

Title	SQUIRES' DIARY: NEW YORK AGRICULTURE IN TRANSITION, 1840-1860
Sub Title	
Author	岡田, 泰男(OKADA, YASUO)
Publisher	Keio Economic Society, Keio University
Publication year	1970
Jtitle	Keio economic studies Vol.7, No.1 (1970.) ,p.78- 98
JaLC DOI	
Abstract	
Notes	
Genre	Journal Article
URL	https://koara.lib.keio.ac.jp/xoonips/modules/xoonips/detail.php?koara_id=AA00260492-19700001-0078

慶應義塾大学学術情報リポジトリ(KOARA)に掲載されているコンテンツの著作権は、それぞれの著作者、学会または出版社/発行者に帰属し、その権利は著作権法によって保護されています。引用にあたっては、著作権法を遵守してご利用ください。

The copyrights of content available on the KeiO Associated Repository of Academic resources (KOARA) belong to the respective authors, academic societies, or publishers/issuers, and these rights are protected by the Japanese Copyright Act. When quoting the content, please follow the Japanese copyright act.

SQUIRES' DIARY: NEW YORK AGRICULTURE IN TRANSITION, 1840-1860

YASUO OKADA

New York has been, and still is, a great agricultural state. One might say, however, that it was in the middle of the nineteenth century that New York agriculture had its heyday. The relative position of New York among agricultural states and the relative importance of the agricultural sector in the New York economy were at their height in the mid-nineteenth century. The proportion of rural population in New York was highest in 1850. The state census of 1855 reported the largest acreage of land in farms, and the largest number of farms was reported in 1865.⁽¹⁾ Ulysses P. Hedrick also talked about "the happy, prosperous years for agriculture in the middle of the last century."⁽²⁾

Francis W. Squires, a young farmer of Lewis County and later of Oswego County, began to keep his diary in 1840. Through his diary we can get a glimpse of farming in northern New York in the happy, prosperous years. Two splendid works have already been written on the richer sections of the state.⁽³⁾ The northern country, however, has no good agricultural history yet, perhaps because of its inferior position in New York agriculture.⁽⁴⁾ Squires' diary can only give us accounts of a particular farm in this section of the state, but it may prove useful as material for larger works on New York agriculture.⁽⁵⁾

The purpose of this paper is confined to tracing the changes in farm life described in this diary mainly for the period between 1840 and 1860. The descriptions of farm life in this diary are most minute in this period, which fortunately coincides with the golden age of New York agriculture.⁽⁶⁾

Francis W. Squires was born in Lebanon, Madison County, New York in 1820, son of Pierce Squires. Pierce moved from Madison County to Martinsburgh, Lewis County, in 1838, and in the spring of 1846 again moved to New Haven,

(1) For a convenient statistical summary of New York agriculture, see M. C. Bond, *Changes in New York State Agriculture, 1850-1950* (Ithaca, 1954).

(2) Ulysses P. Hedrick, *A History of Agriculture in the State of New York* (Albany, 1933), p. 214.

(3) Neil A. McNall, *An Agricultural History of the Genesee Valley, 1790-1860* (Philadelphia, 1952); David M. Ellis, *Landlords and Farmers in the Hudson-Mohawk Region, 1790-1860* (Ithaca, 1946).

(4) For instance, see the statistics in Thomas J. Pressly and William H. Scofield, eds. *Farm Real Estate Values in the United States by Counties, 1850-1959* (Seattle, 1965), pp. 24-25.

(5) See Rodney C. Loehr, "Farmers' Diaries: Their Interest and Values as Historical Sources," *Agricultural History*, XII (1938), 313-325.

(6) Squires' diary (manuscript) is in the Collection of Regional History at Cornell University, Ithaca, New York. Since this paper mainly depends on this diary, no references to the diary will be made when dates are given in the text. This diary will be cited as Diary hereafter.

Oswego County, with his family. Francis stayed on his father's farm until 1853. He married Sarah R. Rice in October, 1851, and moved to Volney, Oswego County, in April, 1853, to establish his own farm. He was elected a justice of the peace in 1859 and officiated as postmaster from 1861 to 1883, when he returned to New Haven. During the Civil War, he enlisted in Company A, 184th New York Infantry and served as a clerk of the company. His first wife died on March 8, 1860, and he married Maria L. Coe in August, 1875. He probably died in 1897, for until that time he continued to keep his diary.⁽⁷⁾

The years between 1840 and 1860 can be subdivided into three periods. (1) The Martinsburgh period, 1840-1846. During this period Francis worked on his father's substantial dairy farm. (2) The New Haven period, 1846-1853. Francis still worked on his father's farm. Non-agricultural activity was introduced into the farm economy. (3) The Volney period, 1853-1860. Francis acquired his own farm, but non-agricultural activity was increasing its importance in the farm economy. Each period not only represents a different place of residence, but a different stage of the farm economy. The change from full-time commercial farming to part-time farming can be traced through these periods.

I. THE MARTINSBURGH PERIOD, 1840-1846

The principal type of farming in Lewis County was dairying. The state census of 1845 already showed the importance of the production of cheese and butter in Lewis County, though substantial amounts of potatoes, oats, wheat, and flax were also reported there. In that year, the population of Martinsburgh Township was 2,408; and the improved acreage, 16,437 acres. A decade later, the population was 2,489; and the improved acreage, 22,024 acres. This increase indicates that clearing was still going on in Martinsburgh in the middle of the nineteenth century. In agricultural production, Martinsburgh followed the general pattern of farming in Lewis County.⁽⁸⁾

The surface of Martinsburgh is rolling, with a wide, level, fertile interval bordering on the Black River. The soil is a deep, fertile loam.⁽⁹⁾ It is difficult to locate the Squires' farm exactly, but the farm was probably located in the eastern part of the township. On a 1875 map of Martinsburgh, familiar names in Squires' diary appear in the easternmost part of the township.⁽¹⁰⁾ It is safe to say that

(7) Squires' biographical sketches will be found in Crisfield Johnson, *History of Oswego County, New York* (Philadelphia, 1877), pp. 254-255, and John C. Churchill, *Landmarks of Oswego County, New York* (Syracuse, 1895), p. 620. Interestingly, Francis W. Squires devoted sometime to the study of local history, and contributed to the county histories cited above.

(8) Censuses of the State of New York, 1845 and 1855.

(9) Edith V. Wagner, comp. *Agricultural Manual of New York State* (State of New York, Dept. of Farms and Markets, Div. of Agriculture, Bulletin 133), pp. 390-391; J. Disturnell, comp. *A Gazetteer of the State of New York* (Albany, 1843), p. 244.

(10) Martinsburgh in *Atlas of Lewis County, New York* (1875). Most familiar names are Stiles and Tiffany.

his father's farm was on fairly good land.⁽¹¹⁾

The products and income of the Squires' farm are shown in Table I. Income was recorded for dairy products only, which fact shows the importance of dairying in the farm economy. It is, however, quite unlikely that his father sold only cheese and butter. The marketing recorded in Squires' diary shows that pork and wood were also sold in 1845. Wheat, corn, hay, and garden products such as onions, cabbage, and watermelon may have been mostly for home consumption. But, potatoes and oats were probably produced for the market. The production of potatoes on the farm was substantial. Even in 1845, when the smallest amount of potatoes was recorded, 470 bushels were produced. If Squires sold the potatoes at 25 cents per bushel, which was the current price of potatoes in Lewis County in 1845,⁽¹²⁾ it would have added \$117.50 to the farm income.

TABLE I. PRODUCTS AND INCOME OF THE SQUIRES' FARM, 1840-1845

	1840	1841	1842	1843	1844	1845
PRODUCTS						
Cheese (lbs.)	8,159	5,840	10,244	10,534	9,364	10,762
Butter (lbs.)	357	978	?	979	339	624
Hay (loads)	90	85	90	110	116	85
Oats (shocks)	85	137	105	80	?	?
Wheat (shocks)	134	146	108	64	?	62 (bu.)
Potatoes (bu.)	1,000	640	850	?	?	470
Corn—ear (bu.)	300	180	360	?	?	330
Hogs slaughtered (no.)	15	?	9	8	9	13
INCOME						
Cheese (\$)	?	299.30	646.84	500.37	431.84	552.79
Butter (\$)	?	159.17	?	?	?	89.64

When we take into account other sources of income such as pork and wood, no small sum of money could be added to the income of the Squires' farm. In 1840, fifteen hogs were killed on the farm. In 1843, eight hogs; and in 1845, thirteen hogs were killed. In 1845, the total amount of pork produced was 3,828 pounds. Nevertheless, there is no doubt that dairying was the most important element in the Squires' farm economy. Though we do not know the number of cows on the farm for the earlier years, we know that 34 cows were kept on the farm in 1845. In 1844 Squires got second prize on his cheese sample at the county fair.⁽¹³⁾ From these facts, it is possible to say that the Squires' farm was a substantial dairy farm.

(11) See Howard E. Conklin and Broder F. Lucas, *An Economic Classification of Farm Areas, Lewis County, New York* (Ithaca, 1954).

(12) New York State Agricultural Society, *Transactions* (1845), p. 321. Hereafter cited as *Transactions*.

(13) Diary, Sept. 13, 1844.

To operate this farm, Francis' father worked with two sons, Francis and Willard. Every year during haying season, one or two hired hands also worked on the farm.⁽¹⁴⁾ These hired hands must have been migrant laborers. In 1845, two hired men began work on July 15, and another on July 19. One of them, called Tommy, left the farm on July 30; the other, called Pratt, left on August 9 to go to work on a neighboring farm. For ploughing, planting, harvesting, or threshing, the Squires got help from their neighbors. It was on a labor exchange basis. Alfred Stiles, one of the neighbors, often helped the Squires, and Francis and Willard helped Alfred in return.⁽¹⁵⁾ On February 9, 1844, J. Climer threshed oats for the Squires, and Francis chopped wood for him the next day. The fact that the Squires hired laborers only during haying again shows the relative unimportance of grain production on the farm.

The majority of the entries in Squires' diary for this period concerned day-to-day farming practice. In January and February, he threshed grain and worked in the woods. In March, he worked in the woods, made maple sugar, and drew manure. Manuring was not mentioned in his diary until 1843, but was mentioned frequently after that year. This fact suggests that manuring was first practiced on his farm in the year 1843. Squires commenced ploughing in April. The first day of ploughing changed from year to year, depending on when spring arrived. In 1842 he began ploughing on April 4, but in 1843 he could not begin to plough until April 20. Then he sowed wheat, harrowed, dragged, and rolled it. He sowed oats and barley, planted corn and potatoes in April or May. His diary tells us that he practiced rotation of crops. In 1841, he sowed wheat where he had had potatoes the year before. We can find a similar entry in his diary in 1845.⁽¹⁶⁾ It is, however, impossible to reconstruct the system of rotation on the farm, since information on this matter is too fragmentary. He began to make cheese in April and stopped feeding cows in late April or May. He usually fed cows from the middle of November to the middle of May.

On the Squires' farm, spring work was finished in late May. But the people on the farm could not rest. In 1841, Francis finished spring work on May 30 and began hoeing corn on June 2. He also had to worry about late frost or lack of rain. In 1842, when there was hard frost on June 2, Francis had to cut down the corn he had planted in May. On June 18, 1841, he wrote, "rained considerable to day [sic] which is the first of consequence since the 24th of May."

From the beginning of June to the middle of July, Francis hoed corn and potatoes. Haying began in the middle of July and continued until the middle of August. Then, the harvest of oats, barley, and wheat followed until early September. After the harvest, the Squires had a time of rest. They went to the county fair and enjoyed the ploughing match, cattle show, circus, etc. However, Francis had to dig potatoes, pick corn, and take them to the barn in September and Octo-

(14) Diary, July 12, 1841; July 16, 1842; July 17, 1843; July 22, 1844; July 15, 1845.

(15) Diary, May 28, 1842; May 24, 1844.

(16) Diary, May 18, 1841; May 2, 1845.

ber, soon after the county fair holidays. In November, he ploughed the ground, drew manure, threshed and cleaned up wheat and oats, and husked corn. He also took young cattle from the pasture and began to feed the cows. In 1845, he fed cows hay once a day on November 24, and twice a day after the 30th of the same month. The work in the woods also began in November. In December, he continued the work of November and killed hogs in the middle of the month. Thus the year rolled on.⁽¹⁷⁾

The products of the Squires' farm were sold at Martinsburgh and Lowville, Lewis County, or at Rome, Oneida County. Sometimes, the products were sold to neighbors. Lowville was quite close to Martinsburgh. Around 1840, the village of Lowville had 650 inhabitants, 100 houses, 3 churches, 2 taverns, 7 stores, a bank, a flouring mill, a saw mill and an academy.⁽¹⁸⁾ It was no larger than the village of Martinsburgh, which had 600 inhabitants, 100 houses, 3 churches, 2 taverns, 6 stores, a bank, a flouring mill, 2 sawmills, a woolen factory, and a "female academy".⁽¹⁹⁾ Neither of these villages could have been attractive markets. Even though Squires had to stay overnight at Rome—about 40 miles away from Martinsburgh—when he went there, he still sold cheese, the main product of the farm, only at Rome. Rome had about 2,500 inhabitants and 25 stores. The Black River Canal united with the Erie Canal there, and the Syracuse and Utica Railroad passed through the village.⁽²⁰⁾ There is no doubt that Rome was the best market in the vicinity of the Squires' farm.⁽²¹⁾

The sales of farm products made by Squires and recorded in his diary for 1845 will be shown in Table II. This record is quite incomplete. When the place of sale is not recorded, the article was probably sold at Martinsburgh or to the neighbors. Sometimes the article is not recorded, and the quantity and the price are only occasionally entered. Francis' father usually went to Rome to sell cheese, and Francis only recorded the fact that his father had started for Rome for marketing. In most cases, we do not know to whom Squires sold his products. In 1842, however, Squires "sold 9,252 lbs. cheese to Leland."⁽²²⁾ On September 1, 1844, the same Leland came to the Squires' farm "to see cheese." It is quite probable that this man chiefly bought Squires' cheese during these years. In 1845 Martin & Lee and Hunt are the names mentioned in Squires' diary in connection with the sales of dairy products of the farm. Squires sometimes bartered his farm products. Francis "drew 40 bushels potatoes to Mr. Herrick for Shoe making," on September 20, 1841. We do not know where Squires bought necessary articles not produced on the farm either. This aspect is almost wholly neglected in his diary during this period. On April 8, 1844, he wrote, "Our

(17) Standard farm work for each month is described in, e.g., *American Agriculturist*, VIII (1849).

(18) Disturnell, *Gazetteer*, p. 237.

(19) Disturnell, p. 244.

(20) Disturnell, p. 347.

(21) In 1843 Squires sold all the cheese at Rome. Diary, December 31, 1843.

(22) Diary, December 29, 1842.

TABLE II. SALES OF FARM PRODUCTS, 1845

Date	Place*	Article and Price
Mar. 7	L	?
Apr. 23	L	?
29	R	?
May 10	R	Cheese, \$5.00 per cwt.
12	?	Butter, 2 tabs, 219 lbs. at 11.5 cents per lb.
20	?	Deacon skin 20, at 3/- (shillings)
31	?	Butter, 75 lbs. at 12 cents
June 3	R	Cheese, 1,188.5 lbs.
28	?	Stove wood, hay
July 5	?	Fat cow, \$22.00
Sept. 2	R	Cheese
8	R	Cheese
Oct. 9	R	Cheese
16	?	Cattle, 3 head, \$41.00
18	R	Cheese
Nov. 8	?	Butter, 108 lbs. at 19 cents
18	R	?
Dec. 4	R	Butter
9	?	Pork
11	L	Pork
13	L	Ashes, 20 bu.

* L Lowville R Rome

folks been to Lowville and bought sugar." Squires probably got sugar, salt, tea, etc. at the same place where he sold his farm products.

Other aspects of Squires' life can be seen through his diary. On Sunday, he went to church or stayed at home reading some chapters from the Bible to console his conscience. It is, however, difficult to say whether Francis was religious or not. Sometimes he went to a church in the morning and to another in the afternoon. On October 26, 1845, he wrote, "I been to Methodist church A. M. and to Baptist P. M., no Presbyterian meeting." On another Sunday, he went to the Presbyterian church. Church-going may have been a social opportunity for him in Martinsburgh. Though Francis went to a party, a raising, and a church meeting from time to time, social opportunity must have been not enough for him. Politically he was a Whig and usually attended the Whig Mass Meeting in the year of presidential election. In 1844 he voted for Henry Clay.⁽²³⁾

The Squires' farm could be called one of the better farms in Martinsburgh. In 1845, an average Lewis County farmer kept 10 cows; and a Martinsburgh farmer, 11 cows. An average Lewis County farmer produced 452 pounds of

(23) Diary July 18, 1840; July 18, 1844; November 5, 1844.

cheese; and a Martinsburgh farmer, 638 pounds.⁽²⁴⁾ On the Squires' farm, 34 cows were milked, and 10,762 pounds of cheese were produced. In 1844, it was said that "whether the average of cheese dairies" would "much, if any, exceed 350 lbs. per cow" might be questioned.⁽²⁵⁾ Squires' record was 317 pounds per cow. Though this record cannot be very impressive, it was still a good record, and the fact that Squires' cheese sample got the second prize at the county fair shows the high quality of the product.

The Squires might well have been satisfied with the farm. Francis' father, however, wanted to move to a new one. In September, 1845, he began to look for a new farm. In October of the same year, the father and Francis went to Oswego County and visited an acquaintance in New Haven. In December, the father and Willard went to Oswego County again. We do not know when the Squires decided to move to New Haven, Oswego County. In February, 1846, Francis' father already carried "a load of goods" to Oswego, and the family started for Oswego on March 11, 1846. Francis remained in Martinsburgh until April 2 and started for Oswego with three cows. Francis "delivered cows" to a neighbor on the day before. On April 5, 1846, he wrote, "We live in New Haven, Oswego Co., N.Y."

As will be shown below, the Squires reduced the scale of farming operation in New Haven compared with the Martinsburgh period. The importance of dairying in the farm economy diminished in New Haven at the same time. It is difficult to understand the reason why the Squires moved to New Haven and reduced dairy production on the farm. The 1840's was a fairly prosperous decade, and the dairy interests in Lewis County were growing steadily.⁽²⁶⁾ Besides, we cannot find any reference to the reason for leaving Martinsburgh. Francis, the diarist, was not the owner of the farm. His father was the man who made the decision and Francis only tells us the result of the decision. The distance from a good market might have been a cause of the decision. The financial difficulty which often forced farmers to go west or to move to poorer farms could have hardly been a cause in the Squires' case. Debt or mortgage is not recorded in the entries of Squires' diary, and there is no evidence of financial difficulty.

Squires was not a poor tenant farmer in hill country under the heavy burden of the wheat rent. The Squires' farm was a good, commercial dairy farm. There is no sign of over-expansion or radical contraction of the farm economy during the Martinsburgh period. The reasonable speculation might be that the Squires moved to a better farm in terms of location, sacrificing the size of the farm operation, or that the Squires was attracted by non-agricultural opportunities.

(24) Census of the State of New York, 1845.

(25) *Transactions* (1844), p. 221.

(26) *Transactions* (1852), pp. 436-440. *Transactions* (1858) pp. 93-153 show the later development of the dairy farming in Lewis County.

II. THE NEW HAVEN PERIOD, 1846-1853

Oswego County has a natural advantage in position for lake and river navigation. Its position on Lake Ontario induced a considerable emigration and settlement along the lake. Farmers engaged in the production of wheat, corn, and potash to their advantage before the opening of the Erie Canal. The opening of the Erie Canal in 1825, the Oswego Canal in 1828,⁽²⁷⁾ and the completion of the Welland Canal two years later⁽²⁸⁾ changed the picture. The influx of the products from the West put Oswego farmers in difficulty. They could not compete with western farmers in grain production, and many Oswego farmers had to sell out and go west. Those who remained in this county turned their attention to dairying and fruits growing. Others turned their eyes to the lumber business and cooperage. As the opening of canals made Oswego a leading lake port and milling center, the demand for flour barrels grew steadily. The Onondaga salt manufactured in Salina and Syracuse also demanded barrels.⁽²⁹⁾

In 1845 the leading branch of agriculture in Oswego County was dairying. In that year, 1,533,144 pounds of butter and 933,922 pounds of cheese were produced. Compared with Lewis County, which produced 1,266,933 pounds of butter and 1,420,368 pounds of cheese in the same year, the importance of butter production in Oswego is clear. An average farmer kept seven cows. Potatoes, oats, corn, wheat were the major crops reported in the census for Oswego County. Ten years later, the production of butter in Oswego increased to 2,036,174 pounds. The production of cheese slightly increased to 975,461 pounds. Oats and corn production increased, while potatoes and wheat decreased during the decade.⁽³⁰⁾ There were no great differences in agricultural patterns between Oswego County and Lewis County. The major difference of the two counties lay in the occupation of inhabitants. In 1845, the proportion of farmers in Lewis County was 84 percent, while 68.5 percent were farmers in Oswego County. In Lewis County, mechanics constituted 12 percent; merchants, 1.8 percent; and manufacturers, 0.5 percent of the occupational population. In other words, non-farming population was not so important in Lewis County. In Oswego County, mechanics constituted 25 percent; merchants, 2.6 percent; and manufacturers, 2.3 percent. The proportion of non-farming population was much greater in Oswego because of the existence of commercial and manufacturing centers, Oswego and Fulton, in the county.⁽³¹⁾

(27) The canal was a lateral branch of the Erie Canal, and connected the port of Oswego with the Erie Canal at Syracuse.

(28) The Welland Canal extended from Lake Erie near the mouth of the Grand River to Lake Ontario.

(29) *Transactions* (1847), pp. 721-724; Frederick K. Zercher, "The Port of Oswego," *New York History*, XVI (1935), 308-317; Charles M. Snider, "Importance of the Oswego Canal in the Development of Oswego County," Oswego Historical Society, *Publication* (1947), pp. 94-107; Churchill, *Landmarks*, pp. 158-159.

(30) Censuses of the State of New York, 1845 and 1855.

(31) Census of the State of New York, 1845.

New Haven is situated ten miles east of Oswego. The surface is rolling and generally smooth. The soil is principally a sandy and gravelly loam. Some parts of the township are poorly drained. In 1860 it was said that there was "quite extensive marsh near the mouth of Butterfly Creek, in the north-eastern part of the town, and another in the south-eastern part."⁽³²⁾ The population of New Haven was 1,707 in 1845, and 2,012 in 1855. The improved acreage was 9,217 acres in 1845, and 11,410 in 1855. In 1845, 86,369 pounds of butter and 64,435 pounds of cheese were produced. Ten years later, the production of butter increased to 133,550 pounds, but that of cheese decreased to 58,451 pounds. Potatoes, oats, corn, wheat, barley, peas, beans, flax, turnips, buckwheat, and rye were produced in both 1845 and 1855. In 1855, 35,141 bushels of apple were also produced in New Haven. Farmers kept horses, sheep, and swine besides cattle. The number of horses and swine increased, but that of sheep decreased between 1845 and 1855.⁽³³⁾

The Squires' farm in New Haven was located in the north-eastern part of the township between Butterfly Creek and Fish Creek. According to the soil survey map of Oswego County, the soil of the Squires' farm site is mainly "Worth stony fine sandy loam." The depth of the soil is 5 to 8 inches, subsoil is fine sandy loam. There is considerable stone on the surface and in the soil mass. The soil is adapted to the cultivation of grass, crops, fruits, and to permanent pasture. There is a possibility that the Squires' farm contained the poorly drained phase of Worth, which is usually devoted to permanent pasture.⁽³⁴⁾ In terms of the soil, the Squires' new farm was probably poorer than the old one in Martinsburgh. However, the new farm had an advantage over the old one in terms of the location, especially the proximity to the market.

The products and income of the Squires' farm in this period are shown in Table III. For the year 1846, we have little record about the farm, Francis being away from New Haven most part of the year. Soon after the family settled in New Haven, Francis went to New York City, then proceeded to New Haven, Connecticut, and worked as a painter in small towns near New Haven, Connecticut. During the summer, he worked in haying on nearby farms and received a dollar a day. After that, he resumed his job as a painter, mostly for churches, and came back to New Haven, Oswego County on November 5, 1846. It is difficult to understand the reason why Francis could be away from home in this year. The first year on a new farm must have been a busy year. More difficult to understand is the fact that Francis and his father went to New York City carrying flour by boat soon after Francis came back. From November 7 to December 4, the father and the son engaged in flour carrying business between New York City and Albany. In

(32) J. H. French, *Gazetteer of the State of New York* (Syracuse, 1860), p. 523; Wagner, *Manual*, p. 547; Disturnell, *Gazetteer*, p. 264.

(33) Censuses of the State of New York, 1845 and 1855.

(34) *Soil Survey of Oswego County, New York* (Cornell Extension Bulletin 37, Ithaca, 1919), pp. 77-80.

TABLE III. PRODUCTS AND INCOME, 1847-1852

	1847	1848	1849	1850	1851	1852
PROCUTS						
Butter (lbs.)	233	334	394	588	339	426
Cheese (lbs.)	600	506	810	184	95	97
Potatoes (bu.)	95	142	103	101	100	92
Barrels (no.)	703	636	777	822	139	350
INCOME (\$)						
Butter	35.40	47.35	51.85	78.59	46.35	78.95
Cheese	38.60	29.05	44.16	10.80	5.25	5.86
Potatoes	40.65	67.53	54.93	50.84	52.88	51.00
Barrels	197.00	168.46	169.01	201.23	27.46	93.59
Other Products	86.12	149.03	164.42	147.82	229.25	263.33
Total	397.77	461.42	483.37	489.28	361.19	492.73

late December, Squires threshed and cleaned up oats. Early next spring, Squires sold potatoes in Oswego. From these entries, it is clear that some farming was done in 1846. It might be the case that the Squires diminished the scale of farming operation greatly in the first year in New Haven, and tried to get some income from non-agricultural activities. Though Francis never tells in his diary, the Squires might have been attracted by the income opportunity from non-farming activities.

When we look at the products and income of the Squires' farm in 1847, we can easily recognize the importance of the income from coopering. Barrels provided half of the income of the farm. Coopering was a natural choice for those who wanted to have some income outside agriculture in the vicinity of Oswego. In 1847 there was a demand for "upward of one million and a half of barrels for . . . salines at Syracuse, and flour mills at Oswego." It is said that "coopers' shops are erecting in every direction" in that year.⁽³⁵⁾ Coopering was also "a trade soon acquired."⁽³⁶⁾ In 1850, New York had largest number of coopers among states.⁽³⁷⁾ In 1855, New York County had largest number of coopers, and Oswego County followed with 698 coopers as the second top county among the counties in New York.⁽³⁸⁾ These numbers did not include those who did coopering as a part-time job.

Dairy products still held some importance in the Squires' farm economy. Nevertheless, the amount of dairy products on the farm diminished considerably compared with the Martinsburgh period. An interesting change occurred in dairy

(35) *Transactions* (1847), p. 722.

(36) *Transactions* (1849), p. 433.

(37) U. S. Census, 1850. The number of coopers in New York was 7,988; Ohio, 7,867; Pennsylvania, 5,299; and Indiana, 3,679.

(38) Census of the State of New York, 1855.

production on the farm during the six years of the New Haven period. Until 1849 more cheese was produced on the farm than butter, though the income from butter already exceeded that of cheese in 1848. After 1850, butter became decidedly more important than cheese on the Squires' farm. Though the quantity of butter secured from a cow was less than that of cheese, butter could sell higher. In 1847 the price of butter at Oswego was from 15 to 16 cents a pound, while that of cheese from 6 to 6.5 cents a pound. If a farmer could secure 300 pounds of cheese per cow a year, he could obtain 150 pounds of butter instead of cheese. Given a favorable location, it was more profitable to make butter than cheese. As noted above, Oswego was predominatntly a butter county in this period, and the Squires followed this general tendency. The dominant position of cheese production on the farm during the early years was probably due to the fact that the Squires had engaged in cheese making heavily before they moved to Oswego County.⁽³⁹⁾

During the period from 1847 to 1852, the agricultural sector of the Squires' economy gradually regained its importance. The income from barrels reached its height in 1850. In that year, it constituted about 40 percent of the total farm income. In 1852, however, the proportion of the income from barrels was 19 percent of the total. The decline of the total farm income in 1851 must have been the result of the fact that the Squires put much energy into the improvement of the farm and rebuilding of their house. On October 9 of that year, Francis got married with Sarah R. Rice, a neighbor's daughter.

Potatoes brought fairly constant income of fifty dollars or more to the Squires' farm during these years. The amount of potatoes grown on the farm was, however, very small compared with the Martinsburgh period. Oats also provided a minor income. In 1847, corn, barley, peas, turnips, cucumber, and pumpkins were produced on the farm besides potatoes and oats. These crops were mainly for home consumption. The income from apples was a new item on the farm. Stock-raising was also a new feature. On September 28, 1847, Squires bought a cow "to fat." Squires also "got 4 lambs . . . to double in 4 years" on December 7, 1847. The income from apples and the profit from stock-raising became increasingly important in the farm economy. In 1852, the income from apples was \$52.62. In that year, the Squires sold two yearlings, a yearling colt, a calf, ten sheep, seven lambs, and a yearling buck, which brought \$81.25 in total.

In 1852 the total income of the Squires' farm was \$492.73. The total expence of the year was \$327.23 which included a part of the money paid to buy Francis' new farm in Volney. If we subtract the amount for buying the farm, the total expence will be \$208.98. It is impossible for us to measure the profit of the Squires' farm correctly from the data available. Even if we ignore the possible omissions and inaccurate entires in Squires' diary, it is not feasible to calculate the profit of the farm unless we know something about the inventory value of real estate,

(39) See *Transactions* (1854), pp. 202-219, 426 ff. After the introduction of the factory system, the production of cheese increased in Oswego.

livestock, equipment, feed, and supplies. In order to estimate the profit, we should also know the value of food and fuel furnished from the farm. It is, however, quite unlikely that Francis himself wanted to calculate the profit of the farm so meticulously as the modern farm economist does. Francis must have simply subtracted the expence from the income to calculate the profit. In this way, he might be satisfied with the profit of \$283.75 in 1852.

The size of the Squires' farm in New Haven was 90.75 acres.⁽⁴⁰⁾ Pierce, Francis, and Willard worked on the farm. Though Willard had married before the Squires moved to New Haven, he stayed in his father's farm and inherited it later.⁽⁴¹⁾ Squires kept four cows in 1847, and twenty sheep in 1849. Though Squires got help from the neighbors during the busy season on a labor exchange basis, laborers were not employed on the farm even during the haying. In 1850, when the largest number of barrels were made, Francis and Willard were sometimes making barrels even during the busy season while their father was working in the fields. "*W* and *I* made 18 barrels and got out the heading. Father planted over corn on new ground and hoed corn some on sward land." (June 24) "*W* and *I* worked at shop getting out heading. Father finished reaping oats down *S* and put up 24.5 shocks from 3/4 acre." (August 15) These are some of the typical entries in Francis' diary in 1850. Francis and Willard worked in the fields as well as worked at shop making barrels, but their father worked only in the field never coopering. Pierce Squire, the father, was a man who had pride in husbandry and hard work. After Francis moved to Volney, his father used to visit there to help Francis. On June 4, 1853, Francis wrote, "Father sowed 1 acre of oats and . . . finished planting corn for me. . . . Father is 68 years old today and can do a good days work."

We can find some changes in the practice on the farm in the New Haven period from the Martinsburgh period. There were some innovations in the farm practice. Besides using manure, the Squires used plaster and ash. They not only manured and ashed farm crops, but also sowed ash and plaster on the meadow.⁽⁴²⁾ Rotation of crops was practised, though without much care for the scientific method advocated in the farm journals of the period. Wheat was sown after two years of corn, beans also after corn, and turnips after potatoes.⁽⁴³⁾ A part of the Squires' farm was kept in fallow from time to time, and the fallow was burnt before being put into crops.⁽⁴⁴⁾ Cows were kept in stable from the middle of November to the middle of May. Squires fed the cows once a day and then turned them to pasture. Corn, hay, stalks, and sometimes pumpkins were fed to cows, and green corn was fed in August, 1847. When Squires decided to kill a cow, he stopped milking the cow and began feeding corn about five months before the slaughtering. Hogs were sometimes fed boiled potatoes on the Squires'

(40) Diary, October 8, 1847.

(41) The father died on January 11, 1861.

(42) Diary, May 22, 1852.

(43) Diary, April 26, 1852; July 2, 1852; July 30, 1850.

(44) Diary, May 11, 1852; June 15, 1850.

farm, but they could have only affected or rotten potatoes.⁽⁴⁵⁾

In April, Squires transplanted orchard trees, and grafted apples and peaches in September. Orchard trees were set in October and November. As sheep were kept on the farm, Squires sheared sheep in June. Squires got 63 pounds of wool from twenty sheep in 1849, when the price of wool at Oswego was 25 cents a pound. We know nothing about the breed of sheep and cattle, nor the breeding practice on the farm. J. N. Holmes, the president of the Oswego County Agricultural Society, made an address at the county fair in 1854. He lamented, "Our sheep are too small and too lean for mutton, and too coarse for wool."⁽⁴⁶⁾ This criticism might have applied to Squires' sheep.

Coopering was the work for Francis and Willard. They usually made barrels in fall and winter. In 1847, when they first began to make barrels, a man named Guilford taught Willard how to do it. In the very first week when Willard and Guilford worked together, they made fifty. About a month later, Francis learned how to cooper, and during the following week, Francis and Willard already finished fifty-six barrels.⁽⁴⁷⁾ Later, Francis could make ten to fourteen a day. According to his calculation, it took about forty minutes for him to make one.⁽⁴⁸⁾ To make barrels, Squires bought hoops, staves, and headings. Staves and headings were often made by Squires, but hoops were usually bought from others, since hoops cost only \$3.25 per thousand. Hoops were probably of ash; staves, ash or maple; and headings, ash or bass.

In New Haven, the sales of products were much easier than in Martinsburgh, because of the proximity of the market. In 1852, Squires went to Oswego to sell farm products thirty-four times, and sold products twenty-nine times in New Haven. When we compare the record of the sales in this period with that of the Martinsburgh period, it is clear that the Squires' farm had far better marketing opportunities. This fact could induce the Squires to expand the agricultural production again. Table IV shows the sales of farm products (dates and places only) in 1852.

During the 1840's, Oswego was developing rapidly. The deepening of the Welland Canal in 1845 stimulated the commerce of Oswego with Canada and the West. Plank road and stage companies connected Oswego with Syracuse, Rome, Auburn, Rochester, and Pulaski during the 1840's. When Squires went to Oswego, he used the plank road and paid tolls. On December 13, 1852, he paid 32 cents as toll. The Oswego and Syracuse Railroad connected the port of Oswego with the New York Central Railroad in 1848. The other branch line, the Oswego and Rome Railroad, which was completed later, ran just south of the Squires' farm.⁽⁴⁹⁾ Cheap water power and a plentiful supply of raw materials

(45) Diary, September 20, 1847; November 22, 1847; July 31, 1852; December 3, 1852.

(46) *Transactions* (1854), p. 564.

(47) Diary, May-July, 1847.

(48) Diary, October 1, 1850.

(49) Zercher, "Port of Oswego," pp. 313-314.

encouraged the development of manufacture in Oswego. In the early 1840's, there were already two cotton factories, seven flouring mills, six machine shops, a tannery, a morocco factory, an iron foundry, a plaster mill, a planing mill, and a saw mill. Two banks, an insurance company, sixteen hotels and taverns, fifty stores and groceries, and "mechanic shops of almost every kind" were also situated there. "An extensive forwarding business" was carried on in Oswego.⁽⁵⁰⁾ It will be redundant to say that Oswego was superior to Rome as a market.

TABLE IV. SALES OF FARM PRODUCTS, 1852

Place	Oswego	New Haven
Dates when the sales are recorded		
Jan.	2, 3, 26	29
Feb.	20, 24	5, 23, 25
Mar.	9, 12, 13	23, 31
Apr.	9, 30	28
May	4, 18, 28	11, 12, 15, 17, 18
June	8, 30	3, 10
July	15, 26, 29	3
Aug.	4, 11, 26	5, 17, 31
Sept.	1, 8, 9, 17, 25, 29	14, 15
Oct.	2, 21, 28	4, 18, 23
Nov.	11, 20, 23	3, 6
Dec.	13	2, 3, 9, 23

Let us look at the record of the sales of the major products of the Squires' farm during this period. Butter was sold from April through October in Oswego. The amount of butter carried to Oswego at a time was quite irregular. In 1852, 10 to 30 pounds were the usual amount carried to the market in April, May, and June. On September 29, 1852, however, Squires carried 217.5 pounds of butter to Oswego. It is unfortunate that we cannot know the method of preserving butter on the Squires' farm. Sometimes, Squires sold butter to a travelling merchant. In October, 1851, Squires sold butter to "a man from New York" on the farm. The price of butter at Oswego was from 12.5 cents to 20 cents per pound in that year. The price paid by the man from New York was 14 cents a pound.

Potatoes were also carried to Oswego throughout the year. Squires kept potatoes in the cellar and sold them from time to time. In 1852 Squires sold potatoes twenty-eight times. Donnelly and McEvoy were among names to whom Squires sold potatoes. They were "wholesale and retail dealer [sic] in groceries, liquors, provisions, and crockery" in Oswego.⁽⁵¹⁾ The price of potatoes was 50 cents to

(50) Disturnell, *Gazetteer*, pp. 308-309.

(51) *Oswego City Business and Residence Directory* (Oswego, 1852), pp. 155-156.

1 dollar a bushel. Squires sold potatoes to neighbors, and exchanged them for wheat. Barrels were often made under the contract with Oswego merchants. Squires usually carried eighty to ninety barrels at a time and received 25 to 28 cents a barrel. In 1852 Squires sold barrels to Mollison and Hastings, "a storage, forwarding and commission merchant" in Oswego, and to Whitney, a merchant miller in the same city.⁽⁵²⁾

Apples were sold from February to May in Oswego. In June, Squires sold dried apples to groceries. The price of apples differed according to the quality. Squires usually got 50 cents to 1 dollar a bushel.⁽⁵³⁾ Oats, corn, turnips, and beans were either sold to Oswego groceries or exchanged with neighbors' products. In February, 1852, Squires got rye in exchange for corn. In December of the same year, he carried oats to a man named Head and got "horse shoes sharpened." The sales of eggs also brought some money. In 1852, fifteen dozen of eggs were sold, the price of which was 10 to 15 cents a dozen at Oswego.

Young stock and beef were sold to Squires' neighbors. When Squires killed a cow, he sold three quarters to the neighbors at about 4.5 cents a pound, kept a quarter to himself, and sold the hide to Allen, a tanner, at 4.5 cents a pound. Tallow was either sold or kept for home use. On December 3, 1852, Squires killed a brown cow and got 545 pounds of beef, 62 pounds of hide, and 57 pounds of tallow. The income from the brown cow was \$22.36. Only two or three hogs were killed on the farm during this period. Squires made ham and sold it in Oswego.⁽⁵⁴⁾

When Squires went to Oswego to sell the farm products, he bought necessary articles there. Flour, tea, sugar, salt, and molasses were the major items for home consumption. Though there was a small patch of wheat on the Squires' farm, it was not enough to feed the whole family. In 1850 Squires sowed 1 bushel of wheat and obtained 14 bushels from it. The probable average consumption of wheat per individual on the farm could have been around 5 bushels a year.⁽⁵⁵⁾ The fact that Squires bought a barrel of flour on October 4 and again on November 8 of the same year shows the deficiency of wheat on the farm, though the wheat was not threshed until later. The report from Oswego County Agricultural Society for the year 1847 says, "He [dairy farmer] sells his butter and buys his flour, and finds his profit in it."⁽⁵⁶⁾ Squires might well have shared the same opinion. A barrel of flour cost \$4.50 in 1850, and a sack of flour, which weighted about 100 pounds, cost \$2.25. A pound of tea usually cost 15 cents, but Squires sometimes bought expensive tea which cost 25 or 30 cents a pound. The price of

(52) *Directory*, p. 143.

(53) *Diary*, February-June, 1852.

(54) *Diary*, April 9, 1852; October 21, 1852.

(55) See the various estimates in *Report of the Commissioner of Patents* (1848), pp. 660-663. Average consumption per person ranges from 1 bushel to 10 bushels. Also see the estimate in *U. S. Census*, 1900, VI, 32.

(56) *Transactions* (1847), p. 723.

sugar was 6 or 7 cents a pound, and a barrel of salt cost \$1.13. Molasses was 38 cents a gallon. Squires usually bought 2 pounds of tea and 6 or 7 pounds of sugar a month in 1852. He also bought pepper, cinnamon, beewax, cod-fish, and ship-stuff occasionally. We do not know what the ship-stuff was. Squires also bought screenings and shorts to feed stock, firkin to make butter, and hoops to make barrels. In 1852 he bought 900 pounds of plaster for \$1.12. The actual handling of money could have been small in the above transactions. Squires used to bring butter or potatoes to groceries in Oswego and buy flour or sugar at the same store. Francis kept his record of the sales and purchases in shilling, which was only a unit of calculation and equivalent to 12.5 cents in his diary. He sometimes used the word "cash" when the actual handling of money was involved.

In 1852 there were three families on the Squires' farm in New Haven. Both Willard and Francis were married. Francis' son was born on July 9, 1852, and Willard had children, too. Though Francis and his wife moved to a separate part of the house and could enjoy privacy, Francis wanted to have his own farm. On October 5, 1852, Francis and his father went to Volney, a neighboring township, and looked at farms there. On October 11, two men, Mr. Griswold and Dunham, came to the Squires' home to sell Dunham's farm in Volney. On the next day, Francis wrote, "Father and I gathered apples till 10 o'clock and then we stopped to talk about buying farm rest of A. M. Went to Mexico [a nearby town] P.M. and made bargain for farm by paying J.G. Dunham \$94.75 and \$150 on old mortgage one year from this time and \$400 mortgage to Dunham which he sell to Mr. Stone of Mexico to be paid in 4 years."

The price of Dunham's farm was, therefore, \$644.75 plus interests. Since the average price of land in Volney in 1852 was \$20 an acre, Dunham's farm must have been a small farm of 30 or 40 acres.⁽⁵⁷⁾ The Squires did not have enough ready cash to pay at that time, and Francis' father went to a man named Williams "to see about getting money." On October 22, Francis "went on hill and got money of Bowe, and Father went and borrowed \$20 of Dea Nichols and \$22 of Brown." Francis and his father went to Mexico with Dunham and "made out and signed Deed and Mortgage," paying Dunham \$94.75 on the same day. The Squires sold a yearling colt to Williams for \$35, and paid \$23.52 as "interest money" on October 23, 1852. They also had to sell a part of the farm in New Haven to make money. They sold the "land west of road" to a certain Goodsell for \$375 on January 1, 1853. They went to Mexico and paid \$282.67 to S. H. Stone.

As Francis obtained his own farm, the Squires had begun to separate the household economy into two independent accounts before Francis moved to Volney. On January 20, 1853, the father and Willard went to Oswego to sell 14 bushels of potatoes, of which 4 bushels were Francis' share. On February 16, Francis wrote, "Father and I cleaned up oats and put up 9 bushels for them and 4.5 for me." On March 19, Francis packed up his goods and moved to Volney with his

(57) *Transactions* (1852), p. 501.

family. His father and his wife's sister, Charlotte, went there with Francis. They started New Haven at 11 A.M. and arrived at Francis' new farm at 2.45 P.M.

III. THE VOLNEY PERIOD, 1853-1860

Volney was situated south-west of New Haven. In 1855 the leading crops of Volney were oats and corn. Potatoes were also produced. The production of butter was 102, 652 pounds, and that of cheese 58,451 pounds in that year. Compared with New Haven, Volney produced more cheese. The most profitable crop, however, was said to be corn in 1852. The extent of orchard was reported to be great, and 39,370 bushels of apples were produced in 1855. Considerable grazing was also reported in 1852. The number of cattle in 1855 was 1,124; horse, 904; swine, 1,606; and sheep, 2,185.⁽⁵⁸⁾ The surface of Volney is undulating, with high, steep banks bordering on the Oswego River. The soil is a sandy and gravelly loam.⁽⁵⁹⁾ The new farm of Francis Squires was in the northern part of the township. It seems that his farm was on a poorly drained land. In June and July, 1855, he frequently mentioned "water standing on corn ground." On June 8, 1855, "considerable water," and on June 24, "a great deal of water" was standing on his ground. On July 4, nearly half of his corn was "in water," and on July 24, his field was "full of water."

It is doubtful whether Francis was satisfied with his new farm. Only one month after Francis moved to Volney, a certain Mr. Parkhurt came to Francis' farm to look at it. In the next year, Francis tried to sell his farm. On February 18, 1854, he "bargained farm to Hollister . . . for \$850." Though he could not sell his farm this time, he again tried to sell it in 1855. On January 12, John Everts came to Volney "to see about buying farm." On January 15, Francis went to look at another farm. If he had been able to sell his farm, he would have bought another one. On the same day, John Everts "made a bargain for [Francis'] farm at \$865." It turned out, however, that John Everts declined to buy the farm, and Francis gave up the idea of selling his Volney farm.

We do not know whether his attempt to sell the farm shows the fact that Francis shared the speculative tendency among farmers.⁽⁶⁰⁾ As Francis bought the farm for \$645, he could have made profit by selling it for \$850 or \$865 in a few years. However, it might have been that Francis did not like the farm, or he did not have much enthusiasm toward farming. Later, a man in Oswego wrote, "The young men coming to the stage of action just now seem to have a strong aversion to agriculture, and think that after all the trades and professions are filled, the residue is good enough for farmers."⁽⁶¹⁾ Besides, Francis was not very strong physically. He often wrote that he was sick even during the Martinsburgh period. Just after

(58) Census of the State of New York, 1855; *Transactions* (1852), p. 501.

(59) Wagner, *Manual*, p. 549.

(60) Paul W. Gates, *The Farmer's Age: Agriculture, 1815-1860* (New York, 1960), pp. 399-400.

(61) *Transactions* (1865), p. 476.

he moved to Volney, he had trouble with his bile. Later, when he was in the army during the Civil War, he soon became sick after enlistment and worked as a clerk of the company. He was hospitalized quite a while and did not engage in warfare.⁽⁶²⁾ His health must have greatly influenced his attitude toward farming.

Even though, Francis did work on his new farm. In 1853, corn, oats, potatoes, peas, beans, onions, lettuce, tomatoes, watermelon, cucumber, and buckwheat were produced on the farm. Butter, apples, cider, and barrels were also produced. Income for the year 1853 was \$85.89. Table V shows the products and income of Francis' farm for the years 1853, 1856, and 1858. These are the representative years in the Volney period. The year 1856 was a good year for Francis. He already gave up the idea of selling his farm, and built a new house on the farm the next year, which cost him \$162.77. Though the effect of the Panic of 1857

TABLE V. PRODUCTS AND INCOME, 1853-1860

1853		
Butter	97.00 lbs.	\$14.95
Potatoes	55.5 bu.	21.52
Oats	9.12 bu.	3.91
Eggs	31.0 doz.	3.54
Corn (ear)	12.5 bu.	4.30
Apples		8.62
Cider		18.00
Barrels		4.18
Other Products		6.87
Total		85.89
1856		
Butter	197.50 lbs.	\$31.09
Cheese		0.56
Meat		5.34
Eggs	23.0 doz.	3.94
Apples		37.97
Cherries		0.04
Barrels	322	112.44
Wood		21.31
Total		212.69
1858		
Butter	38.75 lbs.	\$ 5.71
Apples		17.10
Hay	2475.0 lbs.	9.60
Barrels	374	85.18
Other Products		16.05
Total		133.64

(62) Diary, August, 1864—June, 1865.

cannot be traced in his diary, his income from the farm showed a marked decline in 1858. The year 1859 was a busy year. Francis was elected a justice of the peace at the town meeting on March 2. His wife had a new baby in May, but their eldest son died in September. His wife, Sarah, became ill soon after the death of the son, and died on March 8, 1860.

In 1860, Francis not only discharged his duty as a justice of the peace, but handled the post-office business. He also got books from Philadelphia to resell them to his neighbors. Though he did some work on the farm and made barrels, a man called John usually worked on his farm. In December, he went to Jefferson County peddling dried apples. Though there was a small orchard on the farm, these dried apples were not produced on his farm. He bought 144 bushels of apples probably in Fulton and sold almost all of them in two weeks. The income from barrels already constituted more than half of the farm income in 1856. By 1858, barrels provided 64 percent of the total income. For the year 1860, Francis' diary gives us only fragmentary information about the income of the farm. Even though he kept his farm and continued to keep it, it seems to be difficult to call him a full-time commercial farmer. He was apparently a part-time farmer in 1860.

Francis cooperated with his father closely even after he had moved to Volney. During the busy season, they helped each other. In June, 1853, his father came to Volney to help Francis sow oats and plant corn. In July, Francis went to New Haven to help his father, and after they finished haying, the father again came to Francis' farm for haying. In August, Francis went to his father's farm and cradled wheat. In a sense, Francis' farm was an extension of his father's farm. On September 8, 1855, Francis wrote, "Father and Willard came out here to day and we raked and got in 3 acres of oats. 577 bundles and enough to make 700. 420 of them, half mine."

Francis also worked with his neighbors very closely. In 1853 and 1854, Francis and Hawks, whose farm was next to Francis', not only worked together on the farm, but made barrels and went to sell products together. In 1855 Charles Duell and Francis planted potatoes, made fences, made barrels, and went to sell them together. In 1857 J. Sherman helped Francis plough and drag the ground, and J. McDougall helped him plant corn. These cooperations were not always on a labor exchange basis. In October, 1857, a man named Larabee cut Francis' corn for three shillings. In September of the same year, a certain Rheuben began to cooper for Francis. It is, however, unlikely that these people who worked for Francis were hired laborers. It seems that Francis and these people worked together on a share basis. In 1860 John Coe, a Francis' neighbor, always worked on the farm. Since Francis was busy with other business, the farm work was mainly carried out by John. During April and May, when John was ploughing the ground and planting corn, Francis was making barrels. Though Francis sometimes worked with John, it was John who played the major role in the farm work. Haying was completed by John alone. Francis wrote, "I been helping

John dig potatoes and finished my part 48 bushels in cellar," on October 25. John was clearly a partner of the Squires farm. He might be called a kind of share tenant.

Francis sold his products in Fulton or in Oswego. Fulton was on the Oswego River and was an incorporated village in Volney Township. There were "a large number of stores and manufacturing establishments" in Fulton.⁽⁶³⁾ Since Fulton was a little nearer than Oswego to Francis' farm, he usually went to Fulton during the first four months after he moved to Volney. But Oswego was a more attractive market. After the four months in Volney, Francis switched to Oswego. In 1853 he went to Fulton nine times, and twelve times to Oswego. He used to carry heavy or bulky articles to Fulton, and other products to Oswego. In 1856 he carried all the load of wood to Fulton, and butter to Oswego. Francis found it more profitable to sell his products to private families than to groceries. On May 1, 1855, he went to Oswego with butter and eggs. The market price of butter, or the price at groceries, was 20 cents a pound, but Francis could sell his butter for 25 cents to private families. On May 5, 1855, he again sold his butter to private families at 18 cents, when he could have received only 16 cents at groceries.

Francis bought necessary articles in Fulton and Oswego. Flour, sugar, tea, molasses, cod-fish, and rice were the main articles purchased by Squires. His standard of living in the Volney period seems to be higher than the previous period. He could enjoy oyster, white fish, coffee, and whiskey in Volney. He could also buy more clothes for his family, and his wife was happy with a pretty bonnet. Though the income from the post office business or the fee of the justice was not large—the usual fee for a deed was 75 cents—he could get more money from non-agricultural activities than farm work. On August 19, 1858, he paid up \$43.81 for the mortgage and only had to pay \$5 more. His social life also became more colorful in the Volney period. In August, 1860, he organized Republican Club, and attended the town caucus and the county convention. During September and October, he was busy with mass meetings in Fulton and Oswego. On November 7, he was happy with the result of the election.

Francis Squires was a good citizen, but it may be difficult to call him a good farmer. In 1858, he sold hay on January 17, March 20, April 1, May 3, and so on. He got \$9.60 from the sales of hay in that year. Francis still kept a cow or two, but his production of butter in 1858 was very small. Though he did sell hay occasionally before, the fact that he sold hay frequently shows an aspect of declining agriculture on the farm. The changes of Francis' life from the Martinsburgh period to the Volney period can also be shown by the changes of the entries in his diary. The entries about farm work in the diary decreased toward the end of the whole period. We will enumerate the number of days in August—a busy month for farmers—on which Francis mentioned in his diary

(63) *Oswego County Directory* (Oswego, 1866), p. 51.

having done some farm work.

1841	21 days
1845	24 days
1850	21 days
1855	13 days
1860	2 days

The above clearly shows the changes of Francis' life. In 1841 and 1845, he worked on his father's substantial dairy farm in Martinsburgh. In 1850 he still worked on his father's farm in New Haven, but non-agricultural activity was already introduced to the farm economy. In 1855 and 1860, Francis had his own farm, but he was already a part-time farmer in 1860. The non-agricultural opportunities offered to him by the existence of Oswego and Fulton apparently influenced his life. This urban influence might well have changed the life of other Oswego County farmers. As we have seen earlier, young people in Oswego County had "a strong aversion to agriculture" in the middle of the 1860's.

Francis was commissioned for post master on October 28, 1861, and elected a justice of the peace again on March 4, 1863. From August 29, 1864, to June 9, 1865, he served in the army as a clerk. In April, 1866, he bought a grocery store in North Volney and managed the store. He could sell \$15 to \$30 worth of goods everyday already in May of the same year. He was engaged in mortgage business in 1868. Though Francis still kept a farm in Volney—he sold his old farm in 1865 for \$1,000 and bought a new farm—he only occasionally helped two men working on the farm. In 1875 he married with Maria Coe, who had been helping Francis' domestic affairs after the death of his first wife. In the same year, the Old Settlers' Association of Oswego County was organized, and Francis became the secretary and treasurer of the association.⁽⁶⁴⁾ He had enough spare time to study local history and write historical remarks which he sent to Oswego and Fulton newspapers.⁽⁶⁵⁾ On August 18, 1880, he worked "all day on the census books." On September 18, 1895, he received a copy of new county history, *Landmarks of Oswego County*. He must have been satisfied with the biographical sketch of F. W. Squires in that book.

When we compare the life of Francis' father to that of Francis, we can clearly see the difference of attitudes toward farming between the two generations. If his father's life is symbolic of the golden age of agriculture in the state of New York, the life of Francis W. Squires symbolizes the decline of the agricultural interests of the state.

Keio University

(64) Churchill, *Landmarks*, p. 232.

(65) Some of the clippings from newspapers are pasted on vacant spaces in Squires' diary.