CRAMAHE TOWNSHIP DATA BASE used for the book TENANTS IN TIME

By Catharine Wilson

INTRODUCTION

The data base and sources described below were used for the book written by Catharine Anne Wilson, *Tenants in Time: Family Strategies, Land, and Liberalism in Upper Canada, 1799-1871, McGill-Queen's University Press, 2009.* This database was funded by a Social Science and Humanities Standard Research Grant. Out of courtesy to the creators, no part of this data base can be used without reference to them. Please reference this in the following manner:

Catharine Wilson and Marty Pullen, compilers, CRAMAHE TOWNSHIP DATA BASE used for the book <u>TENANTS IN TIME</u>, funded by a Social Science and Humanities Standard Research Grant, 1996, http://www.uoguelph.ca/ruralhistory/research/wilson.html

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OVERVIEW OF THE BOOK "TENANTS IN TIME"

The freeholding pioneer is a powerful image in settlement history. *Tenants in Time* tells a different story. Though the liberal idealization of ownership relegated tenancy to the periphery, tenancy was a common and vital part of the economy and society. Against a background of international land agitation, and with an inter-disciplinary approach, Wilson asks new questions about life as a tenant farmer and provides new insights into family strategies, land markets, and the growth of liberalism.

Evidence from across the province shows how tenancy transformed the landscape and tied old and new settlers together in a continuum of mutual dependence that was essential to settlement, capital creation, and social mobility. Customary rights reveal a landlord-tenant relationship - and a concept of ownership - that were more complex and flexible than previously understood. Landlords, from ordinary farmers to absentee aristocrats, enter the story and the much criticized Clergy reserves take a positive role. An intimate exploration of Cramahe

Township follows tenants over the generations as they supported their families and combined liberal ideas with household-centered ways. The data base below forms the foundation of chapters 8 and 9 and most of the tables in Appendix B.

NOTES ON THE DATA BASE

The basic aim of the project was to identify owners and tenants on the 1842 census of Cramahe Township and trace these individuals backwards and forwards in time.¹

Individuals were selected from the 1842 census based on a number of criteria. First it was necessary to set the geographical limits of the study. Cramahe Township was part of the Newcastle District which later became Northumberland County. Tracing people forward in time is complicated because Cramahe was divided in 1851 into two townships, Cramahe and Brighton.² For this study I have, therefore, defined Cramahe Township in 1842 according to its post 1851 description which means lots 11 to 35 from the broken front to the tenth concession. Only occupiers of land from this area were included. The census category, "Under what tenure such land is held by each family," described individuals as L, R, S, D, or B. No instructions for, or definitions of, these specific letters have survived but when linked with other categories on the census such as "Proprietor of Real Property," "Average money rent of farm...," and "Proportion of produce ... on shares..." and with other land records, these letters translated into the following basic categories:

Tenants

- L = long *leases*. Corroboration with Crown land records prove that in nearly all cases these were tenants with twenty-one year leases on the Crown and clergy reserves. Under "Proprietor" the tenant's name was given, not the landlord's.
- R = *renters*. These individuals likely had a short-term cash arrangement. They were distinct from long leases which were identified as L and from share arrangements which were identified as S. Under "Proprietor" their landlord's name was given.
- S = share tenants. Another census category identified the share arrangement, such as "½", and the landlord's name was given under "Proprietor".

Owners

- D = *deed*. These were freeholders having a *deed* to their property which I was able to confirm in the Abstract Index to Deeds.
- B = *bond*. These were mortgaged owners who held their property under *bond*, and I was able to confirm this in the Abstract Index to Deeds.

All owners and tenants from the 1842 census were selected for the project who defined themselves as farmers, however small their acreage. I felt it was important to respect the way people self-identified. But as I also wanted to examine the largest, loosest definition of tenant farmer, I also included eight tradesmen and three labourers who rented land which they obviously farmed. I also selected three tenant farmers with improved acreage who had no farm produce to report in 1842; they might have been in their first year on the property. Those excluded from the study were self-identified farmers (owners and tenants) with no acreage and

no produce to report. The three people who owned land and rented at the same time were classified as owners. Owners were defined in a legal sense as those who had the greatest interest in the property (the reversionary interest); this included those with mortgages. The total number of all owners and tenants included in the study was 254. This consisted of 157 owners (deeds = 108, bonds = 45, and deeds who also leased = 4), and 97 tenants (long leaseholders = 33, renters = 46, share =15, and 3 who were not clearly identified as L, R or S but seem to have been tenants based on other census categories and land records). One had their tenure listed as "r?", one was a "pos" and two were blank. Landlords, identified by tenants in the 1842 census as the "Proprietor of Real Property," were considered separately. The 1842 census was not always useful for further information on these people as nearly half were retired and did not appear as household heads. It was necessary to use the assessment and other records to attain a profile of them.

Despite a few ink blots and darkened corner areas, the fourteen folio pages of the Cramahe census are remarkably legible. I worked with a photocopy of a microfilm copy of the original taking special care to align columns with headings which only appeared on the first page, and align rows across what was an expanse of about one metre, before I transcribed the entries onto printed census forms. All the information on owners and tenants was then entered into the data base by Marty Pullen, my research assistant, and myself with one of us reading and one of us typing so as to minimize any errors. We used "Paradox: Relational database V 5.0.".

We also kept a card file for each tenant, owner, and landlord which was a reference to their life history. Each individual was manually traced backwards and forwards through all the available evidence; we carefully checked names, locations, and ages before assuming a correct match. We recorded specific references to other sources about that individual and their family on these cards, for example, when they were born, when they got a lease, purchased land, died etc.. We used these cards to quickly access the original sources and extract what information was needed for numerous other Paradox tables.

The original base table was "1842 Census (Farms)" the agricultural portion of the 1842 census that contained the land tenure category and all the selected owners and tenants. Each individual was given a "householder" number by which he or she could be linked to the other tables. These other tables contain selected information on only the individuals studied in the 1842 census (with the exception of the "Sales of Leases, 1810-1869" table). If you are using the data base to search for individuals, you may use the table "1842 Census (Families)" as your base table as it contains the names of individuals who can be traced through the other tables using their householder number "HH".

Name of Paradox Table 1842 Census (Farms) 1842 Census (Families)

1842 Tax Assessment Crown & Clergy Leases

Contents

the *base table*, the agricultural part of the 1842 census the personal part of the 1842 census with **names of individuals**

the 1842 assessment information details of the lease and lot for Crown and clergy reserve tenants from the inspections done in 1840 and 1844 respectively

Tenants' Pre-1842 History compilation of information about tenants' pre-1842 history

from a variety of sources

Tenants' Post-1842 History compilation of information about tenants' post-1842 history

from a variety of sources

 1848 Census
 1848 census

 1852 Tax Assessment
 1852 assessment

 1852 Census
 1851/2 census

Sales of Leases, 1810-69 information gathered from Township Papers for all sales of

leases 1810-69, not just people on the 1842 census.

Landlords, 1842 compilation of information about the landlords in the 1842

census from a variety of sources

These Paradox tables, taken alone and in combination, formed the basis of hundreds of queries which we ran. I then used the resulting information to compile new tables, those referred to in chapters three to nine and printed in Appendix B of the book, *Tenants in Time*. Working with the data so closely and over a long period convinced us of the care and accuracy of the enumerator, alerted us to errors and discrepancies in the 1842 census and other documents, and gave us sensitivity to the place, era and particularly the people we were studying. By the end of our project we were able to talk about individuals on a first-name basis and had formed mental pictures of their farm operations. I hope this helped us acquire the most accurate story; it certainly fuelled our imaginations, inspiring us to ask layers of questions and to enjoy the process.

HOW TO USE THE CRAMAHE TOWNSHIP DATA BASE

HOW TO FIND INDIVIDUALS

To find individuals begin with **CRAMAHE TOWNSHIP: 1842 CENSUS (FAMILIES)** table. It lists the names of individuals with all tenant farmers first, then all owner farmers. Each individual was given a householder (HH) number. Using this number you can find additional information on that individual in the other tables. For example, Andrew Turney is given the "HH" number 87. On other tables you can find additional information on Andrew by reading across the row where the category "HH" is numbered 87.

To find landlords you can either consult the "Landlords 1842" table where they are listed or if you know the tenant and want to discover who their landlord was, then consult the "1842 Census (Families) table.

Most but not every individual in the 1842 records was included in this study. People were only included if they were farmers or landlords. For a more detailed discussion of our selection criteria see the "Overview".

PRINTING AND USING DATA IN A SPREADSHEET

The data can be printed directly from the Rural History at the University of Guelph website (www.uoguelph.ca/ruralhistory) or downloaded as an excel spreadsheet for sorting, filtering, and

other data manipulation. The files are available in two formats (Adobe Reader .pdf and Excel spreadsheet .xlsx) on Catharine Wilson's research page on the Rural History website. The URL link to this page is available here (http://www.uoguelph.ca/ruralhistory/research/wilson.html).

Files in the left column of this page are saved as Adobe .pdf and can be opened in any web browser that supports Adobe Acrobat Reader. Once opened, each database may be printed or saved on the user's computer. Files in the right column are in Microsoft Excel 2007 format (adopted from the original Paradox database files) and they may be saved by right clicking on the file and selecting the web brower's option for saving files to the user's computer. Once saved, the spreadsheet files may be opened in Microsoft Excel 2007 for use with that software's data manipulation features.

CATEGORIES & ABBREVIATIONS USED IN TABLES

TABLE - CRAMAHE TOWNSHIP: 1842 CENSUS (FAMILIES)
HH householder number used to link the individual to other tables

Last Name of household head First Name of household head Landlord landlord's name

T/O T = tenant, O = owner

Voting if the householder qualified to vote, y = yes, n = no

Occupation of household head

Absent family members absent at the time census was taken

Eng natives of England means born in England

Ire natives of Ireland
Scot natives of Scotland
Can natives of Canada
Eur natives of Europe
US natives of United States

Alien enemy aliens – after the War of 1812 immigrants of American birth were

considered enemy aliens

Ethnicity Ire = Ireland,

us = United States,

canus = Canada and the United States,

engire = England and Ireland,

eng = England,
scot = Scotland,

canire = Canada and Ireland,

scotus = Scotland and United States, eurus = Europe and United States, engus = England and United States,

varios = various,

caneng = Canada and England, caneur = Canada and Europe, scotire = Scotland and Ireland Yrs here number of years in the province if not born here 0-5 number of people in household five and under number of people in household ages 6-13

14-20 MM number of married males ages 14-20

14-20 SM single males ages 14-20 21-29 MM married males ages 21-29 21-29 SM single males ages 21-29 30-59 MM married males ages 30-59 30-59 SM single males ages 30-59

60+MM married males aged 60 and over 60+ SM single males aged 60 and over 14-44 MF married females ages 14-44 14-44 SF single females ages 14-44

45+ MF married females aged 45 and over 45+ SF single females aged 45 and over

fam Type family type:

n = nuclear family of mother, father and children;

ex = extended family = nuclear family and other relatives;

cc = childless couple;

sp = single parent, mother or father with child/children;

spex = single parent, child and other extended family/relatives;

stex = nuclear family and other elderly relatives;

st = stem family = nuclear family and married grandparents;

nf = no nuclear family, could be co-resident siblings;

s = solitary individual;

stsp = single parent with married grandparents;

HH size household size at time of census

Chall disabilities in the household – ie blindness

Religion type of religion:

other = members of other religions not enumerated

e meth = Episcopal Methodists

cwmeth = Canadian Wesleyan Methodists
c of e = Church of England (Anglican)
bwmeth = British Wesleyan Methodists
cofscot = Church of Scotland (Presbyterian)

RC = Roman Catholic

Bapt = Baptists and Anabaptists

Prescot = Presbyterians not in connexion with the Church of Scotland

Varios = various religious affiliations in one household, ie a mixed marriage

Serv M male servants Serv F female servants

HH age age of the household head if known from other sources or the range which this

census indicates, ie 60s = in there sixties.

TABLE – CRAMAHE TOWNSHIP: 1842 CENSUS (FARMS)

HH# number key linking names from 1842 CENSUS (FAMILIES) to this table

O/T T = tenant, O = owner

Acres total number of acres family occupies in township

Improved total number of improved acres family occupies in township likely including land

cleared, land put to use as arable, pasture, meadow and even rocky upland suitable

for grazing

Wheat bu bushels of wheat produced during the last year Barley bu bushels of barley produced during the last year bushels of rye produced during the last year Rye bu Oats bu bushels of oats produced during the last year Peas bu bushels of peas produced during the last year Corn bu bushels of corn produced during the last year bushels of buckwheat produced during the last year Bwheat bu bushels of potatoes produced during the last year Potato bu

Hives number of hives of bees kept

Sugar lbs number of pounds of maple sugar produced in past season

Cattle "Neat cattle" likely included all cattle, young ones, milk cows and oxen

Horses of all ages Sheep of all ages Hogs of all ages

Full Cloth yards of fulled cloth manufactured in the family during the last year yards of linen or other thin cloth manufactured in the family during year Flannel yards of flannel or other woolen cloth, not fulled, made by family during year

Wool lb pounds of wool procured by family during year

Tenure under what tenure the land is held:

1 = a tenant leasing land usually on Crown or clergy reserve;

r = a tenant renting land short term;

s = a tenant renting on shares (pays a portion of his produce for rent);

pos = possession;

? = unknown; could be a tenant, renter or squatter (sq)

d = deed (mortgage-free owner);b = bond (mortgaged owner);

dl = deed and leases other land as well

Rent likely the calculated rental value per improved acre of the property, rather than the

actual rent paid. \$ = dollars

Share proportion of the produce given to landlord if held by lease or shares

Comments miscellaneous comments:

X2 together = Clinton and Orbin Harnden, for example, were a company and shared property. Their shared acreage and rental value has been divided in 2 and distributed between them.

On Clgy R =on clergy reserve

A&\$x2 = similar to the Harndens above where they shared acreage and a rental

value

TABLE - CRAMAHE TOWNSHIP: 1842 TAX ASSESSMENT

HH number key linking names from 1842 CENSUS (FAMILIES) to this table

L1 primary lot of land family occupies
C1 concession where L1 is found
Pt1 part of lot occupied on L1
L2 additional lot of land

C2 concession where L2 is found Pt2 part of lot occupied on L2 L3 additional lot of land

C3 concession where L3 is found Pt3 part of lot occupied on L3 L4 additional lot of land

C4 concession where L4 is found

L5 additional lot of land

C5 concession where L5 is found

L6 additional lot of land

C6 concession where L6 is found Uncult total number of acres not cultivated

Cult total number of acres cultivated ie arable, pasture and meadow

House 1 primary house: made of frame, log, frbkst = frame, brick and stone; brst = brick

and stone

Stor1 number of stories of house 1: <2 = under two stories; 2 = two stories.

House 2 second house and what it is made of

Stor 2 number of stories of house 2 +frplc number of additional fireplaces

Stallions stallions kept for covering mares – ie stud

Horse 3+ horses three years old and upwards Oxen 4+ oxen four years old and upwards

Milch milk cows – likely only those that were old enough to produce milk

Cattle 2-4 young cattle between the ages of 2 and 4

Carriages open carriage with four wheels

Value Ld total amount of rateable property given in £ pounds & shillings

Comment additional information given ie presence of a sawmill and its assessed value

or presence of a town lot, 32/1 = lot 32 in the first concession

TABLE – CRAMAHE TOWNSHIP: 1848 CENSUS

HH number key linking names from 1842 CENSUS (FAMILIES) to this table

1842 T/O T = tenant in 1842, O = owner in 1842
Lot primary lot of land family occupies
Con# concession where lot is found
Prop/Non proprietor or non-proprietor of land

Occupation of household head

Persons people resident in the house when census is taken

Absent members of the family absent when census is taken

Non-family persons resident and not members of the family other than servants

Kids<14 children under the age of 14

Frm Servants male farm servants resident in family

Dom Servants domestic servants

In School persons attending school or college

Acres total number of acres held by each family

Tillage A acres under tillage Pasture A acres under pasture

Wild A acres of wood or wild land Unfit A acres unfit for cultivation

Cleared L/A average value of cleared land per acre - ie 4.5 = £4 (pounds), 5 pence.

Wild L/A average value of wild land – ie 4.5 = £4 (pounds), 5 pence.

Rent L If held by tenant rent paid, in £

Wheat A acres of wheat bushels of wheat Wheat Bu Barley A acres of barley Barley Bu bushels of barley Rye A acres of rye bushels of rye Rye Bu acres of oats Oats A Oats Bu bushels of oats Corn A acres of corn bushels of corn Corn Bu acres of buckwheat BWheat A BWheat Bu bushels of buckwheat Potatoes A acres of potatoes bushels of potatoes Potatoes Bu Flax lbs pounds of flax or hemp

Wool lbs pounds of wool
Fulled yds yards of fulled cloth
Linen yds yards of linen or cotton
Flannel yds yards of flannel or other
Cheese lbs/m pounds of cheese for market
Butter lbs/m pounds of butter for market

Meat bar/mk barrels of beef and pork for market

pounds of maple sugar

Cattle neat cattle

Horses Sheep Hogs

Sugar lbs

Comments miscellaneous additional information and observations

TABLE - CRAMAHE TOWNSHIP: 1852 CENSUS

HH number key linking names from 1842 CENSUS (FAMILIES) to this table

1842 T/O T = tenant in 1842, O = owner in 1842

Wife Wife's first name

Kids<14 children under the age of 14

Relatives to HH these are people who were included in the household who are relatives, or who

may or may not be relatives as identified with the "?".

Occupation of household head

Birthplace Can = Canada, Eng = England, Ire = Ireland, Scot = Scotland, Que = Quebec

Age next BD age at next birthday

Members persons resident and members of the family

Not members persons resident who are not members of the family

House/stories kind of house and number of stories Lot primary lot of land family occupies

Conc concession where lot is found, BF = broken front

Acres total held by each family
Cultivated acres under cultivation
Crops acres under crops in 1851
Pasture acres under pasture in 1851
Gardens/Orc acres of gardens and orchards
Wood/wild acres of woodland and wild land

Wheat A acres of wheat Wheat Bu bushels of wheat acres of barley Barley A Barley Bu bushels of barley Rye A acres of rye Rye Bu bushels of rye Pease A acres of peas bushels of peas Pease Bu acres of oats Oats A Oats Bu bushels of oats BWheat A acres of buckwheat BWheat Bu bushels of buckwheat Corn A acres of Indian corn Corn Bu bushels of Indian corn

Potatoes A acres of potatoes
Potatoes Bu bushels of potatoes
Turnip A acres of turnips
Turnip Bu bushels of turnips

Clover, timo bushels of clover, timothy or other grass seed

Carrots bu bushels of carrots

Whurtzel, ma bushels of whurtzel, mangel

Beans bu bushels of beans Hay bundles bundles or tons of hay

Wool lbs pounds of wool

Sugar lbs pounds of maple sugar Fulled yds yards of fulled cloth Flannel yds yards of flannel cloth Bulls, ox bulls, oxen or steers

Milch cows
Calves/heif
Horses all
milk cows
calves or heifers
horses of all ages

Sheep Pigs

Butter lbs pounds of butter Cheese lbs pounds of cheese

Beef barrels barrels or Cwts (hundredweight) of beef

Pork barrels barrels of Cwts of pork Fish barrels quantity of fish cured

Comments miscellaneous additional information and observations

TABLE - CRAMAHE TOWNSHIP: 1852 TAX ASSESSMENT

HH# number key linking names from 1842 CENSUS (FAMILIES) to this table

T/O 42 T = tenant in 1842, O = owner in 1842 Lot 1 primary lot of land family occupies Con 1 concession where Lot 1 is found

Lot 2 additional lot of land

Con 2 concession where Lot 2 is found

Lot 3 additional lot of land

Con 3 concession where Lot 3 is found Real L value of real property in £

Personal/

Income L value of taxable personal property or income in £

Total L total value of real and personal property or income in £

Comments Person is household head but is assessed under a son's name

TABLE – CRAMAHE TOWNSHIP: CROWN AND CLERGY LEASES, 1842

Table contains details of the lease and lot for those 1842 tenants holding Crown and clergy reserves when inspections were done in the 1840s. Archives of Ontario, RG 1 A-VI-8, vol 16, CLP, "Return of Inspection, Newcastle District 1844 Clergy Reserve," Cramahe Township; University of Toronto Archives, A68-0010, I Group B, 1, vol. 129, Office of the Chief Accountant, "Land Survey of 1840 Newcastle District."

HH# number key linking names from 1842 CENSUS (FAMILIES) to this table

Lease date date when lease was made official

Lease yrs number of years contained in the lease agreement LL status Clgy R = clergy reserve; Uof T = Crown reserve

Rent Ld rent paid in pounds and pence

Arrears rent outstanding in pounds and pence

Describe Lot brief description of location and quality of lot

House $\log \sinh y$, frame, etc; sm = small, $\log 2 = 2 \log houses$ on lot

Barn

Soil descriptions of soil

Timber depriv has timber suffered from depredation, y = yes, n = noStill are there any mill sites on the lot, y = yes, n = no

Mismanage has property suffered from mismanagement, y = yes, n = no

Water how is land watered

Cleared acres cleared

Mill number of miles from the nearest mill Road number of miles from a main road

Will buy does occupant want to purchase, y = yes, n = no

Price Ld/a price they are willing to pay for the freehold in pounds and pence per acre

Improv Ld value of improvements tenant has made in pounds and pence

If unimprov Ld value of land without improvements in pounds and pence per acre

Value value of lot in its present state, pounds

Year year that inspection was done

Comments additional comments

TABLE - CRAMAHE TOWNSHIP: TENANT'S PRE-1842 HISTORY

This table details the 1842-tenant's life prior to acquiring their 1842 lot and the condition of his/her farm and family when he/she first acquired the 1842 lot.

HH# number key linking names from 1842 CENSUS (FAMILIES) to this table

T/O 1842 their land status in 1842, T = tenant, O = owner

Earliest date the earliest date they appear in the census or assessment for the township whether

or not on their 1842 lot

#locations number of moves they made within the township prior to their settlement on their

1842 lot.

Occupation their occupation given when they first appear in the records

Landless number of times they were landless prior to settling on their 1842 lot

Years landless total number of years they were landless prior to 1842

Tenant number of times they were a tenant on property other than their 1842 and prior to

1842

Years tenant total number of years they were a tenant prior to being a tenant on their 1842 lot

Owner number of times they were an owner prior to settling on their 1842 lot

Years owner total number of years they were an owner prior to 1842

Clgy R number of times prior to their 1842 lot that their landlord was the clergy reserves number of times prior to their 1842 lot that their landlord was the Crown reserves

Relative number of times prior to their 1842 lot that their landlord was a relative

Other number of times prior to their 1842 lot that their landlord was a private individual

and not a relative

1842 lot earliest date they appear on their 1842 lot

Acquired how they acquired the lot

Uncult number of uncultivated acres on their 1842 lot when they first acquire it number of cultivated acres on their 1842 lot when they first acquire it

House number and type of house on their 1842 lot when it is first acquired: made of

frame, \log , fr/bk/st = frame, brick and stone

Stories number of stories that original house has

+Firepl number of additional fireplaces in the original house

Horses number of horses they have when they first acquire their 1842 lot number of oxen they have when they first acquire their 1842 lot number of milk cows they have when they first acquire their 1842 lot number of cattle they have when they first acquire their 1842 lot Vehicles umber of vehicles they have when they first acquire their 1842 lot

Value Ld assessed value of their 1842 lot when they first acquire it, pounds and pence M<16 number of males in family under 16 when they first acquire their 1842 lot number of females in family under 16 when they first acquire their 1842 lot number of males in family 16 and over when they first acquire their 1842 lot number of females in family 16 and over when they first acquire their 1842 lot number of females in family 16 and over when they first acquire their 1842 lot main locations of information: C22 = census of 1822, C&A1832 = census and

assessment of 1832, A40 = assessment of 1840

Comments summary of their pre-1842 history and additional comments

TABLE - CRAMAHE TOWNSHIP: TENANT'S POST-1842 HISTORY

This table details the 1842-tenant's life after acquiring the 1842 lot and the condition of his/her farm and family when he/she is last found as a tenant on the 1842 lot, and when they become a freeholder.

HH# number key linking names from 1842 CENSUS (FAMILIES) to this table

Last seen last time person appears in township records

Leave 1842 date when they no longer appear as a tenant on the 1842 lot

Reason possible reason why they might have left the property or are no longer a tenant on

it - ie they stay and buy it

#moves number of moves from one property to another after 1842 and before becoming

an owner

Occupation occupation after 1842

Landless number of times after 1842 that they became landless

Tenant number of times after 1842 that they were tenants on another lot number of times after 1842 that they were owners on another lot number of times after 1842 that they leased a different clergy reserve number of times after 1842 that they leased a different Crown reserve number of times after 1842 that they had a relative for a landlord

Other number of times after 1842 that they rented from another private landlord Value L value of 1842 lot when they are last seen on it as a tenant, pounds currency

Value \$ value of 1842 lot when they are last seen on it as a tenant, dollars

Uncult42 number of uncultivated acres on 1842 lot when they are last seen there as tenant number of cultivated acres on 1842 lot when they are last seen there as tenant

Age age of household head when they are last seen as a tenant on 1842 lot

Fam Size size of family when last seen as a tenant on 1842 lot

House primary house: made of frame, log, frbkst = frame, brick and stone; brst = brick

and stone, when last seen as a tenant on 1842 lot

Owner date date they become an owner whether that is on their old 1842 rented lot or

somewhere else

Lot location of lot they buy

Conc concession where the lot they purchase is located

Part part of lot purchased

Acres total number of acres purchased

Uncult number of acres uncultivated on the farm they purchase
Cult number of acres cultivated on the farm they purchase
Real value assessed value of real estate when it is purchased, pounds
assessed personal property when they purchase land, pounds

Total val L total assessed real and personal property when they purchase land, pounds total val \$ total assessed real and personal property when they purchase land, dollars

Kids <14 kids under 14 years of age when they purchase property

Death date of death if known

Sources main evidence used to compile table: LRA = Land Registry Abstract, C61=

census 1861, A70 = Assessment 1870, CanCo – Canada Company Records, twp =

Township Papers, UoT = Crown Reserve records at University of Toronto

Profile summary of their life on 1842 lot: ladder = they became an owner, sideways =

they took up a different occupation, way of life = they continued to rent for all their life, downward = they became landless/labourer while still in their prime

Comments additional observations

TABLE – CRAMAHE TOWNSHIP: SALE OF LEASES, 1810-1869

This table is a stand-alone table and is not linkable to the others. It details the selling of leases of land between individuals.

Last Name I of Grantor, the person who is selling a lease

First Name I of Grantor

Last Name II of Grantee, the person purchasing the lease

First Name II of Grantee Occupation I of Grantor Occupation II of Grantee

Year of the transaction – selling a lease

Acreage of land involved

Value Ld of land, pounds currency

Value S of land, shillings

Lot number of lot of land being transferred

Con concession in which the lot of land is located, BF = broken front

Pt part of the leased lot being transferred

Instrument type of legal instrument used: ass = assignment, Q C = quit claim

Comments additional invormation

Assessed Ld value land was assessed at at the closest tax assessment date, pounds currency

Assessed S value land was assessed at in shillings

&date of the tax assessment used: C&A52 = census and assessment of 1852

Cleared a at time of assessment

TABLE - CRAMAHE TOWNSHIP: LANDLORDS, 1842

This is a stand alone table and is not systematically linkable to the other tables. It details various characteristics of the landlords who rented out their land in the 1842 census. Using the Cramahe Township, Census 1842 (Families) table you can see who the landlord was for each tenant family and then view the landlord's details here.

HH# This is the number assigned to the landlord

Name of landlord Occupation of landlord Ethnicity Ire = Ireland,

us = United States,

canus = Canada and the United States,

engire = England and Ireland,

eng = England, scot = Scotland,

canire = Canada and Ireland,

scotus = Scotland and United States, eurus = Europe and United States, engus = England and United States,

varios = various,

caneng = Canada and England, caneur = Canada and Europe, scotire = Scotland and Ireland

Years here number of years in the province if not born here number of people in household five and under number of people in household ages 6-13 number of married males ages 14-20

14-20 SMsingle males ages 14-2021-29 MMmarried males ages 21-2921-29 SMsingle males ages 21-2930-59 MMmarried males ages 30-5930-59 SMsingle males ages 30-59

60+MM married males aged 60 and over 60+ SM single males aged 60 and over 14-44 MF married females ages 14-44 single females ages 14-44

45+ MF married females aged 45 and over 45+ SF single females aged 45 and over

Age of landlord in 1842 Size size of family Religion type of religion:

other = members of other religions not enumerated

e meth = Episcopal Methodists

cwmeth = Canadian Wesleyan Methodists
c of e = Church of England (Anglican)
bwmeth = British Wesleyan Methodists
cofscot = Church of Scotland (Presbyterian)

RC = Roman Catholic

Bapt = Baptists and Anabaptists

Prescot = Presbyterians not in connexion with the Church of Scotland

Varios = various religious affiliations in one household, ie a mixed marriage

Serv M number of male servants Serv F number of female servants

M<16 number of males in household under age 16 number of females in household under age 16 M>16 number of males in household age 16 and over rounder in C number of acres listed in census for this person

Tenure under what tenure the land is held:

l = a tenant leasing land usually on Crown or clergy reserve;

r = a tenant renting land short term;

s = a tenant renting on shares (pays a portion of his produce for rent);

pos = possession;

? = unknown; could be a tenant, renter or squatter (sq)

d = deed (mortgage-free owner);b = bond (mortgaged owner);

dl = deed and leases other land as well
Lot1 primary lot of land family occupies
Con1 concession where L1 is found
Pt1 part of lot occupied on L1

Pt1 part of lot occupied on Lot2 additional lot of land

Con2 concession where L2 is found Pt2 part of lot occupied on L2 Lot3 additional lot of land

Con3 concession where L3 is found Pt3 part of lot occupied on L3 Lot4 additional lot of land

Con4 concession where L4 is found Pt 4 part of lot occupied on L4

Acres in A total acreage reported in the assessment of 1842 for this person

House primary house: made of frame, log, frbkst = frame, brick and stone; brst = brick

and stone

Stories number of stories of house 1: $\langle 2 = \text{under two stories}; 2 = \text{two stories} \rangle$

Carriages number of carriages

Assess Ld assessed value of real and personal property, pounds and pence

LL type type of landlord: relativ = relative of tenant, spec = speculator with several

tenants, other = private individual who is neither a speculator or a relative of the

tenant

tenants number of tenants landlord has in 1842

Rental a number of acres he/she is renting out to tenants

Rental \$ assessed value of the acreage he is renting out to tenants, dollars

Rent type l = leasing out land; r = renting land short term for cash; s = renting out land on

shares (tenant pays a portion of produce for rent); p = possession; therefore: 4r111p = four of his tenants rent, one leases and one simply possesses land

Prev Clgy R landlord was previously a tenant, himself, on a clergy reserve Prev Crwn R landlord was previously a tenant, himself, on a Crown reserve

Comment miscellaneous additional information: A41= Assessment 1841; C&A40= Census

& Assessment 1840; Clgy R = clergy reserve; L/C = lot and concession numbers;

2<16 = people under the age of 16; Canco = Canada Company land.

ANALYSIS OF THE PRIMARY SOURCES

The 1842 Census dated 27 June 1842

(Tables:1842 Census (Farms); and 1842 Census (Families))

The 1842 census was based on the 1841 Census Act (4 & 5 Vic. C. XLII). The census for Cramahe was compiled by James Munroe Merriman, sawyer and assessor for the township, and a landlord himself. This was the first year he had done the census and the assessment. He seems to have been very conscientious in his work as the document is internally coherent and complete, and it largely agrees with other records, the assessment, reserve records, and land registry. Of all the censuses that survive for other townships, this is one of the most carefully filled out, and certainly one of the most detailed concerning land tenure. By contrast, many other enumerators did not bother to fill out information on tenancy.

One cannot assume the empirical accuracy of the 1842 census. Personal and family information is useful but limited. The 1842 census only gave the household head's name. Other members were classified according to their gender and age groupings (for example, "married females ages 18 and not 21"). I was only able to acquire women's names by linking households to the 1851/52 census. People might be forgetful or creative about ages. Religion was also problematic as often families were divided into many sects, some preferred not to give information of that nature, and the enumerator did not always know how to handle the less common, less formalized religions.³ In the 1848 census, for example, enumerators of Cramahe wrongfully considered all persons not actually communicants of any Church as of "no creed".⁴

Property information also requires some qualification. Only properties and produce located in the enumeration district were reported. Because speculative and farm activities outside the township were not identified, this may have under-represented the property holdings of some occupiers of land, especially owners. One must also be mindful that the sources are very male-oriented. The enumerator may have been inclined to record the oldest man in the household as the household head when, in fact, the rent was paid by a woman. No young single women appear in the Cramahe records as tenants, but three widows do either under family rental arrangements where the landlord was a relative, or as widows of the original leaseholder, their

husband, and for the remaining years in his lease. Also, rent figures make sense only if they are viewed as rent per improved acre; farms with zero improved acres were given a rental value of zero. Rents given could represent the actual rent paid by the tenant or the calculated rental value of the property. The latter is more likely because owners of land and share tenants also had their rent calculated, and rent values given in the census for the clergy reserve properties were much higher than what we know the regulation clergy reserve rents were. Rents were given in dollars and I converted them to pounds currency for comparison with other contemporary sources.⁵

The agricultural returns also require some explanation. Militia service had come during harvest time in 1841 and may have reduced the crops harvested and reported in the spring of 1842. The inhabitants of Cramahe, and of Upper Canada more generally, associated the census with the assessment of property for tax purposes, as both were compiled by the municipal assessor throughout the 1840s. For this reason, they may have been inclined to minimize their agricultural returns. What the quantities of produce reported actually represent is also somewhat unclear. Did the enumerator, for example, count all crops raised that year including produce already consumed at the table or used to pay off commercial debts, rents etc., or just what remained? I expect the enumerator wanted a sense of total production which may have been a challenge for farmers to calculate. Very few farmers kept accounts and none have survived for Cramahe. It was likely easier for farmers to recall how many bushels of potatoes had been marketed than how many had been consumed at home. Fortunately this census occurred in the late spring, so farmers could measure the grain thrashed over the winter and did not have to guess at the other grain only partially thrashed. Still one suspects that for field crops a fair bit of estimation occurred, witnessed by the rounded figures (ie. 40, 50, 100 bushels of peas.) The livestock figures were likely more accurate. Some cattle, however, might have been slaughtered over the winter and spring and, if so, were they included in the count? Many other items produced by families were not considered at all, for example, lumber, shingles, staves, potash, whiskey, eggs, butter, and orchard and garden produce. The census says little regarding other forms of self-provisioning, for example, hunting, fishing, or off-farm work.

Despite the limitations of this census, it does seem that care was taken in its compilation and it is the only source available for getting some sense of tenancy in this era and agricultural production at the household level.

The Assessment of 1842 dated 11 April 1842 (Table: 1842 Tax Assessment)

The assessment of property was carried out for tax purposes. By 1842 taxes were used to pay the wages of members of the Legislative Assembly, support the Provincial Asylum and Common Schools, repair county roads and bridges, and pay off the government debt and other general expenses. The level of one's assessment determined one's responsibility for statute labour and, after 1853, the right to vote in parliamentary elections. The assessment contained different information than the census, such as the location of farms, house types, and the estimated value of real and personal property.

Not everyone or everything was assessed. Under the terms of the 1st Assessment Act (33 Geo 3.c.3) only occupied and patented land was assessable. Land leased from the Government was not taxable until 1820 (59 Geo 3, c7, ss4 & 12).⁸ Even then reserve tenants did not appear in

the assessment until they had a patent for their lease, so they might live on the property for years and never appear in the assessment. Other kinds of tenants appeared on the assessment *if* they had agreed in their lease to pay taxes for the property. In this case, they were assessed for the full value of their land even though their interest was for a very limited time. Tenants might also appear in the assessment *if* they had taxable livestock or other movable goods of their own. Those with no taxable wealth did not interest assessors. Landlords appear in the assessments if they remained responsible for paying taxes on the land they rented out, or if they had other unrented land. Income derived from rental property was never assessed for taxes in the period under study, and is an example of how some forms of wealth, often those less visible ones of the well-to-do escaped taxation. The patents of the study of the study of the study of the scaped taxation.

The inventory of property in the assessment is fairly reliable once one understands who and what could be assessed. Until 1850, ratepayers reported the number of cultivated acres, horses, and other kinds of taxable property they had. Because the assessment was taken for tax purposes a tendency to understate might well be expected. Three circumstances probably held this tendency somewhat in check. The assessor had to swear to the authenticity of his report and if it was false was liable to a fine. J. Merriman, Cramahe's assessor in 1842, brought considerable thoroughness and administrative integrity to the job. Moreover, all assessors were to post the list in a public spot where the community could identify any outstanding misrepresentations.

The Assessment for Cramahe was particularly useful for locating people on farms as it detailed each parcel of land (and sometimes people had more than one) giving its lot and concession. The census, in contrast, lumped all property together and gave no location. Concerning land use and agricultural production, the assessment was not as comprehensive as the census, and therefore, I have used the census unless stated otherwise. "Cultivated" land in the assessment was defined as that which was arable, pasture, or meadow. Arable land was fit for tillage, pasture was used for grazing livestock, and meadow was grass land used for hav. Presumably gardens and orchards were also included, but this was not evident. Although it seems that "cultivated" land could differ from the census category of "improved" land, in seventy-four percent of the cases the "cultivated" and "improved" amounts returned for individuals were the same. 11 My sense is that improved land was usually that which was cleared, but it quite likely also included land that was useful in its natural state (grassland and low lying, treeless areas near water suitable for hay, and rocky upland suitable for grazing sheep etc.) "Improved" may have referred to land "put to human use". Since the census included more farms in its count, its figures were used. Livestock returns (the assessment did not consider crops) were not as complete as the census returns because the assessor was only interested in animals that had reached their productive potential and, therefore, did not include young cattle or horses, or other kinds of livestock such as pigs and sheep. The assessment, unlike the census, did break down "cattle" into separate categories for milk cows and oxen which was useful for this study.

Though valuable as an inventory for land, the assessment is far less useful for calculating an individual's total wealth. A system of fixed values was first implemented in 1811 after which time each acre of arable land, horse, fireplace etc. was to be valued at a fixed rate. Every acre of arable, pasture, or meadow land, for example, was rated at twenty shillings and uncultivated

land was rated at four shillings. This kind of categorical assessment took no account of market value. Moreover, rates remained at these levels across the province until the Assessment Act of 1850. It required the assessor to value property as if it was taken from a solvent debtor in payment of a debt. This still was not its market value. The Assessment Acts of 1866 and 1869 set taxes on the actual value of property. Whether this was considered to be the market value is unknown as debates do not survive. Changes in municipal tax law and currency values make calculating a person's total wealth or making comparisons over time difficult. To partially address this problem, I have used the assessments primarily to locate people but have relied on the 1842 assessment's total assessed value of ratable property for an indication of each person's wealth. It is understood that this figure is likely lower than the market value but it provides some indication of relative rank within the distribution of wealth in the township.

Abstract Index to Deeds¹⁵

(Tables: Landlords, 1842; Tenants' Post-1842 History)

These are indexes to land transactions which occurred after the original patent and which were registered at the County Land Registry Office. The indexes for Cramahe are rather incomplete for the first half of the century as not all transactions were registered: people often appear as selling but no entry is made of the original purchase or grant, not everyone promptly registered their transfers, and information regarding sale price is usually missing. The indexes were useful in identifying some landlords, and for confirming the location of owners and the timing of purchase for tenants who became owners. The Abstract also served as an entry point into a few useful documents for tenants: leases, assignments of leases, and wills. Only leases for a term of over twenty-one years, however, needed to be registered and so the registry offices are of only limited use regarding rental agreements.

Township Papers¹⁶

(Table: Sale of Leases, 1810-69)

These are the earliest land files organized by lot number and containing a variety of documents and letters about claims to a particular property prior to the freehold being sold and land transfers being formally registered in the land registry books. The Township Papers are especially useful for Crown and clergy reserve tenants and often included the Order-in-Council, lease, receipt of Patent fee, request for lease renewal or to purchase property, agreement of sale, assignment of lease, even the occasional rent receipt. Assignments of leases found in these records form the basis of table "Sales of Leases, 1810-1869".

Crown and Clergy Reserve Inspections¹⁷ (Table: Crown & Clergy Leases)

In 1840, the Crown reserves, and in 1844, the clergy reserves, underwent inspection. These were costly and detailed surveys done of each lot in order to expedite land sales. Lessees were interviewed about their lot and answered questions pertaining to the value of the land in its unimproved state, the improvements made, any mismanagement or depredation, the advantages of the location (miles to a mill, main road etc.), quality of the soil, and whether the occupier was willing and able to purchase. Money values were given in currency. Many other interesting odds and ends get noted in passing. These are some of the best records for individual lessees and form the basis of table "Crown and Clergy Leases".

Previous censuses and assessments¹⁸

(Table: Tenants' Pre-1842 History)

We used the censuses and assessments before 1842 to identify a person's recorded presence in the township, the changing size and location of the farm, and composition of the household. This information appears in the table "Tenant's Pre-1842 History". The early assessments contained the same basic categories as those found in 1842. Census enumerations carried out before 1842, however, contain much less information than the 1842 census: they recorded the name of the household head and counted by sex those in the household who were above or below sixteen years of age. A forty shilling fine was imposed on inhabitants who refused to give information. The township clerk was originally responsible for making the census lists. By 1824, that duty was given to the municipal property assessor. From 1826 to 1838 the census and assessment were combined. Though the responsibility of compiling these documents in Cramahe fell to different prominent men over the years, they frequently served for several years and carried out their duties in an experienced and consistent manner. A nearly complete run of censuses and assessments exist for Cramahe for every year for 1803 to 1842. Specifically, censuses exist for 1803-7, 1809-10, 1812-23, 1825, 1839-41; assessments for 1808-25, 1839-41; and combined censuses and assessments for 1826-38.

Subsequent records

(Tables: Tenants' Post-1842 History; 1848 Census; 1852 Tax Assessment; 1852 Census)

Tracing people forward in time is also possible. Assessments for Cramahe exist for 1842-47²⁰ and for 1852, 1854, 1858, 1861, 1862, 1864, 1867 and 1869.²¹ Censuses exist for Cramahe for 1848, 1850²², and decennial censuses from the census of 1851/2 forwards. The 1848 schedules were revised to include 146 columns. James P. Scott, assessor and enumerator of Cramahe, compiled the 1848 and 1851 censuses and the 1847 assessment and was commended by his peers for his excellent statistics.²³ The 1848 census was made into table "1848 Census", which contained only those tenants from 1842 who were still tenants. In the 1848 census, tenure was considered under the categories "proprietor, "non-proprietor," and "if held by tenant rent paid". Tenure was not identified again until the census of 1871. Cramahe was the only Township where both the 1842 and 1848 censuses containing tenure information survive and were properly filled out. The 1848 census also contained agricultural information, not previously collected, concerning land use. Whereas the 1842 census only counted bushels of produce, the 1848 census also counted acres for each crop, so that calculations are possible for yield and how farm land was apportioned for various uses. The 1851/2 census was the first to provide family members' names and relationships and for this reason was made into table "1852 Census". The 1852 assessment was also made into a table. Subsequent censuses and assessments were used only to trace people through time and not for more systematic analysis. The relevant material was extracted from these and put into the "Tenant's Post-1842 History" table.

Currency Conversions

In the time period under study money values were reported in various currencies. Four dollars equaled one pound British Sterling or twenty shillings in Halifax currency.

Endnotes

The 1842 census and all the other censuses and assessments which I have used to trace individual people are manuscript and nominal records (the door-to-door, hand written folios) and have not been published.

Archives of Ontario (Toronto), hereafter AO:

RG 21 Municipal Records - Section A, Newcastle District, Census and Assessment 1803-1850, MS Reels 2 and 3. For Cramahe Township this includes: censuses 1803-7, 1809-10, 1812-23, 1825, 1839-41, 1848 and 1850 on Reel 2; and the census and assessments which were combined for the years 1826-1838, and assessments for the years 1808-1825, 1839-1847 on Reel 3.

[The 1848 census and the 1842 assessment which I refer to in the tables and notes (sometimes as A1848 or A1842) are in this set of records. Note that the 1842 census is not in this collection but at Library and Archives Canada]

RG 21 Municipal Records, United Counties of Northumberland and Durham Census, Assessment and Collector's Rolls 1849-70.

Library and Archives Canada (Ottawa):

CA1 AK21 051 1842, Reel C-1344, Canada, Census Returns of Ontario (Agricultural and Personal Census), Canada West Census 1842, Newcastle District, Cramahe Township, "Return of the Enumeration of the Inhabitants of Cramahe Township" [This is the main source upon which nearly all my tables are based. When I say C1842 in the footnotes, this is what I mean]

CA1 AK21 051 1851, Reel C-970, Canada, Census Returns of Ontario (Agricultural and Personal Census), Canada West Census 1851, Newcastle District, Cramahe Township, "Census Returns 1851-2, Township of Cramahe in the County of Northumberland" The first sheet of the personal census is missing.

CA1 AK21 051 1861, Reel C-1054 to C-1055, Canada, Census Returns of Ontario (Agricultural and Personal Census), Canada West Census 1861, "Colborne Village" (Reel C-1054); "Township of Cramahe in the County of Northumberland" Reel C-1054 and C-1055; and "Agricultural Census of Northumberland County" Reel C-1056.

CA1 AK21 051 1871, Reel C-9984, Canada, Census Returns of Ontario (Agricultural and Personal Census), East Northumberland, Cramahe Division, Cramahe Township and Colborne Village, schedule 1 - Nominal Return of the Living, and Schedules 4 and 5 - Agricultural Returns.

CA1 AK21 051 1881, Reel C-13239, Canada, Census Returns of Ontario (Agricultural and Personal Census), East Northumberland, Cramahe Township and Colborne Village, schedule 1 - Nominal Return of the Living.

CA1 AK21 051 1891, Reel T-6356, Canada, Census Returns of Ontario (Agricultural and Personal Census), East Northumberland, Cramahe Township and Colborne Village, schedule 1 - Nominal Return of the Living.

- 2 "An Act to make certain alterations in the Territorial Divisions of Upper Canada," S. Prov. C. 14 and 15 Vic. (2 August 1851), c.5, 1801.
- W. C. Crofton, who later became Secretary of Registration and Statistics 1847-53, wrote about the 1842 census in the <u>Cobourg Star</u> 3 & 17 Sept 1845.

- 4 <u>Cobourg Star</u>, 8 Nov 1848, p2.
- 5 Four dollars equalled one pound or twenty shillings Halifax currency.
- Trent University Archives 92-1000, 13 Henry Ruttan's Sheriff of Newcastle District, Response to Lord Sydenham's Circular Letter, 1840.
- Can., Stat., 16 Vic., c. 153 (1853); and "The Elective Franchise Extension Act," Can., Stat., 18 Vic., c. 87 (1855). These two acts abolished the freehold franchise and replaced it with one based on the assessment. By 1857 the level of assessment determined the municipal vote as well. "Act Respecting the Municipal Institutions of Upper Canada," Can., Stat., 22 Vic., c. 99 (1858). John Garner, The Franchise and Politics in British North America 1755-1867 (1969) provides the context for these acts 107-13, 116.
- 8 H. E. Manning, <u>Assessment and Rating Being the Law of Municipal Taxation in Canada</u> 2nd ed (1937), 2-3. The Assessment Act of 1819 (59 Geo 3, c7, ss4 & 12) required that the surveyor General provide the treasurer of each district with a list of lands granted or leased by the Crown.
- 9 Manning, , <u>Assessment</u>, 187-8.
- David Burley, A Particular Condition in Life (1994), 130.
- Twenty-one farms had more improved than cultivated land, and thirty-five had more cultivated than improved. In the first case, it is possible that land had been cleared which was not yet in use. In the latter case, it is possible that some pasture and meadow land was not considered improved as it had naturally growing grass or herbage on it.
- Manning, Assessment, 2-3.
- Assessment Act of 1850 (13-14 Vic, c.67). This Act was first reflected in the Assessment for 1852 in Cramahe.
- Burley, <u>A Particular Condition in Life</u>, 129.
- AO, GS 4727, vols 1-3, Abstract Index to Deeds for Northumberland County (Cramahe Township), 1798-1956.
- AO, RG 1 C-IV, MS658, Reels 92 and 93, Crown Land Papers, Cramahe Township.
- AO, RG 1 A-VI-8, vol 16, CLP, "Return of Inspection, Newcastle District 1844 Clergy Reserve," Cramahe Township; University of Toronto Archives, A68-0010, I Group B, 1, vol. 129, Office of the Chief Accountant, "Land Survey of 1840 Newcastle District."
- NA, M-7738 and M-7739, Reels 2 and 3, "Census and Related Records."

- These early sources are discussed in Bruce Curtis, <u>Politics of Population (2001)</u>, 50-1.
- NA, M-7738 and M-7739, Reel 3, "Census and Related Records."
- AO, RG 21, United Counties of Northumberland and Durham Census, Assessment and Collector's Rolls 1849-70.
- NA, M-7738 & M-7739, Reel 2, "Census and Related Records."
- 23 <u>Cobourg Star</u>, 17 May 1848.