

Focii of Human Activity, Essex County, Ontario, 1825-52: Archival Sources and Research Strategies

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For long a preserve of the historian and the contemporary geographer, the theme of the settlement of Canada is now being approached by a variety of disciplines and sub-disciplines, among them historical geography. This is an interest that we have shared for some years. Our work has been directed towards understanding the settlement process in Essex County, Ontario. This area was chosen because of its long history of settlement, its simplicity in terms of the physical environment and its relative wealth of archival materials. The county contains the earliest white settlement in what is now Ontario and was the most westerly of the four early core areas in the provinces.¹

The physical geography of Essex is not complex. The county extends some thirty five miles from east to west and is at its widest twenty five miles from north to south. It forms a glacio-lacustrine plain of little relief lying between 550 and 750 feet above sea level. In the first half of the nineteenth century, the wet lands of this area were regarded as formidable barriers to settlement. They were extensive and well-drained soils were largely limited to particular areas along the Lake St. Clair — Lake Erie shore. Physical geography not only affected the choice of site for the settlers but affected the pattern of communication.² The earliest and most important roads were quite peripheral. In addition to physical barriers the settler entering this area had to deal with an ideological climate which rewarded loyalty with land, that permitted land speculation and held off the market lands which were specifically set apart for the use of the

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- 1 C.F.J. Whebell, "Core Areas in Intrastate Political Organisation," *The Canadian Geographer* 12, No. 2 (1968): 100-112; E.J. Lajeunesse, *The Windsor Border Region*, (Toronto, 1960).
- 2 J. Clarke, "A Geographical Analysis of Colonial Settlement in the Western District of Upper Canada 1788-1850," (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Western Ontario, 1970); "Aspects of Land Acquisition in Essex County," 1790-1900, *Histoire Sociale* 11, (1978): 98-119; C. Herniman, "The Development of Artificial Drainage Systems in Kent and Essex Counties, Ontario," *Ontario Geography* 2, (1968): 13-24.

state and church as Crown and Clergy Reserves.³ These themes and their inter-relationship one with another are ever present elements in both our own work and that of historians and geographers in general.⁴ In the most recent phase our attention has turned to economic factors; in particular the importance of land prices in the choice of land.

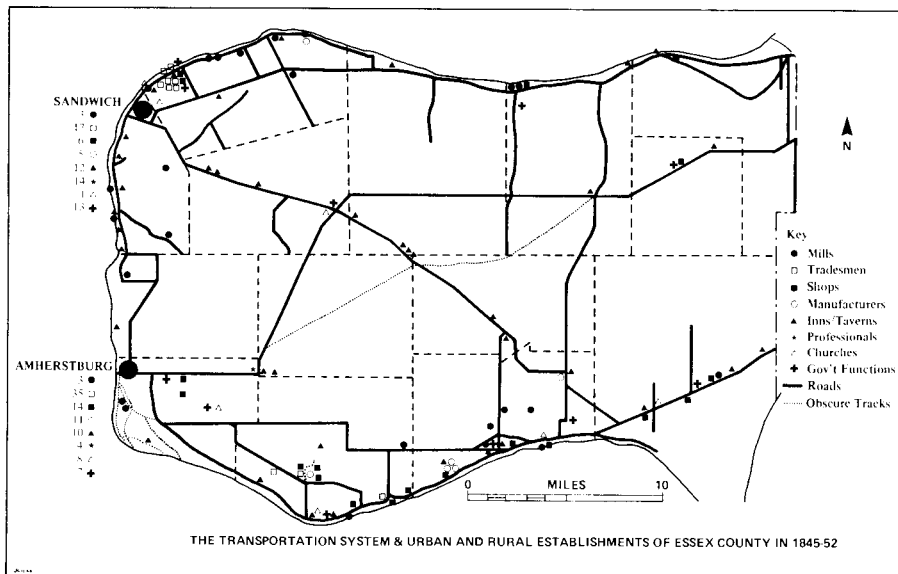
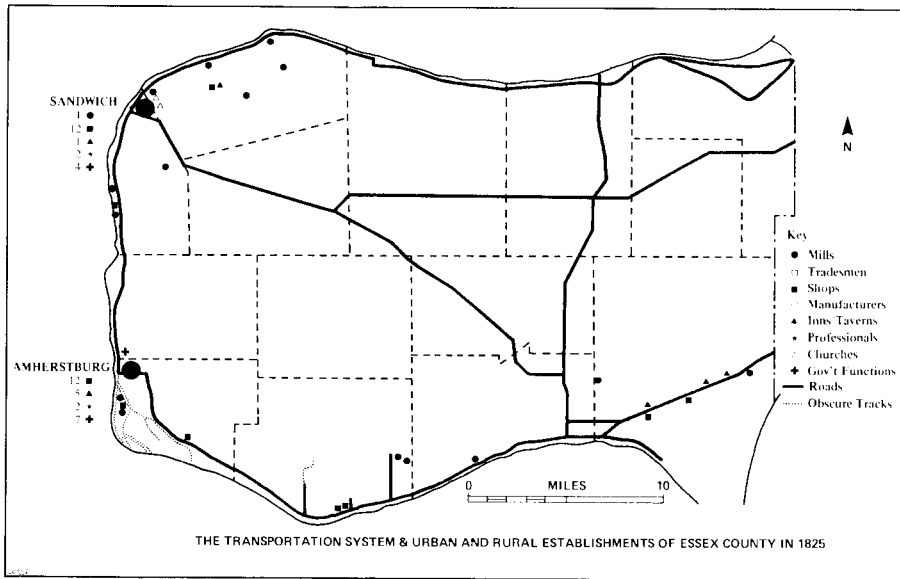
Using land price data obtained from the Abstract Index to Deeds we hypothesised that price was related to soil quality, accessibility to the road network and to the urban structure of the county. When the results did not prove as meaningful as we had hoped we sought to reformulate the analysis. To this point, accessibility to the urban structure had been viewed as accessibility to the major towns of Sandwich and Amherstburg. It soon became evident that this scale of analysis was inappropriate. Undoubtedly these were major urban centres but they were probably places to which, unless one lived in their immediate vicinity, one resorted to on an infrequent basis for market purposes. On a more regular basis, given the self-sufficient lifestyles of the times and difficulties of communication via a somewhat primitive, if burgeoning road network, demands were more modest. For example, these might include more regular contact with a blacksmith, a saddler, a store, a school and, even more probable in the drinking society of Upper Canada, a tavern.⁵ The purpose of this paper is to exploit a variety of textual and cartographic sources in order to reconstruct a useful base for our particular investigation. The results of this work are summarized as Figures 1 and 2. Readers of this journal will however find value in this article according to their disciplinary bias. For the agricultural geographer it will lie in its potential usefulness for the analysis of rural land prices; for the urban geographer in its identification of the embryonic urban structure; for the student of archival science in the range and varying quality of available documentation.

SOURCE MATERIALS

A variety of textual and cartographic sources were used to compile the maps. These included the published Census for 1851-52, the Census Enumeration Returns for the Census of 1851-52, various Assessment Rolls that corres-

- 3 J. Clarke, "The Role of Political Position and Family and Economic Linkage in Land Speculation in the Western District of Upper Canada 1788-1815," *The Canadian Geographer* 12, No. 1 (1975): 18-34; "Documentary and Map Sources for Reconstructing the History of the Reserved Lands in the Western District of Upper Canada," *The Canadian Cartographer* 8, No. 2 (1971): 75-83.
- 4 G.C. Patterson, *Land Settlement in Upper Canada, 1783-1840*, Sixteenth Report of the Provincial Archives of Ontario, (Toronto, 1921); L.F. Gates, *Land Policies of Upper Canada*, (Toronto, 1968); A. Wilson, *The Clergy Reserves of Upper Canada*, (Toronto, 1968); A.G. Brunger, "A Spatial Analysis of Individual Settlement in Southern London District, Upper Canada, 1800-1836," (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Western Ontario, 1973); C.J. Wood, "Human Settlement in the Long Point Region 1790-1825," (unpublished M.A. thesis, McMaster University, 1966); L.J. Wood, "Settlement of the Mt. Elgin, Ontario," (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Western Ontario, 1966); R.L. Gentilcore, "Change in Settlement in Ontario (Canada) 1800-1850; A correlation analysis of historical source materials" in W.P. Adams and F. Helleiner (eds.) *International Geography*, (1972), pp. 418-419.
- 5 M.A. Garland and J.J. Talman, "Pioneer Drinking Habits and the Rise of the Temperance Agitation in Upper Canada Prior to 1840" in F.H. Armstrong, H.A. Stevenson and J.D. Wilson (eds.), *Aspects of Nineteenth Century Ontario*, (Toronto, 1974), pp. 171-193.

FIGURES 1 AND 2



ponded with the time periods under consideration and the Abstract Index to Deeds.⁶ Cartographic materials included the original survey plans for various townships and maps by Bonneycastle, Rankin and Rottenburg.⁷ Secondary sources included the published works of Lajeunesse, Gourlay, Smith and Belden's Historical Atlas of Essex and Kent Counties.⁸ In the section which follows the emphasis is upon our use of these materials in the reconstruction of the maps. Obviously, we cannot treat all aspects of the source materials. Their usefulness varies with the tradition of the disciplines using them and the questions asked. All will repay investigation in the light of the different concepts which geographers, historians, economists and sociologists bring to them. Irrespective of their discipline all academics will need to understand their organisation and structure and the legal circumstances surrounding their creation.

THE PUBLISHED CENSUS AND THE CENSUS ENUMERATION RETURNS

While earlier census material is available for particular townships in Southern Ontario, the earliest official census of the Canadas, available for most areas, is the Census of 1851-52. Gathered by enumerators who displayed negligence and ignorance, who were "wholly unfit for the duties assigned to them", who relied upon voluntary information rarely tested by the enumerators and collected from people who thought the enumeration was related to taxation, the raw enumeration returns are not the most reliable.⁹ Given the qualifications of the enumerators, and the manual process of compilation, it is not surprising to find discrepancies between the original enumeration and the aggregated published returns. For example, in Albertville Village, Gosfield Township, the Enumeration Returns report the existence of two water mills and the published census only reports one. Again, the published census does not report the two breweries, or the foundry and tavern that W.H. Smith says were located in the Town of Amherstburg.¹⁰ It would seem that Mr. Smith's observational capacities exceeded those of the census enumerators, or that Smith's informants were more willing to co-operate! If the usefulness of the Census Enumeration Returns exceeds that of the published census, it is unfortunate that so few returns exist. In fact, only five of nine enumeration returns for Essex County

6 Census of Canada for 1851/52; Lovelle and Lamoureux (Quebec, 1855) P.A.C., Enumeration Returns, Essex County, Census for 1851/52; Archives of Ontario, R.G. 21 Records of the Western District; Abstract Index to Deeds (hereafter A.I.D.), Genealogical Society of Utah, Vols. 858-866, 885, 894, 926-933, 936-940, 949-957, 963-969, and 978-983, microfilm copies at P.A.O.

7 P.A.O. Survey Plans of McNiff, Smith, Burwell and Ridout and Survey Plans, Department of Lands and Forests, Toronto (microfilm copy, Carleton University); P.A.C., SV²-400, Rottenburg 1850; P.A.C., H1/409, C. Rankin 1847 and the Bonneycastle map of 1842 reproduced in P. Vandall, *Atlas of Essex County*, (Windsor, 1965).

8 E.J. Lajeunesse, *The Windsor Border Region*, (Toronto, 1960); R. Gourlay, *A Statistical Account of Upper Canada*, Vol. I, (London, 1822); W.H. Smith, *Smith's Canadian Gazetteer* (Rowseell, 1846); W.H. Smith, *Canada Past, Present and Future*, T. Maclear, (Toronto, 1851); H. Belden, *Illustrated Historical Atlas of the Counties of Essex and Kent*, (Toronto, 1880-81).

9 *Census of Canada 1851*, Pt. IV.

10 W.H. Smith, *op. cit.*, 1851, p. 26.

have survived. Even when they have survived, there are difficulties in using them to locate, for example, shops, schools, taverns and mills. This is because it is necessary to link the agricultural and population schedules in order to obtain a location. Also, the schedules do not list a person's name in alphabetical order, nor have the enumerators provided lot locations on both schedules. As a result, linking various attributes is subject to error.

Figures 3 and 4 illustrate the type of material available in these sources with respect to two individuals, John R. Park and Cornelius Lonsbury. Under the heading of stores, taverns and shops these men were described as having a merchant shop or a shoemaker shop in the Personal Census where they appeared as entries 19 and 26. Park is revealed as an American born Episcopalian of 50 who lived in a two storey framehouse. By a similar examination of the Agricultural Return he was identified as entry number thirty five. He held 76 acres of land, cultivated 40, of which he cropped 30 acres and held eight acres of pasture. The land use of his farm is also described. Lonsbury was found by a similar process as entry thirty six in the same schedule (Figure 4). He was located on lot 41 in the first concession and held one acre.¹¹ The problems involved in such manual linkage would be greatly reduced if this material was rendered in machine-readable format.

ASSESSMENT ROLLS

The organisation of the Assessment Rolls is similar to that of the Census Enumeration, although their purpose was quite different. Beginning as early as 1793, the Assessment Rolls were annual inventories for the purpose of taxation.¹² They include data on individual households, building materials, agricultural activity and the amount of personal and real property to be assessed. Deficiencies in the early legislation which did not always require assessors to visit a property, which required the owners of real property to report its existence only in townships in which they themselves were resident, and outright dishonesty all worked together to limit the usefulness of the Assessment Rolls. A further factor was the quality of the assessors themselves who, like the quality of the census enumerators, left much to be desired. Joshua Thompson writing in 1868 described conditions which undoubtedly applied earlier:

our assessors are as full of errors or omissions as any other offices. I tried to send as correct a copy to the County as possible. I know who hath to do most of the addings. I know it is the assessor's duty to do it and to have the role in alphabetical order. We have men in office who would be better after the plow.¹³

These shortcomings in legal draftmanship and human qualities account for the fact that the range of buildings recorded in the assessment is indeed limited, even when compared to the Census Enumeration Returns.

11 P.A.C., Census Enumeration Returns for 1851, Personal Schedule, entry numbers 19 and 26 and Agricultural Schedule, entry numbers 35 and 36.

12 L. Gates, *Land Policies of Upper Canada*, (Toronto, 1968) *passim*.

13 Assessment Rolls for the Township of Biddulph, 1868. Regional History Collection, University of Western Ontario, London, Ontario.

13 25

PERSONAL CENSUS—ENUMERATION DISTRICT, No. 1 *Township* OF

Names of Inmates.	Profession, Trade or Occupation.	Place of Birth.	Religion.	Residence if out of limits.	Age next birth day.	Sex.	
						Male.	Female.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1 Johnson Hon	Town	W. State	Protestant	X	24	1	
2 Joseph Hon		W. State	do	X	21		1
3 Joseph Hon		W. State	do		21	1	
4 George Hon		do	do		16	1	
5 Solomon Hon		do	do		13	1	
6 Samuel Hon		do	do		11	1	1
7 Susan Hon		do	do		8		1
8 Henry Hon		do	do		7	1	
9 Thomas Hon		do	do		6	1	
10 David Hon		do	do		1	1	
11 Margaret Colman		do	do				1
12 Samuel Hon	Town	Colchester	do	X	37	1	
13 Catherine Hon		Long Point	Baptist	X	37	1	
14 Charles Hon		Colchester	do		17	1	
15 Elizabeth Hon		do	do		15		1
16 Hannah Hon		do	do		15	1	
17 Richard Hon		do	do		11	1	
18 Lucy Hon		do	do		3		1
19 John R. Park	Merchant	W. State	Ep. Church	X	30	1	
20 Equilly Park		do	do	X	65	1	
21 Eliza Park		W. State	do		16	1	
22 John B. Park		do	do		15		1
23 Eliza Park		do	do		11		1
24 Herbert Park		do	do		9		1
25 Earnest Park		do	do		6		1
26 Cornelia Leach	Physician	Massa	Methodist	X	46	1	
27 Sarah Leach		do	do	X	47	1	
28 Lydia Gentry		W. State	do		18	1	
29 Joseph Gentry		do	do		15	1	
30 Sarah Gentry		do	do		1		1
31 M. Mandrake	School M.	W. State	do	X	25	1	
32 Mahid Begon	Blacksmith	W. State	Baptist	X	45	1	
33 Mary Begon		do	do		37	1	
34 Charles Begon		W. State	do		20	1	
35 Georg Begon		do	do		18	1	
36 Richard Begon		do	do		13	1	
37 John Begon		W. State	do		11	1	
38 William Begon		do	do		9	1	
39 Clary Begon		do	do		6	1	
40 Mary J. Begon		do	do		4		1
41 Robert Begon		do	do		2	1	
42 Robert McLean		do	do		20	1	
43 Susanna Wellington		W. State	Methodist		23	1	
44 William McLean	Merchant	W. State	Methodist	X	31	1	
45 Melinda McLean		W. State	do	X	25	1	
46 Henry McLean		do	do		6	1	
47 Eliza McLean		do	do		5		1
48 John McLean		do	do		1	1	
49 John B. Bist		do	Presbyterian		12	1	
50 Samuel Wellington	Labourer	W. State	Methodist		14	1	
	X					27	21

29-21

Personal Census schedule, Colchester Tp., Ont., 1851. (PAC, Microfilm C-11720). Three sheets.

Colchester IN THE COUNTY OF *Essex* COMPRISING

Married or Single.	Colored persons—Negroes.	Infirm if any.	Residents.				Members absent.		Deaf & Dumb.		Blind.		Lunatics.		Attending School.		Births during the year 1851.		Deaths during year 1851.				
			Members.		Not Members.		M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	N ^o	Age and cause of Deaths.			
			9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29
1	<i>maid</i>		/																				/
2	<i>do</i>			/																			
3	<i>single</i>		/																				
4	<i>do</i>		/																				
5	<i>do</i>		/																				
6	<i>do</i>			/																			
7	<i>do</i>		/	/																			
8	<i>do</i>		/	/																			
9	<i>do</i>		/	/																			
10	<i>do</i>		/	/																			
11	<i>do</i>																						
12	<i>maid</i>		/																				
13	<i>do</i>			/																			
14	<i>single</i>		/	/												/							
15	<i>do</i>		/	/												/							
16	<i>do</i>		/	/												/							
17	<i>do</i>		/	/												/							
18	<i>do</i>		/	/												/							
19	<i>maid</i>		/	/																			
20	<i>do</i>		/	/																			
21	<i>single</i>		/	/												/							
22	<i>do</i>		/	/												/							
23	<i>do</i>		/	/												/		/					
24	<i>do</i>		/	/												/							
25	<i>do</i>		/	/												/							
26	<i>maid</i>		/	/												/							
27	<i>do</i>		/	/												/							
28	<i>single</i>		/	/												/							
29	<i>do</i>		/	/												/							
30	<i>do</i>		/	/												/							
31	<i>maid</i>		/	/												/							
32	<i>do</i>		/	/												/							
33	<i>single</i>		/	/												/							
34	<i>do</i>		/	/												/							
35	<i>do</i>		/	/												/							
36	<i>do</i>		/	/												/							
37	<i>do</i>		/	/												/							
38	<i>do</i>		/	/												/							
39	<i>do</i>		/	/												/							
40	<i>do</i>		/	/												/							
41	<i>do</i>		/	/												/							
42	<i>do</i>		/	/												/							
43	<i>do</i>		/	/												/							
44	<i>maid</i>		/	/												/							
45	"		/	/												/							
46	<i>single</i>		/	/												/							
47	"		/	/												/							
48	"		/	/												/							
49	"		/	/												/							
50	"		/	/												/							
60	"		/	/												/							
			28	17	1	4											11	6	1				
			28-17-1-4											11-6-1									

4
AGRICULTURAL CENSUS—ENUMERATION DISTRICT, No. 1 *Township* 83 OF 97

Name of occupier.	Concession or Planage.	Lot or part of Lot.	Number of Acres of Land.						Wheat.		Barley.		Rye.	
			Held by each person or family.	Under Cultiva- tion.	Under Crops in 1851.	Under Pasture 1851.	Gardens or Orchards.	Under Wood or Wkld.	Acres.	Produce Bsh.	Acres.	Produce Bsh.	Acres.	Produce Bsh.
John Wright 1	187	31	21	186	60	4	100	20	20					
Samuel White 1	42	11	50	80	11		50	14	241					
William Smith 1	59	27	51	30	21		150	12	150					
John B. Smith 1	51	1	1	1										
Gabriel Chapman 1	71	7	7	7										
Edward Smith 1	70	18	18	20	8			1	18					
John Barnhart 1	71	1	1			1								
James Bishop 1	62	16	16	16				18	300					
Robert Nelson 1	63	24	24	24										
John Brown 1	63													
Thomas Jones 1	68		1			1								
Margaret Bell 1	60	172	65	45	11		30	27	711					
John Brown 89														
John Christie 1	65	12	120	74	40			35	511					
Reuben Smith 1	67	30	111	70	20	4	280	30	610					
John E. Smith 1	63	20	110	80	25	5	180	40	180					
William Smith 1	61	10	24	27	12	3	118	22	890					
Thomas Wright 1	61	12	51	43	7		70	19	57					
Joseph Smith 1	28	10	40	25	15		60	16	60					
Abel Smith 1	28	10	40	27	8	5	61	8	160					
Steven Smith 1	28	10	40	20	16	4	60	14	211					
George Wright 1	29	10	30	15	8	7	70	7	101					
John Weir 1	25	11	20	15	5		31	1	21					
John Weir 2	25	11	35	16	15	4	41	4	77					
John Smith 1	25	10	16	4	12		84	4	81					
Reuben Smith 1	25	12	47	32	14	1	78	36	224					
Charles Smith 1	33	14	41	24	8	5	114	15	311					
George Wright 1	36	20	80	64	3	2	120	24	610					
Henry Jones 1	36	22	57	22	14	14	171	12	231					
George Jones 1	37													
James Lee 1	37	11	71	68	18	4	30	18	310					
Richard Lee 1	38	14	13			14								
John Lee 1	41	14	101	59	43	4	41	20	320					
Samuel Jones 1	33	6	45	48	13		17	15	209					
John R. Bell 1	40	7	40	30	8	2	30	20	330					
C. J. Smith 1	41	1	1			1								
Henry Smith 1	41	1	1			1								
Thomas Smith 1	41	1	1			1								
James Bell 1	56	19	59	41	8	2	141	24	451					
Volney Smith 1	42	18	71	58	10	2	117	18	279					
Alfred Wright 1	45	9	60	34	10	2	46	16	229					
Henry Smith 1	44	20	57	45	2	8	151	16	382					
Henry Smith 1	46	31	189	97	45	25	180	38	551					
Alfred Buchanan 1	47													
John M. Manning 1	44													
John S. White 1	45	20	100	83	44	3	180	28	310					
Charles Smith 1	49													
			4634	2874	1835	583	943	2621	539	8817				

Agricultural Census schedule, Colchester Tp., Ont., 1851. (PAC, Microfilm C-11720). Three sheets.

Pm		Oats		R. Wheat		Indian Corn		Potatoes		Turneps		H. H.	C.	S.
A	Bk.	A	Bk.	A	Bk.	A	Bk.	A	Bk.	A	Bk.			
16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
						3	187	1	20					
		5	160			4	150	1/2	140					
6	30	2	50											
						7	20							
						6	250	1/2	30					
		1	20					1	100					
						14	200	1/2	30					
6	50	6	200	2	30	10		1	30					
						20	200	1/2	60	1	20			
		6	150			10	150	1	100					
						8	200	1/2	50					
		4	180			6	90	1/2	90					
		4	10			8	100	1/2	20					
		2	20			6	60	1						
		6	140			2	60	1/2	60					
		5	150	2	40			1/2						
		3	100			3	70	1	100					
		4	20			3	50							
		2	30			8	100							
		3	50			6	100	1	80					
		2	40			7	100							
						7	20	1/2	20					
		2	50	2	40	7	100	1	70	1/2	30			
		5	100	2	30	9	250	1	100					
						13	700							
		4	15			11	300							
		8	200	1/2	30	5	150	1/2	200					
3	50	6	150			2	20	1/2	20					
						6	150	1	150					
						6	120	1	150				2	
		3	10	1/2	7	15	60	1/2	60					
						15	400	1	40					
		5	30			4	100	1	30					
		6	100			7	300							
		4												
		6	100			12	500	2	100					
11	120	106	2453	10	177	240	6380	20 1/2	1875	14	50	6	2	

84

	Beans. Bbl.	Hops. Lbs.	Hay Bundles or Tons	Flax or Hemp. Lbs.	Tobacco. Lbs.	Wool. Lbs.			Maple Sugar. Lbs.	Cider. Galls.	Fulled Cloth. Yards.	Linens—Yds.	Finest—Yds.	
	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44
1			12		100									
2			9		250	40								
3			6		100	30								59
4					60									
5														30
6			5											
7						60								30
8						7								30
9					300									
10														
11														
12			9			80					16			50
13														
14			3		8	90								
15			12			65								50
16			13		100	70								100
17			10			76					12			95
18			10			46								38
19			1			20								60
20			12			12								
21			15			76								
22			2			36								34
23														
24			3									8		10
25						16								
26			6		450	60			100	144				60
27			12		150	30				228	16			
28			14			70				328	13			62
29			10		600	22				260	25			25
30						40								60
31			9			50				500				84
32														
33			15		350	100			300	400	60			70
34			11		500	80								60
35			12		200									
36			10		50	38								
37														
38			11 1/2		20	38								
39			19		130	70				220	16			60
40			10		110	30				600				28
41			8		1200	20				175				
42			10		150	70				400	22			40
43						30								26
44						80						20		20
45						40								
46														
47			12											
48														
49														
50			288		2752	1602			400	3155	193			1196

FIGURE 3

Assigned Line No.	Name	Occupation	Country of Origin	Religion	Lives out of Limits	Age
19	John R. Park	Merchant	U.S.	Episcopalian	Yes	50
26	Cornelius Lonsbury	Shoe Maker	Niagara District	Methodist	Yes	44

P.A.C., Census of Canada West, 1851, Essex County, Township of Colchester, Personal Census folio 25 lines to 26

FIGURE 4

Assigned Line No.	Name	Location	Acres Held	Acres Culti- vated	Acres Crop- ped	Acres Pasture	Acres Garden or Orchard	Wood and Wild
35	John R. Park	40/1	76	40	30	8	2	36
36	Cornelius Lonsbury	41/1	1	1	1			

P.A.C., Census of Canada West, 1851, Essex County, Township of Colchester, Agricultural Schedule, folios 77 and 78.

Yet the Assessment Rolls provide useful information for the pre-census years. It is for this reason that 1825 was chosen as one of the cross-sections for the larger work in which we are engaged. For example, six assessment rolls have survived for various townships in Essex for the 1825 time period. Unfortunately, much of this early Ontario material is in a poor state of preservation (Figure 5 — Colchester Assessment Rolls) or regrettably has been allowed to disappear since the necessary support for an adequate archival acquisitions programme, has not been forthcoming. When in this study Assessment Rolls did not survive, as for the 1852 cross-section, we have had to use the extant assessment nearest to our time period. For example, in Colchester Township the 1846 assessment was used. However, even in the absence of the Assessment Rolls, aggregated information for the years 1824 to 1841 is available in the Appendices to the Journals of the House of Assembly of Upper Canada.

The Assessment Rolls provided information with respect to the location of mills and whether they were steam, water, saw or grist. The locations of distilleries and merchants' shop were also recorded. In contrast to the census enumeration, the Assessment Rolls provide locational information that is immediately identifiable although the search is long since they are neither organised alphabetically nor geographically for this area. For example, in Figure 6 John

FIGURE 3

Sex	Marital Status	Resident Member	House Type	No. Storeys	Families Occupying	Comment
Male	Married	1	Frame	2	1	Merchant Shop
Male	Married	1	Frame	2	1	Shoe Shop

Colchester, Personal Census, folio 25 lines to 26.



FIGURE 4

Wheat Acreage	Bushel Wheat	Peas Acres	Peas Bushel	Acreage Oats	Bushel Oats	Indian Corn	Bushel Indian Corn
20	380	3	50	4	150	2	20
						Potatoes Acre	Potatoes Bushel
						4	20

Colchester, Agricultural Schedule, folios 77 and 78.



R. Park is identified as having a merchant's shop on the southern half of lot forty in the first concession. In addition, he is seen to have held four other assessed properties.¹⁴

While the range of buildings or functions is more limited in the case of the Assessment Rolls, the Census Enumeration Returns and the Assessment Rolls are essentially complementary sources. In using both documents, our emphasis has been upon the material structure (for example mills and stores) rather than upon the occupation or the duties performed by individuals on various lots. Hence, Figures 1 and 2 show, for example, the mills of Essex, but not the millers employed. The Census Enumeration Returns and the Assessment Rolls were the main documentary sources utilized in this study.

THE ABSTRACT INDEX TO DEEDS

The origin of this source lies in the legislation of 1865 which required the county registrars to abstract the detailed information contained in the older Registrars' Copy Books and to prepare indices for each county. Originally deposited in the district and county registry offices, these records, together with the more

14 P.A.O., Records of the Western District, Assessment Roll for Colchester Township for 1846, entry number 97. Figure 5 which shows part of the Colchester Assessment Roll for 1825 is taken from the same source.

FIGURE 5

From a photostat copy of the original at the Hiram Walker Museum, Windsor, Ont., now transferred to the Archives of Ontario.

A statement for the Township of Colchester for the year 1825

No 1

6483

Individual Name	Cultural		16 of 18 years of age		16 of 18 years of age		16 of 18 years of age		16 of 18 years of age		16 of 18 years of age	
	1825	1826	1827	1828	1829	1830	1831	1832	1833	1834	1835	1836
Joseph Harris	20 2 1/2	12	1	2	2	1	5	1		2	1	
Samuel Chaffin	18	20	1	1	3	1	1	1		2		
John Bond	22	23	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	3	4	1
Wm Jenkins	12		1	1	2	1	2	6				
Saml Webb	14	12	1	1	1	1	2	5		1	5	
John Bickel	16	31	1	1	1	1	4			1	2	
John Lyffe	16	30	1	1	1	1	5	5	1	3	5	
Wm Baldwin	41	33	1	1	2	2	2	2		3	4	1
			1	1	1	3				2	5	
	140	22	1	3	1	2	1	7	1	1	2	1
	10	15	2	2	2	3	1	1	1	3	1	6
1827	10	15	1	1	1	1	1			4	6	2
Robert Thompson				2	1					1	1	
Wm R Cornish	17	12	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	6	1
John Wilson	20	16	1	1	1	1	2		1	2	4	1
Alex Rank	16	31	1	1	1	5	6		1	2	5	1
Thomas Wright	17	30	1	1	1	1	3			1	1	
Thomas Jones	15	2	2	1	1	1	1	4		2	4	
Samuel Webb											1	
Rufus Baldwin												1
Colchester St Louis				1	2	1	2	6				
Andrew Selway				2	2	1	5	5				
John Stewart	22	21	1	1	1	2	3	1	1	3	1	1
Richard Pettit	24	14	1	1	1	2	7			2	2	5
John Taylor	26	25	1	1	4	2	7					
John Hobbs				2	3	2	1	1		2	2	4
John Buchanan	12	32	1	1	1	1	4	1		1	7	1
James Knapp	30	5	1	2	3	1	1	1	1	1	6	
John Gray	17	30	1	1	3	2	4	1		2	6	1
John Little	36	12	1	1	2	1	7	1		1	1	1

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Bascom +
Leland 1918
no 2

Philip Wright	1935	76	1	1	3	1	11	1	1	1	3
James Ramsey				1	1	1	3				1
Henry Wright	1130	79	1	5	3	1	3		2	2	5
Joseph Leach	3646	79	1	5	1	2	9		1	2	5
James Leachant	4468	82	1	2	2	2	5		2	4	11
James Willsey	41			2	1	1	5				1
James Nicks	602	101		1	1	1	3				
David Hoops	40			1	1	1	1				
John Peterson	40			1	1	1	1				
Wm. Mills	30			2			2				
Joseph Jones	40			1			1				
Stephen White	40			1	1	1	3				1
Elmer Reynolds	11070	87-88	1	1	2	1	3	1	1	1	6
John H. Cornsack	1832	70	1	1	2	1	3	1	1	1	5
William Hamlett	1822	74	1	1	1	2	5		1	1	2
Isabel Bundy	82	82	1	1	2	1	6	1	1	2	1
Joseph Livingston	1445	75	1	1	1	2	5	1	1	1	3
John C. Brook	6735	74	3	1	1	1	4				
James Brook				2	1	1	3		2	2	5
William Brook				1	1	1	2		1	1	2
Wm. Wiley				1			1				1
Thomas Kinder				1			1				1
Lucinda Cornwall	41351	82-84	1	3	2	2	1	1	2	5	4
James R. Brook	5317	70	1	1	1	5	7		1	2	1
William Cornwall				1	1	1	3				2
				15126	11	77	40	7-4	29	11	1
				15126	11	77	40	7-4	29	11	1

6488

1860 427
8722 691
5228 -1222
4225 2177

Nathan Cornwall
James R. Brook

A. Professor

Nathan Cornwall, June 24, March 1915.
111. 45. 111.
Ch. 2. 70. 80.

detailed Copy Books, were microfilmed by the Genealogical Society of Latter Day Saints. A copy containing the records for the whole province was deposited in the Archives of Ontario, Toronto. Someone wishing to work on a particular area has a number of options. The first of these is to travel to the particular County Registry Office where the records have to be shared with the legal fraternity who are using them for contemporary title searches. A person requiring immediate access to these records for more than one county is better off consulting the records in Toronto rather than making separate trips to individual registry offices. This strategy is superior not only in terms of the cost of transportation and perhaps accommodation, but it circumvents the legal requirement of a fee for each search. Once again, the usefulness of these documents will depend on the users' disciplinary bias. As land records used in conjunction with other sources such as the Assessment Rolls they are of great interest to those studying mortgaging, land speculation, tenancy and a host of related matters. They require some understanding of legal terminology, a topic discussed elsewhere.¹⁵ In this study their usefulness was more limited. As might be expected, since only the name of those who held deeds to lots were registered, they provide limited information about the locations of mills and other establishments. However, they were useful for confirming information about the locations of proprietors of shops, mills, taverns and similar enterprises.

A case in point is that of John R. Park. In Table 1, it is seen that in 1833 he acquired 114 acres on the front of lot 40 in the first concession of Colchester by bargain and sale.¹⁶ In 1851 he still retained 78 acres of land on which we know from the Assessment and Enumeration Returns he owned a shop. The major usefulness of the Abstracts in this study was confirmatory. While in this instance we gain no new information, in the majority of instances, the Abstracts provided supplementary locational data.

CARTOGRAPHIC SOURCES

These sources included the general category of survey plans as well as particular maps such as the Bonneycastle map, the Rankin map and the Rottenburg (Figure 7). Their usefulness reflects the time of their creation, the training of the cartographer and the purpose for which the map was composed. For instance, the survey plans were constructed during the initial stages of settlement. As their name implies, they were plans of townships in which locations were made in terms of lots and concessions in order to enable the government of the day to allocate land in a just and orderly fashion. As a result, the survey plans provide a limited amount of data. However, they did prove to be useful for the reconstruction of the 1825 road network and occasionally identified the sites of existing and proposed towns. Figure 8, Peter Carroll's survey of Malden Township is illustrative. This particular example shows incremental information added to the original while in the custody of the Ontario Depart-

15 J. Clarke, "Land and Law in Essex County; Malden Township and the Abstract Index to Deeds," *Histoire Sociale* (November, 1978): 475-495.

16 A legal instrument of bargain and sale is a means of conveying title, originally so that it could be done secretly. See reference 15 above.

FIGURE 6

NAMES.	No. OF ACRES OF LAND.		Number of Lots, or other divisions.	Number of Concessions or other divisions.	HOUSES.										MILLS.					
	UNCULTIVATED.	CULTIVATED.			£ 20	4	35	5	30	5	40	10	60	10	150	50	100			
<i>Henry Adair</i>	24	25	11P41	1																
			1 P 41	1																
<i>John R Park</i>	30	46	8A.40	1																
	250	70	18+4.19	2																
	40	21	8P 8	1																
TOTAL,	2674	935			8	14												2	1	1

Archives of Ontario, R.G. 21, Assessment Roll, Colchester 1846 (Extract)

ment of Lands and Forest and its predecessors.¹⁷ The names recorded are those of persons who held deeds to land at some time though not necessarily when Carroll conducted his survey. In short, the Carroll survey map was used as a base map for later work. The map, in addition to depicting those holding deeds, shows the location of the Crown and Clergy Reserve blocks, indicates parcels belonging to the Canada Land Company, lots reserved for glebe purposes, some vegetational information, the road network and the site of Amherstburg. This information, important to the geographer interested in land settlement, was of limited use here. Even so, they were the only cartographic sources available before 1825.

TABLE 1

Instrument	Year of Registration	Grantor	Grantee	Quantity of Lands	Consideration of Money	Remarks
1. Patent	1798	Crown	Thomas Hall	All 114ac.		
2. Patent	1808	Crown	Thomas Hall	100ac.		
3. B & S	1798	Thomas Hall	John Snider	—	£100	Lot 40 with certain agreements
4. B & S	1823	John Snider	John Arnold	—	£100	Front Part
5. B & S	1833	John Arnold	John R. Park	114ac.	£300	Front Part
6. B & S	1836	Jacob Iler	John Iler	100ac.	£100	Continuation of Lot 40
7. B & S	1851	John R. Park and Wife	John Iler (Sr)	36ac.	£ 50	

Colchester Township, lot 40 in the first concession. Source — Abstract Index to Deeds, Essex County.

17 The plans consulted included the originals housed in the Archives of Ontario as well as in the Department of Lands and Forests, Government of Ontario. Microfilm copies of the latter are available in the McOdrum Library at Carleton University.

TABLE 2
Colchester Township in 1852

Colchester Township Functions	Smith, W.H. Canada Past, Present & Future	Smith Canadian Gazetteer	Essex Co. Historical Atlas	1851 Census Enumeration	Abstract Index to Deeds	Rottenburg Map — 1851	1851-2 Published Census	Assessment Rolls	Rankin Map (1847)	Bonneycastle Map (1842)	Survey Maps
Taverns											
Emmerick's Tavern					1/7**						
Munger's Tavern			9/2	9/2	9/2						
Irwin's Tavern				282/14							
Brooker's Tavern				283/14	N ^{1/2} 283/14						
Emlaw's Tavern				2/7							
White's Tavern				60/1	S ^{1/2} 60/1						
Sonassack's				70/1						70/1	
Wright's Tavern	*** ✓					89/1					
Park's Store	✓	✓		40/1	40/1				40/1		
Ferris' Shop				1 Gore	W 1 Gore						
Lee's Shop		✓		1 Gore							
Redsdales' Store				53/1	53/1						
Quick's Shop							N.E. 8 Gore		8 Gore		
McCinnery's Store		✓		8 Gore							
Beeman's Store		✓							33/1		
Ashery		✓		8 Gore							
Tannery	1*							0****			
Churches				3 Obser- vations							
Church Episcopal		✓									
Church Baptist		✓						✓			
Church of England								✓			
Church Methodist								✓			

Saw Mills							0****			
Park's Saw Mill	✓	✓			18 and 19/2	18 and 19/2		18 and 19/2		18 and 19/2
Oxley Village Saw Mill			✓	54/1	54/1					
Grist Mill							0****			
Lonsbury's Shoe Shop				41/1						
Black Smith Shop				41/1	41/1					
Shoe Shop				83/1	N ¹ / ₂ 83/1					
Black Smith Shop				71/1	71/1					
Post Office									61/1	61/1
Brewery							0****			
Distillery							0****			
Foundry							0****			
Carding Factory							0***			
Locatable Functions	3	9	2	21	11	3	3	4	1	2
Percentage of locatable function for each source	5.0%	15.0%	3.3%	35.0%	18.3%	5.0%	5.0%	6.7%	1.7%	5.0%

* Smith indicates in the Canadian Gazetteer that this tannery was located on the Colchester Township lake shore; however the exact location is not indicated.

** 1/7 indicates that this building was located on Lot 1, Concession 7.

*** ✓ indicated in the text of a particular reference, but the exact location is not indicated.

**** The published Census of 1851-52 while in agreement with the enumeration at this point is at variance with other sources. While the report of zero is datum it was not counted as a function.

METHOD

Generally, it can be said that one could not rely on any single source to construct these maps. For example, Table 2 illustrates how various establishments were located on the 1852 map of Colchester Township. As can be seen, many of those features recorded by Smith in the Canadian Gazetteer would have been unlocatable if not for the fact that lot locations for these enterprises were recorded in the Census Enumeration Returns for 1851-52, the Assessment Rolls and the Abstract Index to Deeds. Periodically, individual occurrences were restricted to appearing on only the cartographic material, as in the case of locating the post office on lot 61, concession 1.

Table 3 is based upon the number of features identified in a particular source as a percentage of the total number known to have existed in particular townships, and the county as a whole. It can be seen that in Essex County as a whole, the most important sources, in terms of number of establishments identified, were *Smith's Canadian Gazetteer* and the Census Enumeration Returns. Smith's Gazetteer identified 58.8 percent of the total features and the Census Enumeration Returns recorded 36.7 percent. However, these figures disguise important differences of a qualitative nature. Smith's establishments

TABLE 3

1852 Urban and Rural Functions: Frequency with which establishments appear in a particular source as a percentage of total establishments

Source Material	Anderdon	Colchester	Gosfield	Maidstone	Malden	Mersea	Rochester	Sandwich	Tilbury	Essex
Smith ⁽¹⁾	75.0	39.1	42.3	0	83.8	6.7	0.0	59.8	12.5	58.8
Smith ⁽²⁾	0.0	13.0	38.5	25.0	21.1	13.3	0.0	16.5	12.5	18.9
Essex Historical Atlas	0.0	8.7	19.2	0	1.0	26.6	42.9	5.5	25.0	7.7
1851-52 Census	0.0	13.0	42.3	25.0	16.2	26.6	14.3	7.9	25.0	15.3
Census Enumeration Returns:										
1851-52	0.0	87.0	0	0	7.1 ⁽⁴⁾	66.7	14.3	60.6	0.0	36.7
Assessment Rolls	0.0	17.4	0	0	1.0	6.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.9
A.I.D. ⁽³⁾	0.0	47.8	7.7	25.0	1.0	13.3	14.3	5.5	12.5	8.3
Rankin	0.0	4.3	0	0	1.0	0	0.0	2.4	0.0	0.0
Rottenburg	25.0	13.0	30.8	75.0	1.0	6.7	28.6	11.0	50.5	11.8
Bonneycastle	25.0	13.0	26.9	75.0	2.0	20.0	28.6	11.8	25.0	12.1
Total number of Establishment	4	23	26	4	99	15	7	127	8	313

⁽¹⁾ Smith, W.H.; *Smith's Canadian Gazetteer*

⁽²⁾ Smith, W.H.; *Canada Past, Present and Future*

⁽³⁾ Abstract Index to Deeds

⁽⁴⁾ Excludes the town of Amherstburg

cannot always be precisely located. This fact was especially true when one attempted to locate enterprises in the hinterlands of various townships. In contrast, the Census Enumeration, where it has survived, yielded specific locations for both urban and rural areas. Generally, the documentary sources were far superior to the cartographic sources. However, it is interesting to note that even though the survival of the Assessment Rolls is reasonable for the time periods under study, they contributed very little locatable information. Similarly, quantitatively, the cartographic sources were of limited value. For instance, where the total number of observations is relatively high for particular townships (for example, Malden and Sandwich), they never account for more than twelve per cent of the total observations. Their usefulness is somewhat higher for the Townships of Maidstone and Tilbury; however, the total observations for these townships is four and eight, respectively. There are inherent interpretational problems associated with each source and the amount of data each source provides is limited. However, in qualitative terms, no source is more important than any other.

RESULTS

For cartographic presentation it was impossible to present all of the detailed material gathered from these sources. However, for the purpose of our analy-

sis it was unnecessary since our interest is in, for example, the category shop rather than, for example, Lonsbury's shop. As a result, all of the observations were grouped according to the classification shown on Table 4. There are problems. For example, mills were considered autonomous enterprises, but could also have been classified as manufacturing establishments. However, because they played an important role during the initial phases of settlement,¹⁸ they were considered independently. Furthermore, bakers, tailors, blacksmiths, butchers and similar enterprises have been classified as tradesmen even though they may have operated shops. Shops were identified as such only if they were classified as a grocery shop, or merchants' shop, or where the records indicated a shop existed but did not specify the type. These problems are associated with all classification schemes, but are particularly marked for former times when there was not the same degree of labour specialization.¹⁹

Figures 1 and 2 indicate that for both time periods the largest concentration of establishments were situated in the Towns of Amherstburg and Sandwich. In 1852, these two towns accounted for 167 of the 200 urban enterprises located in the county. Between 1825 and 1852, the number of establishments located in Amherstburg increased from 27 to 91. These 91 enterprises provided goods and services for a population of approximately 1,000 people. Conversely, in the Town of Sandwich, where there was a population of 500 people there was a total of 76 different establishments. Obviously, the degree of concentration per unit of population was much higher in Sandwich than in Amherstburg. Generally, the period 1826 to 1851 saw an increase in government functions in Sandwich; in Amherstburg government functions remained stable. This was also true of professional establishments where Sandwich gained thirteen establishments and Amherstburg two. It is also interesting to note the parallel growth of taverns in Sandwich relative to professionals, though this is interpreted as association rather than causation!

Beyond Amherstburg and Sandwich the distribution of establishments in both periods was similar. While by 1825 their numbers had increased markedly their distribution remained coastal and tied to the road network. As Table 5 illustrates Windsor, with a population of 500 people, was the third most important centre. Demographically as important as Sandwich, the range and number of functions it provided was more limited, in a period in which it awaited the phenomenal growth of the late nineteenth and twentieth century. Ultimately, Windsor was to absorb Sandwich but in 1851 it was a relatively new centre, as effectively were all the others. The population of these villages or hamlets was small and the number of establishments in each never more than half a dozen. In 1851, Kingsville contained 100 people, Albertville a few miles to the east another 100 people. While the population of the other centres

18 A.G. Brunger, "A Spatial Analysis of Individual Settlement in Southern London District, Upper Canada 1800-1836," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Western Ontario, 1973); D.S.C. Mackay, "The Influence of Government Policy and Technological Change on Mill Development in Upper Canada," (unpublished M.A. thesis, Carleton University, 1974).

19 For example, J.F. McDonald, "An Analysis of the Location of Selected Occupations in Ottawa 1870-1902-1945," (unpublished B.A. dissertation, Carleton University, 1976), pp. 7-8; P. Goheen, *Victorian Toronto 1850-1900: Pattern and Process of Growth*, University of Chicago Research Paper No. 127, (Chicago, 1970), pp. 229-230.

TABLE 4

Manufacturers	Tradesmen	Professionals	Government	Mills	Taverns	Shops	Churches	Miscellaneous
Carding Factory	Ferry Operator	Banker	Barracks	Wind- mill	Inns	Grocery		News- paper
Woollen Factory	Tailor	Medical Doctor	Post Office	Sawmill	Tavern	Merchant		
Brewery	Saddler	Lawyer	Goal & Court House	Grist- mill				Lodge
Tannery	Blacksmith	Surveyor	College	Steam- mill				
Ashery	Printer	Auctioneer	Fort	Water- mill				
Soap Factory	Gunsmith	Notary- Public	School					
Candle Factory	Wagon Maker	Pharmacist						
Foundry	Hatter							
Distillery	Shoe Maker							
	Tinsmith							
	Watch Maker							
	Painter							
	Tobacconist							
	Baker							
	Butcher							
	Carpenter							

is unknown, Rottenburg recorded that in Leamington 50 men and 10 horses could be billeted, in Colchester Village 100 men and 25 horses, and in Essex Village 40 men and 10 horses.

The relative importance of the centres (based on the total number of establishments) is supported by Table 5 which shows the concentration of particular enterprises. There were three orders of centre in 1852. The first order included the Towns of Sandwich and Amherstburg, the second order Windsor, Colchester Village, Cedar Creek,²⁰ and Kingsville; the third order included Albertville, Essex, Belle River and Leamington.

SUMMARY

No one source can be considered wholly adequate for this sort of work. All contribute to a greater or lesser extent. In this instance the Census Enumeration Returns, the Assessment Rolls and the Abstract Index to Deeds were the most useful. The secondary sources were important for obtaining generalised and aggregated information on townships as a whole. Smith's works were indispensable for obtaining urban data.

²⁰ A number of establishment existed at the mouth of Cedar Creek in Gosfield Township. Although never formally recognized as a village it has been accepted as a centre of particular importance in this paper.

FIGURE 7

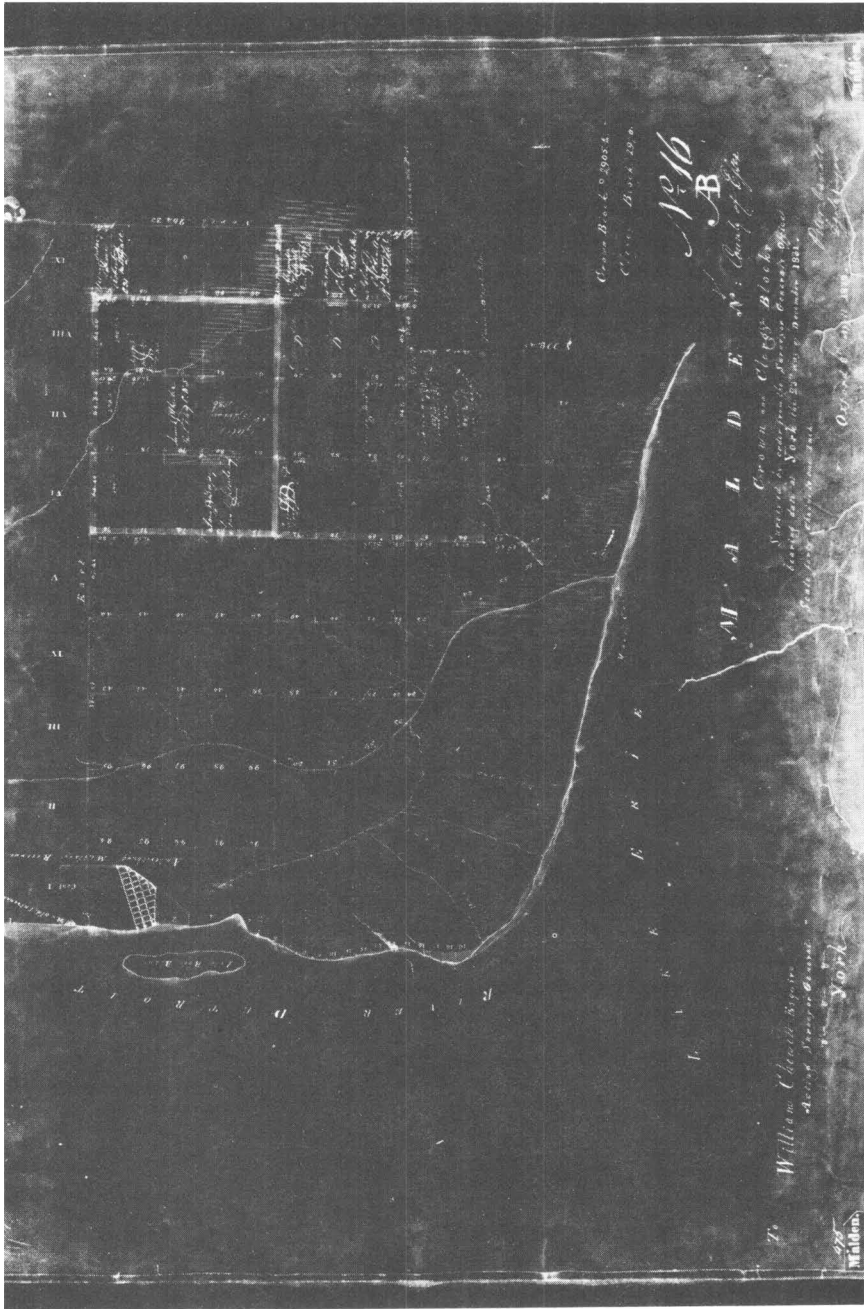


(PAC/NMC 12437)

PAC, National Map Collection

ARCHIVARIA

FIGURE 8



From a negative photostat copy of an original survey map held by the Survey's Branch, Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources.

TABLE 5
Number and type of establishment in each centre

	Sandwich	Amherstburg	Windsor	Kingsville	Colchester	Cedar Creek	Belle River	Alberville	Leamington	Essex Village	Total
Shops	6	14	2	1	2	1	1	1	1	0	29
Taverns	12	10	1	2	1	1	0	0	1	3	31
Tradesmen	17	35	6	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	59
Mills	4	3	0	2	0	0	2	1	0	0	12
Government	13	7	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	22
Churches	3	6	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	12
Manufactures	5	11	0	0	1	3	0	0	0	0	20
Professionals	14	4	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	19
Miscellaneous	2	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
Total	76	91	13	6	6	5	3	3	3	3	208

In conducting this research the authors had to visit a number of depositories. It would seem that a case could be made for greater interaction between various archives. At present, knowledge of sources like those used is largely confined to individual academics or archivists. There is little formal exchange between the federal, provincial and local levels. This in our opinion merits correction. So too, there is a need for a more aggressive acquisition policy. Many of the sources critical to this sort of work and indeed to the general public's appreciation of its heritage, are quite literally disappearing on an almost daily basis. This is especially true of Assessment Rolls for Ontario which have been used to support floors, are rumored to have been sold by the clergy to support their good causes and have been used for target practice. This has happened in spite of the gallant efforts of many archivists who are simply handicapped by inadequate funding or numbers of staff. A third area that requires attention relates to the needs of the professional researcher. Much of this material could be placed into machine readable format and is as worthy of such consideration as the papers of politicians. In this way the problem of manual linkage and manipulation would be avoided and the expenses of research reduced.

With all these shortcomings it is still possible to accomplish a good deal. Using these sources, we have identified more sensitive measures of human activity than we hitherto possessed. Figures 1 and 2 will now be used in a second round of analysis which we hope will yield more elegant statistical results than we have achieved to this point.

Résumé

Deux géographes historiens, étudiant les débuts du peuplement d'un comté ontarien limitrophe, expliquent quelles catégories d'archives leur ont été les plus utiles et comment ils ont pu en extraire les données dont ils avaient besoin.