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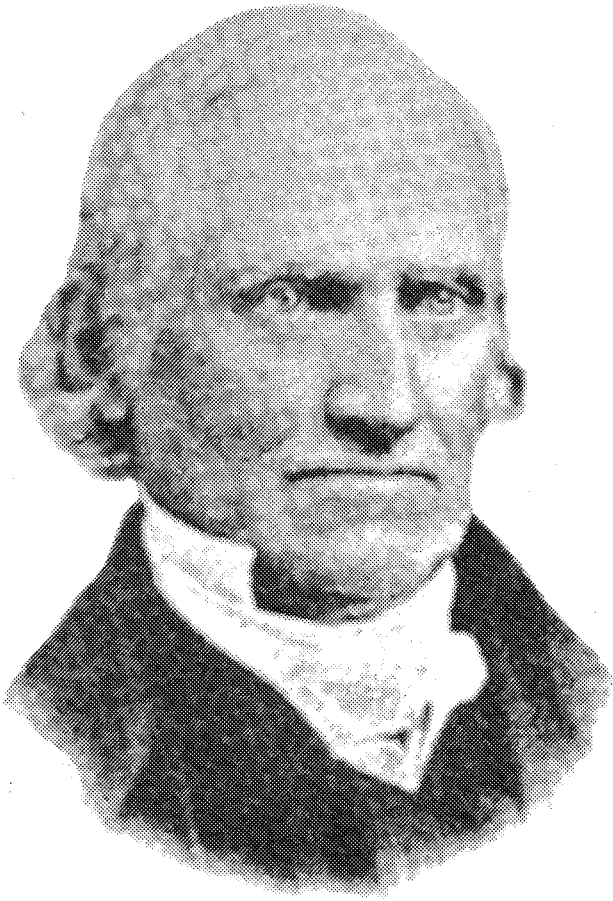
Sylvester Judd: Historian of the Connecticut Valley

Altina Waller

Sylvester Judd (1789-1869) was an early historian of New England. He occupied the last twenty-five years of his life collecting and preserving documents relating to the history of the Connecticut River Valley. The many volumes of his manuscripts which are in a vault at Forbes Library in Northampton, and the published *History of Hadley* have long been invaluable to local and regional scholars. Without his time, effort, and dedication, we would know substantially less about the historical development of the valley and of New England.

Yet this essay does not concern Sylvester Judd's historical research, but, instead, seeks to explain why he became an historian. Judd's early occupations of farmer and storekeeper as well as his career as editor of the *Hampshire Gazette* entailed active involvement in community affairs and political strife. This kind of life contrasted dramatically with his later reclusive existence as a scholar. When, at the age of forty-four, he retired from the *Gazette* to devote his life to history it was a radical personal departure as well as an unprecedented professional choice. During Judd's lifetime, no-one studied or wrote history as a profession. When history was written it was by intellectuals such as Jonathan Edwards and Thomas Jefferson as a kind of adjunct to their primary professions. Judd, however, devoted his entire attention to history. After the Civil War local antiquarians became numerous—one was James Russell Trumbull who indexed Judd's work and from Judd's notes wrote the *History of Northampton*; but Judd himself was a pioneer in his field.¹

To understand the reasons for Judd's decision is to understand more than one single individual or even the development of the profession of history; it illuminates the dramatic personal impact produced by the forces of intellectual, social and economic change at work in early nineteenth century New England. For in many ways, Judd's is not a unique story. During his generation, modern capitalism was beginning to transform America; for him and a great many others, the traditional values of a stable pre-industrial society could produce only frustration and failure in a mobile, expanding economy. Sylvester Judd's reaction to that new world was at once singular and yet similar to countless others.



Sylvester Judd.

Sylvester Judd, from the HISTORY OF HADLEY (1905).

From the beginning, geographic and economic circumstances mitigated against a traditional path to success for young Sylvester. In 1789, the year of his birth, Westhampton was a relatively new town; only thirty years before had the first few settlers arrived from Southampton and Northampton. And not until 1774, fifteen years before his birth, did Judd's father settle there and build his house near the center of town on a piece of land given him by *his* father. Although Westhampton had been included in the original Northampton grant in 1654, it had not been settled because the terrain was too hilly and rocky for productive farming. It was settled only when the best land in Northampton and Southampton was taken. But the prospects of making a comfortable living from such land was dismal.²

Judd's father, in fact, owed his own success not to farming, but to the commercial boom which accompanied the Revolutionary War. A merchant who supplied the Continental Army with livestock, the senior Judd's shrewd dealing in the war insured a comfortable living and economic security. When the war was over, however, the difficulties of survival in Westhampton became more and more apparent. The younger Judd would not have the same good fortune as his father.³ Indeed, the utter futility of farm chores may well have been the cause of an episode of youthful rebellion on young Sylvester's part. At the age of sixteen he ran away to Boston, remaining there six months before homesickness impelled his return. Unaware that his abhorrence of farm chores may have reflected a subconscious but realistic appraisal of the futility of such endeavors, Judd puzzled over the runaway episode for years after:

It then appeared unaccountable to the world; it *now* appears unaccountable to me . . . I lost all reverence for the Sabbath, for my parents, etc. . . . could swear roundly, and believed that the expert and professed debauchee enjoyed the greatest share of happiness.⁴

Judd's sojourn in Boston, however, had aroused some interests which would, in the long run shape his future, and in the short run alleviate his ennui. On his own initiative Judd began an extensive program of reading in religion, history, geography, science, and politics. By 1809, at the age of twenty he began a journal primarily to record excerpts from books that interested him. He commented that the journal would serve "to instruct" him and encourage him "to cherish virtuous principles." He hoped to overcome habits of swearing, carousing, and ignorance he had picked up in Boston and resolved that he would no longer be an "illiterate Bumpkin." In noting that his own birth was "contemporary with the Federal Constitution" and that he had seen "the people of the United States under the Constitution arrive at an unexampled pitch of wealth and happiness," he seemed to be identifying with the new nation and requiring the same performance of himself. If will, determination, and virtue alone could have overcome economic decline in Westhampton, it is likely Sylvester Judd would have succeeded.⁵

Going about his business with an almost defiant determination, Judd

embarked upon a series of activities designed to make him, like his father before him, "Squire Judd" of Westhampton. He opened a store, married, joined the church, and, in 1814, built his own house on a plot of land given him by his father. He also agreed to take charge of the planning and constructing of a new Meeting House for Westhampton.⁶ For a young man of New England, these were traditional steps to a respected and secure future. For Sylvester Judd, however, they were part of a self-conscious effort to preserve a traditional lifestyle in a town which, clearly, did not have the resources to support it.

The economic depression which plagued New England as a consequence of the War of 1812 accelerated the town's decline. The English glutted the American market with cheap manufactured goods, depressing the still feeble American industries. Judd commented in his journal that "business this year was worth very little."⁷ To make matters worse, despite Judd's long hours of attention to the farm—repairing fences, picking up stones, cutting brush, carting mud, leveling knolls, filling holes, and spreading land with manure—1816 was a "cold, dry year, few crops came to maturity, and money was scarce." Judd recalled later, "I found that farming, like merchandise, was attended with vexation, disappointment and loss, especially in such a miserable soil as this."⁸ Not surprisingly, the young men of Westhampton were leaving in droves—for the west, a city, or college. Between 1800 and 1830 the population growth rate of the town diminished considerably.⁹

In the face of the non-productivity of his land and the failure of his store, Sylvester Judd heroically re-doubled his efforts to preserve for himself a traditional role as in the "days of yore." He went into partnership in a new tanning business and devoted a considerable amount of time to the construction of the new meeting house. His neighbors, however, were busy coping with near economic disaster and resented Judd's demands to help with the plans, watch over the workmen, or pay the bills. Contentiously insisting that Judd make all the decisions, they then blamed him for the failures. For three years Judd struggled to collect money and pay debts connected with the project. In the midst of frustration with the meeting house project, Judd's partner in the tanning business absconded with the cash box. Exhausted and bitter Judd was in a state of bankruptcy—financially and psychologically. He confided to his journal that these events made him "distrustful" of himself "and everybody else. It was, in fact," he wrote "the greatest revolution in my feelings that I had as yet ever experienced."¹⁰

The Panic of 1819 continued to bury Judd even deeper in debt and his characteristic ambition and energy disappeared as a cynical view of human nature took its place. There was abroad, he said, "universal distrust."¹¹ For the first time Judd's thoughts did not turn to practical methods to save his business or farm, but to self-castigation for his own shortcomings. He attributed the economic decline and his own failures, not to wars or business cycles, but to the "extravagance and improvidence" which

resulted from the sacrifice of character to the "mercantile world."¹² Clearly Judd had been shrewd in his business ventures—without hard times, poor soil, and the Panic of 1819 he would, in all probability, have had a profitable career as a merchant. Yet the lesson he learned from these failures was that he had been overly ambitious and concerned with "worldly" profit. He now became pre-occupied with the "fallacy of any earthly hopes and ambitions," focusing his efforts on his own self-discipline—specifically renewing his resolves to stop drinking and smoking.¹³ Religion took on a new importance in his life. He experienced a conversion in a religious revival and filled his notebooks with scriptural quotations and exhortations to himself to trust in God. Ironically Judd had concluded that because he had failed at "amassing property, obtaining knowledge, and forming correct habits and principles," God was indicating to him that he had not been as frugal, industrious, and pious as he should have been.¹⁴

Painfully Judd relinquished his vision of becoming Squire Judd of Westhampton. Relying on the property given him by his father to pay off his creditors, he took a trip to western New York and Ohio, hoping to find a "refuge in the western wilderness." He could not bring himself, however, to migrate as so many others were doing. Upon his return to Westhampton, Judd characterized his state of mind as the "calm of a broken spirit . . . the contentment of lethargy."¹⁵ With no ambition or opportunity to pursue any new financial ventures, Judd, from 1819 to 1821, devoted himself to the study of Latin, Greek, and history. Books and reading, Judd wrote candidly in his journal, served to "prevent the recurrence of disagreeable thoughts," for the "magic wand" of the historian could banish for a time his "embarrassed circumstances and perplexed affairs."¹⁶

Eventually, however, in 1821 at the age of 32, the "lethargy and broken spirit" asserted themselves in his journal:

Eleven years ago, I was an unmarried man, in the bloom of youth, in the vigor of health, with bright hopes, unclouded prospects, and in the smooth road, as I supposed to honor and happiness. I am now quite hoary-headed, considerably deaf in one ear, infirm in bodily health, my brow beginning to wrinkle with care, and what is more important, my mind is broken with troubles and losses, its energy gone, with no resolution to go forward, and no patience to remain as I am.¹⁷

In spite of this apparent depression, however, Judd was not yet ready to give up his ambitions. When his father, who owned a substantial share of the Northampton newspaper, the *Hampshire Gazette*, offered his son the opportunity to become the editor, Judd, with surprising alacrity, agreed, noting in his journal that he was "determined to make one more effort to live in the world."¹⁸

When Sylvester Judd rented out his Westhampton farmhouse and moved the ten miles to Northampton to begin his new career, he ceased making entries in his journal. He had begun the journal in frustration, used

it as an escape when things went badly and consistently neglected it when his external affairs prospered. When Judd was successful and active, he apparently felt no need to retreat to the internal world of his journal. Indeed, when Judd embraced the chance to actively engage in community affairs once again, his actions were contrary to frequent declarations in the journal that he had given up all hopes of "earthly" success. But at some level, the *Hampshire Gazette* editorship was a reincarnation of the Westhampton Meeting House project. It symbolized a still active desire to earn respect and status in the community. It was not enough, however, that Judd achieve monetary success, although that was important to him. More crucial was the respect of his community; he wanted to be a gentleman "Squire," with all the deference that implied. Enough of a "new" man, however, to understand that inherited status could no longer automatically provide such a role, he believed that honesty, integrity, and adherence to principle, should and would produce the same result. And he operated the *Hampshire Gazette* with just such an attitude. If success were to come to Sylvester Judd, it would have to be on *his* terms. Unfortunately they were not the terms of emerging Jacksonian society.

The *Hampshire Gazette* was, in effect, more than a way to make a living. Besides providing Judd a second chance to establish a role in a community, it was to be the collective conscience of the community. Just as he had utilized his own journal for private exhortations to reform, Judd was to use the newspaper to educate and reform Northampton. This analogy is apparent in the goals he expressed for the *Gazette* in the first issue when he proclaimed that the paper would "instruct" his readers as well as helping them to "cherish virtuous principles." These were the very same words he had applied to his private journal thirteen years before!¹⁹

Northampton, however, was hardly a more fertile field than Westhampton for Judd's attempts at rehabilitation. If the latter town's rocky soil had denied success to virtually all the inhabitants, the older town of Northampton could offer prosperity only to an increasingly small proportion of its growing population. In fact, inequality of wealth distribution had increased rapidly since the Revolution.²⁰ Sylvester Judd and men like him were part of the problem. The agricultural impoverishment of the hill towns surrounding Northampton (like Westhampton) which had been settled around the time of the Revolution compelled the second generation to migrate back to the larger towns such as Northampton. This produced a "floating" population which disturbed the migrants themselves no less than the native inhabitants. Competition was intense; the anxiety level was high and tempers short.

Between 1825 and 1835, approximately the years of Judd's tenure at the *Gazette*, the frustrations of many Northamptonites—new as well as old—were manifested in an unprecedented number of religious revivals, church schisms, voluntary associations, and political opposition parties. During these years Northampton was transformed from a homogeneous, unified agricultural community to an economically diverse, politically and

religiously pluralistic town. The once quiet country village had become a bustling commercial and judicial center with many shops and even textile factories. Because there were so many groups vying for power, no one of them could command a unifying authority as in the past.²¹

Sylvester Judd sought to make the *Hampshire Gazette* such an authority, one which operated through "enlightenment" and persuasion. Unfortunately, his own mistrust of the "mercantile world" caused Judd to ignore the fundamental economic changes which were the basis of the religious and political factionalism. Despite the obvious and rapid decline of New England agriculture and his own experiences with the "miserable soil" of Westhampton, Judd devoted the paper to the glorification of farming as the most useful and rewarding occupation a man could follow! The ups and downs of the business cycle and the failure of agriculture, he editorialized, had more to do with collective "intemperance and extravagance" than did economic and political conditions. He insisted that as long as people wasted time "sleeping, visiting, walking the streets and reading novels, hard times would surely continue." Northamptonites must learn to see the error of their ways and to learn the virtue of restraint and frugal living.²²

In pursuit of this end, Judd used the *Gazette* to support the founding of the Northampton Temperance Association in 1828. The aims of the society could have been Judd's own, i.e., "to use all suitable means to inculcate the principles of temperance, sobriety, and morality." After counting eighty-eight drunkards within a mile of the court-house, the society decided to "appoint agents as assistants in different parts of the town, to carry into effect the objects of the Association." Judd and his friends were making an only too common mistake; they assumed the symptoms—increased alcoholism—had caused the disease, hard times. However, what is important to an understanding of Judd is that these early reform efforts with their overtones of social coercion, of responsibility for all members of the community, suggest a similarity to earlier methods and values of New England Puritanism.²³

Not satisfied with the effectiveness of such reform organizations, Judd gradually came to the conclusion that politics was the crucial arena in which to fight for a return to a moral society. Although Judd, like most other New Englanders, had been raised in the Federalist tradition—essentially "deferential democracy"—in which the majority respected and deferred to the "better sort," he became convinced that the extravagant, high living aristocracy had been the major cause of moral decay. As a result he decided to use the *Gazette* to support the new Workingmen's Party. The Workingmen were not factory workers, but simply artisans and farmers. They considered themselves "radical" because they opposed the privileges traditionally granted to inherited wealth and proposed to abolish "middle men" such as bankers, merchant financiers, and speculators, people, in other words, who did not "work" for their living. Although the Jacksonian Democrats claimed similar goals, the Workingmen felt that Jackson only desired to substitute a monied aristocracy for the traditional one. The label

"radical" then is somewhat misleading. For, in reality, the Workingmen and Judd were not levelers nor socialists, but rather moral guardians of Thomas Jefferson's world.²⁴

Nevertheless, for Judd and the *Gazette*, the adoption of such a "radical" cause was a startling departure. In fact, the *Gazette* had been a tool of the local establishment since its founding in 1786. At that time Connecticut Valley "River Gods" had used it to combat Shays' Rebellion—upbraiding the rebels for their lack of "piety and patriotism." But Judd was not intimidated by power when it came to his principles; he embraced the "radical" party with the same fervor he had directed toward making his barren farm produce, his business prosper, and the Meeting House a symbol of the revived prosperity of Westhampton.²⁵ Judd's support of this party fostered a close friendship with the two leaders of the radicals, George Bancroft (who in Northampton began work on his monumental *History of the United States*) and Chauncey Clark. Bancroft had come to Northampton in 1822 to establish a private school on Round Hill, and although he soon tired of teaching, he stayed to become involved in the divisive politics which plagued the town between 1825 and 1835. Although he later joined the Jacksonian Democrats, Bancroft was fully committed to the Workingmen at the time. Because of their common background and interests, he and Judd immediately became friends, spending long hours in the printing office or at Round Hill discussing history and politics. Chauncey Clark, a storekeeper in Northampton who espoused radical ideas to a much greater extent than Judd or Bancroft, soon joined them. He even advocated that women be allowed to preach from the pulpit, a sentiment a bit too radical for Judd.²⁶

Judd gave prominent coverage in the *Gazette* to the meetings of the Workingmen's Association and reinforced it with positive editorial comments. Many of the resolutions of these meetings so closely reflected Judd's own views that they suggest his contribution to writing them. For example, the Workingmen proclaimed in 1830 that "some of the evils which deserve the attention of the Association," are the high salaries of public officials, and the high fees of professionals. Both "tending to encourage the extravagance of life and thereby becoming burdensome in various ways to the laboring classes; the extravagance of our state expenditures; and *our own* extravagance in following the fashion of the rich . . ."²⁷

Blaming government for being the bulwark of the upper classes and supporting their extravagances by taxing the middle and lower classes, Judd repeatedly cited the example of the proposed state supported railroad from the Hudson River to Boston. He argued that the "mercantile interests" or the upper classes in Boston would reap the profits from this tax-supported project at a time when the common citizens were already in financial difficulties. To the claim that railroad building was in the "spirit of the times," Judd countered that the "spirit of the times . . . is an enterprising, speculating, gambling spirit which makes a few wealthy and

ruins thousands."²⁸ The effects of such a system, according to the Workingmen and Judd, had caused the major proportion of the best real estate in New England towns to rest in the hands of a few large proprietors and made it impossible for "our industrious farmers" to keep their homes and leave their estates clear to their children.²⁹

This particular issue, provision for children, was a very personal and sensitive one for Judd. He had been painfully aware for some time that he would not be able to provide the stability and security for his five children which his father and grandfather had provided for theirs. Judd's sons — Sylvester Jr., Jacob, Hall, Chauncey, and Hophni—were, one by one, reluctantly committed to the "mercantile world." Without any prospects of becoming landholders, they were sent to clerk in stores of various relatives from Brattleboro to New York City. Frustration and homesickness caused two of them to be fired in disgrace and one to get into trouble with the law. When such incidents occurred, Judd sent them to Westhampton to stay with their grandfather until they were ready to make another effort. Although Judd finally managed to borrow enough money to send Sylvester Jr. to Hopkins Academy and later to college, a letter his son wrote in 1837 was tragically reminiscent of Judd's own earlier despair. "My spirits are gone," the young Sylvester wrote to his father, "my vigor, my ambition. What will raise me I know not. The future is one black atmosphere of night. Its heavy darkness is reflected upon the present."³⁰ Jacksonian prosperity and optimism did not seem relevant to Judd's family.

Neither Judd nor the Workingmen conceived of any form of socialism as a remedy for such personal or social ills. They believed that the growing inequality in wealth and increasing vice in society could be reversed only by the "producing classes" exercising a "jealous watchfulness over the political and moral institutions of the state." But even this would not help much unless, as Judd wrote, "we reform ourselves, families, neighborhoods and towns."³¹ Sylvester Judd had not changed significantly since his difficulties in Westhampton; in fact, his conviction that economic hardship was due to a lack of virtue and piety had grown. But, perhaps, for many latter day Puritans such as Judd, given the values with which they had been raised, there was no other choice. Condemnation of the "mercantile spirit" is a resonant symbol of the dilemma these men were experiencing. Driven to experimenting with merchandising, manufacturing, even speculating, because of the decline of agriculture, the recurring failures of those ventures may well have produced guilt over involvement with them in the first place. After all, excessive concern with profit, usury, and commerce had been consistently condemned by Puritan society in theory, if not in practice. This allowed the few who prospered to feel pious and the many who failed to feel guilty. This was the double bind in which Judd and others like him found themselves in this period of transition.³²

Thus, Judd sought to abolish the "mercantile spirit" and to return to older agrarian values rather than construct a system which might recognize and incorporate the inevitable development of a competitive, impersonal

society. Eager to bring back harmony and stability, he hoped to persuade Northamptonites to adopt his principles. Yet just the opposite was happening. Judd was beginning to discover that far from producing unity and order, his political stand contributed to the divisiveness and factionalism which daily grew more bitter. Northampton was still a thoroughly conservative town. The local elites were enraged that their traditional organ of support had become anti-wealth and anti-privilege. By 1829, they began to publish an opposition paper, the *Courier*, which, ironically, came out favorable to *both* the nationally popular contending parties but violently opposed the Workingmen, reserving the most vitriolic personal attacks for Sylvester Judd.³³ Ignoring arguments over principle or policy, the *Courier* accused Judd of seeking power by trying to get his friends elected to office and using underhanded methods to get the *Courier's* creditors to foreclose its mortgage. Clearly the object of the power structure of both the more popular parties in Northampton was first and foremost to rid themselves of Sylvester Judd. They even enlisted the aid of the minister of Judd's own church who criticized the leader of the Workingmen from the pulpit!³⁴ A record of honesty and integrity, Judd could only conclude, meant nothing.

Intelligent enough to see the handwriting on the wall, Judd realized the Workingmen could not survive as a viable party; they were too few to command resources similar to the national organizations of the Democratic or the Whig Party. The emergence of these national political parties which were so important in forging national unity irrevocably shattered local autonomy and, Judd thought, integrity and individuality.³⁵

Thus, in an era which historians have characterized by the rise of individualism and the common man, Judd perceived the subjugation of individualism to a kind of blind mass hysteria. When support for both major political parties was sought by appealing to the masses through "gorgeous spectacles, splendid processions and pompous ceremonies," rather than reason and principle, then individuality was lost and men were "cheated out of their rights and liberties and trampled in the dust. The government established by the founding fathers," he wrote, required a "peculiar people to sustain it—a people of singular ideal and principles, of singular customs, habits and fashions, of singular intelligence and virtue." But now, he lamented, "we have not been willing to be singular," and though there was much talk of people being governed by reason, "they are, in reality, governed by their interests."³⁶

The radical Workingmen were not strong enough to accomplish the moral reform Judd believed necessary. He could foresee that the Workingmen would soon join with the Democrats. He had even advised Bancroft and the others in the party to this course, but he, himself, could not make this capitulation. There were soon to be only two parties—the Whigs and the Democrats—"the former more aristocratic, the latter more democratic, but containing more unprincipled men." Judd abhorred both; he was convinced that "men of all parties are duped, and love to be duped."

The *Gazette* had become a distasteful chore rather than a pleasure. He wrote:

The truth is, I have become too skeptical in politics to be the conductor of a public press; I have but little confidence in politics, parties and politicians. . . . I cannot be a strong party man in reference to either of the great parties which distract the nation.³⁷

Although Judd continued to support the Workingmen, his sense of frustration and detachment grew stronger. On June 1st, 1833, for the first time since he had come to Northampton, Judd returned to his habit of keeping a private journal. It was a gesture of despair; Judd's hopes for a virtuous society were waning rapidly. The *Gazette* could no longer serve as both his public and his private journal. Abandoning the hope, expressed in the first issue of the *Gazette*, that the paper would serve an "enlightened community," Judd complained bitterly that "It is a season specially devoted to humbug, artifice and shuffling, by many great and little politicians, editors and scribblers, caucus and stump orators. It is a dark season for the people, for much is done to mislead them, and but little to enlighten them." Once again, as in Westhampton, Judd's attempt to "live in the world" had failed, failed because the world was changing much more rapidly than could Sylvester Judd. His

Note-Book,
or

Account of Matters, Events & Transactions,
relating to myself, family, friends, the town,
the neighboring towns, the country, the world
including things public & private, important and
unimportant. . . with occasional remarks and
reflections.

Northampton June 1, 1833.

Sylvester Judd

From Judd's notebook started June 1, 1833,
Courtesy of the Forbes Library, Northampton.

"singularity" was not compatible with the emerging mass society. He continued to edit the paper, to meet with Bancroft and Clark, to support the Workingmen, but he also wrote in his journal every evening and wondered whether a way existed to escape the frustrations of the present—and the future.³⁸

By Thanksgiving Day of 1834, Sylvester Judd had made a momentous decision; he planned to sell the *Gazette*. He did not

know exactly how he would live, but the need to retreat had become overwhelming. He was to retreat to the one arena in which he felt comfortable—the past. In recent years he had begun to spend considerable time in the Court House, studying the old records of Hampshire County. Judd's links with local history offered an escape from the bitter frustrations of the present and the seeming hopelessness of the future. It was possible for him to impose an order, a structure upon the stacks of dusty old books; something he has been unable to do with his own family or with the communities of Westhampton and Northampton. Sylvester Judd turned to the past, he said, in order to search for the "origins and foundations" which had produced such a corrupt society. The latter, though, was probably more of a rationale than the reality; Judd had a place—status and influence—in the past and its shaping for posterity. The present had nothing to offer him. "I have no attachment," he wrote in his journal, "to any particular place—I am afloat, as it were, in the world."³⁹

NOTES

1. James Russell Trumbull, *History of Northampton*, 2 vols., (Northampton, 1889). In general, the antebellum histories of New England are fuller and more accurate than those published in the late nineteenth century. Judd's *History of Hadley* (1855) contains statistics and attempts at interpretation that could have been written in the last twenty years.
2. Arethusa Hall, *Life and Character of the Rev. Sylvester Judd* (Boston 1854) pp. 8-10; Lewis Everts, ed., *History of the Connecticut Valley*, 2 vols., (Philadelphia 1879) pp. 287-288; Patricia Tracy, "Northampton During the Little Awakening," unpublished paper, University of Massachusetts, 1971.
3. Hall, *Life and Character*, pp. 4-5; Everts, *Connecticut Valley*, p. 293; Sylvester Judd, Notebook No. 1, 1833-1841, Judd Manuscript Collection, Forbes Library, Northampton, October 10, 1833.
4. Sylvester Judd, Miscellaneous Memorandum No. 1, 1809-1813, Judd Manuscript Collection, January 2, 1809.
5. *Ibid.*
6. *Ibid.*, November 10, 1810; Judd Common Place Book, 1813-1822, Judd Manuscript Collection, August 21, 1821. The decline of New England towns in the eighteenth century has been amply documented by Robert Gross, *The Minutemen and Their World* (New York 1976) and Patricia Tracy, *Jonathan Edwards, Pastor* (New York 1979).
7. Judd, Common Place Book, August 21, 1821.
8. *Ibid.*

9. The diminishing rate of population growth was computed from the United States Bureau of the Census, Manuscript Schedules, Hampshire County, 1800-1830.
10. Judd, Common Place Book, August 21, 1821.
11. *Ibid*
12. *Ibid*
13. *Ibid*
14. *Ibid*
15. *Ibid*
16. *Ibid*
17. *Ibid*, August 18, 1820.
18. *Ibid*, March 29, 1822.
19. *Hampshire Gazette*, July 3, 1822.
20. Northampton Tax Assessment Lists, 1783, 1791, 1801, 1814, Town Papers Manuscript Collection, Box 5.7, Forbes Library, Northampton, Massachusetts.
21. Northampton Town Meeting Records, Volumes IV and V, City Clerk's Office, Northampton.
22. *Hampshire Gazette*, July 3, 1822; September 4, 1822; August 15, 1829.
23. Records of the Northampton Temperance Association 1828-1835, Forbes Library, Northampton; *Hampshire Gazette*, July 3, 1828, July 15, 1829.
24. Northampton Town Meeting Records, Volumes IV and V; Arthur B. Darling, *Political Changes in Massachusetts 1824-1848* (New Haven, 1925); Edward Pessen, "The Workingmen's Party Revisited," *Labor History*, IV (Fall 1963), pp. 178-180.
25. Trumbull, *History of Northampton*, vol. 2, p. 481.
26. Russell B. Nye, *George Bancroft* (New York, 1944); Judd, Notebook No. 1, June 1, 1833.
27. *Hampshire Gazette*, September 8, 1830.
28. *Ibid*, May 19, 1830.
29. *Ibid*.
30. Judd, Notebook No. 1, May 14, 1833; Hall, *Life and Character*, pp. 21-27; Sylvester Judd Jr. to Sylvester Judd Sr., October 14, 1830 and the Journal of Sylvester Judd Jr., June 24, 1837, both published in Hall, *Life and Character*, pp. 22-24, and 78; Judd Notebook No. 1, June 1, 1833.
31. *Hampshire Gazette*, August 20, 1834.

32. On the psychological effects of the confrontation and interaction between Puritanism and commercial capitalism, see Paul Boyer and Stephen Nissenbaum, *Salem Possessed: The Social Origins of Witchcraft* (Cambridge, 1974); Richard Bushman, *From Puritan to Yankee: Character and the Social Order in Connecticut 1690-1765* (Cambridge, 1967); Tracy, *Jonathan Edwards*; Paul Johnson, *A Shopkeeper's Millennium* (New York 1978); Stephen Nissenbaum, *Sex, Diet and Debility in Jacksonian America* (Westport, Conn., 1980); Altina Waller, *Reverend Beecher and Mrs. Tilton: Sex and Class in Victorian America* (Amherst, 1982).
33. *Northampton Courier*, December 28, 1829; March 3, 1830; October 15, 1834.
34. Judd, Notebook No. 1, November 27, 1834.
35. *Ibid.*, June 1, 1833.
36. *Ibid.*; *Hampshire Gazette*, October 30, 1833, November 6, 1833.
37. Judd, Notebook No. 1, April 17, 1834; October 25, 1833; November 12, 1834; January 1, 1835.
38. Judd, Notebook No. 1, June 1, 1833; *Hampshire Gazette*, October 30, 1833.
39. Judd, Notebook No. 1, June 1, 1833; June 19, 1833; November 27, 1834.