the strength of the winds, with safety, certainty, and convenience. The mean heat of our winters in such places as from 15 to 20 degrees. In such a cold, the river and streams will be sensibly less than usually frozen, that the inhabitants find in Germany and a safe passage every winter, over the rivers and seas. This season has been very much the state of the ancient German winters. From the observations which were made at Nimsa, situated 50° north, in the year 1776 and 1777, it appears that the mean heat there in the month of January was 32° in February it was 35°. At Ratisbon, latitude 48° 10' north, in the year 1761 and 1762, the mean heat in the month of January was found to be 30° 50' in the month of February was 32°. At Mannheim, latitude 49° 17' north, in the year 1764 and 1765, the mean heat in the month of January was 35°, 08 in February it was 35° 5. † The mean of these, 31° 3' in January,

• Oehler's Rownn History, Vol. I, p. 346. † Ephem, Sec. Meteor. Philo. Tom. I, II, III, &c.

and $32^{\circ}, 26'$ in February, will accurately express the present temperature of the German winter upon the Danube and the Rhine. The time when the barbarians began their inroads into the Roman provinces was about the year 452. According to this computation, the change of climate in Germany has been between 17 and 26 degrees, in 15 centuries.

The same instances mentioned by the historian, and which served to break the alliance in Germany in the time of Cæsar, was the appearance of the reindeer. The warmest countries in which he now resides, are Sweden, Russia, and Lapland. From the observations made at Abo, latitude $60^{\circ}-57'$ north, from the year 1734 to 1764 the mean heat in the month of January was found to be $19^{\circ}, 38'$; that of February was $21^{\circ}, 38'$. At Petersburg, latitude $59^{\circ}-56'$ north, from the year 1762 to 1777, the mean heat in January was 18° ; in February the mean heat was $16^{\circ}, 46'$. The mean of these $14^{\circ}, 8'$ in January, and $18^{\circ}, 9'$ in February is the temperature of the winter in that part of the globe. These are the warmest climates in which the reindeer does now subsist. It may therefore with much probability be inferred, that this was the temperature of the German winter in the days of Cæsar, 184 centuries ago. Hence the alteration of climate in Germany during that space of time, has been about 16 degrees. It seems to be a confirmation of the truth and propriety of these different methods of computation, that they both afford much the same result.

From these accounts it appears with a decisive evidence, that the climate, in the course of several centuries, has remarkably changed at Palestine, in Italy, around the Buxine sea, at the Alps; and throughout all Germany. Through all this vast extent of country, the climate is now become 16 or 17 degrees warmer than it was 18 centuries ago. The continent of America in similar latitudes, is still subject to a great degree of cold. If the meteorological observations which have been made at Williamsburg, Cambridge, Quebec, and Hudson's Bay in America, be compared with those which have been made at Algiers, Rome, Poitiers, and Solykamski, places whose latitudes are nearly equal; it will be found that the European continent is now 12 degrees warmer than that of America. Many inquiries and speculations have been proposed to account for this extreme cold of America. From the accounts which have been mentioned, it appears that 17 or 18 centuries ago, the continent of Europe instead of being

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• Kirwan's estimate.

† Algiers lat. $36^{\circ}-49'$	M. H. 72°	Poitiers lat. $46^{\circ}-39'$	M. H. $53^{\circ}, 8'$
Rome $41^{\circ}-54'$	$59^{\circ}, 9'$	Solykamski 59°	$52^{\circ}, 5'$

16 degrees warmer, was subject to a cold 4 or 5 degrees greater, than that which now takes place on the continent of America. The proper inquiries therefore seem to be, Whence is it that the European continent is become so much more mild and temperate than that of America?—Whether the latter will not in a course of time become equally warm and temperate as the former?—Whether the climates of both will not gradually become more equal, uniform, and moderate, than they now are?—And, Whether cultivation is sufficient to account for these changes? For whatever the cause may be, the fact seems to be certain, the heat of all that part of the earth, of which we have any ancient accounts, has been increasing from the earliest ages.

No. III.

A Dissertation on the Colours of Men, particularly on that of the Indians of America. CHAR. VIII. p. 197.

COLOURS OF MEN. ONE of the most curious phenomena that belongs to the natural history of man, is the colour with which he is marked. Every object which we behold, appears to be of some particular colour. In animals these colours are extremely various, different, and beautiful; and sometimes they appear to be variable. Man, like other animals, is distinguished both by a peculiarity, and by a variety of colour. In Europe, he appears white: In Africa, he is black: In America, his colour is red: In Asia, a variety of colours are to be found upon the human countenance. There are other shades and tinctures to be found in each quarter of the globe, besides those mentioned above: But those that have been mentioned are the most general and prevalent colours, under which man appears, in the four general divisions of the globe.

VARIETY OF COLOURS.—The most distinguishing, permanent, and general colours of the human species, and which are at the greatest extremes from each other, are black and white. Between these, or rather as different degrees and variations of them, are all the other colours of the human countenance: And they may be reduced to swarthy, red, copper, and brown.—*Black* is the colour of the Africans under the equator; of the inhabitants of Newguinea, and Newholland. A *swarthy* colour includes the Moors in the northern parts of Africa, and the Hottentots in the southern parts of it. *Red* distinguishes the Indians of Northamerica. The same, or perhaps more accurately a *copper* colour denotes the complexion of the *Indians* of Asia. *Brown* comprehends the Tatar, Ven-

sians, Arabs, Africans on the coast of the Mediterranean, and the Chinese. The inhabitants of the islands in the Pacific Ocean, are also chiefly of this colour. Under this colour is comprehended all those different shades, which are denoted by olive, chestnut, and deep yellow. A less dark colour, or *brownish*, will best express the complexion of the inhabitants in the southern parts of Europe: The Sicilians, Apollinians, Spaniards, Turks; and also the Samoedes, and Laplanders. *White* is the colour of most of the European nations; as Swedes, Russians, Danes, English, Germans, Poles, &c. Khabardinski, and Georgians. It is observable that all these colours are included between the two extremes; or rather they are different degrees or variations of black and white.

CHANGE OF COLOUR. A change of colour is always produced by the marriage or mixture of persons of different complexions. Thus the offspring of the European and the negro, is of a yellow complexion; less white than the European, and less black than the negro; or rather of a dark cream colour. This race are numerous in some parts of America, and are called *Mulattos*. The offspring of an European and an Indian is also of a cream colour; and more light than the mulattoe. These are called among the Spaniards *Mestizo*. The effect and operation of this change of the original colours, in the climate of America, is always in favour of the fairer complexion; and never approaches towards, or ends in the darker colour.—This change and alteration of colour, when it is left to its natural tendency and effect, is extremely slow and moderate in its operation; and it is not until after many years, that the full effect is produced. In the Spanish settlements, this mixed race has so multiplied, as to form a considerable part of the inhabitants: And the several stages of variation in this race, with the gradual alteration of shade until it ends in the European complexion, have been well ascertained, and are now perfectly well understood. Those of the first generation are considered, and treated as negroes or Indians. In the third generation the Indian colour disappears. It is not until the fifth descent that the deeper black of the negro is lost. At the end of these different periods, the offspring can no longer be distinguished from the European; but is considered as such, and entitled to all their privileges.—In this change of colour, produced by the most powerful of all natural causes, the mixture of persons of different complexions; so gradual and slow is the operation, that the black must be subject to five divisions, and the operation must be continued through five generations, before the colour is completely changed.

SEAT

• Voyage de Ulloa, I. 27. Robertson's Hist. Amer. II. 369.

SEAT OF COLOUR.—That different colours of the human species are seated in the skin is very apparent. The skin consists of three folds or coverings. The first is a very fine and transparent integument, and is white in people of all colours. The second is a cellular membrane, differently coloured in different persons. The third is also white. It is in the second of these, that the colour is seated. In black people, a very able anatomist observes that the skin is much thicker and larger, than in white ones; the cellular membrane in the latter being a thin mucus, but in the former a thick membrane. In whites this seat of the colour is transparent, and either totally deprived of vessels, or only furnished with a very few; as the yellow colour appearing in jaundice vanishes on the cause of the disease being removed, which is not the case with stains from gunpowder, or similar causes.—Hence, he observes, three causes may be very readily assigned, which will operate to destroy the pelucidity of the skin, and give it a brown colour, and render it thicker. These are the heat of the sun, the access of air, and nastiness. And in general any thing that operates to produce or to destroy the pelucidity of the skin, will tend to vary and change the colour of the human body.

COLOUR CONNECTED WITH CLIMATE.—Among the causes which may affect the colour of the human body, it has been generally supposed that the influence of heat or climate, has a considerable effect. Concerning this influence or connexion between colour and climate, the following observations may be made.

1. Different colours are best suited to different climates. In all the plants and animals which are spread over the face of the earth, there is something by which they are peculiarly fitted to the climate and country, in which they are placed. One kind of vegetable requires a great degree of heat: Another flourishes the best in a temperate and cold country: It is the same with animals. Some are fitted for the heat of the torrid zone. Others require the severe cold of the frigid zone, to give them their greatest perfection. To all these animals, nature has given the proper clothing; which admits of no other variation than what the seasons of the year require.—Man is an animal made for every climate: Instead of being formed for the torrid or frigid zone, he can live, multiply, and arrive to his proper perfection, in any climate: And it is left to his own reason and industry to provide himself with such clothing, as his condition may require, in every climate through which he may pass; or in which he may sojourn. And yet there is something in different men, which

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qualifies and fits them for one climate, better than for another; and that is, colour. — The man whose colour is black, is better suited to the extreme heat of the hottest climate, than any other of the human race. This has been long known and observed in the climates of America. The negroes of the West India islands, in the Spanish dominions, and in the states of Georgia, and South-carolina, are found to bear the extreme heat of the summer better than the white people. On the contrary, the negroes in the northern states of America are more tender than the white people, less able to bear the severity of our winters, and more apt to complain, suffer, and freeze with the cold. — The white men are the reverse of this. They bear the severe winters of Canada, and Russia, without much difficulty or suffering: But in a hot climate they become sickly, and fall sooner than the negroes. Several colonies of white people have subsisted in the torrid zone in America, more than two centuries: And yet they cannot bear the heat, like the original inhabitants, or like the negroes. The one is apparently best suited to a cold, and the other to a hot climate: And these differences are as apparently owing to their colour, for they do not appear to be connected with any other cause, or circumstance. Different colours therefore in the human species, are certainly best adapted, suited, and fitted, to different climates.

There is a tendency in climate to produce the colour which it requires. Animal heat is derived but little from the sun, as from the atmosphere; but chiefly and mainly from original constitution. The design of covering and clothing, is to detain and preserve the heat of the animal body, in its natural situation, degree, and quantity; and to prevent an extreme waste or disposition of it. Black readily receives and absorbs the heat of the animal body; and in this way, tends to exhaust and disperse it. White reflects and repels the rays of light and heat more than any other colour, and thus prevents and opposes their passage; and in this way, tends to preserve and detain the constitutional heat of the animal body. Hence the covering, which nature has assigned to the earth in cold climates, is snow. By its colour it becomes best of all adapted to prevent the heat from flowing out of the earth into the atmosphere. And hence the covering of most animals in the severest season, and country, is generally white; the colour which most of all preserves the heat of the animal body, and prevents its flowing out. In conformity to the same law of nature, many animals change their colour at the approach of winter; and from black, brown, or grey, become white. This is the case with the rabbits, foxes, and bears, &c. at Hudson's bay, Russia, and Siberia. From the darker colours which they bear in summer, they turn white at the approach of winter; and remain so, until the return of spring.

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In such cases, climate appears to have a powerful and a sudden operation, to produce the colour it requires.

The change of colour in man, is more slow and gradual; it is however certain and apparent. The white men who are much exposed to the heat and rays of the sun, and to the influence of the wind, in hot seasons lose their whiteness, and become brown or red. The inhabitants of Europe when they settle in New Spain or in the West India islands, soon lose their whiteness, and become of a brownish yellow. The Europeans who reside long in the East Indies, become of the same cream coloured complexion. We have an accurate account of the effect produced by climate in South America, by Dr. Mitchell; "The Spaniards who have inhabited America under the torrid zone for any considerable time, are become as dark coloured as our native Indians of Virginia, of which I myself have been a witness."* An account from Africa, is equally authentic and accurate, "There are several other small Portuguese settlements, and one of some note at Mitomba, a river in Sienna Leone. The people here called *Portuguese*, are principally persons bred from a mixture of the first Portuguese discoverers with the natives, and now become, in their complexion, and woolly quality of their hair, perfect negroes, retaining however, a smattering of the Portuguese language."† Here the operation of mixture by marriage, is determined by climate in favour of the African colour. There are similar accounts of the complexion of the Portuguese, who settled at Senegal in 1400, and of those who are settled on the coast of Congo. The varying complexion of the Jews is also very remarkable. Descended from one stock, their religion has prevented their marrying with other peoples. In Britain and Germany, they are white. In France and Turkey, they are brown. In Spain and Portugal, their colour is swarthy. In Syria and Chaldea, the olive colour prevails; In Arabia and Egypt they are of a tawny or copper colour. Among every nation they seem to partake of the colour of the climate. And one of them, Tudela, relates that his countrymen in Abyssinia, have acquired the dark complexion of the original natives.

It is observable that all these changes, are from a lighter to a more dark complexion. Similar changes have not been observed in the negroes, that have been brought into the temperate climates of America. It should seem therefore that the transition is easier from white to black, than from black to white; or that heat has a much more sudden and powerful effect than cold. It ought however to be observed that it is only in white and fair

* Phil. Trans. No. 474. † Account of the trade of Great Britain to Africa, by an African merchant.

‡ Buffon Nat. Hist, Vol. III.

complexions, that these changes of colour would soon become visible, or apparent to common observation. In a dark or black countenance, small and gradual variations of shade would not be observed. It would not be until the negro had lost much of his former colour, that the change would be generally noticed.—But I much suspect that there is something more curious in this subject, than has been imagined: That some of the colours of the human countenance, are in their own nature, colours which are less changeable than others. It seems to be universally the case, that the black produced by scorching, or by an intense heat, is the most durable of any colour whatever: And that white is more soon and easily sullied, and changed, than any of the other colours, with which any object is marked.

3. It seems to be a confirmation of these remarks, that the colours of men in different climates, are in fact such, as those climates seem to require. Under the equator the darkest shade, perfect black takes place. The negro of Africa is placed in the most intense heat, that takes place on this globe; and the colour of the negro is the deepest and darkest black, that any where appears on the human countenance. Advancing from the equator towards the pole, the colour of the human species acquires a complexion more and more light; until having passed through all the intermediate gradations of shade, it terminates in the whiteness of a temperate and cold climate.—There are indeed variations and exceptions from this, and from every other general law of nature. Intermixtures of different nations, migration, differences in food, disease, cleanliness, health, and many other local circumstances and causes, will produce these. As such variations are not agreeable to any general law of nature, they are neither evidences of, or objections to such laws; but derive their origin from local and particular causes.—But it is impossible not to discern the general regularity, tendency, and effect of the laws of nature, respecting climate and colour. The most intense black, is the general colour of man in the hottest part of the globe. Where the heat is considerably abated, the black abates too, and the colour becomes swarthy. To this succeeds the red or copper colour of the east and west Indians; suited to that part of Asia, where the Indians have been long fixed and permanently settled. The next gradation is brown, comprehending the olive, and dark yellow. A lighter shade, or a brown approaching nearer to white, distinguishes a climate still more temperate. The whole terminates in the coldness, and in the whiteness of the European and northern nations; beyond which nature has not proceeded. And where a country is of great extent, as India, and China, the colour of the same people is dark in the southern, and more fair in the northern parts. Whatever particular exceptions and deviations may be found, the general law of nature respecting

colour,

colour, is marked with as much regularity, uniformity, design, and order, as any other law of nature, which applies to the vegetable or animal world.

This operation and effect of climate must be extremely gradual and slow. Whatever those causes are which have served to form and fix the colours of men, they are causes which have been in operation, from the beginning of the creation of God. If there were any differences in the natural constitutions of man, so as to form what has been called different races, those differences must have been original; and therefore as ancient as those supposed races of men. If the effect has been produced by climate, this cause must have been operating upon nations, ever since their residence became fixed in any particular part of the earth. The same remark will apply to any other supposed cause. Be it what it may, upon every nation whose residence has been fixed, it must have been operating ever since their situation became established. With regard then to all those nations which have long resided in the same part of the globe, their colours must be viewed as the effect of causes, which have been in operation either from the beginning of the creation, or from the time when they began to reside in their present situations, or countries.—What then ought to be expected, if any race of men whose colour was already formed, should be removed to a country, where the tendency of climate was to reverse the former effects, and change the colour which had been long fixed?—Could it be expected that the power of climate to change a colour long formed and fixed, could be exerted in less time than it had required to produce and to establish it?—Would it require less time to remove an established colour, and to produce a new one, than it did to produce and fix the first? So far as we can derive any information from the ordinary course of nature, we cannot conceive that the colour of the negro, could be changed into that of the white man, in a less period of time, than it had taken, to produce and establish that colour at first. It is much more probable, that a longer period of time would be necessary to eradicate the first, and produce the second, than was requisite to form the complexion at first.—Those then that mean to inquire carefully into the operations and effects of nature, must put on the patience of the antiquarian, and learn to compute time with the astronomers. The impatience of many leads them to expect that climate should undo that in three or four generations, which nature has been constantly at work to effect, from her first origin until now.

I will venture to propose a conjectural estimation, not because I think it approaches very near to certainty or decision, but because I cannot find any thing upon the subject, that has a greater appearance of probability. The most powerful of all the causes, which have been found to change the complexion of man, is that of mixture by marriage. In the negro colour, this requires five generations,

generations, and five divisions, before the African blacks be lost in the European whiteness. In the less dark complexion of the Indian, it requires three generations, and three divisions, to produce the same effect. The time of one of these generations may be estimated at about forty five years. The time then which nature requires to effect the change of colour from this caste, would be one hundred and twenty five years, for the negro. A thirty second part of the whole colour, upon this supposition is done away by some other cause, say that of climate. If the whole effect had been produced by climate, and in this proportion, the time necessary to have completed the effect would have been four thousand years. By the same method of conjectural estimation, the time necessary to reduce the Indian to the European colour would be six hundred years. — The difficulty and uncertainty attending this method of forming an estimate, is not that it can give the period of time too long, but that it assumes what cannot be ascertained by observation. It is not, and probably cannot be made certain by observation, that a thirty second part of the negro colour is done away by climate, or that it is done away at all, when the negro complexion is supposed to be completely changed. It is not probable that if a thirty second part of the dark colour remained, it could be readily distinguished by the eye. — But uncertain as the data are, they are sufficient to show that the operation of climate, in any view in which the matter can be considered, is extremely gradual and slow. But

5. The influence of climate, whatever it is, may be increased, or it may be retarded, by the operation of other causes. The colour of the skin may be affected and changed by other causes, as well as by heat and cold. If there be any thing in the common method of living, in being constantly exposed to the sun and wind, in the use of paint and oil, or in an habitual cleanliness or filthiness, that tends to darken, or to render the complexion more fair; this, may operate either with or against the influence of climate, according as the nature and tendency of such customs or practice may be. And we ought not to ascribe that to, or make that any objection to the influence of climate, which may be derived from other causes. Thus in Greenland, the influence of climate is in favour of a fair and white complexion. But in the constant application of grease, oil, and filthiness, to the human body, there is another and a more powerful cause to effect its colour, than climate; and which, acting in constant opposition to it, gives to the countenance a fallow or dirty olive complexion. Such causes may act with a force and power, equal or superior to that of climate; but they are not equally permanent, universal, or invariable. — There is no error more common, or more apt to deceive us in contemplating the natural history of man, than to ascribe that to one cause, which is derived from or produced

produced by the joint operation of many. Whatever tends to render the skin more or less transparent, will affect the colour of the human species, as certainly as the climate in which they are placed.

COLOUR AND CLIMATE OF THE INDIANS OF AMERICA.
There is no subject in philosophy so well understood, but that a number of questions and inquiries may be proposed respecting it, which do not admit of a satisfactory or complete answer. And this will always remain to be the case, because our knowledge of nature will never be equal or commensurate to the subject. But there is one inquiry arising here, which demands our careful attention: How does the climate and the colour of the Indians of America agree with this, or with any other supposed law of climate? The Indians were spread over the whole continent of America: They dwelt in every habitable climate from the equator to the pole: And they were of the same colour in every place. In the greatest heat under the equator, and in the severest climates of Canada and Hudson's bay, they were of the same brownish red. This appears to be the proper Indian colour in every part and climate of America. Are the climates of America different from those of the other continent? Or whence is it that the connexion which takes place between climates and colour in the other parts of the globe, is not to be found among the Indians?—This curious phenomenon has occasioned much inquiry and speculation: Can the causes of it be found, in the observations which have been already mentioned?

1. The Indian colour is very evidently the mixture of black and red. The colour, which an intense heat produces, upon all bodies to which it is applied, is *black*: And it is as natural

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It has been customary to write in this language, but we are far from being certain that it is either accurate, or proper. It has been taken for granted, but it has never been examined, whether the Indian colour is the same in every part of America. An accurate and inquisitive observer, *M. de la Plata*, who commanded for several years at *Matogrossa*, a Portuguese settlement in the interior parts of *Brasil*, where the Indians are numerous, and not altered by their intercourse with the Europeans, noted a difference in their complexions: "They are all of a copper colour, with some diversity of shade, not in proportion to their distance from the equator, but according to the degree of elevation of the territory which they inhabit. Those who live in a high country are fairer than those in the marshy low lands on the coast."—*Robertson's Hist. Amer.* I. 460.—On the northwest part of the American continent, it has been found, that "the complexion of the Indians is lighter than that of the southern Indians, and some of their women have rufy cheeks."—*Morse's Geog.* I. 99. 105. Edit. 1793.—Of the Indians of *Paraguay* we have this account: "They are generally of an olive complexion, some darker, others lighter, and some as white as the Spaniards."—*Ibid.* p. 84.

to expect it should have this effect upon the human body, as upon any other bodies. The colour which is produced upon the human body, by living much in the open air, exposed to the influence of the sun and wind, is red. The white man who lives in such a situation, always contracts this colour. That part of their bodies, which is exposed to the influence of the sun and wind, becomes of a reddish colour; or, as it is commonly expressed, they become tanned, or sun burnt; that is, they acquire a colour formed by a mixture of red and white. This influence of the sun and wind, in producing the red complexion, is found to be much the same in summer and winter. The white man is nearly as much, and as soon tanned, in the winter as in the summer. It seems, therefore, that the production of this red colour, does not depend upon climate, heat, or cold, but upon the habit of living in the open air, and having the body exposed to the constant influence of the sun and wind. The Indian colour then seems to have been formed by the mixture of two different colours, black and red; and to have been derived from two powerful causes, *climate and habit*. Causes distinct from one another, and the latter producing nearly the same effect in every climate. This colour of the Indians was probably completely formed, when they first came into America. They were of the same colour as the Indians, and such as the Tartars in Asia, and appear to have been descended from them. Their colour therefore was completely formed and fixed, before they came into America. This colour seems to have been derived from the warm climate of Asia, and from the habit of living constantly exposed to the sun, and to the open air. The colour thus formed and fixed, they could naturally convey to their offspring. And as there were no other people with whom they could have any intercourse, there could be no change or alteration of colour, produced by a mixture of parents of different complexion. Their colour therefore must have been settled, and uniform. And the whole effect of population must have been to spread, propagate, and preserve it. The effect of climate then upon the Indian in America, would not be to produce and form his colour, but either to preserve, or to change it.

No part of the climate of America was sufficiently hot, to change it into an intense black. It is only in the most intense heat of the hottest climate, that the extreme black of the negro is formed. The climate of America under the line falls far short of this. While the negro on the coast of Africa is scorched with unceasing heat, the inhabitant of Peru breathes an air equally mild and temperate, and is perpetually shaded under a canopy of grey clouds, which intercept the fierce beams of the sun.

Robertson's Hist. Amer. l. 250.

The climate in every part of the torrid zone in America, is much more mild and temperate than the same latitude in Africa, or Asia. In a country where the hottest climate is so moderate, it is not to be expected that the Indian colour should be changed into extreme black. No part of the climate will be enough to produce this. And any small variation in the actual countenance, would not be readily or easily discerned. The change of colour most naturally to be expected would be of the contrary kind, not to black, but to white; as lead to a lighter shade than what took place under the equator. If there be any influence or tendency in extreme cold to produce a fair and white complexion, this might have been expected; for there are no colder climates upon the face of the earth, than those of the northern parts of America.—But whatever might be the influence of the climate to produce such a complexion, the Indians made use of several certain and constant methods to prevent it. One, was their constant habit of living and wandering about in the woods, exposed to the full force of the winds and sun: Another, was their extreme and perpetual filth, and dirtiness. A third, was their habitual use of grease and paint. It was their universal custom to anoint and rub their bodies with the grease and oil of the bear, beaver, muskrat, and other animals; and to mix the grease with different kinds of paints, and gums. This practice was probably designed to protect the body against the extreme variations of heat, cold, and moisture, to which they were constantly exposed. Nor could they have provided any better defence against heat, cold, rain, and insects; than to cover their bodies with a glutinous kind of varnish. And in doing this, they took a sure and a certain method, to guard and preserve their colour from any approach to a white, or to a fair complexion. When extreme dirtiness was added to the grease, oil, and paint, neither climate or any other cause could produce a fair complexion, until these were removed and dissolved. Thus in the Indian custom, and method of guarding his body against the effects of climate, the Indian himself was taking constant care that nothing should change the colour of his skin, or make it more transparent. But where these customs have been dissolved, the Indian colour has been found to be changeable; it has never been decided whether the Indian colour is exactly the same in every part of America. No accurate comparisons have ever been made between the colour of the Indians in the hottest parts under the equator, and those in the remote regions of Canada and Hudson's bay. Their colours have never been compared to any moderate and known standard; and small variations in a dark complexion, would not be a matter of common observation.—But whether the Indian colour be the same in every part of America, or not, it is certainly more changeable, and not so deeply fixed, as that of

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the negro. Many families of the Indian tribes are to be found in several of our islands. Some of these are at Capetown, and Rhode Island. A considerable number of them, are at Natick, and Stockbridge, in Massachusetts. Their habits and manners of life are different from those of the Indians who reside in the forests. They live in houses, have a fixed place of residence, and have much diluted the customs of parents and children, and their complexion differs much from that of the tribes who yet remain in their ancient and original state. The reddish cast is abated. The ruddy aspect appears more dull, pale, and clouded. The crimson mixture has disappeared, and they have approximated much nearer to the colour of the hunter among the whites, than the tribes who retain their ancient customs and habits. This change of colour in the Indians who have lived long among the whites, is apparent to common observation. And it is apparently derived from the change in their manners, customs, and habits. This change of the Indian complexion, clearly shows what has been the effect of custom, and habit.

6. In the northern parts of America, there are permanent phenomena, which will serve also to show what has been the effect of climate. The Esquimaux in the northern parts of America, are a people remarkably different from the Indians, which occupy the other parts of the continent. There is not much room to doubt, but that they were derived from the northwest parts of Europe; are the same people with the Greenlanders, Laplanders, Zambians, and Samoeds; and like them, were descended from the Tartars in the east. Their descent then was probably from the same nation as the Indians. But while the Indian tribes have by custom, preserved their red complexion, the Esquimaux have acquired a fallow olive, or brownish colour; more inclining to the European whiteness, than to the brownish red of the American. To what cause can we ascribe the lighter colour of this branch of the Tartar race, but to their more northerly and frozen situation? They have adopted the same customs and habits, as the Indians. They rub and anoint their bodies, with grease, the fat of the seal, and train oil; and are as filthy as the Indians. Not only so, but they drink the fat of the seal, and their train oil, and esteem it the most pleasant liquor. Can it be doubted what must be the effect upon their colour? It operates against the influence of climate, in that part of the earth where climate operates most powerfully to produce a white complexion. The influence of the two causes is divided, but the balance is in favour of climate, and the European complexion. Thus in two very extensive and numerous kinds of men, derived from the same nation, climate, custom, and habit, in one part of America, have produced or preserved the dark crimson of the Indian; but in the most northerly and frozen parts of the continent, the same causes have established the fallow olive colour of

of the Esquimaux, more resembling the European white than the Indian red. Upon a careful attention then, to the customs and habits of the original inhabitants of America, the phenomena seem to confirm the general connexion which has taken place between climate and colour, in the various parts of the earth or hemisphere.

This part of the natural history of man, seems to be, but very imperfectly understood. The great difficulty, that attends it, is the want of ancient and accurate accounts. It does indeed seem to be pretty well determined, that the colour of the white man is easily, and soon changed, to a dark complexion: And that the colour of the Indian is changeable, into a lighter complexion. But no relations which I have seen afford the same information, respecting the change of the African black. Nor can I find any phenomena or accounts which serve to ascertain the matter, and put it out of all doubt, whether there has been any change in the colour of the negro, which have been brought into any part of America. Nor is it certain that any such apparent alteration of the negro colour, ought upon any hypothesis, to have been expected, in the course of four or five generations. And yet, until some of these facts shall be ascertained, we can hardly expect that the laws of nature which apply to this subject, will be understood. Impatient of the fatigue of inquiry, collecting and comparing phenomena, some philosophers, with great precipitation, have pretended to decide it by system. To solve all difficulties it has been declared by some, that there are different creations; and races of men: That the white man is one kind, the negro another, and the Indian a third, &c. The business of making systems for nature, has seldom answered any other purpose, than to discover the presumption of those, who have made them. It has proved so in this case. If there had been as many local creations as there are individuals, this would not afford us any information, or enable us to advance one step, towards a solution of the problem respecting the colours of different men. Still the inquiries would remain, What is the seat of colour in these different men? Why do the rays of light appear of such different colours, upon the skin of the one, and the other? Why does one colour appear most common in an hot, and another colour prevail the most in a cold climate? And how is the change of colour produced by marriage and mixture? Instead of making ourselves with theories that are attended with no evidence, and can be of no use, what is wanted in this subject, is careful and accurate observations. These will indeed require a long course of time, and abilities very different from those, which decide by metaphysical disputes and speculations. But it is the only method, in which we have any reason to expect our knowledge of this subject will be promoted.

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No. IV.

The Declaration and Petition of the Inhabitants of the New Hampshire Grants to Congress, announcing the District to be a Free and Independent State. Chap. IX. p. 333.

To the Honourable the CONTINENTAL CONGRESS,

THE declaration and petition of that part of Northern-ri-
ca, situate south of Canada line, west of Connecticut
river, north of the Massachusetts bay, and east of a twenty
mile line from Hudson's river, containing about one hundred
and forty four townships, of the contents of six miles square,
each granted your petitioners by the authority of Newhamp-
shire, besides several grants made by the authority of New York,
and a quantity of vacant land, humbly sheweth,

That your petitioners, by virtue of several grants made
them by the authority aforesaid, have many years since, with
their families, become actual settlers and inhabitants of the
said described premises; by which it is now become a respect-
able frontier to three neighbouring states, and is of great im-
portance to our common barrier Ticonderoga; as it has fur-
nished the army there with much provisions; and can muster
more than five thousand hardy soldiers, capable of bearing
arms in defence of American liberty:

That shortly after your petitioners began their settlements,
a party of land jobbers in the city and state of New York, be-
gan to claim the lands, and took measures to have them de-
clared to be within that jurisdiction:

That on the fourth day of July, 1764, the king of Great-
britain did pass an order in council, extending the jurisdic-
tion of New York government to Connecticut river, in con-
sequence of a representation made by the late Lieutenantgov-
ernor Colden, that for the convenience of trade, and adminis-
tration of justice, the inhabitants were desirous of being an-
nexed to that state:

That on this alteration of jurisdiction, the said Lieutenant-
governor Colden did grant several tracts of land in the above
described limits, to certain persons living in the state of New-
York, which were at that time in the actual possession of your
petitioners; and under colour of the lawful authority of said
state, did proceed against your petitioners, as lawless intrud-
ers upon the crown lands in their province. This produced
an application to the king of Greatbritain from your peti-
tioners, setting forth their claims under the government of
Newhampshire, and the disturbance and interruption they
had suffered from said post claimants, under New York. And
on the 24th day of July, 1767, an order was passed at St.
James's, prohibiting the governors of New York, for the time
being

being, from granting any part of the described premises, on pain of incurring his highest displeasure. Nevertheless the same Lieutenant-governor Colden, Governors Dunmore and Tryon, have each and every of them, in their respective turns of administration, presumed to violate the said royal order, by making several grants of the prohibited premises; and countenancing an actual invasion of your petitioners, by force of arms, to drive them off from their possessions.

Those violent proceedings, (with the solemn declaration of the supreme court of Newyork, that the charters, conveyances &c. of your petitioners' lands, were utterly null and void, on which they were founded, reduced your petitioners to the disagreeable necessity of taking up arms, as the only means left for the security of their possessions. The consequence of this step was the passing twelve acts of outlawry, by the legislature of Newyork, on the ninth day of March, 1772; which were not intended for the state in general, but only for part of the counties of Albany and Charlotte, viz. such parts thereof as are covered by the Newhampshire charters.

Your petitioners having had no representatives in that assembly, when these acts were passed, they first came to the knowledge of them by public papers, in which they were inserted. By these, they were informed, that if three or more of them assembled together to oppose what said assembly called legal authority, that such as should be found assembled to the number of three or more, should be adjudged felons; And that in case they or any of them, should not surrender himself or themselves to certain officers appointed for the purpose of securing them after a warning of seventy days, that then it should be lawful for the respective judges of the supreme court of the province of Newyork, to award execution of Death, the same as though he or they had been attainted before a proper court of judicatory. These laws were evidently calculated to intimidate your petitioners into a tame surrender of their rights, and such a state of vassalage, as would entail misery on their latest posterity.

It appears to your petitioners, then an infringement on their rights is still meditated by the state of Newyork; as we find that in their general convention at Harlem, the second day of August last, it was unanimously voted, "That all quitrents formerly due and owing to the crown of Greatbritain within this state, are now due and owing to this convention, or such future government as may hereafter be established in this state."

By a submission to the claims of Newyork, your petitioners would be subjected to the payment of two shillings and six pence sterling on every hundred acres annually; which, compared with the quitrents of Livingston's, Phillips's, and Ram-

fees, manors, and many other enormous tracts in the best situations in the state, would lay the most disproportionate share of the public expence on your petitioners, in all respects the least able to bear it.

The convention of Newyork have now nearly completed a code of laws, for the future government of that state; which, should they be attempted to be put in execution, will subject your petitioners to the fatal necessity of opposing them by every means in their power.

When the declaration of the honourable the Continental Congress of the fourth of July last past, reached your petitioners, they communicated it throughout the whole of their district; and being properly apprised of the proposed meeting, delegates from the several counties and towns in the district, described in the preamble to this petition, did meet at Westminster in said district, and after several adjournments for the purpose of forming themselves into a distinct and separate state, did make and publish a Declaration, "that they would at all times thereafter consider themselves as a free and independent state, capable of regulating their own internal police, in all and every respect whatsoever; and that the people in the said described district, have the sole exclusive right of governing themselves in such a manner and form, as they in their wisdom should choose; not repugnant to any resolves of the honourable the Continental Congress:." And for the mutual support of each other in the maintenance of the freedom and independance of said district, or separate state, the said delegates did jointly and severally pledge themselves to each other, by all the ties that are held sacred among men, and resolve and declare, that they were at all times ready, in conjunction with their brethren of the United States, to contribute their full proportion towards maintaining the present just war against the fleets and armies of Greatbritain.

To convey this declaration and resolution to your honourable body, the grand representative of the United States, were we (your more immediate petitioners) delegated by the united and unanimous voices of the representatives of the whole body of the settlers on the described premises, in whose name and behalf, We humbly pray, that the said declaration may be received, and the district described therein be ranked by your honour, among the free and independent American states, and delegates therefrom admitted to seats in the grand Continental Congress, and your petitioners as in duty bound shall ever pray.

Newhampshire Grants, Westminster, 15th, Jan. 1777.

Signed by order, and in
behalf of said inhabitants.

JONAS FAY.
THOMAS CHITTENDEN.
HEMAN ALLEN.
REUBEN JONES. No.

The Remonstrance of the Commissioners from Vermont against the Proceedings of Congress; September 22, 1780. CHAP. X. P. 256.

To the Honourable CONGRESS of the UNITED STATES of NORTHAMERICA.

THE Remonstrance of Ira Allen and Stephen R. Bradley, Commissioners from the free and independent State of Vermont; appointed for the time being to attend on Congress.

With pleasure they embrace this first opportunity to testify their thanks for the personal honour done them by Congress, in giving them an attendance though in a private capacity; with their honourable body: At the same time lament the necessity which obliges them to say, they can no longer sit as idle spectators, without betraying the trust reposed in them, and doing violence to their feelings, to see partial modes pursued, plans adopted; ex parte evidence exhibited, which derives all its authority from the attestation of the party; passages of writings selected giving very false representations of facts, to answer no other end but to prejudice your honourable body against the State of Vermont; thereby to intrigue and baffie a brave and meritorious people out of their rights and liberties. We can easily conceive the secretary's office of the state of Newyork, may be converted into an inexhaustible source to furnish evidence to answer their purpose in the present dispute.

Needless would it be for us to inform Congress, that by the mode of trial now adopted, the state of Vermont can have no hearing without denying itself: And to close with those resolutions, which we conceive our enemies have extorted from your honourable body, and on which the trial is now placed, would be in fact, taking upon ourselves that humility and self abasement, as to lose our political life, in order to find it.

We believe the wisdom of Congress sufficient to point out, that pursuing the present mode, is deviating from every principle of the laws of nature, or nations: For if the dispute is between the states claiming on the one part, and the state of Vermont on the other, whether the latter be a state *de jure*, as an independent jurisdiction *de facto*; they ought to be considered in the course of the dispute, until the powers interposing, have determined whether the latter be an independent jurisdiction *de jure*, if not they of course ought to annihilate the jurisdiction *de facto*; but to annihilate the state *de facto* in the first place, is summarily ending the dispute; to deny the latter any independent jurisdiction *de facto*, is to deny there is any longer parties in the dispute.

Again we conceive the means connected with the end, and upon no principle whatever can we justify, that either part should establish the modus, or rules to be pursued in determining disputes, without confounding every idea of right and wrong.—In the present case, on the one part might the end as justly have been established as the way and means to effect the end.

We are far from being willing, those brave and strenuous efforts made by the state of Vermont in the controversy with Greatbritain, should be buried by our grasping adversaries, (thirsting after domination and prey) in the specious pretext of riotously assuming government; and we thereby lose all credit for the men and money we have expended.

Thus while we are necessitated to remonstrate against the proceedings of Congress on the present mode, we are willing at the same time any equitable inquiry should be made, the state of Vermont being allowed equal privileges with the other states in the dispute.

And that the state of Vermont might stand justified to your honorable body, and to the world, both as to her present and future conduct, we are induced, as well from principles of attachment to the American cause, as a regard we have for peace and harmony among the states of America now at war with Greatbritain, to make the following proposals, viz.:

1st. That the state of Vermont will as soon as may be forward to the secretary of Congress, an attested return of all male persons, liable to do duty agreeable to a militia act heretofore exhibited to Congress in a code of laws, entitled, "The Laws of Vermont;" and the state of Vermont shall for and during the present war with Greatbritain, from year to year furnish an equal number of troops in the field in proportion to their numbers, as Congress shall estimate the quotas of the several United States in proportion to their numbers; which troops shall be clothed, quartered, and paid, by the state of Vermont. And at the close of the war, the dispute shall be equitably settled by the mediation of sovereign powers; and nothing herein contained, shall be construed to take away the right any of the United States claim to have in or over the state of Vermont: Or

2nd. We are willing to agree upon some one or more of the legislatures of the disinterested states to interpose as mediators, and settle the dispute: Or

3rd. We are willing Congress, being possessed of sovereignty, should interpose to prevent the effusion of human blood: At the same time, we reprobate every idea of Congress sitting as a court of judicature, to determine the dispute by virtue of authority given them by the act or acts of the state or states that make but one party.

It gives us pungent grief that such an important cause at this juncture of affairs, on which our all depends, should be forced on by any gentlemen professing themselves friends to the cause of America, with such vehemence and spirit as appears on the part of the state of Newyork: And shall only add, that if the matter be thus pursued, we stand ready to appeal to God and the world, who must be accountable for the awful consequences that may ensue.

Signed at Philadelphia this 22d day of September, A. D. 1780.

IRA ALLEN,
STEPHEN R. BRADLEY.

No. VI.

Questions proposed by the Committee of Congress to the Agents on the Part of Vermont, with the Answers of the Agents, August 18, 1781.

Question 1st. ARE the boundaries set forth in the written propositions delivered in by the said Agents at this time, claimed by the state of Vermont as the lines of jurisdiction, the same as contained in the resolution of Congress of the 7th of August instant?

Answer. They are the same, with the addition of part of the waters of Lake Champlain, for the benefit of trade.

Q. 2d. What part do the people of Vermont mean to take as to the past expenses of the present war, and what aid do they propose to afford as to men and money to the common defence?

A. Such proportion as shall be mutually judged equitable after their admission to a seat in Congress; which has been at several different times officially proposed by agents on the part of Vermont.

Q. 3d. What are the ideas of the people of Vermont relative to the claim of private property, under grants or patents from Newhampshire, or Newyork previous to the present revolution?

A. Although the state of Vermont have not hitherto authorized any courts to take cognizance of such causes as respect titles of lands, nevertheless they have had, and still have it in contemplation to adopt such modes as the circumstances arising out of each case may justify, without adhering to the strict rules of law.

Q. 4th. What are the intentions of your constituents in regard to the patents that were granted on conditions of settlement within a given time, and which have been prevented by the claims of the people of Vermont, and the present revolution?

A. No forfeitures have been taken by the state of Vermont on any such grants for nonperformance of conditions of settlement, and we conceive it to be the intention of our constituents to grant a further reasonable time for fulfilling such conditions.

Q. 5th. What are the number of inhabitants within the lines mentioned in the propositions above mentioned?

A. As the citizens of Vermont have not been lately numbered, we can therefore only estimate them at thirty thousand, which we conceive to be nearly a true estimate.

Q. 6th. What quantity of land is contained within the said bounds?

A. There has been no accurate survey of the state of Vermont, but we conceive it to contain about five millions of acres.

Q. 7th. What applications have been made either publicly or privately by the enemies of the United States, or their adherents, to draw off the people of Vermont from their affection to the United States of America?

A. The honourable committee are possessed of copies of Bev. Robinson's letters inclosed in Brigadiergeneral Allen's letter of the 9th day of March last, to the then President of Congress, and any private offers we cannot avouch for.

Q. 8th. In case the enemy should attempt an invasion of the northern frontiers, what aid as to men and provisions could be raised in the state of Vermont for the public defence (you can suppose the invasion made in different quarters) and in what time?

A. The number of militia within the lines herein limited, we suppose to be about seven thousand; are in general well armed and accoutred, and have ever shown themselves spirited in case of alarms, &c. In regard to provisions, the country is fertile, but new, and considerable emigrations from other states to Vermont.—The legislature at their session in October last, levied a tax on the inhabitants sufficient for victualling one thousand five hundred troops in the field for twelve months, and we are of opinion a larger store may be in the same manner collected the ensuing autumn.

N^o. VII.

An Account of the rateable Property, and of the Number of Inhabitants in Vermont, at different Periods of Time.

BENNINGTON COUNTY.

Names of the Towns.	Value of the rateable property in the year 1781.	Value of the rateable property in the year 1791.	Numb. of Inhab. in 1792.
Bennington	£. 11898 0 0	£. 11618 18 0	2877
Shaftsbury	9118 0 0	10926 9 0	1999
			Names

A P P E N D I X. 405

Names of the Towns.	Value of the ratable property in the year 1791.		Value of the ratable property in the year 1792.		Inhab. in 1792.
	£.	s.	£.	s.	
Pownall	6615	10 0	6395	0 0	1746
Manchester	5170	3 0	6578	7 6	1276
Arlington	3503	5 0	4331	15 0	991
Rupert	2711	15 0	4919	15 0	1033
Dorset	2469	12 0	4016	15 0	958
Sunderland	1928	16 0	1932	15 0	414
Stamford	849	5 0	904	0 0	272
Sandgate	847	10 0	2677	5 0	773
Windhall					155
Bromly					71
Reedborough					64
Woodford					60
Glastonbury					34
Landgrove					31
Total	£.45,111	16 0	£.54,315	19 6	12,254

WINDHAM COUNTY.

Guildford	5836	10 0	6717	11 0	2432
Brattleborough	4999	10 0	5969	12 6	1589
Westminster	4982	5 0	6695	10 0	1601
Putney	4835	8 0	6138	10 0	1848
Halifax	3569	16 0	4640	10 0	1309
Rockingham	3363	0 0	4832	15 0	1235
Dummerston	2970	0 0	4978	0 0	1501
Maitborough	1881	10 0	2676	0 0	629
Wilmington	1874	0 0	2735	10 0	645
Hindale	1869	0 0	1908	0 0	482
Newfane	1687	6 0	2597	0 0	660
Townsend	1462	5 0	2463	16 0	676
Londonderry	886	10 0	1560	10 0	362
Whitingham	693	10 0	1252	5 0	442
Athens	442	17 0	1212	5 0	460
Thomlinson	200	0 0	1422	15 0	561
Jamaica	186	10 0	663	15 0	263
Wardboro' N. D.			1768	10 0	483
Wardboro' S. D.			1009	15 0	270
Somerset					111
Stratton					95
Johnson's Gore					49
Total	£.41,738	17 0	£.61,232	9 6	17,697

WINDSOR COUNTY.

Windsor	4085	3 0	6667	8 0	1542
Norwich	3659	15 0	5695	0 0	1158
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James

Name of the Town.	Value of the rate- ble property in the year 1772.	Value of the rate- ble property in the year 1791.	Number Inhab. in 1792.
Hartford	£. 3013 2 6	£. 4709 0 0	988
Woodstock	2770 5 0	5421 9 0	1605
Hartland	2549 10 0	6375 15 0	1652
Springfield	2139 10 0	3781 12 0	1097
Chester	1864 10 0	4703 5 0	981
Pomfret	1493 0 0	3182 15 0	710
Weathersfield	1279 10 0	4130 5 0	1146
Barnard	1027 0 0	3000 15 0	673
Sharon	893 0 0	3416 0 0	569
Royalton	845 0 0	3313 15 0	748
Cavendish	502 0 0	1572 5 0	491
Reading	358 12 0	2601 0 0	747
Andover	301 10 0	990 5 0	875
Bethel		1803 15 0	473
Bridgewater		1106 0 0	293
Rochester		845 15 0	215
Ludlow			179
Saltash			106
Stockbridge			100
Total	£. 26,781 7 6	£. 63,315 19 0	15,748

RUTLAND COUNTY.

Rutland	3975 10 0	6324 10 0	1407
Clarendon	3748 8 0	6083 0 0	1478
Tinmouth	3597 5 0	4410 0 0	935
Banby	3241 0 0	4456 15 6	1206
Fawlet	2507 5 0	6038 5 0	1458
Poultney	2296 5 0	4639 17 6	1121
Wells	1800 0 0	2089 0 0	622
Castleton	1257 0 0	3386 11 3	800
Wallingford	1200 0 0	2087 2 0	536
Pittsford	573 10 0	3411 15 0	850
Ira	515 0 0	1220 15 0	312
Shrewsbury	228 0 0	1155 10 0	383
Harwick	200 0 0	513 15 0	165
Middletown		2984 5 0	699
Orwell		2940 15 0	778
Brandon		2273 10 0	637
Fairhaven		2225 8 0	545
Benson		2179 15 0	658
Hubbardton		1692 0 0	404
Sudbury		1032 10 0	258
Chittenden		499 15 0	159
Pittsfield			49

Names

Names of the Towns.	Value of the rate- ble property in the year 1781.	Value of the rate- ble property in the year 1791.	Numbr. of Inhab. in 1791.
Philadelphia	£.	£.	1791
Medway			34
Killington			32
Total	£.24,549 3 0	£.61,644 14 3	15,502

ORANGE COUNTY.

Newbury	2880 19 0	3675 0 0	679
Thetford	1862 5 0	3303 15 0	862
Bradford	1450 0 0	2432 0 0	654
St. Ifford	1349 15 0	3048 0 0	845
Corinth	1075 10 0	1781 0 0	678
Barnet	651 5 0	2028 0 0	477
Fairlee	508 0 0	1419 5 0	462
Ryegate	427 0 0	994 15 0	187
Guildhall	416 10 0	730 6 11	188
Lunenburg	365 0 0	494 15 0	119
Maldstone	220 0 0	679 10 0	125
Peacham	214 10 0	1367 15 0	365
Randolph		3098 0 0	892
Brookfield		1672 0 0	421
Tunbridge		1611 5 0	487
Vershire		1483 15 0	489
Danville		1440 12 6	674
Williamstown		802 15 0	246
Braintree		789 0 0	221
Chelsea		790 13 6	289
St. Johnsbury		590 0 0	248
Montpelier		383 6 0	118
Topsham			162
Berlin			184
Cabot			122
Wildersburg			76
Washington			72
Brunswick			66
Littleton			63
Lyndon			59
Concord			49
Dewey's Gore			48
Calais			46
Groton			45
Northfield			40
Wheelock			39
Walden's Gore			32
Lemington			31

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ames

Names of the Towns.	Value of the rate- ble property in the year 1781.	Value of the rate- ble property in the year 1791.	Numbr. of Inhab. in 1792.
Canaan	£.	£.	19
Greensborough			19
Roxbury			14
Walden			11
Hartwick			3
Total	£.14954 17 6	£.324796 18 10	10,529

ADDISON COUNTY.

Cornwall	3314 15 0	826
Newhaven	2989 5 0	723
Salisbury	2850 12 6	446
Shoreham	2422 11 0	721
Bradport	2008 0 0	449
Monkton	1985 5 0	450
Addison	1915 10 0	401
Ferrisburg	1843 5 0	481
Leicester	1385 5 0	343
Waring	1053 10 0	250
Vergennes	940 16 0	401
Middleborough	859 0 0	395
Weybridge	817 5 0	175
Passon	781 0 0	220
Bristol		211
Kingston		101
Hancock		56
Total	£. 25,113 19 6	6,449

CHITTENDEN COUNTY.

Charlotte	2767 12 6	695
Williston	2206 0 0	471
South Hero	1979 5 0	537
Shelburne	1907 16 0	389
Jericho	1728 5 6	381
Hinesburg	1697 15 0	454
Cambridge	1534 5 0	359
Essex	1487 15 0	354
Georgia	1312 10 0	340
Burlington	1258 0 0	332
Milton	1041 0 0	282
St. Albans	914 0 0	256
Fairfax	878 10 0	354
North Hero	569 15 0	125
Colchester	541 10 0	137

Names

A P P E N D I X

Nums. of
Inhab. in
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Names

Names of the Towns.	Value of the ratable property in the year 1782.	Value of the ratable property in the year 1792.	Nums. of Inhab. in 1792.
Fairfield	£. 480	14 2	139
Newhuntington	428	10 0	136
Highgate	300	0 0	108
Hungerford	300	0 0	40
Johnson	275	0 0	93
Smithfield	273	0 0	70
Bolton	176	10 0	88
Middlesex	176	0 0	60
Isle Mott	159	15 0	47
Allburg			446
Waterbury			93
Swanton			76
Underhill			65
Westford			62
Waitsfield			61
St. George			57
Fletcher			47
Huntsburg			46
Hydespark			48
Starkborough			49
Duxbury			39
Wolcott			32
N. Huntington G.			31
Moretown			24
Mindes			18
Cambridge Gore			15
Bakersfield			13
Elmore			12
Morristown			10
Total in the County.		24,858 8 2	7,301
Total in the State.	£. 149,541 17 6	£. 324,796 18 10	85,539

The above are the lists which were given in to the General Assembly, by the particular towns, in conformity to an act of the legislature.—In computing the value of the list taken in 1791, the prices of some of the capital articles were thus stated by the Assembly:—Improved land, ten shillings per acre. Neat cattle, one year old, fifteen shillings per head; two years old, thirty shillings per head; three years old and upwards, forty shillings per head: An ox, four years old, and upwards, three pounds. Horses, one year old, twenty shillings; two years old, forty shillings; three years old, and upwards, four pounds.—As these prices were scarcely one half of the current prices of these articles, the real value of the ratable property

of the date, must have been double of what was set down in the list. It is probable this was also the case with the lists taken in 1781. — But although neither of these lists will give the exact value of the taxable property of the state, at either of those periods, they will give the increase, or the relative value of the taxable property at those times: And we can clearly deduce from them, that from the year 1781, the whole taxable property of Vermont became doubled, in eight years and an half. In Virginia, the period at which the value of their lands and slaves taken conjunctly, doubles, is stated by Mr. Jefferson, to be about twenty years.*

The number of towns represented in 1781, was sixty three: The number represented in 1791, was one hundred and twenty five. Those towns which are not taxed or represented, do not give in to the assembly any account of their taxable property.

No proper enumeration of the inhabitants of Vermont, was made, before the census taken in 1792. The general estimations of the assemblies and agents before that time, were merely conjectural. — From a report, which Governor Tryon of Newyork made to the king of Greatbritain, of the state of that province in the year 1772, it appears that he had procured a list of the inhabitants of each county in that province: Two of those counties, Cumberland, and Gloucester, were in Vermont; and contained the tract of country, which lies on the east side of the green mountains, and is now formed into the counties of Windham, Windsor, and Orange. The number of people in those counties in the year 1771, was as follows:

*Notes on Virginia, p. 128.

1781
1791
1801
1811
1821
1831
1841
1851
1861
1871
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1891
1901
1911
1921
1931
1941
1951
1961
1971
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White	1000	1000	1000
Black	1000	1000	1000
Indian	1000	1000	1000
Chinese	1000	1000	1000
Portuguese	1000	1000	1000
Spanish	1000	1000	1000
French	1000	1000	1000
Irish	1000	1000	1000
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Spanish	1000	1000	1000
French	1000	1000	1000
Irish	1000	1000	1000
German	1000	10	

APPENDIX.

411

Names of the Counties.	Whites.					Blacks.					Total of Whites in each County.	Total of Blacks in each County.	Total of both Whites and Blacks.
	Males under sixteen.	Males above the teen & under fifty.	Males fifty and upwards.	Females under the teen.	Females above the teen.	Males under the teen.	Males above the teen & under fifty.	Males fifty and upwards.	Females under the teen.	Females above the teen.			
Gloucester.	1278	185	81	293	1531	725	2	1	0	2	0	7	725
Cumberland.	1071	1002	59	927	862	3932	0	6	2	2	0	11	3947

These two Counties, at that time, contained about two thirds of the people in the whole district. The whole number of inhabitants therefore in 1771, must have been about seven thousand. In the Census taken in 1792, the numbers stood thus :

Counties.	Free white males of sixteen years and upwards, including heads of families.	Free white males under sixteen years.	Free white females, including heads of families.	All other free persons.	Slaves.	Total.
Addison,	1784	1664	2084	87		6449
Bennington,	2114	2211	5093	20	16	12254
Chittenden,	2256	1764	5358	23		7301
Orange,	2074	2768	4046	41		10529
Rutland,	3986	4092	7456	31		15565
Windfor,	4003	4157	7543	45		15748
Windham,	4428	4672	8545	58		17693
Total	22435	22328	40505	255	16	85539

ERRATA.

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62 30 eight	eight tenths.	160 9 to	for.
37 dele eight.		169 12 adapted	adopted.
70 21 Amur	Amim.	196 36 have	leave.
76 4 and	are.	241 22 was	were.
102 9 aquative	aquatic.	244 32 he	they.
103 5 all	able.	252 20 free	th. ce.
38 Pseudo	Ofudo.	271 17 controversy	correspondence.
104 28 Laaza	Zaara.	272 5 brided	bribed.
112 13 nibro	rabro.	279 8 resolution	refolutions.
134 10 mode	rude.	310 15 ore	ocre.
142 31 fat	fort.	335 36 renew	revere.
151 6 adapted	adopted,	371 26 more	none.

NAMES

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