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Demographic Study of Easthampton, Massachusetts 1850-1870

by Paul Hynek

This thriving town is beautifully situated...its trees and streets, combine to render it a delightful retreat from the cares and toils of city life. Its steeples, educational institutions, factories and well cultivated farms, tell that it is inhabited by an intelligent, enterprising and industrious people, and that here education and religion have not been forgotten.¹

This is how many inhabitants of Easthampton would characterize their town today; in many respects it is accurate. What makes this so interesting is that this was written in 1866 by one of the towns natives in his *History of Easthampton*. Like all town biographers, Payson Lyman had a tendency to provide a slightly idealized picture of his home town, consciously omitting the facts which would mar his portrait. What he did not realize or at least fully appreciate was that his description would not have been applicable some sixteen years earlier in 1850 when Easthampton was largely an agricultural village. By 1866 it was primarily a manufacturing town, a town "on the make" with sidewalks, a new high school being built, and gas lights and by 1870 it would have sewers, a huge new town hall, running water and other amenities which today are taken for granted. The town had increased in wealth so that by 1870 a "vocal music teacher" could be hired for \$300 per year. This was only \$200 less than was spent on the entire school budget in 1850.²

In 1850 the United States was overwhelmingly agricultural. As late as 1860 the value of real estate and agricultural assets was approximately seven times the capital tied up in manufacturing.³ However, the winds of change which were sweeping across Europe had begun to make themselves felt in the United States. Like straws in the wind, many small New England towns began to bend and point the way for the rest of the country. Easthampton was one of these communities which was radically changed by the power of industrialization. Much of this change came in the relatively short period between 1850 and 1870, with the Civil War being a great factor in the transition from an agricultural to an industrial society. Along with other towns in New England, Easthampton was something of a bellwether for the rest of the nation. Yet, in spite of the traditional belief that a great many problems accompanied the transition, it seems that the growth of industry was not detrimental to the quality of life and in fact it brought improvements which benefitted most of the people and which were far ahead of their time.

Probably the most visible change which manifested itself in Easthampton was the more than doubling of the population between the years from 1850 to 1870. As table one indicates, the largest increase came during the Civil War period and a comparison with the figures for the rest of the state shows the extent of the change.

TABLE ONE

Year	Total Population ⁴	Percent of change	Percent of change for Massachusetts ⁵
1850	1342		
1855	1386	+3.2	+2.63
1860	1916	+27.7	+1.68
1865	2869	+33.3	+.58
1870	3620	+20.8	+2.84

Women far outnumbered the men throughout the whole period. In 1855, there were 26.32% more women; in 1860, 8.9% more women; 1865, 20.8% more women; and 1870, 26.2% more women. These figures are higher than expected, probably because the factories employed women in large numbers. In the surrounding and more rural towns the sex ratio would be more traditional.

Table two contains a summary of four vital statistics at five year intervals: births, marriages, deaths and infant mortality. All are given as the number per 1,000.

TABLE TWO ⁶

Year	Births	Marriages
1850	23.09 (27.82)	3.72 (20.80)
1855	22.36 (29.01)	10.82 (21.77)
1860	22.96 (29.28)	6.78 (20.15)
1865	21.61 (23.87)	11.50 (20.60)
1870	24.30 (26.25)	8.83 (20.20)

Year	Deaths	Infant Mortality*
1850	11.17 (16.70)	32.25 (N/A)
1855	20.20 (18.37)	96.77 (125.8)
1860	10.96 (18.74)	113.63 (133.2)
1865	24.39 (20.64)	258.06 (159.6)
1870	17.12 (18.75)	136.36 (164.4)

() parentheses figures for Massachusetts

* defined as death before age 1, per 1000 births

The most consistent differences between the statistics for Easthampton and for the state are in marriage and birth rates. The reduced number of marriages in the town are related to the fact that women so consistently outnumbered men and that while these women worked in the factories they lived in company housing where they were discouraged from contacts with the men of the town. The lower birth rate would also be accounted for by this segregation of the sexes.

It was difficult to determine the percentage of foreign born in Easthampton; the results are not complete for each year. The table on the following page suggests certain patterns which probably were fairly consistent for the rest of the century.

7 - 10
TABLE THREE

Year	Total Population	Native Born	Foreign Born	% foreign born
1850	1342	—	—	—
1855	1386	1136	247	17.82
1860	1916	—	—	—
1865	2869	1934	316	11.01
1870	3620	2536	1084	29.94
1895	4799	3363	1427	29.73

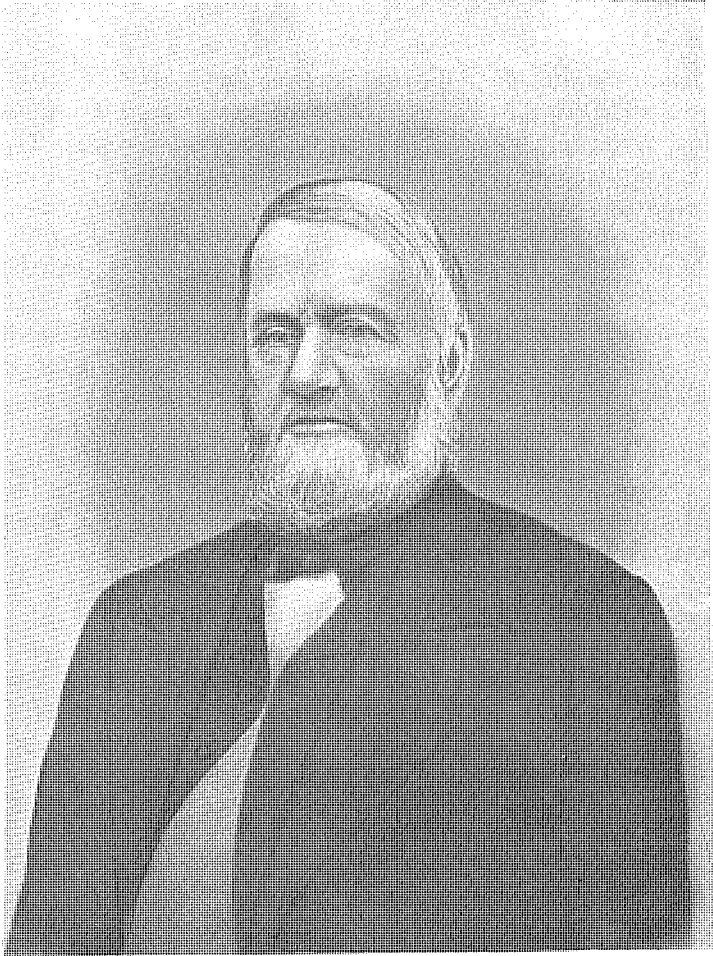
It is unfortunate that when the abstracts of the census were published every five years not only was a different format followed, but not even was the same type of information included in each abstract. Only two of the abstracts listed the nationality of the foreign born population; therefore the exact background of the immigrants could not be determined with any accuracy. By far the largest minority was the Irish who were followed by "British Americans" and then Germans. Blacks never made up any significant portion of the population of the town, but nonetheless there have always been blacks residing in the town (see table four).

TABLE FOUR

1790 — 1	1830 — 7	1860 — 3
1800 — 1	1840 — 2	1865 — 7
1810 — 1	1850 — 2	
1820 — 1	1855 — 3	

Jefferson's maxim about the least government being the best seems to have been the guiding principle as late as 1850 in Easthampton. Most business was conducted at the annual Town Meeting in March of each year. The morning session was opened with a prayer and the following business conducted: election of the selectmen, a moderator, assessors, general school committee, sealer of leather, surveyor of fences, surveyor of lumber, measurer of grain, and so forth. This afternoon session was exclusively devoted to debating and voting on the various warrants under consideration including the annual budget. Supplementary budget requests had to be voted on at special meetings which were called as needed. The cost of government was quite limited, since town officials were not paid for their services until 1855. Until that date, perhaps it can be assumed that public office was considered an honor and a privilege and because it took so little time for the individual, remuneration was unnecessary. As the town grew in size and wealth, the traditional one day meeting had to be extended to another session. Several additional special meetings throughout the year became the rule instead of the exception.

Throughout the period the actual form of government did not change but its makeup did. By the middle and late 1860's town government became dominated by a small clique of men who also happened to be the owners of the various manufacturing concerns in the town. This group included Samuel Williston, Horatio G. Knight, Edward H. Sawyer, Seth Warner, E.R. Bosworth, and several other businessmen. Together they impressed their collective will on the town in the form of lavish expenditures that would have shocked the thrifty yeoman farmers of earlier times. The total amount of money spent in 1870 by the town was \$34,024.¹¹ This was roughly twelve times the amount spent in 1850. Not all of this money came from an increase in the tax base. The assessors had estimated in 1850 that the value of all property and taxable goods in the town was \$454,030.¹² By 1870 this figure was increased to \$2,823,992, only a six-fold increase in the tax base.¹³ The large sums of money which were spent by these entrepreneurs came by doubling the tax rate from 6% per \$1000 in reduced valuation in 1850 to 12.75% per \$1000 in reduced valuation in 1870 (Reduced valuation means that only 6% of total taxable property was subject to taxation, ie. total property: \$2000, reduced value: 6% x 2000 = \$120; if the tax rate was 10%, then the taxes would be equal to 10% x \$120 or \$12.) The increase in town spending is best appreciated by looking at the actual sums spent each year:¹⁴⁻¹⁵



SAMUEL WILLISTON

from Joseph H. Sawyer, *A History of Williston Seminary* (Easthampton, 1917)

TABLE FIVE

Year	Budget	Town Valuation	% of change
1850	\$3,458	\$454,030	-----
1851	3,624	460,926	1.5
1852	3,368	483,129	4.6
1853	3,714	698,263	30.9
1854	5,969	721,630	3.3
1855	5,212	720,910	-1.0
1856	6,823	829,712	13.2
1857	8,775	-----	----
1858	7,650	-----	----
1859	4,975	-----	----
1860	7,050	-----	----
1861	7,031	1,007,174	----
1862	10,907	1,090,795	7.7
1863	12,258	1,310,664	16.8
1864	16,739	1,480,184	11.5
1865	36,211	1,835,560	19.4
1866	36,419	2,195,108	16.4
1867	39,875	2,473,987	11.3
1868	23,776	2,650,995	6.7
1869	36,272	2,823,992	6.2
1870	34,024	2,530,498	-1.9

In spite of the large increase in taxes, perhaps it can be assumed that most inhabitants wanted the civic improvements which were proposed and later carried out by the wealthy residents of the town. The citizens retained the right to vote and if they had been sufficiently incensed by the spending they could have made their objections felt in the ballot box. In order to vote each qualified inhabitant had to pay a poll tax (\$1.85 in 1850 to \$2.50 in 1870) and this money had once represented a significant portion of the town's income. If we examine what portion of the population paid a poll tax and therefore were qualified to vote, we see that there was an increase in the actual numbers of voters. In terms of a percentage of the total population, the number remained about the same from 1850 to 1870 (see table six).¹⁰

TABLE SIX

Year	Number of voters	% of pop. were voters	Number of men	% of men who voted
1850	236	17.58	----	----
1855	268	19.33	588	45.57
1860	---	----	912	----
1865	522	18.19	1268	41.16
1870	697	19.25	1538	45.31

When the historian turns from the voters to the expenditures, town records indicate that education and highway maintenance always commanded the largest share of the budget. In the post-war years, these figures were dwarfed by the cost of paying off the war debt and the construction of a new town hall. Table seven illustrates the actual sums appropriated for schools as well as what percentage of the budget they represented.^{17 18}

TABLE SEVEN

Year	Amount Spent	% of budget	Year	Amount spent	% of budget
1850	\$500	14.45%	1861	\$1250	17.77%
1851	600	16.55	1862	1350	15.32
1852	700	20.78	1863	2400	19.57
1853	700	18.84	1864	1650	9.85
1854	800	13.40	1865	17073	47.14*
1855	800	15.34	1866	8000	21.96
1856	1100	16.12	1867	4700	11.78
1857	850	9.68	1868	4500	18.92
1858	900	11.76	1869	5800	15.99
1859	1000	20.10	1870	6600	19.39
1860	1200	17.02		average -	15.99

*this figure includes the cost of the new high school and the cost of purchasing all the district schoolhouses.

The sixteen percent average for the twenty-one year period is in marked contrast to the large amounts appropriated today for education, where about half the budget is spent in this area. If taken at face value, it would seem that there was a wide fluctuation in the amount of money which was spent on

schools, but that does not indicate there was a decline in terms of money spent to maintain existing services. As indicated, some of the fluctuations were due to the cost of acquiring schoolhouses. In addition, in 1865, \$13,000 was spent to build a new high school. These two sums distorted the percentages and increased the appropriations to 47.14% of the budget.

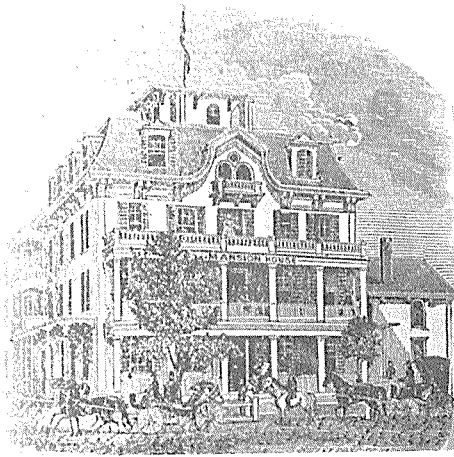
The increase in prosperity in the town was not paralleled by an increase in welfare. In 1850, \$500 or 14.45% of the budget was appropriated for "paupers".¹⁹ In 1870, the actual dollar amount had only doubled to \$1200, while in terms of a percentage of the total budget the amount represented a meager 3.52%.²⁰ It is possible that the increase in employment opportunities reduced the actual number of recipients but there is no evidence to substantiate any further speculation as to the causes for the decline in paupers' aid.

The two most interesting expenditures of the period under study were for the construction of a new high school and the new town hall. In both cases the initial motion for committees to investigate these projects were made by the wealthy members of the manufacturing clique. In the case of the high school it was H. G. Knight, industrialist and vice president of the First National Bank, who brought up the proposal. Eventually, \$13,000 was appropriated for the high school.

The construction of the town hall was by far the most interesting (and costly) project and some of the financial dealings sound very much like the problems with cost overruns which have become more familiar in recent days. In this case it was E. H. Sawyer, also rich and intimately related to manufacturing, who made the initial motion to "consider" the construction of a new town hall. The committee which was appointed in 1867 estimated a cost of \$30,438,²¹ and the town meeting appropriated \$40,000²² which was also to pay off the town debt. When the final report of the building committee was made the total bill for the structure came up to \$65,715.²³ This included the then princely sum of \$2,000 for an imported marble tablet (on which was carved the names of the dead war veterans) which was placed in front of the town hall.

Other significant improvements in the town for the period include sidewalks (1863), a partial sewage system (1869), gas lighting in the old town hall (1861), gas street lights (beginning in 1867), and a pressurized town water system for drinking and fire fighting purposes (1869).

Schools were operated until 1864 under the old independent district system. Each section of the town had its own school house(s) and a school committee to maintain the structure and hire the teachers(s). Money came from the annual appropriations of the town meeting and was distributed by the general school committee as needs dictated. The town takeover of the schools was probably an unpopular move because it was authorized by the state and



MANSION HOUSE (HOTEL)
from *Inland Massachusetts Illustrated* (Springfield, 1890)

proposed in 1860, but it was not acted on until 1864 and not until 1865 did the voters agree to buy the schoolhouses. The need for secondary education was recognized during the Civil War, but this need could only be partially met until 1867. From 1862 until that date, the town paid to have advanced students attend Williston Seminary which was located in the town. It was founded by the town's wealthiest man and leading industrialist, Samuel Williston, with a \$50,000 endowment in 1841.²⁴ The influx of factory workers increased the need for schools and by 1864 this general plea was included in the warrant for the annual Town Meeting: "To see what provision the town will make for the increasing number of school children."²⁵ The best indication of the exact number of schools comes from Lyman's book, which indicated that for the year 1865 "...12 schools were held, with an aggregate attendance during the summer and fall terms of 518."²⁶ The high school, which was a considerable investment, was opened in 1867. Then, a "vocal music teacher" was hired in 1869 for the sum of \$300 to teach in both the grammar schools and in the high school.

The first year in which accurate records exist for determining the exact number of dwellings is 1861. The statistics come from the assessor's "list of aggregates" which the state required the assessors to compile. There are some figures given in the abstracts for the census of 1860 and 1865 but these in no way agree with the statistics recorded by the assessors. It seems logical that where taxes and money are involved there would be more attention to detail and so with this in mind and for the sake of simplicity the figures prepared by the assessors will be employed. Table eight lists the number of dwellings, the total population, and the number of persons per dwelling.

TABLE EIGHT

Year	Number of dwellings	Total population	Persons per dwelling
1860	273*	1916	7.018
1865	340	2869	8.438
1870	520	3620	6.961

* this figure is actually for 1861

The increase in persons per dwelling for 1865 also corresponds with the large (33.3%) increase in population during the 1860 to 1865 period and the highest death rate of the period under study (20.64 per 1000). However, by 1870 housing construction seems to have caught up with the rising population; in fact, there was an actual decrease in the number of persons per dwelling in 1870 (6.961). There was some company housing and it will be discussed in another context.

Analysis of occupation is probably one of the most frustrating areas of investigation because short of going through thousands of census manuscripts there are few sources which give statistical data on the occupations which people pursued in Easthampton. With the exception of one year, the available census abstracts only break down the population according to occupation within the counties and not within cities and towns. The one abstract which does break down the population according to occupation confirms what might already be suspected: the farmers were greatly outnumbered by those employed in manufacturing. Table nine indicates the various types of pursuits and divides them into male and female. This was taken from the 1865 abstract.

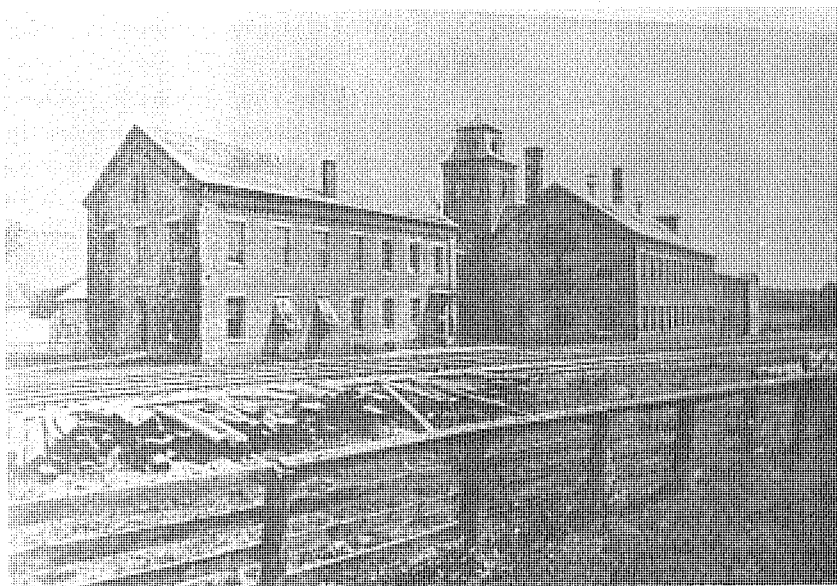
TABLE NINE ²⁷

	manufacturing	agriculture	cotton manufacturing	boots & shoes	clothing & hoop skirts	brickmakers	buttons	rubber goods
males	335	177	55	4	4	20	15	170
females	520	---	115	-	2	--	100	300

Obviously without these same statistics for the rest of the 21 year period no meaningful comparisons can be made. It is probably safe to assume that the

proportion of industrial workers would increase while those employed in agriculture would decrease in proportion to the total population although the actual numbers of the latter would remain constant.

There can be no doubt that the increases in population, wealth, and spending were all directly related to the industrialization of the town. Beers' Atlas of Hampshire County for 1873 lists nine manufacturing concerns in the town,²⁸ but only five of these are of major importance: the Easthampton Rubber Thread Company, the Glendale Elastic Fabrics Company, the Mount Tom Thread Company, the National Button Company, and the Nashawannuck Manufacturing Company. Without exception they were all textile or textile related industries and they were under the control of a handful of individuals. For example, one man might be both president of one company and treasurer or chief agent in one of the other concerns.



EASTHAMPTON RUBBER THREAD COMPANY
from *Inland Massachusetts Illustrated* (Springfield, 1890)

The person responsible for the boom in Easthampton was the wife of the town's most important citizen, Samuel Williston. In 1827 Williston, in spite of the fact that his father was the minister, was close to being a failure. He tried his hand at many occupations but he did not succeed in any of them. It was at this point that Mrs. Williston perfected a method of copying fancy buttons which

until then had to be imported into the country. In an effort to raise some cash, Williston sent a sample of the buttons to the Tappan brothers of New York who immediately placed a large order for more of them. To meet the demand Williston "put out" the manufacture of the buttons by organizing women in the area to make them in their spare time. It was estimated that as many as a thousand families were making buttons for Williston at one time. It must have been an immensely profitable operation since by 1841 Williston was able to start a school bearing his name with an endowment of \$50,000. However he was not content with simple hand manufacture so he combined the mechanical skill of

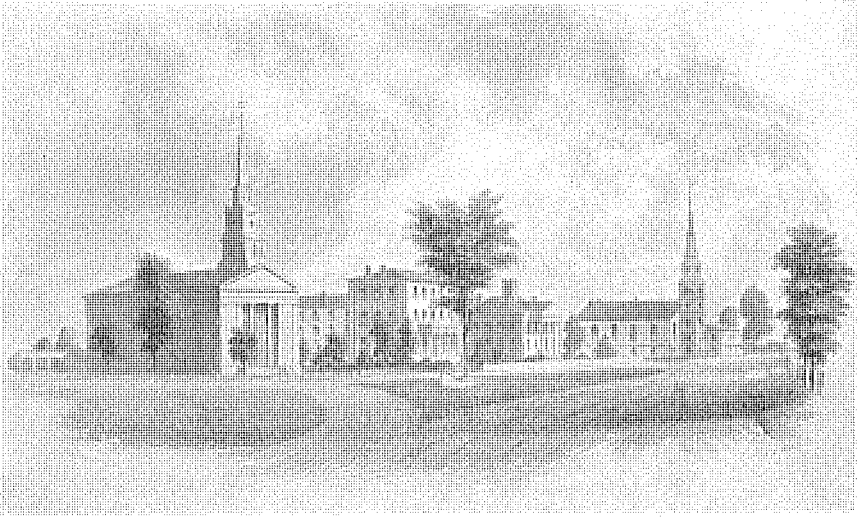


EMILY GRAVES WILLISTON
from Sawyer, *A History of Williston Seminary*

some nearby inventors with the knowledge of a former English button factory worker to produce machines to do the job. In 1847 Williston obtained sole possession of the machines and constructed a three story factory in Easthampton. With several partners Williston expanded his button business and then branched into suspender webbing, and the cotton spinning trade. His partners started their own businesses and even the Goodyear Rubber Company had a factory in town to produce elastic for clothing use. That plant was bought by local interests soon after it opened. In all parts of town factories went up and with them came factory housing for the employees. In 1866, Lyman described thirty-two tenements and four boarding houses as belonging to one or another of the factories.²⁹

The statistics leave no doubt about the revolutionizing influence which the coming of industry had on the town — population had almost tripled and the value of the town increased about 5.5 times in this twenty-one year period. The concentration in textile manufacturing continued until the mid-1930's when the largest factory complex in the town moved closer to their source of raw materials in the South.

This section is an analysis of the cost of the Civil War in both human and monetary terms and the benefits Easthampton derived from the war. There is no indication that the war was unpopular in the town. The members of the Town Meeting in 1861 voted to pay up to \$50 "compensation" to the volunteers and their families.³⁰ A committee was established to disburse money "...for the benefit of volunteers and their families who are not entitled to aid under the provisions of the law, or who may need additional aid..."³² In 1862 the volunteers were voted an additional \$125.³³ Those who volunteered to satisfy the quota for that year also got \$125, but they were required to serve for three years or until the end of the war.³⁴ Payson Lyman outlined the procedure for encouraging men to join: "Efforts were made to procure enlistments so as to avoid the necessity of a draft. Public meetings were held for successive nights until the requisite number had enrolled themselves."³⁵ The context of Lyman's description indicates that this form of recruitment continued for the length of the war. All through the war, at regular town meetings and at special meetings, large and small sums were voted on a piecemeal basis to pay the soldiers and provide for their families. Lyman estimated that the 200 men from Easthampton who joined the Army cost the town about \$40,000.³⁶ Of that number six died in battle and thirteen died of disease.³⁷ The most honored citizen of the town to fight and die in the war was General George Crockett Strong, who was killed while attacking Fort Wagner on July 30, 1863.³⁸ He was born in Vermont, but because of the death of his father he spent the years of his later youth and early adolescence with his uncle in Easthampton. After graduating from Williston Seminary he attended West Point and made the Army his career. Although he was nominally from Easthampton, it seems obvious that he spent most of his life elsewhere.



WILLISTON SEMINARY, 1855
from Sawyer, *A History of Williston Seminary*

The years between 1860 and 1870 were, without doubt, an era of prosperity and growth for the town. During the war years the town recorded its largest increase in population for the entire period under study. This 33.3%³⁹ growth is in direct contrast to the .58%⁴⁰ margin of growth which the state on the whole experienced. Although the birth rate was lowest during the war years, the infant mortality rate more than doubled between 1860 and 1865 (from 113.63 deaths per 1000 births to 258.06 deaths per 1000 births) to the point that one in four babies were dying in the last year of the war. Although there is no explanation in any of the sources, the increase is most likely related to the influx of uneducated immigrant workers and unsanitary conditions related to housing congestion.⁴¹

The total valuation of the town had increased 54.87% between 1861 and 1865, while government spending increased about five times. The most interesting statistics for the period concern the income and personal property tax which was authorized beginning in 1863: ⁴³

First Income Tax, May 1, 1863

64 persons and firms listed

32 licenses issued

9 retail dealers

8 manufacturers

29 incomes assessed amounting of \$188,410

24 carriages and wagons valued at \$75 and upward.

Second Income Tax, May 11, 1864

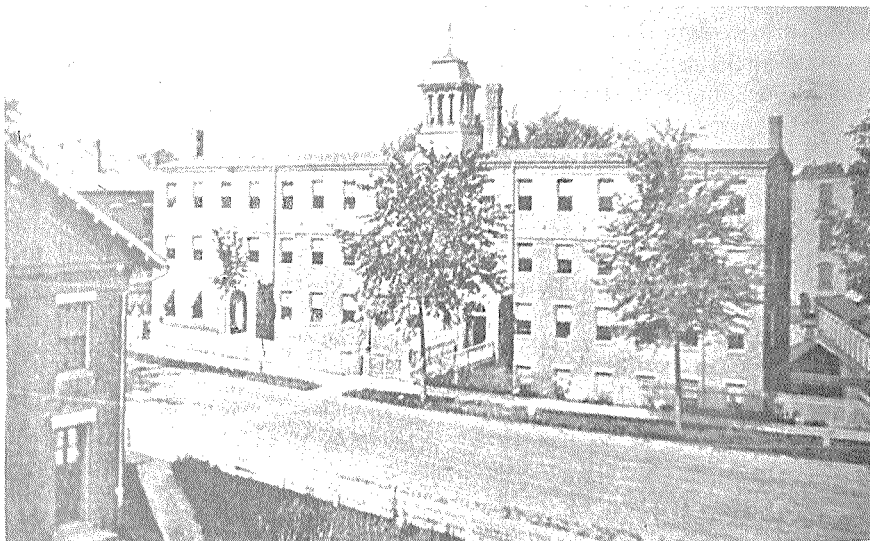
68 persons and firms listed
41 licenses issued
12 retail dealers
9 manufacturers
29 incomes assessed amounting to \$255,129
26 carriages and wagons valued at \$50 and upward

Third Income Tax, May 1, 1865

127 persons and firms listed
89 licenses
20 retail dealers
14 manufacturers
79 incomes assessed amounting to \$419,607
63 carriages and wagons valued at \$50 and upward
53 gold watches

Fourth Income Tax, May 1, 1866

169 persons and firms listed
75 licenses
18 retail dealers
13 manufacturers
93 incomes assessed amounting to \$340,539
66 carriages and wagons valued at \$50 and upward
67 gold watches



WILLISTON AND KNIGHT COMPANY
from *Inland Massachusetts Illustrated*

The figures show that there was significant growth during the war. An examination of the third and fourth income taxes (1865 and 1866) points to the conclusion that the economic life of the town was directly related to the war effort. In 1865, 89 licenses were issued while one year later the number had decreased to 75. In 1865, 79 incomes were assessed amounting to \$419,607 while in 1866 the value of taxable incomes decreased to \$340,539. It is worth noting the assessors lists indicate that the overall value of the town had substantially increased between 1865 and 1866 and so it might be that actual profits had decreased after the war while a steady demand coupled with inflation kept property values up.

At the climax of prosperity, the decade from 1860 to 1870, Easthampton had a boomtown atmosphere with plenty of jobs and a slight shortage of housing. Although taxes went up in the period so did the services which the town provided. Education was extended to the children of the newcomers and a high school was opened for the first time. There was a certain amount of extravagance in building the new town hall but that was to be expected. For most of the period a lower death rate than the rest of the state indicates that there was a relatively high quality of life maintained in the town. In fact if the register of deaths is accurate no one in Easthampton died of cholera during the 1867 epidemic which swept the urbanized areas of Europe and the United States. The town remained relatively steady and followed the same patterns from 1870 to about the turn of the century (in 1895 the population was only 4,795) when the second boom in the textile industry occurred.⁴⁵

NOTES

1. Payson W. Lyman, *History of Easthampton* (Northampton, 1866), p.5.
2. Town of Easthampton, *Town Meeting Record, Vol.4*, Located in Town Clerks office.
3. Edward C. Kirkland, *Industry Comes of Age* (Chicago, 1967), p.1.
4. Francis A. Walker, supt. of census, *Compendium of the Ninth Census of the United States* (Washington, 1872), p.218.
5. Samuel W. Abbott, *The Vital Statistics of Massachusetts, 1837-1904* (Boston, 1905), p.717.
6. Town of Easthampton, *Register of Births, Deaths and Marriages, 1844-1864, Register of Deaths, 1857-1885, Register of Marriages, 1857-1890*, all volumes located at the town clerks office; all figures for the state come from Abbott, *Vital Statistics of Massachusetts*.
7. Francis DeWitt, *Abstract of the Census of Massachusetts, 1855* (Boston, 1857), p.112.
8. *Abstract of the Census of Massachusetts, 1865* (Boston, 1867), p.68.
9. *Compendium of Ninth Census*, p.218.
10. Horace G. Wudlin, *Abstract of the Census of Massachusetts* (Boston, 1900), p.66.
11. Town of Easthampton, *Assessors' Lists, 1869-1870*, located in the vault in the town hall.
12. *Assessors' Lists, 1850*.
13. *Assessors' Lists, 1870*.
14. *Assessors' Lists, 1850-1870*.
15. The statistics for the years 1857-1860 inclusive, are taken from the sums appropriated at the Town Meetings of those years: *Town Meeting Record, Vol.3*.
16. *Assessors' Lists, 1850-1870*.
17. *Town Meeting Records, Vol. 3 and 4*.
18. *Assessors' Lists, 1850-1870*.
19. *Town Meeting Record, Vol.3*.
20. *Town Meeting Record, Vol.4*.
21. *Ibid.*
22. *Ibid.*
23. *Ibid.*
24. *Lyman, p.62*.
25. *Town Meeting Record, Vol. 3*.
26. *Lyman, p.43*.

27. *Census Abstract, 1865*, p.154.
28. *Beers Atlas, County of Hampshire, 1873*.
29. *Lyman*, p.56.
30. *Ibid.*, p.60.
31. *Town Meeting Record, Vol.3*.
32. *Ibid.*
33. *Ibid.*
34. *Ibid.*
35. *Lyman*, p.117.
36. *Ibid.*, p.124.
37. This statistic is copied from the marble tablet in front of the Easthampton town hall.
38. *Ibid.*
39. See Table one.
40. See Table One.
41. See Table Two.
42. See Tabel Five.
43. *Lyman*, pp.94-95.
44. *Ibid.*, p.124.
45. *Census Abstract, 1895*, p.86.