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Zadock Thompson and The Story of Vermont

By J. KEVIN GRAFFAGNINO

The roll call of those who devoted large parts of their lives to the study of Vermont history is long and impressive. From Samuel Williams to Hiland Hall to Dorothy Canfield Fisher, scores of dedicated individuals have recorded the heritage of the Green Mountain State. Yet for all their enthusiasm and hard work, Vermont historians have generally ignored the lives and careers of their predecessors, the men and women of earlier generations who wrote the history which each new wave of scholars used as a starting point. The work of the early historians has proved useful to their counterparts of the late twentieth century, but beyond that the names Nathan Hoskins, Benjamin Homer Hall, George Grenville Benedict, Walter Hill Crockett and most of the others are mere bibliographic references. Those with significant political or literary careers — Ira Allen, Samuel Williams, Rowland Robinson — fare better, but their roles in the development of Vermont's historiography and the degree to which their state history writings reflect the Vermont in which they lived remain largely unknown.¹

Certainly one Vermont scholar who has suffered the neglect of his successors is Zadock Thompson: Historian, naturalist, geologist, geographer, clergyman, educator and editor, Thompson was the preeminent nineteenth century student of Vermont. His writings have exerted considerable influence on Vermont historians since the Civil War, and Thompson ranks among the state's great antiquarians including Abby Maria Hemenway, Walter Hill Crockett and Henry Stevens, Sr. The man behind the dozens of books, articles, maps, almanacs and monographs has unfortunately been forgotten, for consideration of the details of Zadock Thompson's life and writings offers worthwhile insights into both a single prolific Vermont historian and the larger community of Vermont scholars.

Zadock Thompson, born in Bridgewater, Vermont, on May 23, 1796, was very nearly a native of Massachusetts like his forebears. His branch of the Thompson family had lived in Halifax, Massachusetts, for more than 150 years before his birth. His father, Captain Barnabas Thompson, moved to Bridgewater about 1791, though the Thompson clan did not put down permanent roots in Vermont until the last months of the following year.² As had most of their new neighbors, the Thompsons came to farm despite the "rough and stoney" soil covering much of Bridgewater. A friend later characterized Zadock's childhood as "a continual struggle with poverty,"³ though growing up on the Barnabas Thompson farm was probably not especially grim by the standards of the age. Nobody in the family of seven wanted for food, and Zadock's five siblings all reached maturity in a time when many children did not reach adulthood.

Almost from the beginning Zadock rejected the prospect of a lifetime on a farm, giving instead "early evidence that he liked to read better than to work." He did not get the chance to begin regular studies until the age of twelve, and then only by the chance of a serious mishap. He accidentally slashed his foot with an ax during the spring sugaring and almost died before the bleeding could be stopped. His brother Salmon later recalled that the accident "seemed to determine his future course," for Zadock used the long period of confinement to begin serious study.⁴

Having exhausted the resources of the local schoolhouse, at seventeen Thompson enrolled in the academy at Randolph for the fall term. He stayed at Randolph for only one term, however, leaving to teach school over the winter. That seasonal rhythm became his pattern for the next four years as he spent the summers studying and the winters teaching. He traveled to western New York to teach in Canandaigua and Lima and stayed close to home when he taught in Barnard and Pomfret. The pattern was broken by a severe illness which kept him bedridden the first six months of 1818 and forced him to devise some means other than teaching to make a living.⁵

In 1818 Thompson was not well qualified for much other than teaching, and perhaps that realization pushed him toward his eventual choice of calculating and publishing his own almanacs. He possessed the necessary mathematical skills to work out the standard astronomical calculations, and he could gather the remaining filler material together easily enough from the other almanacs published each year in Vermont and throughout New England. To collect the material for the four almanacs he issued for the years 1819 and 1820, Thompson engaged the support of a number of people, including banker Benjamin Swan and printer David Watson of Woodstock and his own sisters, Eliza and Sally.⁶

Thompson's almanacs closely resembled their contemporaries, consisting of astronomical data, weather predictions and "a great variety of original and selected instructive and entertaining matter."⁷ Thompson, who apparently wrote a considerable amount of turgid verse in his early years on such subjects as the War of 1812, the American Indian, and the spotted fever epidemic of 1813, included his own poetry under this latter rubric.⁸ He also presented his readers with short pieces on how to treat consumption, the evils of liquor, and scientific phenomena, along with a calendar of historic events and holidays and a host of moral maxims drawn after Poor Richard.

In the spring of 1820, Thompson "concluded to try to get thro' College."⁹ Bypassing both Dartmouth and Middlebury College, Thompson chose instead to go north to Burlington and enroll at the University of Vermont. His summers of schooling and winters teaching merited an advanced status, for he joined the sophomore class in August, 1820, after teaching the summer term at Burlington Academy.¹⁰

The University of Vermont rested on shaky foundations most of the three years Thompson attended, but Thompson, who paid his college expenses (\$69.25 for three years) by teaching between semesters and ringing the college bell in the morning, did well nonetheless.¹¹ He was elected an officer of the Phi Sigma Nu Society¹² and graduated with honors in August, 1823.

While an undergraduate, Thompson worked out an arrangement with Montpelier printer Ezekiel P. Walton and continued to supply calculations for almanacs.¹³ Beginning with the issue for 1822, for a fee of about twenty-five dollars, Thompson performed the calculations for *Walton's Vermont Register* every year until his death in 1856. Although after 1820 he never again published an almanac of his own, Thompson's calculations (one set could be sold to any number of publishers) appeared in numerous Vermont, New York and Canadian almanacs, earning him a small but steady income.

Thompson also started work on his first book about Vermont soon after leaving the University. In September, 1823, he began visiting Vermont towns, and the next month he printed a prospectus and query form, "Proposals for Publishing by Subscription, a Gazetteer of Vermont."¹⁴ Thompson promised subscribers a 300-page volume describing in detail every town in Vermont and pledged himself to travel the entire state in order to gather firsthand the necessary information. He advertised the book, complete with map and engravings, for one dollar to subscribers before publication, and \$1.25 thereafter.

Thompson worked almost exclusively on the *Gazetteer* for more than a year, visiting towns, editing descriptions received by mail, and constantly

trying to enlist more subscribers. He received advice and assistance on the project from several noted Vermonters, including Secretary of State Norman Williams and Surveyor General James Whitelaw.¹⁵ Published in November, 1824, the *Gazetteer* sold quite well throughout Vermont, but the inexperienced young scholar had fixed the subscription price too low, and he barely recovered the costs of printing and distribution.¹⁶

Despite its failure as a financial venture, the *Gazetteer* was nonetheless a remarkable book of 312 pages, with the promised folding map and 4 engravings. The *Gazetteer* contained descriptions and histories of every town, lake, and river in Vermont, as well as a large amount of other information about the state. Thompson included sections on Vermont geography and manufactures, a brief history of the state, and chapters entitled "Political Institutions" and "State of Society." Foreshadowing his later studies, he also presented a chapter on "Natural History," with brief catalogues of Vermont plants, minerals, animals, birds, and fish, prefaced with the self-prophetic observation that "An ample field is here opened to the man of science and enterprise."¹⁷

Vermont scholars of Thompson's own generation recognized the worth of his *Gazetteer*. The long list of authors who relied on Zadock's groundbreaking work included Samuel Read Hall, Francis Smith Eastman, Nathan Hoskins and John Hayward, all of whom drew heavily on the *Gazetteer* in their own works.¹⁸ In light of the esteem for Thompson's effort, it is interesting to note that 135 of the more than 250 town descriptions and histories were entirely the work of others, local citizens whose accounts Thompson published verbatim in almost every case.¹⁹ Thompson probably wrote the more than 100 unsigned entries for towns he knew previously or for which he could not get complete local sketches, but his primary editorial role differed considerably from what those who admired the *Gazetteer* usually assigned to him. Instead of a singlehanded researcher and author, Zadock was a forerunner to Abby Hemenway and her five-volume *Vermont Historical Gazetteer* in soliciting and gathering hundreds of local sketches and then arranging and editing them for publication.

It was unfortunate that the *Gazetteer* did not prove a great financial success, for Thompson's responsibilities doubled just before its publication. By every account the single love of his life was Phebe Boyce, whose father owned a farm close to his uncle's farm. Thompson had known Phebe all his life and had loved her for nearly a decade before their marriage on September 4, 1824.²⁰ Born in Bridgewater in 1798, Phebe became Thompson's loving wife and invaluable assistant for thirty-three years. She shared his interests and his work throughout their marriage and continued his projects even after his death. She was indisputably

responsible for "no small part of his success."²¹ The couple had three children; their only son died in childbirth, and their daughters only lived to the ages of seventeen and thirty.²²

The *Gazetteer* provided no income in 1825, but Thompson's *alma mater* did. The main college building had burned on May 27, 1824, but subscriptions raised enough money to rebuild and keep going. The University of Vermont hired Thompson in February, 1825, as a Tutor in Mathematics and Science. The annual professorial salary at the University at that time was about \$600, but Thompson, whose status apparently varied from Tutor to Instructor to Interim Professor as vacancies and resignations on the faculty dictated, probably never received that much.²³ He worked in those several capacities until 1827, and to live close to the university he bought a house and two-acre lot beside the University Green for \$1000 in 1826.²⁴ During these years Thompson gave ample indication of where his academic interests lay by taking an active role in the formation of the University's College of Natural History in October, 1826. He held a number of offices within that college even after he left the university faculty and continued to present papers before its members on a variety of scientific topics.²⁵

In his first year on the university staff, Thompson published his second and, ultimately, his most successful book. *The Youth's Assistant in Practical Arithmetic* went through more than a dozen printings, revisions and reissuings between 1825 and 1848.²⁶ Only two or three arithmetic texts had been printed in Vermont before 1825,²⁷ but the content of Thompson's little book also distinguished it. Beginning with Warren Colburn in 1821, American educators slowly started to switch from strict memorization of rules to instruction on the inductive plan, which emphasized an understanding of the principles being learned.²⁸ Thompson's *Youth's Assistant* followed Colburn's text and used many of the same questions and examples. The *Youth's Assistant* demonstrated little originality, but considering that Colburn's first textbook appeared only four years earlier, the effort placed Thompson among the first in America to try to teach mathematics on the inductive system. Priced at seventy-five cents, the *Youth's Assistant* was sold by booksellers and printers all over the state and undoubtedly helped both Thompson's reputation and his purse.

Thompson left the university faculty in 1827 to take charge of the Burlington Academy where he had taught during his undergraduate years.²⁹ It was not a farsighted move, for within a year he presided over the closing of the Academy, which, because of the growth of Burlington, was replaced in 1828 by a new high school for boys. From July through September, 1828, the town hired him to run a summer school for younger children,³⁰ and in November he opened his own school, a private "Bur-

lington High School for Young Ladies." Located in his house beside the University Green, the female seminary offered suitable young women "instruction in the various departments of a thorough and polite education."³¹ Over the next winter he built a large new house for his family and the school, and the following spring he advertised that he was ready to accept girls as boarders.³² Despite its expanded quarters Thompson's school did not succeed financially, and in 1831 he had to close the venture and sell the building and half his land to Professor Joseph Torrey of the University.³³ Thompson and his devoted wife and their two young daughters moved into a small white cottage set back a little from the Green on the remaining acre.

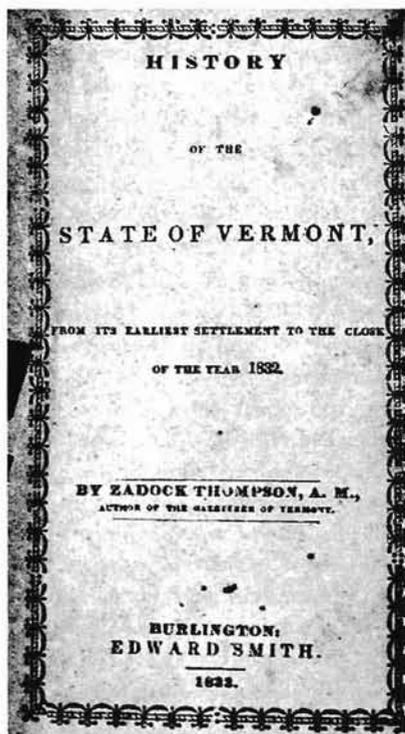
While he ran his school, Thompson signed on as editor of the semi-monthly *Iris and Burlington Literary Gazette*. Starting in January, 1829, he changed the *Iris* noticeably, adding his personal stamp by introducing numerous scientific pieces where none had appeared before. The public, however, was not impressed with titles like "A Brief Account of the Tea Plant." The *Iris* ceased publication after only four months under Zadock's direction.³⁴ It probably mattered little to him in this instance, but in later years Thompson's tendency to overestimate his fellow Vermonters' interest in the natural sciences which he loved would lead to some major disappointments.

The next year Thompson joined fifty-two others in founding the Protestant Episcopal Society of Burlington on December 6, 1830.³⁵ Thompson became a leader in the Society, and after several years of study, was ordained a deacon by Vermont Bishop John Henry Hopkins in 1835. Chronic poor health prevented his assuming his own parish for any length of time, but after 1835 he often preached or performed other clerical duties in Vermont and Canada.³⁶

Apart from his religious work, Thompson did little of note from 1830 to 1833. He had helped found the Burlington Lyceum in December, 1830, and delivered occasional paid lectures to its members, but the Lyceum died out in the mid-1830's.³⁷ He helped Bishop Hopkins start his Episcopal Institute, and his academic reputation was good enough for him to be named to unpaid positions on both the Burlington Superintending Committee of Schools and the Vermont State School Commissioners.³⁸ However, in 1831 the Vermont State Legislature turned down his petition for assistance in revising and reprinting his *Gazetteer*.³⁹ Forced to shelve that project temporarily, Zadock soon found himself in enough financial trouble to compel him to leave Burlington in the summer of 1833.

Among the reasons for Thompson's financial troubles may have been the failure of a second magazine he edited. This time he was the pub-

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lisher, as well. Begun in January, 1832, as a monthly, *The Green Mountain Repository* acknowledged the high mortality rate among Vermont periodicals, but optimistically attributed that to "other causes than the want of a disposition in the people to sustain a cheap work of the kind."⁴⁰ Offered to the public at \$1.25 a year, or an even dollar if paid in advance, the *Repository* never succeeded. Thompson could not get many free articles and ended up having to write every issue almost entirely by himself, emphasizing science and natural history over the more popular prevailing light fiction and poetry. He carried the magazine through to the end of the year to honor the subscriptions, then with an almost audible sigh of relief bid his "few, very few, patrons," farewell in the December issues.

Two of the few selections in the *Repository* concerned with nonscientific topics previewed a larger, more permanent project. He had begun work on a history of Vermont to complement his *Gazetteer*, and in the January and February issues of the *Repository* he printed two excerpts. Although he described the work as "in press," Thompson's *History of the State of Vermont, from its Earliest Settlement to the Close of the Year 1832*

did not appear until March of 1833.⁴² His third book achieved only moderate success, and a reissue in 1836, made up of unsold copies with a new cover and title-page, did little better.⁴³

Thompson's *History* presented an interesting amalgam of original and plagiarized material. The introductory pages, devoted to the topographical geography and history of Vermont before 1760, were primarily Thompson's own. With the beginning of the account of the New Hampshire Grants land controversy, however, Thompson's book closely followed the second edition of Samuel Williams' *Natural and Civil History of Vermont*.⁴⁴ Where Williams left off, Thompson borrowed extensively from the original narrative in Nathan Hoskins' *History of the State of Vermont*.⁴⁵ In a manner reminiscent of the *Gazetteer*, Zadock compiled his *History* in large part from the writings of others, adding the results of his own research to enable him to call the book his own.

Apparently the failure of his school and the *Repository* forced Thompson to seek greener pastures. In July of 1833, he and his family packed up and headed to Canada, where Thompson had accepted the preceptorship at the new Charlestown Academy.⁴⁶ Thompson remained in Lower Canada for the next four years, teaching in Charleston and Sherbrooke and even selling his astronomical calculations to a Canadian printer.⁴⁷ He returned to Vermont every year for the annual meetings of the Episcopal Diocese. His interest in the church continued, and he delivered occasional sermons and performed marriages and baptisms in Canada and northern Vermont after his ordination to the diaconate in 1835.⁴⁸

While he worked in Canada, Thompson again petitioned the Vermont State Legislature for aid to reprint the *Gazetteer*, and once more he was rejected.⁴⁹ He was successful, however, in publishing another book while in Canada. As he had with his first *Youth's Assistant* in 1825, Thompson took advantage of his surroundings and what he perceived as a void he could fill to his own profit and published the *Geography and History of Lower Canada, Designed for the Use of Schools*, a 116-page textbook complete with folding colored map.⁵⁰ Thompson's *Lower Canada* was a curiously uneven book. The first seventy-six pages, devoted to geography, were very elementary, with brief lessons illustrating different aspects of Canadian geography and institutions. Thompson displayed a decided pro-British bias and referred to the majority of French Canadians as "generally illiterate and ignorant."⁵¹ The forty thin pages of history in *Lower Canada* hardly merited the title. Thompson simply reduced the first section of his *History of the State of Vermont* and adapted it for the Canadian text. He did not even try to fill in with details of Canadian history, but instead spliced together any sections from his Vermont work which pertained to Canada. As a result, his broken narrative went to 1776

and the failure of the American invasion and then skipped over three decades to a one-sided view of the War of 1812 with which he closed the book.

Thompson's audacity in trying to sell such a makeshift book in Canada is truly surprising; his failure is not. He did not know enough about Canada, especially the French part of Lower Canada, to write well about it. By June of 1837 Thompson and his family had returned to Burlington for good.⁵² They moved back near the university into the cottage on the Green that became Thompson's home for the remaining nineteen years of his life.

Thompson worked at a variety of jobs in the first few years after his return to Burlington. He again taught at Bishop Hopkins' Episcopal Institute before the Panic of '37 and the depression which followed shut it down in 1839.⁵³ He performed pastoral duties in and around Burlington, including a stretch of nine months during 1838-39 as visiting preacher in Vergennes, the closest he ever came to assuming full responsibilities for a regular parish.⁵⁴ Thompson offered his services in both 1838 and 1839 to Henry Stevens, Sr., as a field researcher for the newly incorporated Vermont Historical Society,⁵⁵ but Stevens could not raise the money necessary to hire him. The University of Vermont gave Thompson library privileges and in 1841 named him President of the College of Natural History, an honorary title bestowed in return for his work in enlarging and cataloguing the College's museum collections.⁵⁶

During this period Thompson began work on what eventually proved his most important, most lasting book. As early as 1839 he had decided to use his *Gazetteer* as the foundation for a much more substantial work on Vermont in which he planned "to devote a large space on the subjects of zoology, botany, mineralogy, &c".⁵⁷ He hoped to combine the *Gazetteer*, an enlarged version of his *History of the State of Vermont*, and all the knowledge gained from years of study of natural history and science into one great work. The result, his *History of Vermont, Natural, Civil, and Statistical*,⁵⁸ commonly known simply as "Thompson's Vermont," fully realized his ambition.

Thompson spent the better part of the three years from 1839 through 1842 working on his *magnum opus*. He had collected information on Vermont for nearly twenty years, but he still faced an enormous task in arranging, updating, and editing the material he had gathered. Thompson had hoped to publish the *History* in 1841, but his own poor health and the difficulties encountered in pulling information from his more dilatory sources pushed that back at least a year.⁵⁹

When at last he completed all the work on the book and was ready to publish, Thompson found his plans frustrated by a shortage of money.

To help solve the problem, his friend and publisher, Chauncey Goodrich, agreed to print the work at cost and wait for income from sales to pay the printing bill. As George F. Houghton recalled, "This liberal offer enabled him [Thompson] to publish promptly, an edition of 5000 copies of 656 closely printed, double column, octavo pages, using more than five tons of printing paper, and although the expenditure was more than \$5000 to secure all the profits to himself."⁶⁰ However, even at the low price of \$2.50 "all the profits" could not have amounted to much, since Phebe Thompson was still trying to sell copies after her husband's death fourteen years later.⁶¹

Intended "to embrace . . . every thing of special importance relative to the Natural and Civil History of the State," the *History of Vermont* was an interesting combination of Thompson's old and new writings.⁶² Predictably, the "Gazetteer" section, Part Three, was primarily a reprint of his *Gazetteer* of 1824, with information added to bring each account up to date. Part Two, the "Civil History" section, also came largely from his earlier publications. With the exception of one or two elaborations on such events as the Battle of Bennington, the first 105 pages almost exactly duplicated his 1833 *History of Vermont*. The remaining 120 pages covered many of the same contemporary topics also discussed in the earlier work, but with longer, more detailed accounts. As a result Part Two emerged as a mixture of rehashed history and original pieces detailing conditions and institutions in Vermont in 1842. In conjunction with the "Gazetteer" section, it has offered those historians who have followed a wealth of information which cannot be found readily, if at all, elsewhere.

Ironically, the freshest, most original section of Thompson's book was probably also the least popular. Part one, "Natural History of Vermont," resulted from twenty years of research into the plants, animals and minerals of the state. His other studies notwithstanding, natural history was the predominant interest of Thompson's life. Although in Vermont he worked virtually alone in this field with no scientific libraries near at hand, Thompson still produced an exhaustive, book-length survey of Vermont's natural history, cataloguing and describing the state's plants and animals and writing at length on a variety of other related topics. As with many other zealous scholars, however, he had little understanding that what intrigued him held no special charms for the general populace, and the unappreciative disinterest with which most Vermonters greeted his master-work disappointed him greatly.

As a natural historian, Thompson was a curious mixture of professional scholar and untrained scientist. He used with some authority the Latin names of fish and displayed familiarity with the opinions of experts like Cuvier, Holbrook, Linnaeus, Audubon, and Wilson.⁶³ At the same time

he accepted without reservation stories of dormant frogs being revived after centuries underground and praised the medicinal powers of Vermont springwater in curing "affections of the liver, dispepsia, urinary and all cutaneous complaints, rheumatism, inveterate sore eyes, and many others."⁶⁴ Considering his lack of formal training and the paucity of naturalists in Vermont from whom he could learn, Thompson did remarkably well, a fact which better-known American professionals in these fields acknowledged in increasing numbers after 1842.

One development which enhanced Thompson's reputation began in 1844, when Vermont followed the lead of its neighbors and appropriated funds for a thorough geological survey of the state.⁶⁵ For Thompson, the survey offered a long-awaited chance for a steady, professional position in scientific research on Vermont, and he probably assumed he would be named State Geologist, considering his experience, publications, and previous interest in such a position. However, Thompson was passed over, and Charles Baker Adams, who had contributed to Part One of the *History of Vermont*, was selected instead. Thompson and Samuel Read Hall were appointed Adams' field assistants, and Thompson spent much of the next three years traveling around Vermont, making observations and collecting data for the survey. He and Hall contributed to Adams' annual reports to the Legislature, but the overall progress of the project was too slow for the tightfisted Vermont lawmakers.⁶⁶ When Adams' appointment expired in February, 1848, the survey was suspended, and Thompson lost his job.

With the suspension of the survey, Thompson returned to his writing and he pushed ahead with some new literary ventures—all on Vermont. Even while he worked on the survey, Thompson had found time to write a forty-eight-page *Guide to Lake George, Lake Champlain, Montreal and Quebec*.⁶⁷ Aimed primarily at the growing number of travelers on the water route between Albany and Quebec, Thompson's *Guide* was among the first works of its kind written for the Champlain Valley. It combined descriptions reminiscent of the *Gazetteer* with historical accounts of places of special interest along the steamboat lines. The considerable historical detail about Crown Point, Ticonderoga, and the Battle of Plattsburgh came from Part Two of his *History of Vermont*, and he took his descriptions of Canadian towns along the Richelieu and St. Lawrence from his *Geography and History of Lower Canada*. In spite of its hodge-podge provenance, the *Guide* achieved enough popularity at forty cents a copy to be reissued in 1848, probably less for its history than the practical information about steamers and ferries it provided for travelers.

Freed from the survey, Thompson also found the time to write a more substantial new book on Vermont. Using his previous three years'

work on the survey to fill another gap in published material on the state, in 1848 he published a textbook *Geography and Geology of Vermont*,⁶⁸ which was well-received (although it did not match Zadock's *Youth's Assistant*) and won approval from local schoolboards throughout Vermont.⁶⁹ Written "to enable the youth of Vermont to acquire a competent knowledge of their own state," Thompson's *Geography* covered a much broader range of subjects than the title indicated. In addition to detailed discussions of the soil, rocks, minerals, and geography of the state, Thompson fleshed it out with pieces from the *History of Vermont*, including sections on natural history and "Political Geography."

Although he compiled the *Geography* largely from his earlier books, it was an important addition to the list of Vermont schoolbooks. Samuel Read Hall had published a small, seventy-four-page Vermont geography text in 1827,⁷⁰ but it was long out of print by 1848. Even with its varied offering of material Thompson's *Geography* can legitimately be considered the first full-length textbook of its kind on the state of Vermont and among the earliest state geography texts in the entire country.⁷¹ The *Geography* and a seventy-four-page elementary version published in 1849 as *First Book of Geography, for Vermont Children* stood alone in Vermont until the 1860's, when other geography texts on the state began to appear and when schoolbook histories started to include sections on geography.⁷²

As mid-century approached, Thompson finally began to receive recognition beyond the borders of Vermont. Local acclaim continued to come his way, too: in 1848 he was named to Vermont's committee to investigate international exchanges, and in 1850 he became a vice-president of the Vermont Historical Society.⁷³ The discovery of a fossilized whale skeleton in Charlotte, Vermont, in 1849 gave him the chance to go to Boston to consult with the famed Louis Agassiz and deliver a short account of the find before the Boston Society of Natural History.⁷⁴ The discovery also led to several articles on Vermont for the Society's *Proceedings* and Benjamin Silliman's *American Journal of Science and Arts*, as well as numerous short scientific pieces for Vermont and New England newspapers.⁷⁵

The biggest boost to Thompson's growing reputation outside Vermont came in 1850, when the Society of Natural History invited him to return to Boston to deliver a major paper on the "Natural History of Vermont." Various Vermont and out-of-state newspapers printed parts of the well-received address, and Chauncey Goodrich, acting without Thompson's knowledge, increased its circulation considerably by publishing it in its entirety in the form of a thirty-two-page pamphlet.⁷⁶

The "Natural History of Vermont" presented a revealing look at three

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GEOGRAPHY AND GEOLOGY

OF

VERMONT,

WITH

STATE AND COUNTY OUTLINE MAPS.

FOR THE

USE OF SCHOOLS AND FAMILIES

BY ZADOCK THOMPSON.



Burlington:

PUBLISHED BY THE AUTHOR,
SEALING BY GODDARD, PRINTER.

1848

decades of Thompson's work. It not only included the variety of descriptions and accounts found in his books but also the details of the conditions in which he had studied, "without any associates engaged in like pursuits — without having access to any collections of specimens — and almost without books,"⁷⁷ a problem which held Thompson back as much as any other he encountered in his work. In addition, Thompson brought to the Boston address his understanding of the delicate relationship between man and his environment, reminding his listeners of the subspecies of animals once plentiful in Vermont but seldom seen there in 1850. Few other naturalists of the mid-nineteenth century saw as clearly as Thompson the need for man to achieve a balance with nature and the living things around him. His thoughts on these lines never coalesced into a comprehensive statement akin to George Perkins Marsh's monumental *Man and Nature*,⁷⁸ but Zadock Thompson was an early advocate of the conservation of natural resources and protection of endangered species.

One year after addressing the Society of Natural History, Thompson made his first and only trip to Europe. The Great Exhibition at the Crystal Palace in London in 1851 promised to be a fascinating spectacle, and he was eager to attend. He had never been far from Vermont before, and he could not afford to travel abroad on his own resources. Friends and neighbors in Burlington took a collection and gave him enough money to go. In a move probably intended to lend him status away from home, the University of Vermont named him (unpaid) Professor of Natural History and Chemistry four days before his departure.⁷⁹ Thompson, who left Burlington on May 27 and returned August 14, kept a minutely detailed journal, which he published to show his friends where he had been and what he had seen.⁸⁰

Following his return from Europe, Thompson settled down again to his research. He gave an occasional lecture on Vermont history in Burlington,⁸¹ and in the fall of 1852 wrote a hundred-page "Historic Introduction to the Census Returns of Vermont" at the request of the United States Bureau of the Census. He expected to be paid a reasonable amount for the six-week effort, but it was never published and Thompson received nothing for his work, leaving it to his widow to collect \$300 from Congress after his death.⁸²

As he worked on the "Historic Introduction," Thompson received a regular appointment from the University of Vermont, when in September, 1852, he became a Lecturer in Chemistry at the tutor's annual salary of \$400.⁸³ He was promoted the following year to Professor of Natural History and Curator of the Cabinet, but at the same time his salary was lowered to \$300.⁸⁴ Thompson appears not to have won recognition from the University commensurate with his scholarly accomplishments. His areas of interest were not generally taught in American universities which still maintained a largely classical curriculum. Part of the problem also lay with Thompson himself, for he may have simply been too meek and quiet to compete in the academic world for positions and salary. According to one observer, "Such a man should never have set himself down under the eavesdropping [sic] of a university, where the more ambitious absolutely lorded over him and won the praise and the prize."⁸⁵

In 1853 Thompson finally admitted defeat on one of his most cherished projects. Since 1842, he had hoped to revise, enlarge, and reprint the *History of Vermont*, but eleven years later he still had enough unsold copies of the first edition on hand to make that idea impractical. The failure of Vermonters to demand a new edition must have been a major disappointment for Thompson. Instead of an entire book, in 1853 he published a small, sixty-three-page Appendix,⁸⁶ which he bound in with the remaining copies of the main work or sold for fifty cents to those

who already had the original volume. The *Appendix* concentrated primarily on natural history, additions to the catalogues of plants and animals, more meteorological statistics, and articles on the fossil bones Thompson had examined. A few pages at the end brought the civil history up to date, mostly in the form of figures from the Census of 1850, which Thompson had taken in Chittenden County.

A year after publishing the *Appendix*, Thompson revised and reprinted his successful little *Guide to Lake George*.⁸⁷ In a move which demonstrated an awareness of the changes in transportation in Vermont since 1848, Thompson shifted the focus of the pamphlet from water transportation to the railroad. The railroads had crisscrossed parts of Vermont and upstate New York by 1854, and Thompson recognized that travelers' guides needed to be altered accordingly. As a result, he enlarged his map, changed the text to include new areas, distant from the lakes and rivers but easily visited by train. In a move which foreshadowed the growth of tourist publicity in Vermont and New Hampshire, he began to praise the beauty of the great outdoors: Mount Mansfield, Camel's Hump, Lake Willoughby, and the White Mountains.

In addition to teaching at the University and publishing his books, Thompson also managed to help revive the Vermont Geological Survey in 1853. In 1851 and 1852 he had proposed a variety of plans for completion of the survey, including asking the Legislature to use the natural history part of his *History of Vermont* as the basis for a four-volume work on the state's geology, geography, agriculture, mineralogy and natural history.⁸⁸ The legislature rejected his proposals, but a modified version passed in 1853. Thompson was appointed State Naturalist and directed to finish the survey at the princely salary of \$800 a year.⁸⁹

Thompson worked hard on the survey, but a number of factors in addition to the sheer size of the project itself prevented his completing the project. The shorthand notes left by Charles B. Adams were indecipherable and useless. Progress was further slowed by Thompson's own high standards; he could not force himself to move quickly through the natural history volume and get it into print. Finally, the fragile and failing state of Thompson's own health impeded progress more than anything else.⁹⁰

Thompson had never had a robust constitution. Illness had almost taken his life in western New York in 1818, and his recovery stretched out over more than six months. Chronic poor health prevented his becoming a minister and taking over his own parish. Lung fevers delayed his work on the *History of Vermont* in the early 1840's, and his physical condition was seldom sound thereafter. He also suffered from heart trouble to such an extent that he was reluctant to go very far from home without

a friend to accompany him.⁹¹ For these and other reasons Thompson's health had always been precarious, but during his tenure as State Naturalist it deteriorated steadily.

By the fall of 1854 Thompson's condition was such that he wrote that he was "confined to my room and most of the time, to my bed, for a period of more than 12 months."⁹² He recovered enough late in 1855 to resume his studies and accept a medal for a display sent to the French Industrial Exhibition,⁹³ but the remission was very short. On January 14, 1856, "being in a weak state of body, but of sound and disposing mind and memory (blessed be God for the same),"⁹⁴ he made some minor adjustments in his will. Five days later, at the age of fifty-nine, he died quietly in bed of "an organic affliction of the heart."⁹⁵ Phebe entered the day's temperatures in the meteorological notebooks, just as he had been doing for thirty years, adding only, "Mr. Thompson died 5 P.M."⁹⁶

The eulogies poured in as soon as news of Thompson's death circulated around New England. On January 21 Thompson's colleagues on the university faculty unanimously passed a lengthy set of resolutions in memory of "a most worthy alumnus, faithful friend and useful instructor."⁹⁷ The town of Burlington, Thompson's home for most of his life, also joined in the tributes to him. His funeral was attended by many of the townspeople, and the stores and businesses closed in his honor.⁹⁸ Thompson was buried in the Elmwood Avenue Cemetery in Burlington beneath a white marble headstone bearing only his name, dates and last words, "God's will be done."

In addition to the many compliments offered by his fellow Vermonters, Thompson also received posthumous recognition from outside the state. The Boston Society of Natural History, before whom Thompson had spoken six years earlier on the natural history of Vermont, adopted a resolution in February of 1856 mourning his death.⁹⁹ Other groups and individuals followed suit, and the Boston *Atlas* ably expressed the tenor of their sentiments: "New England may have more brilliant and more popular illustrators of her natural history, but one more earnest, more thorough, or more devoted, we have never known; nor one who once known has been more honored and esteemed by naturalists, or beloved by friends than the late Professor Thompson."¹⁰⁰

Thompson's writings continued to be reprinted after his death, but only for a few years. A new edition of the *Northern Guide* came out in 1857, followed the next year by a pirated anonymous edition with a different title but identical text.¹⁰¹ His wife was still selling the *History of Vermont* into the 1860's, and in 1858 she reissued his *History of the State of Vermont* from the edition of 1833/36.¹⁰² After these, however, Thompson's books went out of print and remained that way for more

1856 January, 1856.

D	W	Barometer				Therm. Air				Clouds			Winds			Storms			M. H. H.		Remarks				
		7am	2pm	9pm	7 2 P	7 2 P	2 1 2 P	7am	2 1 2 P	9pm	7 2 P	Dir.	Force	Dir.	Force	Dir.	Force	7 2 P							
1	8	29.76	29.95	31.07	33.55	32	16	16	19	19	10	15	4	3	0	51	N1	N1			14	16	7	Shiny good. Snow depth approx 1 inch	
2	4	30.16	30.11	29.97	34.40	33	16	16	25	27	21	0	1	5	51	S1	S2			16	14	17			
3	5	29.67	29.47	29.37	35.45	33	16	16	28	34	31	6	1	1	52	N2	N2			27	27	26	W. Hardy with snow clouds		
4	6	30.07	30.21	30.27	30.34	30	16	16	27	27	7	0	0	0	N2	N2	W2			5	3	7			
5	7	26	01	29.97	3	13	10	13	0	1	4	0	0	0	W1	N1	N1			3	7		Snowy over the lake		
6	2	29.77	29.52	29.66	34	30	23	1	1	9	4	4	0	0	N1	W2	W2			1	6	6	Snowy over the lake		
7	2	32	35	35	35	19	23	25	10	13	16	1	6	7	52	N2	N2			2	14	14			
8	2	32	35	35	32	31	24	28	22	25	19	1	5	1	52	N2	N2			0.05	4	21	16	1	Snow over the lake
9	4	30	37	38	30	21	25	17	2	4	5	3	2	1	55	S4	N2			0.12	7	2	7	7	Snow over the lake
10	5	31	37	38	27	26	6	12	12	15	5	5	2	2	52	N2	N2				1	14			
11	6	30	37	38	27	27	34	36	15	15	22	3	3	10	54	N2	N2				13	21	12		
12	7	30.15	30.29	30.56	36	30	30	24	22	20	4	2	5	5	52	N1	N2				12	20	18		
13	2	29.70	31	2.6	30	51	50	18	23	33	18	5	8	8	52	N2	N2				11	31	17		
14	2	30	37	38	26	50	40	15	26	24	18	8	8	8	52	N2	N2				16	22	17		
15	3	30	34	35	37	36	51	26	30	30	11	8	7	0	52	N2	N2			0.28	19	27	9		
16	4	32	38	38	32	35	36	10	10	22	22	0	5	5	52	N2	N2				9	20	21		
17	5	32	38	38	33	39	39	25	25	30	32	8	5	5	52	N2	N2			0.09	22	30	28		
18	6	30	38	38	32	35	37	23	23	35	35	5	5	5	52	N2	N2				2	32	28		
19	7	30	37	38	32	39	39	11	11	11	8	5	0	0	52	N2	N2			0.02	9	7	11		
20	2	30	37	38	35	35	35	23	10	10	6	0	0	0	52	N2	N2				15	4	10		
21	2	30	37	38	30	38	30	18	5	13	13	1	1	0	52	N2	N2				2	10	8		
22	3	30	37	38	30	35	35	6	10	11	10	1	0	0	52	N2	N2				2	9	8		
23	4	30	37	38	30	35	35	7	7	26	27	2	3	1	52	N2	N2				5	24	9		
24	5	30	37	38	30	35	35	11	11	26	25	1	3	7	52	N2	N2				9	24	17		
25	6	30	37	38	30	35	35	11	11	26	25	1	3	7	52	N2	N2				7	24	17		
26	6	30	37	38	30	35	35	11	11	26	25	1	3	7	52	N2	N2				7	24	17		
27	7	30	37	38	30	35	35	11	11	26	25	1	3	7	52	N2	N2				7	24	17		
28	7	30	37	38	30	35	35	11	11	26	25	1	3	7	52	N2	N2				7	24	17		
29	7	30	37	38	30	35	35	11	11	26	25	1	3	7	52	N2	N2				7	24	17		
30	7	30	37	38	30	35	35	11	11	26	25	1	3	7	52	N2	N2				7	24	17		
31	5	30	37	38	30	35	35	11	11	26	25	1	3	7	52	N2	N2				7	24	17		

Phebe Thompson, who, based on the handwriting, kept Thompson's meteorological notebooks in his last days, noted simply on the entry for January 19, 1856, "Mr. Thompson died at 5 P.M."

than a century, until the natural history section of the *History of Vermont* was republished in 1972.¹⁰³

Phebe Thompson remained in Burlington for two decades after his death. She sold his cabinet of geological and natural history specimens to the State of Vermont in 1857 for \$1,000,¹⁰⁴ but continued to keep up his meteorological notebooks and guard the remainder of his scientific collections "as jealously as if they had been gold and diamonds."¹⁰⁵ She stayed in the little white cottage on the University Green until 1876, when she sold it for \$2400 and moved to Northfield, Vermont, to live with her granddaughter.¹⁰⁶ Finally, on July 29, 1885, Phebe Boyce Thompson died at the advanced age of eighty-seven, nearly thirty years after her husband.¹⁰⁷

Although his books continued to be used and imitated and the significance of his work and research remained considerable, Zadock Thompson's life soon faded from memory. An occasional article or biographical sketch came out from time to time after 1860 to provide the factual framework of his life, but these became both less frequent and more sketchy after 1900, and no serious attempt to portray Thompson appeared after 1902. "Thompson's *Vermont*" retained much of its popular and antiquarian appeal, but its author was more or less ignored. In 1927 the flood which devastated Vermont also destroyed Thompson's collection of natural history specimens stored in a basement in Montpelier. Over the past half-century not one significant study of his life or writings has appeared.¹⁰⁸ Ironically, Zadock Thompson, who "devoted the entire period of his life"¹⁰⁹ to studying Vermont, and whose books have exerted such a tremendous influence on Vermont scholars since the Civil War, has himself slipped deep into the shadows of the state's past.

NOTES

¹For an overview of the development of Vermont historiography, see J. Keven Graffagnino, "The Vermont Story: Continuity and Change in Vermont Historiography," *Vermont History*, 46, no. 2 (Spring 1978), 77-99.

²Lance MSS. Zadock Thompson, autobiographical sketch, in the possession of Mrs. Odessa Lance, Bolton, Vt., Xerox copy and typescript in Zadock Thompson MSS, Wilbur Collection, Bailey Library, University of Vermont, Burlington, Vt. (hereafter UVM).

³[George F. Houghton], "Obituary of Professor Thompson," in Augustus Young, ed., *Preliminary Report on the Natural History of the State of Vermont* (Burlington: C. Goodrich, 1856), p. 37.

⁴George F. Houghton, "Eulogy of Rev. Zadock Thompson," p. 15; Ms. in *Society Records*, St. Paul's Episcopal Church, Burlington, Vt., carton one, volume L, "Biographical Notes of Clergymen & Laymen," UVM.

⁵Lance MSS. Thompson, autobiographical sketch.

⁶*Ibid.*; Houghton, "Eulogy," p. 16.

⁷*The Vermont Almanac and Farmer's Calendar, for the Year of our Lord 1819* (Woodstock: D. Watson, 1818), front cover.

⁸Lance MSS. book of poems by Thompson; Xerox copy in Thompson MSS.

- ⁹*Ibid.*, Thompson, autobiographical sketch.
- ¹⁰Charles E. Allen, "Sketch of the Burlington Academy and High School, from its Establishment in 1815 to Date." *Proceedings of the Vermont Antiquarian Society* (April, 1897 - April, 1900), p. 48.
- ¹¹University of Vermont MSS (hereafter UVM MSS), "Treasurer's Account Book 1816-1834," p. 31, UVM Archives, Waterman Building, University of Vermont, Burlington, Vt.
- ¹²*Ibid.*, Phi Sigma Nu Society, "Records 1815-1827," pp. 102, 109, 122, 183, and 198.
- ¹³Ms. B T 379LF, Thompson to Walton, Dec. 9, 1819, for an earlier offer: Vermont Historical Society, Montpelier, Vermont (hereafter VHS Collections).
- ¹⁴Ms. Box 72, folder 4, *Ibid.*
- ¹⁵Houghton, "Eulogy," p. 18; Zadock Thompson, *A Gazetteer*, p. vi.
- ¹⁶Vermont State Papers 64:113, Zadock Thompson, petition to the Vermont State Legislature, Oct. 10, 1835, Vermont State Papers Division, Secretary of State's Office, Montpelier, Vermont (hereafter State Papers).
- ¹⁷Thompson, *A Gazetteer*, p. 18.
- ¹⁸S. R. Hall, *The Child's Assistant to a Knowledge of the Geography and History of Vermont* (Montpelier: J. S. Walton, 1827); F. S. Eastman, *A History of Vermont from its First Settlement to the Present Time* (Brattleboro: Holbrook & Fessenden, 1828); Nathan Hoskins, *A History of the State of Vermont, from its Discovery and Settlement to the Close of the Year MDCCCXXX* (Vergennes: J. Shedd, 1831); and John Hayward, *A Gazetteer of Vermont* (Boston: Tappan, Whittemore and Mason, 1849).
- ¹⁹Compare the printed version with the manuscript submissions, Thompson MSS, Wilbur, UVM.
- ²⁰Lance MSS, sixty-five verse poem from Zadock to Phebe, autumn 1815; and Xerox copy in Thompson MSS.
- ²¹George A. Perkins, "Sketch of the Life of Zadock Thompson," *American Geologist*, 29 (February 1902), 70.
- ²²George Boyce Thompson, April 6, 1825; Harriet Towner Thompson, 1827-1844; Adeline Perry Thompson (Judd), 1830-1860.
- ²³UVM MSS, "Trustees Records," Box 2, folders 5, 7 and 8; *Ibid.*, "Trustees Minutes," 2:326 and 336.
- ²⁴Burlington MSS, "Land Records," 8:205-07, City Clerk's Office, City Hall, Burlington, Vt.
- ²⁵UVM MSS, "Records of the College of Natural History," pp. 1-49, *passim*.
- ²⁶First edition, (Woodstock: D. Watson, 1825).
- ²⁷Marcus A. McCorsion, *Vermont Imprints 1778-1820* (Worcester: American Antiquarian Society, 1963); James K. Ready, "A Checklist of Vermont Imprints from 1821 Through 1835, With a Historical Introduction," Ph.D. Diss., Catholic University of America, 1955.
- ²⁸Charles Carpenter, *History of American Schoolbooks* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1963), pp. 141-44; John A. Nietz, *Old Textbooks* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1961), pp. 151-52.
- ²⁹Allen, "Sketch of the Burlington Academy," p. 49.
- ³⁰*Burlington Free Press*, July 11, 1828.
- ³¹*Ibid.*, March 13, 1829, November 14, 1829 and March 5, 1830.
- ³²*Ibid.*, March 13, 1829.
- ³³Burlington MSS, "Land Records," 10:189.
- ³⁴*Burlington Free Press*, May 8, 1829.
- ³⁵St. Paul's Episcopal Church of Burlington, Vermont (hereafter St. Paul's), MSS, "Society Records," UVM.
- ³⁶Lance MSS, Thompson's notebook of clerical duties; Xerox in Thompson MSS.
- ³⁷*Burlington Free Press*, January 7, 1831; Burlington Lyceum MSS, "Minutes & Roster," UVM.
- ³⁸Burlington MSS, "Town Meeting Records," 2:216; Vermont, *Records of the Governor and Council of the State of Vermont* (Montpelier: E. P. Walton, 1873-80), 8:93.
- ³⁹State Papers, 62:72.
- ⁴⁰*The Green Mountain Repository* (Burlington), January, 1832.
- ⁴¹*Ibid.*, December, 1832.
- ⁴²(Burlington: E. Smith, 1833); *Burlington Free Press*, March 15, 1833, advertising the book.
- ⁴³(Burlington: Smith & Harrington, 1836).
- ⁴⁴(Burlington: S. Mills, 1809).
- ⁴⁵(Vergennes: J. Shedd, 1831).
- ⁴⁶Houghton, "Eulogy," p. 19.
- ⁴⁷*The Canadian Farmers' Almanac for 1835* (Stanstead and Sherbrooke: Walton & Gaylord, 1834). Thompson's calculations appeared in this series until at least 1845.
- ⁴⁸Lance MSS, Thompson's notebook of clerical duties; Xerox in Thompson MSS, UVM.
- ⁴⁹State Papers, 64:113.
- ⁵⁰(Stanstead and Sherbrooke: Walton & Gaylord, 1835).

- ⁵¹ P. 63.
- ⁵² Lance MSS, Thompson autobiographical sketch.
- ⁵³ John Henry Hopkins, Jr., *The Life of the Reverend John Henry Hopkins* (New York: F.J. Huntington, 1873), p. 203; Lance MSS, Thompson autobiographical sketch.
- ⁵⁴ Lance MSS, Thompson notebook of clerical duties.
- ⁵⁵ Stevens MSS, Thompson to Henry Stevens, Sr., Dec. 14, 1838, and Feb. 1, 1839, UVM.
- ⁵⁶ UVM MSS, "Faculty Minutes," 1:18 and "Records of the College of Natural History," no page, entry for Sept. 8, 1841.
- ⁵⁷ Ms. 25 #110, Thompson to Peter T. Washburn, July 29, 1839, VHS Collections.
- ⁵⁸ (Burlington: Chauncey Goodrich, 1842).
- ⁵⁹ Stevens MSS, Thompson to Henry Stevens, Sr., Sept. 11, 1841, UVM.
- ⁶⁰ Houghton, "Obituary," p. 38.
- ⁶¹ MSC 44, Zadock and Phebe Thompson, letters to Dr. Ariel Hunton, 1848-59, VHS Collections; Xerox copies in Zadock Thompson Papers, UVM. Hunton, who shared Thompson's interest in natural history, acted as his sales agent in the Hyde Park, Vt., area.
- ⁶² Zadock Thompson, *History of Vermont* (1842), p. iv.
- ⁶³ For Thompson's use of the UVM Library, see UVM MSS, "Faculty Library Loans," (1831-41), and "Library Record," (1844-55).
- ⁶⁴ Thompson, *History of Vermont* (1842), pt. 1, pp. 8 and 120.
- ⁶⁵ T.D.S. Bassett, *A History of the Vermont Geological Surveys and State Geologists* (Burlington: Vt. Geological Survey, 1976), pp. 1-11.
- ⁶⁶ See the first and second *Annual Report on the Geology of Vermont* (Burlington, 1845, 1846).
- ⁶⁷ (Burlington: C. Goodrich, 1845).
- ⁶⁸ (Burlington: C. Goodrich, 1848).
- ⁶⁹ *Burlington Free Press*, June 22, 1849.
- ⁷⁰ Samuel Read Hall, *The Child's Assistant to a Knowledge of the Geography and History of Vermont* (Montpelier: J.S. Walton, 1827); reprinted, (Montpelier: J.S. Walton, 1831).
- ⁷¹ Carpenter, *American Schoolbooks*, pp. 227 and 267; Nietz, *Old Textbooks*, pp. 195-233.
- ⁷² Pliny White revised Hall's geography (Montpelier: C.W. Willard, 1864), which then went into several editions. The first edition of the best-known schoolbook on Vermont, Edward Conant's *Geography, History and Civil Government of Vermont*, did not come out until 1890 (Rutland: Tuttle Co.).
- ⁷³ Vermont, *Proceedings and Instructions Concerning the System of International Literary and Scientific Exchanges, Established by Alexandre Valtemare* (Burlington: Free Press, 1848).
- ⁷⁴ Thompson, "On Fossil Cetacean Bones," *Proceedings*, Boston Society of Natural History, 3 (April 1850), 205-06.
- ⁷⁵ Ac 500 Scr16, Thompson newspaper scrapbook, VHS Collections.
- ⁷⁶ *Natural History of Vermont* (Burlington: C. Goodrich, 1850); text also reprinted in *Burlington Free Press*, June 12, 1850.
- ⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 3-4.
- ⁷⁸ First edition, (New York: C. Scribners, 1864).
- ⁷⁹ UVM MSS, "Trustees Minutes," 3:123.
- ⁸⁰ Zadock Thompson, *Journal of a Trip to London, Paris, and the Great Exhibition, in 1851* (Burlington: Nichols & Warren, 1851).
- ⁸¹ *Burlington Free Press*, March 17, 1852, and Feb. 21, 1854.
- ⁸² MS B T 379LF Zadock Thompson to Solomon Footc, Jan. 13, 1855, VHS Collections; *United States Statutes at Large*, 11:454.
- ⁸³ UVM MSS, "Faculty Minutes," 1:262-63.
- ⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 3:140 and 143-44.
- ⁸⁵ MSS 21 #118, Eliakim P. Walton to George F. Houghton, no date 1857, VHS Collections.
- ⁸⁶ *Appendix to the History of Vermont, Natural, Civil, and Statistical, 1853* (Burlington: Stacy & Jameson, for the author, 1853).
- ⁸⁷ Zadock Thompson, *Northern Guide, Lake George, Lake Champlain, Montreal, and Quebec, Green and White Mountains, and Willoughby Lake, with Maps and Tables of Distances* (Burlington: S.B. Nichols, 1854).
- ⁸⁸ "Contents of the Proposed Volumes, by Zadock Thompson. Natural History of Vermont," in Augustus Young, ed., *Preliminary Report on the Natural History of the State of Vermont* (Burlington: C. Goodrich, 1856), pp. 75-82.
- ⁸⁹ Bassett, *Vermont Geological Surveys*, p. 8.
- ⁹⁰ *Ibid.*
- ⁹¹ Perkins, "Sketch of the Life of Zadock Thompson," p. 68.
- ⁹² MSS 25 #111, Thompson to Stephen Royce, Oct. 15, 1855, VHS Collections.
- ⁹³ *Burlington Free Press*, Dec. 10, 1855.
- ⁹⁴ "Probate Records," Chittenden County Probate Court, Burlington, Vermont.

- ⁹⁵*Burlington Free Press*, Jan. 21, 1856.
- ⁹⁶XMS 551.5 T372, Thompson weather notebook, VHS Collections.
- ⁹⁷UVM MSS, "Faculty Minutes," 2:47-48.
- ⁹⁸Houghton, "Obituary," p. 44.
- ⁹⁹*Burlington Free Press*, March 12, 1856.
- ¹⁰⁰Quoted in *Ibid.*, January 26, 1856.
- ¹⁰¹*Northern Guide* (Burlington: S.B. Nichols, 1857); *Lake Horicon, (Lake George,) Lake Champlain, Montreal and Quebec, with Maps and Tables of Distances* (Burlington: C. Goodrich, 1858).
- ¹⁰²(Burlington: Smith & Co., 1858).
- ¹⁰³(Rutland: Tuttle Co., 1972), reprinted from the edition of 1853.
- ¹⁰⁴Bassett, *Vermont Geological Surveys*, p. 15.
- ¹⁰⁵*Burlington Free Press*, July 31, 1885.
- ¹⁰⁶*Burlington MSS*, "Land Records," 14:231-32.
- ¹⁰⁷*Burlington Free Press*, July 31, 1885.
- ¹⁰⁸For a detailed analysis of Thompson's place in Vermont historiography, see J. Kevin Graffagnino "Zadock Thompson: Nineteenth Century Vermont Historian," unpublished MA Thesis, University of Vermont, 1978, pp. 58-124. For an interesting series on Thompson see the articles by T.D.S. Bassett in the *Sunday Burlington Free Press*, February 27 - April 24, 1977, editorial page.
- ¹⁰⁹Marcus D. Gilman, *The Bibliography of Vermont* (Burlington: *Free Press*, 1897), p. 276.