

Lessee of Margaret Lesimer, et al.—Plaintiff in Error,
vs.
William Povey.

In Error to the Circuit Court of the United States for the District of North Carolina.
Mr. Justice McLean delivered the Opinion of the Court.

This case came before the Court, as a Writ of Error to the Circuit Court of North Carolina.
The Lessee of the Plaintiff brought their action of ejectment, to recover the possession of forty-nine thousand and nine hundred and twenty acres of land, in Haywood County, and described in the declaration by metes and bounds. On the trial, certain exceptions were taken by the Plaintiff to the rulings of the Court; and the verdict being not guilty, a judgment in favor of the Defendant was entered. To reverse this judgment, this Writ of Error is prosecuted.

The Lessee of the Plaintiff, to sustain their action, offered, in evidence, a grant from North Carolina to William Carter, of the land described in the declaration, dated the 20th of July, 1796, and founded on entries made in the Entry-Taker's office of the county of Buncombe, in said State, in the year 1795, within the limits of said county. It was admitted that the title, if any, had descended to the Lessee of the Plaintiff, and that, at the commencement of the action, the Defendant was in possession. And also, that the land was within the limits of the Territory described in the 8th Section of the Act of North Carolina, 1788, entitled an Act for opening the Land Office, for the redemption of lands, and other certificates, &c. And the great questions arising out of the instructions are, whether at the date of the entry and grant, the land was within the Indian country; and if it was, whether the entry and grant were void.

The limits of the Indian country, within the State of North Carolina, were established, by treaties made between the United States and the Cherokee tribe of Indians.
The first treaty was concluded at Hopewell the 28th November, 1785. The 4th Article of this treaty declared, that the boundary allotted to the Cherokee Indians for their hunting grounds, between the said Indians and the citizens of the United States, &c., shall begin at the mouth of Duck river, on the Tennessee; thence running North-east to the ridge dividing the waters running into Cumberland from those running into the Tennessee, thence Eastward along the said ridge to a North-east line to be run, which shall strike the River Cumberland forty miles above Nashville; thence along the said line to the river; thence up the said river to the ford where the Kentucky road crosses the river; thence to Campbell's line, near Cumberland Gap, thence to the mouth of Clinch's creek, on Holston; thence to the Chimney-Top Mountain; thence to Camp creek, near the mouth of Big Limestone, on Naichuckee; thence a South-easterly course six miles to a mountain; thence South to the North Carolina line; thence to the South Carolina Indian boundary; and along the same South-west, over the top of the Occuna Mountains, till it shall strike Tugalo river; thence a direct line to the top of the Currahee Mountain; thence to the head of the South-fork of the Occuna river.

The treaty of Holston, which was concluded the 23d July, 1791, as established by the Cherokee and Hopewell treaties, and declared that "the line should begin at the top of the Currahee Mountain, where the Creek line passes it; thence a direct line to Tugalo river; thence North-east to the Occuna Mountain, and over the same along the South Carolina Indian boundary to the North Carolina boundary; thence North to a point from which a line is to be extended to the river Clinch, that shall pass the Holston at the ridge which divides the waters running into Little River from those running into the Tennessee; thence up the river Clinch to Campbell's line, and along the same to the top of Cumberland Mountain; thence a direct line to the Cumberland river, where the Kentucky road crosses it; thence down the Cumberland river to a point from which a South-west line will strike the ridge which divides the waters of Cumberland from those of Duck river; forty miles above Nashville; thence down the said ridge to a point from whence a South-west line will strike the mouth of Duck river."

"And, in order to preclude forever all disputes relative to the said boundary, the same shall be ascertained and marked plainly, by three persons appointed on the part of the United States, and three Cherokees on the part of their Nation."

Another treaty was made with the Cherokees, at Philadelphia, the 26th June, 1794, in which it was stated that the treaty of Holston had not been fully carried into effect; and, in the second Article, it was stipulated that the boundaries mentioned in the fourth Article of the said treaty, shall be actually ascertained and marked in the manner prescribed by the said Article, whenever the Cherokee Nation shall have ninety days notice of the time and place at which the Commissioners of the United States, intend to commence their operation."

The whole extent of the line designated by this treaty, never appears to have been run and marked. Some parts of it were not run, because the country through which it passed, was mountainous and uninhabitable. On the 7th October, 1799, 1 Vol. American State papers, Indian Affairs, 630, Governor Blount having given the notice to the Cherokees required by the treaty, under the direction of the Secretary of War, Messrs David Campbell, Charles McClung, and John McKee, Commissioners for extending the line between the United States and the Cherokees, according to the treaty of Holston, to meet the next day at Major Orwig's on Nine-mile creek, to extend the line. And they were instructed, in case Commissioners appeared on the part of the Indians, to run the line; but, if the Indians did not attend, they were required to examine where the ridge, which divides the waters running into Little River from those running into the Tennessee, strikes the Holston; and extend the line from thence to Clinch's river; and again from that ridge to the Chilhowee Mountain, paying strict regard to the treaty.

In their report the 30th November ensuing, the Commissioners say, that the Commissioners on the part of the Cherokees, did not attend; and we proceeded to examine, with great attention, for the ridge which divides the waters of the Tennessee from those of Little river, and tracing it, found it a plain leading ridge, which struck the Holston at the mouth; but, having been ascertained that the Indians had in contemplation, at the time the treaty was made, a ridge which they supposed would strike the Holston higher up, we did not content ourselves, but retraced the ridge, and examined well the South bank of the Holston, and the result was, that we were perfectly convinced that the ridge which divides the waters of Tennessee and Little river, strikes the Holston at the mouth, and at no other part."

"We then proceeded to run, but not mark, a line of experiment, from the point of the ridge, in a South-east direction, to Chilhowee Mountain, (distance seventeen and a half miles), and again from thence to the Clinch, in a North-west direction, (distance nine miles), and found that line, continued to the South-east, would intersect the Tennessee, shortly after it crossed the Chilhowee Mountain, consequently take away all the Indian Towns lying along the South side of Tennessee. This showing the necessity of turning the direction more to the East and West; and it is our opinion, that a line extended from the point of the ridge, aforesaid, South-east, to the top of the Currahee Mountain; again, from the top of the Currahee Mountain, West, will form the true line from Chilhowee Mountain to Clinch, between the United States and the Cherokees, according to the treaty of Holston. The more fully to elucidate this report, we present you with a Map which we believe is nearly correct, on which both the lines are laid down."

This line had several white settlers within the Indian lands.
In transmitting this report to the War Department, Governor Blount remarks, as the Geography of the country generally cannot be known to you, there being no correct map of it, I think it necessary to inform you, that the country to the East, or rather South-east of Chilhowee Mountain, through which the line reported upon, is continued beyond it, will pass, for fifty or sixty miles, is an entire bed of ledge or ledge of Mountains, until it intersects the line which is to be extended South from the North

boundary of North Carolina, near which, no settlements can be formed; hence I conclude it will not be essential to extend it. That which the line reported on will intersect, if continued, meaning that which runs South from the North boundary of North Carolina—caused to be run and marked, about sixty miles from the mouth of McNamee's creek to Rutherford's War-trace, by Mr. Joseph Haden, in the course of last winter. "Haden did not run the line as required by the treaty of Holston, but South, according to the treaty of Hopewell." The writer then states the contents of the line which, in his opinion, need not be run.

In a letter from Governor Blount to the Secretary of War, American State papers, Indian Affairs, 1 Vol. 639, dated July 15, 1791, in reference to the treaty of Holston, concluded the 2d of the same month says— "According to my instructions, I proposed that the ridge, dividing the waters of Tennessee from those of Little river, should form a part of the boundary; but the Indians would not agree to it, but insisted on a straight line, which should cross the Holston where the ridge should strike it, and were so firm in their determination, that I could not prevail on them to agree to any other." And, in another letter from Governor Blount to the Secretary, same page, dated 2d of March, 1793, he says—"I can't help remarking, that I proposed at the treaty, that the ridge should be the line. You will recollect that I was so instructed; and the Chiefs were unanimously opposed to it, saying it should be a straight line, and that it was an evidence that my heart was not straight—that I wanted a crooked line. The difficulty will be in running the line to ascertain where the ridge that divides the waters of Little river and Tennessee will strike the Holston; for it seems the white people cannot agree on it, a circumstance unknown to me at the time the Indians proposed it; but, from the best information I can obtain, I am induced to believe it will prove to be lower down than they expected; and, in that case, it is my opinion that the words of the treaty ought not to be so strictly adhered to as to give them any great degree of dissatisfaction." In his answer of 23d April, 1792, the Secretary of War says—"I am commanded by the President of the United States, to whom your letters are constantly submitted, to say, with respect to your remarks upon the line at Little river, that you will be pleased to make a liberal construction of that Article, so as to render it entirely satisfactory to the Indians, and, at the same time, as consistently as may be, with the treaty."

On the 2d October, 1798, the Treaty of Tellico was entered into, which contained the following preamble:— "Whereas, The treaty made and concluded on Holston river on the 2d of July, 1791, between the United States and the Cherokee Nation of Indians, had not been carried into execution, for sometime thereafter, for reason of some misunderstanding which had arisen; and, whereas, in order to remove such misunderstanding, and to provide for carrying the said treaty into effect, and for re-establishing more fully the peace and friendship between the parties, another treaty was held, made and concluded, by and between them, at Philadelphia, the 26th June, 1794; in which, among other things, it was stipulated that the boundaries mentioned in the fourth Article of the said treaty of Holston, should be actually ascertained and marked, in the manner prescribed by the said Article, whenever the Cherokee Nation should have ninety days notice of the time and place at which the Commissioners of the United States intended to commence their operation. And, whereas, further delays in carrying the said fourth Article into complete effect did take place, so that the boundaries mentioned and described were not regularly ascertained and marked, until the latter part of the year 1797; before which time, and for want of knowing the direct course of said boundary, divers settlements were made by citizens of the United States upon the Indian lands over and beyond the boundaries so mentioned and described in the said Article, and contrary to the intention of the said treaty; and which settlements were removed from the said Indian lands, by authority of the United States, as soon as the boundaries had been so lawfully ascertained and marked, as the nature of the case had admitted."

The 4th Article declares—"In acknowledgment for the protection of the United States, and for the considerations hereafter expressed and contained, the Cherokee Nation agrees, and does hereby relinquish and cede to the United States, all the lands within the following points and lines, viz: From a point on the Tennessee river, below Tellico Block-house, called the Wildcat rock, in a direct line to the Millia Spring, near the Millville road leading from Tellico. From the said spring, a line is to be run, as will leave a line to the Northward and Eastward of it; and to be continued along Chilhowee Mountain, until it strikes Hawkins' line; this line is laid down on the Map, &c. although it is not called the Southern boundary of the Cherokee Nation, yet it is recognized as the Northern boundary of the territory purchased; and consequently must be the Holston boundary. Hawkins' line extends from Clinch, crossing the Holston some miles above its mouth, and runs between the waters of Little river and those of the Tennessee, as appears from the Map, and continues until it reaches the summit of the great Clinch mountain. At this point a monument is erected, but the line is never extended beyond this point, as it was not probably marked, and it is not laid down on the plat. It is probable that the original survey of this line was destroyed when the War Office was burnt in 1800."

From the Wild Cat Rock the Tellico treaty calls to run down the North-east margin of the Tennessee river, to a point or place one mile above the junction of that river with the Clinch; and from thence by a line to be drawn in a right angle until it intersects Hawkins' line, leading from Clinch. Here is another recognition of this line as the Northern boundary of the Indian lands, and consequently, the line established by the Holston treaty.
And the Tellico treaty calls again, after striking Hawkins' line, by running near nine mile creek and along Chilhowee mountain, to run with it to the top of the great Iron Mountain. From this point the new treaty line varies from a direct course, and continues South-easterly to where the most South-easterly branch of Little river crosses the divisional line to Tugalo river."

It is only necessary to compare the course and objects here designated, with the South-eastern calls of the Holston treaty, to see, that the Tellico line includes a large tract of country not included by the Holston line. The Holston line, after striking the Tugalo river, runs North-east to the Occuna mountain, and over the same along the South Carolina Indian boundary, continuing a North-easterly direction until it strikes the North Carolina boundary; thence north to a point which shall intersect a line to be extended from the river Clinch, that shall pass the Holston at the ridge, the Tellico line runs South-easterly, until it strikes the divisional line to Tugalo river. The Holston line, so far as it goes, along this divisional line North-easterly; so that from this point these lines diverge until the Holston line shall reach the point of connection with the line drawn from the Clinch. The boundaries from the point of intersection on the top of the great Iron Mountain, to the point of intersection on the South Carolina Indian boundary, include a large tract of country. And this tract, with the one designated by Hawkins' line, the Tennessee, Nine Mile creek and the Clinch, &c., constituted the territory purchased by the Tellico treaty.

This recognition of Hawkins' line as the Indian boundary was in 1798, only eight years after the boundary was established by the treaty of Holston, and one year after the line is declared to have been run and marked. The facts in regard to this line were recent, and of course fresh in the recollection of the contracting parties. It was a matter about which they could not be mistaken. They say the Holston line was not run and marked until the latter part of the year 1797, and the United States purchased the Indian lands up to Hawkins' line. It is true, this line is not in terms said to be the most easterly line, but it is recognized to be the boundary of the Indian lands; and it is so stated by the United States, in the most solemn manner, in the treaty of Tellico. It could then be no part of the country there was no other Indian boundary before the treaty of Tellico.

Whatever doubt may have existed as to Hawkins' line being the true Indian boundary, independently of this treaty, there would seem to be no ground for doubt under the recognition of that line, in this treaty.
It is contended that the Holston line should run from the Clinch, crossing the Holston river at its mouth and continue on in the same direction, until it shall strike the North Carolina boundary.
This would not only disregard the solemn acts and recognitions of the parties to the Holston treaty, in forming the treaty of Tellico, but it would also disregard the language of the former treaty. It calls for a

ridge which will strike the Holston lower down than was expected; and, in that case, it is my opinion that the words of the treaty, ought not to be so strictly adhered to, as to give them any great degree of dissatisfaction. In his answer, the Secretary of War says, by command of the President—"You will make a liberal construction of that Article, so as to render it entirely satisfactory to the Indians." The Indians recollect that the ridge which divides the waters of the ridge to be removed.

In the talk of the President, dated the 27th August, 1798, to the Cherokees, which was sent to them preparatory to the treaty of Tellico, he says it was expected that the Holston treaty-line would have included a great proportion of the Frontier white settlers, but it proved otherwise, when the line was run. The words—"shall pass the Holston at the ridge which divides the waters running into Little river, from those running into the Tennessee," do not necessarily imply that the line shall cross the Holston at the point where the ridge terminates. Little river falls into the Holston, which should be the case, if the ridge would strike the Holston at the point where the ridge would strike the Holston, and would agree to no other than a straight line; and that neither party seems to have considered the place of crossing at the mouth of the Holston, we think, in the language of the President, through the Secretary of War—"that a liberal construction of this clause of the treaty should be given."

But it is unnecessary to consider the correspondence of Governor Blount, the report of the Commissioners of 1792, or the words of this Article of the treaty, with the view to give it a satisfactory construction; as the parties in the treaty, near Tellico, have given to it a particular construction.

In this treaty, the parties say that for certain causes enumerated, the boundaries mentioned and described in the 4th Article of the treaty of Holston, "were not regularly ascertained and marked, until the latter part of the year 1797."

The 2d Article provides that the treaties subsisting between the present contracting parties, are acknowledged to be of full and operating force; together with the construction and usage under their respective Articles, and so to continue. And, in the 3d Article, it is declared that the limits and boundaries of the Cherokee Nation, as stipulated and marked by the existing treaties, shall be and remain the same, where not altered by the present treaty.
The object of the Government, in entering into this treaty, was to purchase the Indian territory into which white settlers had intruded at and near Nine-mile creek, and perhaps at other places. The line established was run and marked, and we have the original Map, or a copy of the survey before us, which was returned to the War Department.

That this purchase was of territory not included in the boundaries of the Holston treaty, will not be disputed, and, from the language of the 3d Article, it is clear, that the parties did not intend to establish an entirely new boundary; but to make such alterations of the Holston boundary as should secure the object of the United States.

The land lying South-west of the Holston boundary belonged to the Indians; and it was a part of this land that was purchased by the treaty of Tellico. Of course this purchase extended from the Holston treaty line Southward. For no one can suppose that a strip of Indian land would be left between the treaty lines of Holston and Tellico. The facts go clearly to show that the Tellico purchase was up to the Holston line, and that the part of that line to which the purchase did not extend, was designated; and the point where the Tellico line was designated; and the point where the land purchased, is marked on the Map, &c. and this shows the propriety of the language used in the 4th Article of the Tellico treaty; that "the boundaries should remain the same as established by existing treaties, where not altered by the present treaty."

The line of this treaty was to begin "at the Wildcat Rock, in a direct line to the Millia Spring, near the Millville road leading from Tellico. From the said spring, a line is to be run, as will leave a line to the Northward and Eastward of it; and to be continued along Chilhowee Mountain, until it strikes Hawkins' line." This line is laid down on the Map, &c. although it is not called the Southern boundary of the Cherokee Nation, yet it is recognized as the Northern boundary of the territory purchased; and consequently must be the Holston boundary. Hawkins' line extends from Clinch, crossing the Holston some miles above its mouth, and runs between the waters of Little river and those of the Tennessee, as appears from the Map, and continues until it reaches the summit of the great Clinch mountain. At this point a monument is erected, but the line is never extended beyond this point, as it was not probably marked, and it is not laid down on the plat. It is probable that the original survey of this line was destroyed when the War Office was burnt in 1800.

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This recognition of Hawkins' line as the Indian boundary was in 1798, only eight years after the boundary was established by the treaty of Holston, and one year after the line is declared to have been run and marked. The facts in regard to this line were recent, and of course fresh in the recollection of the contracting parties. It was a matter about which they could not be mistaken. They say the Holston line was not run and marked until the latter part of the year 1797, and the United States purchased the Indian lands up to Hawkins' line. It is true, this line is not in terms said to be the most easterly line, but it is recognized to be the boundary of the Indian lands; and it is so stated by the United States, in the most solemn manner, in the treaty of Tellico. It could then be no part of the country there was no other Indian boundary before the treaty of Tellico.

Whatever doubt may have existed as to Hawkins' line being the true Indian boundary, independently of this treaty, there would seem to be no ground for doubt under the recognition of that line, in this treaty.
It is contended that the Holston line should run from the Clinch, crossing the Holston river at its mouth and continue on in the same direction, until it shall strike the North Carolina boundary.

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The object of the Government, in entering into this treaty, was to purchase the Indian territory into which white settlers had intruded at and near Nine-mile creek, and perhaps at other places. The line established was run and marked, and we have the original Map, or a copy of the survey before us, which was returned to the War Department.

That this purchase was of territory not included in the boundaries of the Holston treaty, will not be disputed, and, from the language of the 3d Article, it is clear, that the parties did not intend to establish an entirely new boundary; but to make such alterations of the Holston boundary as should secure the object of the United States.

The land lying South-west of the Holston boundary belonged to the Indians; and it was a part of this land that was purchased by the treaty of Tellico. Of course this purchase extended from the Holston treaty line Southward. For no one can suppose that a strip of Indian land would be left between the treaty lines of Holston and Tellico. The facts go clearly to show that the Tellico purchase was up to the Holston line, and that the part of that line to which the purchase did not extend, was designated; and the point where the Tellico line was designated; and the point where the land purchased, is marked on the Map, &c. and this shows the propriety of the language used in the 4th Article of the Tellico treaty; that "the boundaries should remain the same as established by existing treaties, where not altered by the present treaty."

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COMMUNICATIONS.

FOR THE REGISTER.

FRIDAY, MARCH 15, 1840.

Mr. Editor.—The ruthless attempts of the Van Buren party, to poison upon this country, the odium and loathing, Sub-Treasury, after it has been repeatedly rejected by the people, is without a parallel in the most corrupt administrations of the despots of Europe. Were the Ministry of England to urge such a measure, after it had been rejected by the people, it would bring their heads to the block.

It has been gravely asserted by the leaders of the party, that American labor is too high; and that to bring it to an equality with the hard money despots of Europe, it is absolutely necessary to crush to the dust all Banks, destroy the Credit System, destroy Commerce, destroy the confidence of one portion of the Union with another; and entirely destroy all confidence between man and man; thereby annihilating the most vital principle in a Free Government—the confidence of one man in another. In a word, their object is to reduce the price of every thing, save the salary of the Office-holders, who boldly cry out—"Perish Credit, perish Commerce;" "All who trade on borrowed capital ought to break, &c." Look at this, and look at the Twenty-five Thousand Dollars a year! that the President gets for his services in GOLD and SILVER, and then look at this Table, for the rates for which they want you to labor, Fellow Citizens of North Carolina. The following Table will show the rates of labor in hard money countries. It is correct, being prepared by the British Secretary of State.

The answer to this is, that the Tellico treaty does not purport to alter the boundary of the Holston treaty, but by the acts of the parties this boundary is recognized. Not that a new boundary was substituted, but that the old one was substantially designated.
Will any one deny that the parties to the treaty are competent to determine any dispute respecting its limits? In what mode can a controversy of this nature be satisfactorily determined as by the contracting parties? If their language in the treaty be wholly intelligible, or the natural objects called for are uncertain or contradictory, there is no power but that which forms the treaty can remedy such defects. And it is a principle of National Law, and applies to the treaty making power of this Government, whether exercised with a foreign nation or an Indian tribe, that all questions of disputed land, shall be settled by the parties to the Treaty. And to the exercise of these high functions by the Government, within its constitutional powers, neither the rights of a State nor those of an individual can be interposed.
We think it was in the due exercise of the powers of the Executive and the Cherokee nation, in concluding the treaty of Tellico, to recognize in terms, or by the boundary of the Holston treaty. It is agreed that if Hawkins' line shall be extended, as the Holston treaty, the land in controversy lies within the Indian country.
And we now need to consider whether, in this view, the Entry and Patent are void.
The Indian title being only a right of occupancy, the State of North Carolina had the power to grant the fee in the lands subject to this right. The land was entered in 1795, and patented 20th July 1796.
By the 5th section of the act of North Carolina, "for opening the Land Office for the redemption of lands and other certificates, and discharging the same, the Cherokee Indians shall enjoy all the lands lying within certain bounds, forever. And the 6th Section provides that no person shall enter and survey any lands within the bounds set apart for the said Cherokee Indians under the penalty of fifty pounds per acre for every such entry so made, to be recovered in any Court of Law in this State, &c.; and all such entries and grants thereupon, if any should, be made shall be utterly void."

These are the rates, to which the Van Buren party wish to bring the free labor of this country. Read, ponder, and examine this Table! See what a commentary this is on the hard money system! Well might a distinguished Senator say—"What hope is here for a man, born the son of poor Parents, to better his condition? What ray of hope is there to stimulate him to exertion! None, none!—He who is there born a peasant, dies a peasant—those born to the plough, die at the plough-tail; and all that the longest life of laborious toil can procure for them, is coarse and scanty subsistence. Think you, sir, these people are made happy, because their are hard money countries? Is this the prosperity boasted of, when we are triumphantly told of the immense amount of Gold and Silver held by their great capitalists? Is this an example worthy of imitation? Think you, sir, that the high blood of American freemen will submit to this? Never!"

| Country & District. | Description of laborers. | Yearly wages. | Daily wages. | With or without board. | With or without dwelling. |
|---------------------|--------------------------|---------------|--------------|------------------------|---------------------------|
| France—Calais. | Ploughmen | \$ 5 to 8 | 8 cts | with | with |
| | Shepherds | 13 | 15 | do | do |
| Boulogne | Ploughmen | 7 | 10 | do | do |
| | Laborers | | | without | without |
| Havre | Farm s't's generally | 8 to 12 | 2 to 6 | do | do |
| Brest | Laborers | | 17 | without | without |
| Nantes | Farm s't's generally | 3 to 8 | | with | with |
| Charente | Laborers | | 24 to 30 | without | without |
| Bordeaux | Laborers | | 18 to 22 | do | do |
| Bayonne | do. | | 10 to 12 | do | do |
| Marseilles | Shepherds | | 9 to 14 | do | do |
| Laborers | | | 22 | without | without |
| Gorsica | do. | | | do | do |
| Germany—Danzic | Farm s't's | 3 to 4 | 9 to 14 | with | with |
| | Laborers | | | without | do |
| Mecklenb'g | Farm s't's | 5 | 14 | do | do |
| | Laborers | | | without | do |
| Holstein | Farm s't's | 4 to 5 | 14 | do | do |
| | Laborers | | | without | do |
| Netherl's | Farm s't's | 10 to 12 | | with | do |
| S. Holland | Farm s't's | 5 | 12 to 22 | without | with |
| W. Fland's | Farm s't's | | | with | with |
| Italy—Trieste | Laborers | | 24 | without | without |
| | do. | | 12 | with | with |
| Lustria | do. | | 16 to 20 | without | without |
| | do. | | 8 to 10 | with | with |
| Lombardy | do. | | 8 to 10 | do | do |
| Genoa | Farm s't's | 4 to 5 | 10 to 16 | do | do |
| | Laborers | | | without | do |
| Tuscany | Farm s't's | 2 | 12 | with | with |
| | Laborers | | | without | without |