

**Samuel Hughes:
Child of Peace, Democrat, Socialist, Quaker Minister**

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Other than the occasional ironic commentary on Quaker participation in the Rebellion of 1837, little has been written about Canadian Quakers' contributions to the development of democratic governance in Upper Canada.² Our collective fascination with revolutionary moments (and in this case, their failure), has obscured the important work of Friends in building a strong culture of deliberative democracy, both within and outside their meeting houses. One of the most important of those early friends, of whom almost nothing has been written, is the Yonge Street Friend Samuel Hughes. Hughes and most of his family joined the Children of Peace after the War of 1812. During the 1830s, he was to become the president of Canada's first farmers' cooperative (and mutual credit association), a prominent reform politician, and a temperance advocate. After the Rebellion, he rejoined the Hicksite Quakers, where he was soon recognized as a minister. I recount Samuel Hughes's storied history to highlight the contribution of Quakers to democratic reform and economic justice.

The silence on early Quaker political activity is best highlighted by a comparison of Hughes with his relation, Samuel Lount, a reform member of the House of Assembly, and a martyr of the Rebellion of 1837. The two men were surprisingly similar in many ways. Both were born in Catawissa (formerly Hughesville), Pennsylvania. Both men emigrated to the Yonge Street area before the War of 1812 with the extended Hughes family, although Lount was trapped south of the border during the War of 1812. Hughes became a member of the Children of Peace along with most of the extended Hughes family in 1812; Lount did not. By 1837, they lived in neighbouring communities, with Lount's farm on the hill south of

Holland Landing overlooking Hughes's home across the Holland River valley in Hope (Sharon). Both men were prominent reform politicians: Lount in Simcoe County (whose seat was Holland Landing), and Hughes in York County. Both men were renowned for their charity; Hughes as an elder of the Children of Peace, and Lount among the immigrants to Simcoe County.³ Both men sought to promote the Farmers' Storehouse, Canada's first farmers cooperative -- Hughes as its president, and Lount, with Mackenzie and Gibson, on the legislative committee to incorporate it in 1835. Both men were delegates to the planned Constitutional Convention of 1837, which formed the organizational framework for the Rebellion.

The common set of economic values, politics and history these men shared would lead us to expect a similar response to Mackenzie's call to arms. Yet, while Lount became a leader of the rebellion, Hughes is noticeable by his absence. Lount has become an historical footnote, an icon of the Rebellion's failure. Despite his equal contribution to the politics of the era, Hughes, like their common set of values, has been forgotten. The following article is a first, biographical attempt to trace those values, their origins, and the political action it inspired.

Family & Early Life

Samuel Hughes was born 4 February 1785 in Catawissa, second son of Job Hughes and his second wife Eleanor Lee. Job Hughes was a noted Friends minister whose life has been recounted in this journal.⁴ He was a pacifist pioneer in the new western districts of Pennsylvania along the Susquehanna River during the revolutionary war, trapped between hostile First Nations peoples supporting the British on one



Thomas Moran (1837–1926) On the Catavissa Creek, 1862

side, and revolutionaries intent on impressing him in the Continental Army on the other. On 9 March 1780, Job was jailed for a year on suspicion of giving information to hostile first nations. After the war, the family grew with the birth of eight children, as did the village and monthly meeting of Catawissa. However, new land in the area was not available, and in 1804-5, the extended family moved to Upper Canada. Two daughters married Friends in the West Lake area; the remaining six children, including Samuel, all settled with their parents in the Yonge Street settlement where they married and established their own farms and businesses. Job Hughes was the leading minister in the Yonge Street Monthly Meeting, and his wife Eleanor was an elder. Job died in 1810 on a trip to attend New York Yearly Meeting; his will stipulated that Samuel was to care for his mother, and inherit the family farm opposite the Yonge Street meetinghouse.

Samuel Hughes was twenty years old when the family moved to Upper Canada. He later wrote: "My Character through the progress of my youth may be described as follows, in Childhood; passionate and willful; and as a youth- wild and light minded; attended at times however with great sorrow, and soberness, with deep solemnity of thought. And as a young man I was zealous for religion and very full of action."⁵ This self-appraisal is reflected in the meeting minutes. He was called upon as an overseer, and to represent the meeting at the

Canada Half Year's Meeting in 1810. Two years before the War of 1812, he also participated on a committee that recorded that Quakers on Yonge Street had lost £243 11s 7d in property taken in lieu of military service, and that eight members had been jailed for one to three months.⁶

Samuel Hughes was married for the first of three times in June 1811 in the Yonge Street Monthly Meeting to Sarah Webster, daughter of Abram and Anna Lundy Webster, born 4 October 1786 in Sussex County, New Jersey. She immigrated with her parents to Upper Canada, settling first on the shores of Lake Erie in 1793 and later moving to Whitchurch Township. The new couple remained on his widowed mother's farm, Lot 91, 1st Concession, Whitchurch Township. Sarah died 24 December 1815, after the successive deaths of three infants. He married secondly, Mary Doan, in 1819, daughter of Ebenezer Doan Sr. and Anna Savilla Sloy Doan born 7 December 1762; she died childless on 5 April 1827. He married lastly, Anna Armitage, on 21 June 1829, daughter of Amos and Martha Doan Armitage, widow of Isaac Wiggins, and niece of his second wife.

War & Peace

The death of Job Hughes and a second minister, Jacob Winn, left a religious vacuum in the Yonge Street Monthly Meeting in the years immediately preceding the War of 1812. By that time, meetings for worship had also been established in Queen Street (now Sharon), Whitchurch, Uxbridge and Pickering. David Willson, a new member who had donated land for the Queen Street meetinghouse, tried to fill that ministerial void in late 1811. Hughes described Willson as "a man of great integrity in his devotions, zealous for religion and very abstemious in meats and drinks." Willson had served on numerous committees in the Monthly Meeting, and had served as an overseer. But on 15 September 1811, he began "bearing tes-

timony that the appearance of Christ in the flesh was not to be regarded as God; but as a man endowed with Divine power in whom the will of God was made manifest and in whom God was well pleased; and that in him the works of God (as relates to the outward) were finished and that hence forth the dispensation of God to his people became spiritual; and that the manhood of Christ should be no more worshiped as God.”⁷

Willson’s first religious confident had been his neighbour, and Samuel Hughes elder sister, Rachel Hughes Lundy. She married Israel Lundy on 23 February 1802 in Muncy Monthly Meeting, and they moved to Upper Canada in 1805, buying the west fifty eight acres of Lot 8, 2nd Concession of East Gwillimbury, where they established a grist and saw mill. Rachel was one of the most active women Quakers serving on committees of the Yonge Street Monthly Meeting; she thus frequently worked with David Willson, her neighbour, and one of the most active male committee members. It is thus no surprise that Willson turned to her when he first felt called to the ministry. Willson warned her that his ministry presaged “a new and glorious Dispensation [which] was about to break forth in the world. And that it would be more bright than any had been since the days of Jesus Christ: and that it was a doubt with me, whether such as thou and I am, will be suffered to remain amongst the Quakers or not, for it is as much for Quakers to be convinced of this day, as it is for others to be convinced of their day, and dispensation.”⁸

Willson’s ministry caused some discord in the Monthly Meeting, but he was not immediately disowned. Rather, the meeting’s elders, including Eleanor Hughes (Samuel and Rachel’s mother) were called on to treat with him. But as Samuel (who was living with his mother) noted, “unfortunately when they came together, they were in the same condition, some approved and some disapproved the doctrine, and instead of being prepared to give council for

the restoration of unity, they only made the breach the worse, it was like the new cloth to old garments. Thus things continued to grow worse for about a year, when two of the Elders who disapproved of him, took the responsibility upon themselves, and required him to either keep silent or conform to their views in doctrines.”⁹ It was this demand that politicized the meeting just as the War of 1812 commenced in June.

Willson withdrew from the Monthly Meeting the next day, and opened his own home for meetings for worship. Rachel Hughes was one of the original five members of the Children of Peace to meet there. In the succeeding months, her mother Eleanor and siblings Samuel, Amos and Sarah, and their families, also appeared to have sided with Willson. I have pointed out elsewhere that most of those who joined the Children of Peace lived along Yonge Street, a military road, and not in the Queen Street, Whitchurch or Uxbridge meetings. It seems that their experience of religious persecution for their pacifist stance on the war drew them to Willson who had formed a new group, the *Children of Peace*, on the promise he would raise the peace testimony as “an Ensign to the Nations.”¹⁰ It was these families – most of whom were related to the Hugheses – who were to move to East Gwillimbury after the War, and to join Willson in building the new community of “Hope.” Samuel Hughes sold his farm opposite the Yonge Street meeting-house, and purchased one hundred forty six acres on lots 105 & 106, 1st Concession, of East Gwillimbury, right behind the David Willson lot (Conc. 2, lot 10), and downstream from his brother-in-law Israel Lundy’s grist mill. He operated a sawmill on this land in partnership with Enos Dennis, his brother-in-law.

Charitable Acts

During the 1820s, the Children of Peace concentrated on building the basic institutions of their community: farms, meetinghouse and



schools. But by 1825, they had begun their largest project yet, the construction of the Temple. It is important to underscore that the Children of Peace described the Temple on the one hand as “just” a meetinghouse, yet alternately, not THE meetinghouse. Their meetinghouse for regular worship was located to the south of the Temple. The Temple, on the other hand, was used only once a month for the collection of alms in a special ceremony. The central pillars holding up the building are labeled faith, hope, love and charity. And indeed, they viewed charity as a foundational element of their community.

Samuel Hughes, as an elder, played a great role in the distribution of these alms. William Lyon Mackenzie, on his first visit to the community in 1830, found

In the house of Samuel Hughes, a mem-

ber of this new society... an undoubted evidence of practical Christianity. Three years ago, an old decrepit Negro, who had up to that time begged for a subsistence, was struck by the palsy in his body and one of his sides, and lost the use of his limbs and one arm. Mr. Hughes took him in – had a chair with wheels made for him – and continues to wait upon him and assist the helpless object, who can do nothing for himself. Whether he and his family do this altogether at their own expense, or whether they get some help from the society, I do not know; but their conduct might put to the blush many who make extraordinary professions of that meek faith.¹¹

A second example was also reported by Captain William Johnson of Pepperlaw, thirty miles

north of Hope, in the middle of the depression of early 1837.

I had not long been in conversation with Mr. Wilson before he asked me if I could give away a barrel of flour in my neighbourhood? – Yes, was the immediate reply. As many families were then in distress for the want of bread, especially in the back townships, Mr Willson held a meeting for charitable purposes, when I attended to contribute my mite. There was a good collection. Shortly after my return home, to my great astonishment, instead of a barrel of flour, two sleigh loads of grain, flour, and some meat under the charge of Mr. Samuel Hughes, whose instructions, as he left me, I cannot well forget; he said, in distributing this generous gift I was not to confine myself to Georgina, but its distribution was to extend to Thorah and Brock, or to any settlers who might be in want.¹²

Hughes was thus an exemplary example of the kind of benevolence and philanthropy the Temple ceremonies were intended to encourage and sacralize.

The completion of the Temple did, however, pose a dilemma for the Children of Peace. Unlike the Society of Friends, they had no legal standing, and no way of taking ownership of the Temple; it remained the private property of David Willson on whose land it was built. To overcome this difficulty, the Children of Peace incorporated as a joint stock company once the Temple was finished in 1832. This was just one of the joint stock companies they were to form in which Samuel Hughes was to take a critical role.

The joint stock cooperative ventures that Hughes and the other elders developed were a means of helping their children avoid dependence on the market so they could participate in community projects such as the construction

of the temple and meeting houses. These younger market-oriented farmers, trapped in debt, were most in need of relief. The Children of Peace responded as a community to their debt crisis by prioritizing subsistence production on the one hand, and subsidizing the farm production of their younger members on the other. Their system of mutual aid was based on labour exchanges (work bees), cooperative marketing, a credit union, and for a short time, a land-sharing agreement. At one point, Hughes purchased a two hundred acre Crown reserve in the village as part of this land-sharing plan. For those in immediate crisis, alms and a shelter for the homeless served as a stopgap. So successful was this cooperative regime of mutual aid, that by 1851, Hope was the most prosperous agricultural community in the province.¹³

The Farmer's Storehouse & Bank

Many early first hand accounts of the Children of Peace mention their cooperative marketing of wheat. For example, George Henry, author of *Canada as it is*, wrote "David keeps the store: the general produce of the community is deposited with him, and is conveyed to York, for sale, regularly twice a-week; and he accounts to the different members for the amount of produce sent to market." What they took to be a distinctive aspect of the sect that set it off from its neighbours - cooperative marketing - was instead, part of a much wider cooperative movement in which the Children of Peace participated. In York, Henry had himself approvingly noted that:

A large body of the farmers in Yonge-street, and in the townships in the vicinity of York, have adopted the plan of storing their own wheat; they have formed themselves into an association, and have built a very large storage at York, on the margin of the lake, where they store it in the winter, while the roads are good, and trans-

port it down in the Spring, - thus securing to themselves the best prices. They have their secretary in York to see to the storage, and keep the account of deposits, &c¹⁴

The Children of Peace were shareholders in this cooperative venture, the Farmers' Storehouse Company, founded in 1824. Although Willson made regular trips to York to deliver loads of wheat - and to preach - it was Samuel Hughes who was most active in its organization. He became president in 1833.

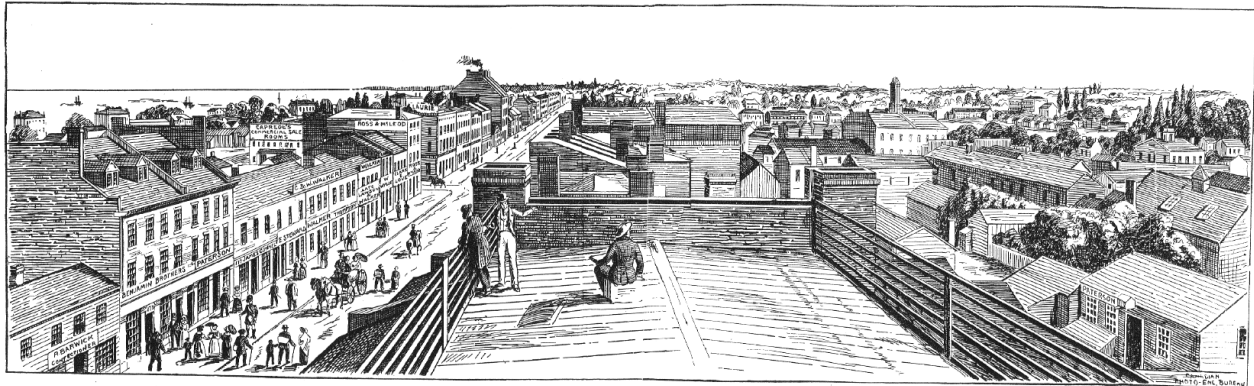
The Farmers' Storehouse stood at the centre of a broad economic and political movement that, in its essentials, was not greatly different from much later cooperative movements such as the United Farmers of Alberta in the early twentieth century, as well as contemporary movements, such as the Owenite socialists in Britain, and the Workingmen's Party in the United States. The United Farmers transformed the political landscape of the prairies:

Alberta radicals, drawing on British and North American radical traditions, castigated monopolies and opposed 'special privileges' for corporations. Following the labour theory of value - that labour creates and should retain all value - they saw themselves and workers as fellow producers. This belief led them to call for a farmer-labour political alliance to implement their program of radical monetary reform and state ownership to redistribute wealth.¹⁵

The Farmers' Storehouse was organized as an unincorporated joint stock company on 7 February 1824. It was in many ways similar to a large number of consumer-owned community flour and bread "societies" which flourished in England from 1759 to the 1860s. The Farmer's Storehouse was organized during one of the periodic downturns in the wheat trade, when

colonial exports were barred from English markets and local trade stagnated. The Farmers' Storehouse ensured that farmers obtained the best price for their wheat, and offered them merchandise at a reduced rate in return. Over time, it also became a source of credit, a bank.

The "Bread societies" which developed in England during the Napoleonic Wars were largely extensions of existing "Friendly societies."¹⁶ Many historians, me included, have contextualized the development of the Children of Peace in terms of their religious roots in the Society of Friends. None, however, has pointed to the influence of these "friendly societies." Friendly societies were democratically organized self-help community insurance organizations designed to alleviate tragedies arising from accident, sickness and old age. Regular contributions to a common fund entitled the society member to relief under prescribed circumstances thereby preserving that member's respectability in the face of calamity. The friendly societies' diverse economic, social and political activities were shrouded in a ritual tradition seemingly borrowed from Freemasonry. That tradition emphasized charity and the selfless gift. The once monthly Saturday procession of the Children of Peace behind a band and banner from church to the temple for their alms collection concluded with the public count of the money collected, and differed little from British example except in ritual scale. The British societies, although initially highly localized institutions, shared a common ritual culture that emphasized "an oath, secret signs and knowledge, exclusive regalia marking office and achievement, members' contributions kept in a 'common box', and a sense of exclusiveness based on a line drawn between 'insiders' and 'outsiders.'"¹⁷ The rise in the price of flour during the Napoleonic Wars led many Friendly Societies to form "flour clubs" which purchased and ground wheat for members, selling it to them at prime cost, and offering the poor unadulterated bread at reduced prices.



King Street, Toronto, looking west in 1836.

The Farmers' Storehouse took advantage of a new economic niche developing in the colonial wheat trade. The company was formed in the midst of one of the regular downturns in the flour trade with Britain, whose market remained closed to Upper Canadian wheat between 1820 and 1823.¹⁸ Flour traded in barter remained the primary way in which most farmers tried to resolve their debts to merchants; however, these merchants were themselves unable to sell their accumulated stocks profitably in Montreal. They thus made their profits from their retail sales, if not the flour trade, by purchasing their goods directly – and more cheaply – from Britain. After the Napoleonic Wars, as industrial production in Britain took off, English manufacturers began dumping cheap goods in Montreal; this allowed an increasing number of shopkeepers in York to obtain their goods competitively from Montreal wholesalers. It was during this period that the three largest pre-war merchants were enabled to retire from business. Subsequently, there was a boom in the number of increasingly specialized shops in York that could take advantage of the change in grain tariffs after 1827, which expanded the market for Upper Canadian wheat. It was in this context, with the consolidation of both the flour and wholesale trades in Montreal, that a group of Home District millers and farmers formed the Farmers' Storehouse Company to circumvent the control of these New York merchants.

The first board of directors, elected in June 1824, chose Ely Playter as chair. Playter had been elected a member of the House of Assembly for York-Simcoe in 1824. He was appointed to petition the lieutenant governor for a “water lot” on the beach in Toronto on which to build a storehouse; the directors received the lot where the St. Lawrence market building now stands (and immediately south of the original market buildings).¹⁹ There they built a warehouse 100 feet long by 20 feet wide by 20 feet high. However, just as things were taking off, Ely Playter fled the country after being charged with forgery in the beginning of 1826; the early, quick start was lost. The Farmers' Store did not really seem to take off until 1827 by which time Joseph Shepard had become the president.

In 1828, the board of the Farmers Storehouse decided to petition the House of Assembly for incorporation in December “to enable them to apply for and receive His Majesty's Patent for the Water Lot depending thereon.”²⁰ They called a shareholder's meeting on 2 February 1829, and a week later Charles Fothergill presented the petition of “Joseph Shepard and 36 others” to the Assembly.²¹ A select committee of the House was formed and reported a bill on 3 March. It did not receive second reading in that session, and Fothergill reintroduced the bill in the next session on 11 January 1830. It passed third reading on 26 January and was named “An Act to incorporate certain persons

by the style and title of the 'Associated Farmers' Company of the Home District and Parts Adjacent.' The bill was then referred to the Legislative Council, where it was disallowed with no reason given.²²

Undaunted, the company petitioned again in the next session of the Assembly. The petition was again referred to a select committee, this time chaired by William B. Jarvis, Home District Sheriff, and newly elected member for the town of York.²³ Although Jarvis claimed on 20 January 1831 that he had a bill similar to the one passed in the previous session ready for the House to consider, by the middle of February Goessman advertized, "The bill of incorporation of the Farmers' Store House Company probably will not pass the Lower House this session. The reason is such, that I hesitate not to describe it here. The Chairman, a Town member, of course for the merchants, has not yet presented the Bill."²⁴ It is clear that the merchants of York had the upper hand, and were doing what they could to thwart the bill.

Their third attempt at incorporation stymied, the board of directors adopted a new tack, advertizing in July 1831 (for a full year) that in the next session, they would petition for "a charter for a Farmer's Store House Bank, &c."²⁵ This apparently incongruous change reflects both the original purpose of the Farmers' Store, as well as the radically different nature of banking in that era. The Farmers' Store allowed its members to borrow against their stock; the company served as the creditor of choice for farmers precisely because it loaned money or goods against payment in flour, for which they received a higher price. And as made clear by the Select Committee on the State of the Currency chaired by W.L. Mackenzie (and whose report he published in the *Colonial Advocate*), the "Scottish System" of joint stock banking offered many advantages over limited liability monopolies on the English model such as the Bank of Upper Canada.²⁶ Joint stock banks were not protected by limited liability, and their

shareholders property could be taken to pay bank debts. It was, then, a relatively small step for the Farmers' Store to recast itself as a bank which would issue promissory notes, instead of specie, backed by its own mercantile (or "real") bills to its own customers/shareholders above and beyond the capital they had invested.

The company's storekeeper, John Goessman, finally called a meeting at Hope in 1833 to "depose \$500 at a proper treasurer" and then authorize the issuance of "promissory printed drafts" or bank notes on that account, putting the Farmers' Storehouse Bank plan into action.²⁷ That the meeting was called for Hope (Sharon), and that it proposed to issue promissory notes at that particular time, was not coincidental. It marks a shift in the leadership of the Farmers' Store from Joseph Shepard and John Goessman to Samuel Hughes. Hughes, like Shepard, was a prominent reform politician, who chaired many reform meetings north of Oak Ridges just as Shepard did in York Township. Hughes was to play a central role in both the Political Union movement, as well as the Canadian Alliance Society that grew out of it, as we shall see.

The plan Goessman proposed was similar to that implemented by the Children of Peace the year before, at the time they completed the temple. Their Charity Fund composed of alms collected in the temple had rapidly expanded beyond their charitable needs, making "money useless like the misers store, to the dissatisfaction of the brethren." Just as the Farmers' Store issued loans against share capital to its members, some of the elders proposed that the surplus in the charity fund be loaned at interest to members.²⁸ Since they controlled the loan process themselves, they could ensure that terms were manageable, that no one was denied credit, and that the repayment of the principal remained flexible in difficult times. The only existing records for the Charity Fund begin in 1845, at which time the fund was worth £226, 4, 5 and of which, £132, 12, 11 had been loaned

out.²⁹ Most of these loans were for sums less than £25. Of 61 loans made between 1845 and 1854, the average was £19, 5 - or about the amount of the average debt of those sued in the Home District Court in 1830.

With three previous attempts to obtain a patent for their land failed, management of the concern became increasingly difficult. On 10 July 1834 the committee of management under Hughes's leadership placed an advertisement in the *Colonial Advocate* announcing the issuance of a dividend, and that the storehouse would be let at auction for five years. The Farmers' Store was now clearly moving towards becoming just the Farmers' Bank. On 25 January 1835, the trustees for the storehouse, led by Hughes, again petitioned for incorporation – this time in a reform dominated assembly – one last time. Although their petition was referred to a select committee composed of William Lyon Mackenzie, Samuel Lount and David Gibson, who drafted a bill, it was not presented until the next session, 11 February 1836. In its second reading, however, hostile amendments appeared to have been added which specifically banned the company from banking.³⁰ The bill never reappeared as reformers lost control of the House. With all legislative avenues stymied, the Farmers' Storehouse largely disappears from public view. It continued to hold its annual meetings in 1836 and 1837 under Hughes chairmanship, to distribute its dividends, thereby indicating that it continued a limited operation as a joint stock bank.³¹

The Political Union Movement

The Children of Peace and the farmers of the Home district thus had many reasons for complaint against a colonial state that persecuted them for their religious beliefs, allowed their economic exploitation, and marginalized them from politics. Their response to these abuses was to organize utilizing the political forms they inherited from Britain; the “political union” which had been so important to the

passage of the “Representation of the People Act,” commonly known as the Reform Act of 1832, by which many electoral reforms had been effected in England. The Unions were not political parties. They were, rather, political lobby groups that organized petition campaigns to the elected assembly, and to the king. Samuel Hughes was to be a key player in the development of the political union movement in the 1830s, as well as a primary proponent of its transformation into a political party.

Samuel's political participation first becomes apparent in August 1831, in a public meeting of one hundred fifty to two hundred people for the township of East Gwillimbury held in the “chapel” of the Children of Peace. The meeting was one of a series organized by Mackenzie that summer to petition the British Parliament to address a number of perceived abuses. Samuel was elected one of five members of a committee to prepare the petition, seek signatures, and correspond with other township committees on the matter.³²

Actual political unions were not introduced, however, until after William Lyon Mackenzie, the elected representative to the assembly for the farmers of the Home District, was unlawfully expelled from the House in late 1831. His expulsion galvanized the Children of Peace, who declared in January of 1832 that they



The First Meeting House ('Chapel') of the Children of Peace.

would no longer sit on the sidelines, though they could not support Mackenzie's *methods*.

The aged amongst us have lived many years in peace and tranquility under His Majesty's government and administration - we know that *great men* were *greedy of fees and honor*, our burdens were light, and we lived in peace. But age increases wisdom - many have found great cause of complaint - we heartily concur with them in believing it is just - we believe that our present administrators have a partial side, which cannot be impartial justice and amidst his majesty subjects. Many are bribed by office and by fees, in our apprehension, and no impartial mind can unite with partiality. All benefices are placed on one side of the question, which is a cause of contention, (though we have not been contentious). *We avow ourselves to be substantial friends to the liberty and justice of the Constitution. We are firmly united in the cause of our representative W.L. Mackenzie, so far as his means tends to equality and justice.* We believe in the *liberty of the press* to be a means of our constitutional rights; but we also believe that there is a considerable part of free press productions needlessly disquieting the minds of the subjects, to the injury of the province, and irritating to men in power here. We are divided in the present system of action, and halting between two opinions; but we are minded to halt no longer but put on the home garment and appear amongst men - we are unitedly for the liberty of reason and talent on both sides of the question, and we are not willing to use means to fetter any, either *government* nor *country*, this is liberty indeed, impartial and unbiased.³³

By March, David Willson was preaching on political matters in Toronto, and publishing these addresses as "An Address to Officers Adminis-

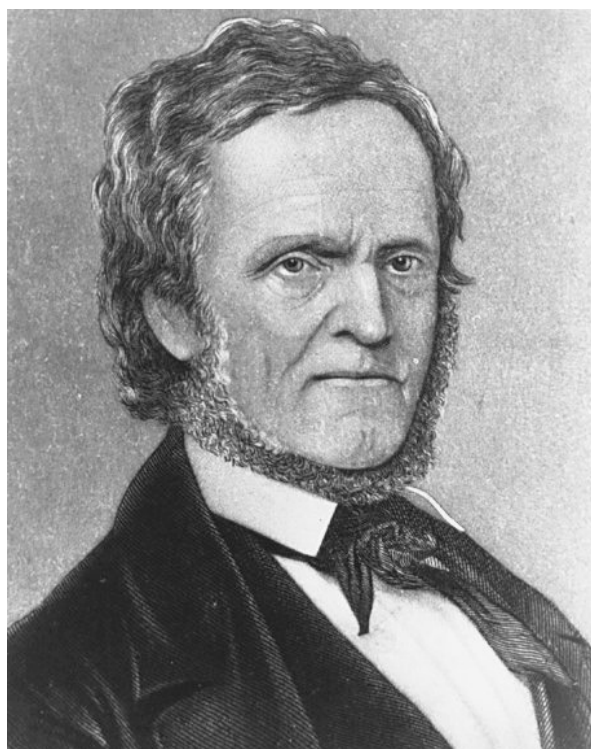
tering Government - and Priests Administering Gospel in the Province of Upper Canada."³⁴

Mackenzie traveled to England between April 1832 and August 1833 to appeal his expulsion. At the conclusion of polling on 26 November 1832, after the absent Mackenzie was acclaimed in the third by-election in that parliament for the County of York, Dr Thomas D. Morrison, of Toronto, called on those assembled to join him in establishing a political union. Sixty-six of those present signed up for the Upper Canada Central Political Union on the spot.³⁵ The Upper Canada Central Political Union was infused with a radicalism different from the dominant British constitutionalism of most reform publications of the period.³⁶ The Union's objects began with the usual invocation of Upper Canada having been "singularly blessed with a Constitution the very image and transcript of that of Great Britain" but continued with a list of the ways in which that constitution had been abridged before concluding on a radical democratic note. They aimed "to concentrate public opinion, in order that it may be brought to act upon the political arena of this Province in such a manner as to *obtain* and *retain* the proper constitutional check to misrule, or mal-administration, in the hands of the representative branch of our government." This aim would be achieved by public education in the "JUST RIGHTS OF MAN, and the objects for which governments were instituted;" phraseology borrowed from the French and American revolutions. These "natural Rights of Man consist in Liberty, equality, security of person and property and the full enjoyment of the produce of his labour," as well as a demand later dropped, that "every adult male member of a community should have an equal right, and in fact has a natural right, to elect those who are to legislate for him." It stated clearly the democratic nature of all law, which "should be based upon the free and decided expression of the PUBLIC WILL, subject to the rules and ends of PUBLIC JUSTICE." When that public

will, and the justice it demanded, was thwarted, “when any government violates the just rights of the people, constitutional resistance becomes the imperative and indispensable duty” of the aggrieved. The means the constitution granted them for seeking redress was the Political Union.³⁷

A public meeting was called on 5 June in Newmarket to establish a second branch of the Central Political Union - for the townships of Whitchurch, East Gwillimbury and Brock, the newly established Fourth Riding of the County of York.³⁸ Samuel Hughes chaired the Newmarket meeting, and William Reid was secretary; both were elders of the Children of Peace. This meeting, on a motion from Hughes, established “Committees of Vigilance” for each township in the riding, “to secure the return of an independent Member to the ensuing Parliament.”³⁹ The use of committees of reformers to nominate candidates, rather than open non-partisan public meetings, was a means to forestall violent opposition. It was innovative, and led in short order to the proposal for a district wide convention. Importantly, one of the committee members for Brock Township was Randal Wixson, the editor of the *Colonial Advocate* in Mackenzie’s absence. These committee members met in Hope the next month to elect an executive for the riding as a whole, and to act in unison with the York Central Committee. This ten member executive contained five members of the Children of Peace: Samuel Hughes was unanimously elected president and William Reid secretary. Importantly, they set quorum at any five members including the president.⁴⁰ The Children of Peace thus dominated the nomination process for the riding in the ensuing election.

This was the period in which the Children of Peace, and Hughes in particular, were also coming to the fore in the management of the Farmers’ Store. This was the critical time in which, having established their own credit union, the Children of Peace led the way in



William Lyon Mackenzie

transforming the Farmers’ Storehouse into a bank. Lastly, this was the period in which the Children of Peace adopted new regulations “for settling the village of Hope” which provided for land-sharing among members. Hughes purchased a two hundred acre clergy reserve lot in the village in 1833 to dispense land to members “according to his necessity, according to the goodness of the Lord to his people in the land of Egypt in the time of their distress.”⁴¹ Hughes, now the dominant reform politician in the north half of the county, was critical to introducing these economic concerns to the reform movement as a whole.

Mackenzie returned to Toronto from his London trip in the last week of August 1833 to find his appeals to the British Parliament had been ultimately ineffective. A meeting of the Central Committee was immediately called for Elliot’s Hotel for 2 September to plan on the future direction of the political unions in the wake of their disappointment.⁴² At this critical meeting, the Central Committee hammered out a plan of action; they called, on the one hand,

for the construction of a meeting hall where reformers could meet without threat of violence - a building they called "Shepard's Hall."⁴³ And on the other hand, they planned for a "Grand Convention of Delegates" from the Home District to select reform candidates, and a uniform platform, for the ensuing elections.

At the same time as Shepard's Hall was being touted in the *Colonial Advocate*, Mackenzie was putting together "A New Almanack for the Canadian True Blues, with which is incorporated the Constitutional Reformer's Text Book," in order to promote a political convention.⁴⁴ The pamphlet appeared early in October, and was in its second edition by the end of the month. Buried within this twenty-four page pamphlet was a single page in small, dense type, obviously originally set as a handbill which had circulated much earlier. The handbill called for the establishment of a regular system of nominations for political candidates, as was practiced in the United States, and by the Catholic Association of Ireland, through which Daniel O'Connell had promoted the Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829. The handbill called on the reformers of each town and township to call a meeting to select three delegates to attend a county convention in the Old Court House to nominate appropriate candidates for the next election, and to establish a common platform.

Although the handbill was signed "Patrick Swift" (Mackenzie's pen name), David Willson was later to claim that the idea of the convention had been his (a claim not contradicted by Mackenzie who published it).⁴⁵ Willson offered further fatherly advice in Mackenzie's paper on how to conduct such a new and innovative institution, emphasizing the importance of establishing a permanent and regular convention; advice not immediately taken. Willson's claim is substantiated by the report of the earlier public meeting to establish a second branch of the Central Political Union in Newmarket that was called on 5 June 1833 (before Mackenzie had returned from England), despite Mackenzie's

request that the unions be disbanded. The meeting was chaired by Samuel Hughes, and on a motion from him, established "Committees of Vigilance" for each township in the riding, "to secure the return of an independent Member to the ensuing Parliament."⁴⁶ The "Grand Convention" was simply an extension of this process to the District level for coordination of the four ridings of York.

The Grand Convention was thus little more than a centralization of the local process for nominating candidates described by Hughes; local delegates were to be chosen to attend the Convention, and select candidates, who would then be confirmed by public meetings in their local constituencies. Only the delegates from within a riding played a role in selecting a candidate for that riding at the convention, and their selection required local public meetings to confirm the choice. Given the continued emphasis on local control of the nomination process, it is not unreasonable to wonder about the need for a central meeting, or convention; the emphasis on local control of its representative was balanced by the collective process of defining a platform to which the local candidates had to agree. It is thus within this convention that we see the germs of a reform "party," a "permanent convention."

The first of the township meetings to report was East Gwillimbury, which met in the village of Hope on 30 November; the early participation of the Children of Peace certainly adds credence to Willson's claim to have been the convention's initiator. They appointed Samuel Hughes one of their delegates to the convention. This was followed by Albion township, which held a meeting on 9 December,⁴⁷ and King township on 14 December.⁴⁸ The convention was convened for 27 February. On the 20th, the *Advocate* published a letter from Willson addressed to the delegates in which he offered advice on its future direction. He strongly advocated a province wide convention. He also "pray[ed] for a standing convention," a party

organization, so that they could “do all your business with closed doors until your plans are well concerted, and then bring them to the light, far and wide as your care extends. In so doing, you will hide yourself from the battle till you are armed, and save your heads from public censure, and your weakness from the archers eye.”⁴⁹ The day before the convention, the Children of Peace again held a “Grand Procession” to the old Court House: “They will be accompanied by music and banners, as on the occasion of the late County election, and they request the friends of freedom, truth, justice and constitutional right to take part in the procession.” There David Willson again “addressed the meeting with great force and effect.”⁵⁰

The members of the convention were not, however, so easily swayed by Willson’s call for a “permanent convention.” After the delegates had selected their candidates and prepared a ten-point platform to which those candidates had to pledge themselves, Samuel Hughes “proposed that the convention should resolve to continue its sittings from time to time during the continuance of the next ensuing parliament, and proposed a Constitution for its adoption.” Although the original call for the convention had emphasized that once assembled, its members should assume the responsibility of nominating an executive to reconvene the convention for the next year, a majority of the delegates reacted negatively to Hughes’ proposed constitution, because they “had not been appointed for any such purpose, and that their power should cease would cease immediately after the next general election.”⁵¹

Although the convention failed to establish any permanent form of organization, its candidates and platform proved very successful and reformers swept the election in the Home District in late 1834. It was only after the election that these elected representatives sought to reconstitute the Central Political Union, now under the name of the Canadian Alliance Society

in December 1834. The Society took the room in the new Market Building abandoned by Mackenzie’s newspaper, the *Advocate*, when it was amalgamated with the *Correspondent*. By January 1835 the Children of Peace were preaching in the same room every other Sunday,⁵² leading the rival newspaper, the *Courier*, to scathingly call it the “Holy Alliance Hay Loft.”⁵³ By early 1835, the Society, the Children of Peace, the *Correspondent & Advocate* and Mackenzie’s new paper, the *Constitution*, had all moved to their new “Shepard’s Hall” in Turton’s building on the north-east corner of King and York Streets.

The Children of Peace thus played a critical role in the creation of the Canadian Alliance Society which has not been recognized by scholars. As key players in the Farmers’ Storehouse, and as instigators of a “permanent convention,” they helped pull the movement together in its new home, “Shepard’s Hall,” where they continued to hold meetings for worship. Teasing out these linkages requires us to follow an intricate trail: from the rebuilding of Solomon’s Temple in “Hope” by these “lost Israelites” fleeing their pharaoh, to the creation of a credit union from the alms they collected there: from Children of “Peace” subject to political violence, to building a safe home for free speech. And from preaching in Shepard’s Hall, to becoming political proselytizers of a democratic Upper Canada.

The Children of Peace immediately formed a branch of the Canadian Alliance Society in January 1835, and elected Samuel Hughes its president.⁵⁴ This branch met every two weeks during the parliamentary session to discuss the bills before the assembly. One of their more interesting proposals was to create a petitioning campaign for a written provincial constitution; Hughes was appointed to the committee.⁵⁵ A constitution would be the means by which “the proceedings of our government may be bounded - the legislative council rendered elective, and the government and council made re-

sponsible - and that all Ecclesiastics be prohibited from holding seats in the council and that no officer of the government should be irresponsible." The East Gwillimbury branch corresponded with those in King and Whitchurch and met at McLeod's tavern in Aurora on 25 May to discuss the issue. It was no doubt meetings like this that inspired Mackenzie, in November 1837, to draft a constitution for Upper Canada. The proposed constitution was ostensibly published as a response to a *Patriot* article a few weeks before, "A Conference on Government for the Instruction of Radical Reformers" which recorded a hypothetical debate between Cromwell and his advisers in the "Glorious Revolution" on the relative benefits of mixed monarchy and republicanism.⁵⁶ Mackenzie responded by composing a satire, a round table discussion by such luminaries as John Locke, Benjamin Franklin, George Washington, Oliver Goldsmith and William Pitt and others. The discussion allegedly took place in the long room of the Royal Oak Hotel, in Churchville, where a public meeting that summer had been disrupted by Orange violence, and an attempt made on Mackenzie's life.⁵⁷ These discussions were said to be part of a "convention sitting in this township for the purpose of circulating political information, weighing opinions as to the best means of improving the civil institutions of the country, and endeavoring to determine whether the British Constitution, Sir F. Head's government or Independence would be the most likely to prove advantageous to the people."⁵⁸ Mackenzie's satire (though actually intended to serve as a constitution after the rebellion), was no doubt based upon discussion like those by the branch societies of Hope, King and Whitchurch meeting at McLeod's tavern the year before.

The Canadian Alliance Society did not, however, have the same success as the earlier Central Political Union in nominating and electing candidates. The reformers were routed in the elections of 1836 due to the intervention of Lt.

Governor Francis Bond Head, and endemic electoral violence by the Orange Order. Their discontent was deepened by the economic crisis sweeping the Atlantic world. By December 1836, a deep depression had gripped the province: "The winter has set in, cold, gloomy and cheerless... Empty Houses are Stores are to be met with by the score."⁵⁹ The victorious Tories passed a whole series of laws that struck at the political rights of the reformers. The "Act to Abolish the distinction between Grand and Petit Larceny" eliminated the category of petty theft, and treated all theft under the rules of grand larceny; it broadened the magistrates' power by granting them the authority to sentence any thief (of whatever amount) to up to three years in the Kingston Penitentiary, or up to seven years of banishment.⁶⁰ The bill had been introduced in 1835 by Attorney General John B. Robinson, and repeatedly stalled in the reform dominated Assemblies of 1835-6. The final passing of the bill by the Tory assembly led Dr O'Grady, editor of the *Correspondent & Advocate*, to compare it to the Irish Coercion Act of 1833, which similarly granted appointed magistrates broadly oppressive powers.⁶¹ The Tories also passed an amendment to the Court of Requests Bill which allowed "any proud, vindictive or harsh creditor in Toronto, to bring his debtor, or any person he may choose to say he has a claim upon, for eighteen pence, from Caledon, Georgina, Brock, Whitchurch, or any distant township in this district, in the middle of harvest, to answer at the Request Court in this city."⁶² Anyone who failed to respond to the summons would summarily forfeit, and would be subject to the claim and court costs, which could result in their being jailed indefinitely in debtor's prison.

It is against the backdrop of a broad economic crisis, and the increasingly tight grip of the Tories on the political and economic levers of the state that the reformers again sought to re-organize themselves. The Canadian Alliance Society was reborn as the Toronto Political

Union in October 1836. The Union's "deliberations are open to the people; two hundred persons may generally obtain convenient seats... It is, we presume, understood that the rules and usages of the House of Assembly, when in debate, will be enforced."⁶³ By this time, however, there was a general frustration expressed with the effectiveness of petitioning the home government; a public address by the people of Hope concluded that "praying to England has been like angling in deep water where nothing is taken."⁶⁴

In March, 1837, the near moribund Toronto Union turned once more to its historically strong base, the farmers of the Home District. In a meeting at the end of March the Toronto Political Union resolved to petition the now dying king;⁶⁵ in that petition they complained of the "undue influences and infractions to which our liberties have been lately most deplorably subjected[;] we will not enlarge on our firm and unalterable resolution, never while we live, to recognize the present Assembly as our free and independent Representatives, or to consider their acts as justly binding upon us or our children." The illegitimacy of the Assembly led them to warn the king "that the Province has arrived at that crisis when it behooves the people in defense of their indefeasible rights to meet together in general conviction [sic] of Delegates, to consider of such changes in their Provincial Constitution as may be likely to obviate the various evils of which they have so long complained in vain."⁶⁶ Mackenzie expanded on the petition's call for a "convention of the people of the two provinces" in an appeal "to the people of the County of York" in May.⁶⁷ Here, he explicitly linked the need for the convention with the economic disaster facing farmers, focusing in particular on the "paper dollar lords" and "colonial despotism." The only solution to these economic woes, he asserted, was a convention of the people "to devise means to rescue the country from its present distressed state." The reformers were

clear about the economic roots of their political organization.

It was not, however, until after the death of King William IV on 20 June that the Toronto Political Union proceeded to organize this convention, now clearly a "constitutional convention." According to legal precedent, an election had to be called within six months of the death of the king, and so they geared up for the inevitable. In July, Mackenzie published a plan for a "Political Union, for the establishment of the Constitution on the broad basis of civil and religious liberty and equal right."⁶⁸ Establishing such an extra-parliamentary association for the purpose of "channeling discontent, disseminating propaganda, petitioning parliament, and, as a last resort, organizing a revolution" had a long history in Britain, stretching back to the 1770s radicals Obadiah Hulme, James Burgh and Major John Cartwright.⁶⁹ The Continental Congress was exemplary of the process, but such conventions were organized within Britain as well; the Irish convention movement emerged in 1791-2, the Scottish Friends of the People in 1792-3, the London Corresponding Society in 1794, and a constitutional convention by the National Union of the Working Classes (NUWC) in 1833.⁷⁰

The first of these meetings to select delegates to the constitutional convention were held at Doel's Brewery in Toronto on 28 and 31 July; the reformers struck a committee to prepare a "Declaration of the Reformers of the City of Toronto to their Fellow Reformers in Upper Canada" which called for the implementation of Mackenzie's plan.⁷¹ The declaration contained provocative references to the American Revolution, including a direct attack on the monarch who was held personally responsible for the unrepresentative government and partial administration of the colony. Such references were hard to miss, since Mackenzie began serializing Thomas Paine's revolutionary tract, *Common Sense*, in the *Constitution*, and handed out copies in these public meetings.⁷² The re-

formers expressed their frustration that “in every stage of these proceedings we have petitioned for redress in most humble terms; our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injuries.”

The second meeting of the renewed Political Union was called to order by Samuel Hughes three days later, on 3 August in Newmarket. Mackenzie regaled the crowd for more than an hour, reviewing the complaints listed in the Declaration of the Toronto Reformers. Samuel Hughes proposed a motion which castigated “the conduct of Sir Francis Bond Head... for he has tampered with our rights at elections – disposed of many thousands of pounds of our revenue without our consent – and governed us by the strong hand of arbitrary and unconstitutional power – depreciating our currency, and pretending to maintain cash payments, while the Bank, immediately connected with his government, was flooding the colony with the notes of a Bankrupt Bank in another province.” The meeting appointed Hughes, Samuel Lount, Nelson Gorham, Silas Fletcher, Jeremiah Graham and John McIntosh, M.P.P. as delegates to the convention (and all, with the exception of Hughes and MacIntosh, leaders in the Rebellion); they also appointed twenty three men to a “Committee of vigilance” to organize local political unions. David Willson then addressed the crowd, similarly attacking the “gross obstructions in the way of political improvement, or the administration of good government, equality, justice and peace.” The first of these obstructions was no less than the “principal magistrate, the King” who was “not possessed of that freedom and liberality of sentiment and expression, with which every impartial MONARCH or magistrate ought to be endued.”⁷³

A further eight public meetings across the Home District were scheduled over the next three weeks; each of these public meetings named a local committee of vigilance to organize reform support, prepare a registry of valid

electors, and name their delegates to the proposed convention. The meetings in the Home District met with an increasing amount of Orange Order violence, but they persisted as the reformers began to protect themselves and resort to arms to do so.⁷⁴ Any armed, “seditious” meeting, however, could easily be construed “rebellion”; yet no peaceful means of achieving reform remained.⁷⁵ As Carol Wilton notes, “By the fall of 1837, then, it had become virtually impossible for reformers to hold lawful political meetings in the province.” Their range of options had narrowed almost to the vanishing point. The peaceable reform meetings tapered off in October, to be replaced by instances of men drilling for battle.”⁷⁶ Everyone looked forward to the constitutional convention. Mackenzie finally set the date for the convention of delegates on 21 December; the symbolic date *precisely* six months after the death of William IV.⁷⁷ By the mere fact that Head had not called an election, the Assembly could be deemed unconstitutional as British law made elections six months after the death of the king mandatory. The radical reformers would have been perfectly legitimate in utilizing violence in the face of illegal state repression to hold their constitutional convention after that date.

It is at this point, that Samuel Hughes, delegate to the constitutional convention he had himself argued for, began to withdraw from the Children of Peace. His reasons for doing so, however, had little to do with the as yet unplanned rebellion. Rather, Hughes found himself increasingly alienated from the Children of Peace on the issue of their rejection of his ministry. He was hurt that, having “for many years sat silent that he [David Willson] might speak; and in all things I preferred him to myself. – But in process of time, when I had become advanced in years, and beheld the iniquity of men, and the corruption of society; that I arose up and spoke a few words in the presence of men... he did immediately oppose my testimony and began to speak of me, to the

people by a voice that I knew not.”⁷⁸ Hughes took no part in the rebellion, and suffered no repercussions in the aftermath, unlike the other members of the Children of Peace.

The Rebellion was, for Hughes, a sign:

One thing remarkable, and connected with these events was that the author being at the same time in the village, and retired to rest as usual... remained undisturbed through the night; neither did the guards so much as move a latch or bolt of the door that night, when calamities prevailed arround in almost every house. Mothers crying for their sons, and wives for their husbands, yet in the habitation of the author there was not a dog moved his tongue. Therefore I thought proper to give the reader a hint of these things, and how all things were thrown into confusion at that time, and before order was restored again a separation had taken place, between me and them.⁷⁹

Temperance Advocate

Although Hughes was president of the Farmers’ Storehouse, and chair of the northern branch of the Central Political Union by 1833, his thoughts were also turning to the ministry. Since his early life with the Society of Friends, he had always been moved by a religious concern on the abuse of alcohol. As he noted in his history of Upper Canadian Friends,

About this time [1810] it was that the monthly meeting of Yonge Street appointed a committee of men and women friends, to labour with such of their members as ware in the habit of using strong drink, and also such as sold their grain to the distilleries for the purpose of distillation, which was at that time a prevailing practice amongst the farmers. Thus the testimonies of society was

maintained against the corrupting habit, and the principals of truth over that growing evil.⁸⁰

In December of 1831, however, he was to experience a transformative event that sharpened his concern.

It was about the beginning of December 1831, that a poor man... left the village of Newmarket on a Friday evening to go to the Holland Landing; having with him a small sled, three jugs of whiskey and a little dog. Having drank too freely of the poison in the jugs, and a heavy snow storm beating in his face, he lost his road and wandered about in byeways until he was quite bewildered; and the cold increasing to an intense degree, together with the liquor he had drank rendered him stupid and unable to draw the sled. It appears he came sometime in the night to the neighbourhood of this village, and left his sled... He went a few rods into a field where, to appearance, he fell down, and not being able to rise, folded his arms about him and died. The little dog remained faithful to his master’s goods at the sled till he was discovered by some of the neighbours, which led to the suspicion that the owner was lost, and search was immediately made for him. The snow however had fallen so deep that all efforts to discover the body proved fruitless... [the] awful truth, however, was ascertained about the middle of March, when the corpse was discovered frozen hard, lying directly under the pathway of sleighs where it had remained nearly four months...

When some preparations were made, we assembled to take up the body. After loosening the skeleton and turning it over, and I had removed the jug that still remained close by his side, the spectacle he

presented produced in me feelings beyond description. And what was still more to be abhorred, the very man in whose service he died, & for whom the whiskey was bought, was at that moment reeling to and fro over the corpse in a state of intoxication. Who could look upon such a scene without sorrow of heart, or without resolving to give all his aid and influence to Temperance Societies? I fastened up the box into which the body was put: my mind was overcharged, my soul revolted at the scene, — I turned my back and went away.⁸¹

The powerful immediacy of this report printed in the *Christian Guardian* gives a sense of what drove Hughes to fight intemperance. It is, however, rare in his writing. Shortly after the experience, Hughes was to compose a highly stylized parable, which he was eventually to publish with other parables and lectures on intemperance in 1836.⁸² Hughes was to write a second pamphlet in 1835 in similar, heavy-handed allegorical style on the Orthodox-Hicksite separation.⁸³ It was a third work written in late 1837 which was to prove a block on his ministry among the Children of Peace.

Starting in January of 1835, Hughes began what might be considered an annual lecture on intemperance. In the first of these lectures, he noted that there were “105 habitual drunkards out of a population of 1070 male adults” in East Gwillimbury and Whitchurch townships. Among these 105 habitual drunkards were “78 husbands who are parents of families, and from the best information, fathers of 312 children, and are companions, or rather abusers, of 78 afflicted women, who are bound to suffer under the government of madness and distraction.” Another lecture was presented in January of 1836. The tragic death by fire of a local magistrate in March led Hughes to immediately organize more meetings, and to publish his “Remarks on Intemperance.”⁸⁴ About No-

vember 1837 he presented a more theological manuscript to the other elders of the Children of Peace, seeking their support. The pamphlet not only argued against such rituals involving wine as communion, but also contested whether Christ had ever commanded his disciples to do so.⁸⁵

This address appeared to be the source of the final breach between Hughes and the Children of Peace. He had evidently attempted to minister on the subject in their regular meetings for worship, against their objections; it was these objections which led him to consolidate his arguments in the November address. The objections of David Willson, in particular, placed Hughes in the same position that Willson himself was in, in 1812, when the Yonge Street elders forbade him to speak. Like Willson almost thirty years before, Hughes felt he had no choice but to separate himself so that he could continue his ministry. In consequence, Hughes was the only delegate to the constitutional convention scheduled for December, who did not participate in the raging debates about the rebellion. Any impact he might have had on the course of events was lost. It was rather, the urgings of his cousin, Samuel Lount, who carried the day.

Hicksite Minister

We know little of what transpired throughout 1838. Hughes remained in the village of Hope, but wrote his sister in early 1839 to say he had “some prospect of building a house on my farm and leave the village [of Hope], but not immediately as I shall be under the necessity of building a house first, the house that is there being occupied by a tenant.”⁸⁶ By July 1839 he had written an “article of settlement and peace” to the villagers of Hope, in which he proclaimed he had “given up all controversy about the government” of the Children of Peace, and would simply demand a say in the distribution of alms for as long as he continued

to contribute.⁸⁷ However, any further attempts at conciliation were cut off, shortly thereafter, by illness and accident.

It is unknown when Hughes first began to attend meetings for worship among the Hicksite Quakers on Yonge Street. He wrote he had attended a large assembly of Friends and others on 14 and 15 August in Rochester that was probably related to the temperance crusades convulsing that city at the time.⁸⁸ However, on his return from that meeting, Hughes was struck with a severe illness on 30 September 1839 that left “most of his friends and neighbours despairing of hopes of recovery.” It was a month before he recovered, and three months before he could attend to business. At that point, he fell from the upper floor of his barn, striking his head. These illnesses kept him from moving to the new house he had built on his farm until the summer of 1840. In June, as he moved into the new house near Holland Landing, he also applied for membership in the Yonge Street Monthly Meeting [Hicksite]. His wife, Anna Armitage Wiggins Hughes applied for membership in August, and the two were accepted.⁸⁹

Hughes attended the Yearly Meeting in Farmington, Michigan, in 1844, and shortly thereafter was recommended as a minister by the Half Years Meeting of Ministers and Elders. Yonge Street Monthly Meeting recognized his ministry in November.⁹⁰ Subsequently, Hughes appeared to travel regularly in the ministry. In 1845, he repeated his journey to Yearly Meeting in Michigan, and went on to visit all the meetings westward of Farmington.⁹¹ In 1846, he was to visit Mariposa Meeting,⁹² and 1849, the “Queen’s Bush” in Peel County, where he appointed meetings among white and black settlers.⁹³ In 1850, he was to strike south as far as Salem, Ohio, where he was to publish “A warning to the Society of Friends everywhere.” A common theme to each of these meetings and publications was to strengthen the sense of duty and service of meeting el-

ders.

In his declining years, this theme was supplemented by a concern for the young. Although married three times, Hughes had no children, and this seemed to weigh increasingly on his mind as death approached. During a six-week visit to Ohio Yearly Meeting in 1851, Hughes was to publish a pamphlet “To the Children and Youth of Friends’ Families, Constituting Yonge Street Monthly Meeting; and to all others in similar circumstances.” He had written a similar epistle to the students of West Lake Boarding School in February 1851.⁹⁴ His will left money to republish one thousand copies of an eighteenth century moral classic for children, Robert Dodsley’s “The economy of human life: translated from an Indian manuscript, written by an ancient Bramin” (1751).⁹⁵ His last work, published just before his death, was his “Last Will and Testament of Samuel Hughes, on religious subjects. For Friends and relations everywhere” (1856). Samuel Hughes died 11 December 1856. Anna Armitage Wiggins Hughes died 29 December 1865. They are buried in the Hicksite cemetery, Newmarket.

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¹ This article contains excerpts from Albert Schrauwers, "Union is Strength": W.L. Mackenzie, The Children of Peace, and the Emergence of Joint Stock Democracy in Upper Canada. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009).

² For an example, see Laura Peers, "The Not So Peacable Kingdom: Quakers Took Up Arms in the Rebellion of 1837" Canadian Quaker History Journal 69-70(2004/5): 17-24. For an exception, see Daniel Nelson, "The Dorlands: A Loyalist Quaker Family" Canadian Quaker History Journal 64(1999): 36-50.

³ See for example, the case of Moses Haylor, an English immigrant who faced starvation in 1832 when his first crop failed; he appealed to Lount for aid and received two barrels of flour. He was to return the favour after Lount was arrested, and an angry mob descended on his unprotected wife and children, threatening to burn their house around them; Haylor dispersed the mob, reminding them "he once saved my life and that of my family from starvation when that fate stared me and them in the face: and hundreds can testify that he has reached out a helping hand to those in great need. He saved my dear ones, and I shall save his!" Terry Carter, "Samuel Lount: Rebel or Victim?" The York Pioneer 82(1987): 44.

⁴ Ethel Willson Trehwella, "Job Hughes, Friends' Minister of Yonge Street, 1805-1807" Canadian Quaker History Journal 71(2006): 75-92.

⁵ Unpublished Journal by Samuel Hughes, 1, folder 1-9 Bowerman: Sam Hughes, E. H. Marion Cronk Fonds, Canadian Yearly Meeting Archives, Pickering College, Newmarket, Ontario, hereafter CYMA. The journal is numbered #5 on the cover by A.C. Bowerman held by the. Spelling has been corrected.

⁶ Samuel Hughes, manuscript history of the Society of Friends in Canada, 33-4, E. H. Marion Cronk Fonds, CYMA.

⁷ Unpublished Journal by Samuel Hughes.

⁸ Manuscript history of the separation of the Children of Peace by David Willson, 11, 990.1.2, Sharon Temple Archives.

⁹ Samuel Hughes, manuscript history of the Society of Friends in Canada, 37.

¹⁰ Albert Schrauwers, Awaiting the Millennium: The Children of Peace and the Village of Hope, 1812-1889 (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1993), 34-43.

¹¹ Colonial Advocate, 29 July 1830.

¹² Constitution, 4 May 1837.

¹³ Albert Schrauwers, "The Spirit of Capitalism and the Collapse of Community: The Children of Peace in the Mid-Nineteenth Century" Canadian Quaker History Journal 63 (1998): 54-66

¹⁴ George Henry, The emigrant's guide; or. Canada as it is; comprising details relating to the domestic policy, commerce and agriculture, of the Upper and Lower Provinces, comprising matter of general information and interest, especially intended for the use of settlers and emigrants. (New York, Stodart, 1832), 103, 121-5.

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- ¹⁹ Upper Canada Land Petitions, P14/39 20 October 1824, Provincial Archives of Ontario, hereafter PAO.
- ²⁰ Colonial Advocate, 11 Dec 1828
- ²¹ Journal of the House of Assembly of Upper Canada, (Toronto: W.L. Mackenzie, 1829), 32-3, 46.
- ²² Journal, 1830, 13, 25, 27; Christian Guardian, 13 March 1830.
- ²³ Journal, 1831, 4 9, 16.
- ²⁴ Canadian Freeman, 17 Feb 1831.
- ²⁵ Canadian Freeman, 18 July 1831.
- ²⁶ Colonial Advocate, 20 and 27 May 1830, and 3 June 1830.
- ²⁷ Canadian Freeman, 7 March 1833.
- ²⁸ MS 733, series A, vol. 2, 7ff., PAO.
- ²⁹ 973.33.2, Sharon Temple Archives.
- ³⁰ "Scroll draft of the Farmers Storehouse Bill", Gibson House Museum, City of Toronto, Culture Division, 11-2. Journal of the Assembly, 11 February and 2 March 1836. Correspondant and Advocate, 30 Nov 1836.
- ³¹ Correspondent & Advocate, 18 May 1836. R6157-0-1-E (old MG24-I68), National Archives of Canada. Although the Farmers' Store continued to hold its annual meetings in 1836 and 1837, it never petitioned for incorporation again. In 1841, the company attempted to sell the water lot to the city, the deal being completed only in 1844. In 1845, the city built the current St Lawrence market building on the site.
- ³² Colonial Advocate, 4 August 1831.
- ³³ Colonial Advocate 19 January 1832.
- ³⁴ They were reprinted in the Colonial Advocate, 22 March and 26 April 1832.
- ³⁵ Colonial Advocate, 29 Nov. 1832.
- ³⁶ Carol Wilton, Popular Politics and Political Culture in Upper Canada, 1800-1850, (Kingston & Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2000), 146-7.
- ³⁷ Colonial Advocate, 13 December 1832
- ³⁸ Established in February 1833.
- ³⁹ Colonial Advocate, 13 June 1833
- ⁴⁰ Colonial Advocate, 18 July 1833
- ⁴¹ Schrauwers, Awaiting the Millennium, 120-1.
- ⁴² Colonial Advocate, 29 August 1833.
- ⁴³ Colonial Advocate, 7 September 1833.
- ⁴⁴ Patrick Swift, A New Almanack for the Canadian true blues with which is incorporated the Constitutional Reformer's text book for... (York, Printed and published by P. Baxter, Colonial Advocate, 1833)
- ⁴⁵ Advocate, 20 February 1834
- ⁴⁶ Colonial Advocate, 13 June 1833

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- ⁴⁷ Advocate, 14 December 1833.
- ⁴⁸ Advocate, 21 December 1833.
- ⁴⁹ Advocate, 20 February 1834.
- ⁵⁰ Advocate, 20, 27 February 1834.
- ⁵¹ Advocate, 13 March 1834.
- ⁵² Correspondent & Advocate, 15 January 1835.
- ⁵³ Patriot, 13 January 1835
- ⁵⁴ Correspondent & Advocate, 2 February 1835.
- ⁵⁵ Correspondent & Advocate 15 May 1835.
- ⁵⁶ Patriot 27 October 1837.
- ⁵⁷ Wilton, Popular Politics, 186.
- ⁵⁸ Constitution 15 November 1837.
- ⁵⁹ Constitution 2 November 1836.
- ⁶⁰ 7th William IV, first session, Chap. IV.
- ⁶¹ Correspondent & Advocate 11 January 1837.
- ⁶² Constitution 22 March 1837. For the merchant's view, see The Patriot, 22 November 1836.
- ⁶³ Constitution, Correspondent & Advocate, 12 October 1836.
- ⁶⁴ Correspondent & Advocate, 16 November 1836.
- ⁶⁵ Constitution, 12 April 1837.
- ⁶⁶ Constitution, 17 May 1837.
- ⁶⁷ Constitution, 24 May 1837.
- ⁶⁸ Constitution, 19 July 1837.
- ⁶⁹ T.M. Parssinen, "Association, convention and anti-parliament in British radical politics, 1771-1848" English Historical Review 88, no. 348 (1973): 504-533.
- ⁷⁰ *Ibid.* 521.
- ⁷¹ Constitution, 2 August 1837.
- ⁷² Constitution 2 August 1837; Patriot, 11 August. 1837.
- ⁷³ Constitution, 9 August. 1837
- ⁷⁴ Wilton, Popular Politics, 185ff.
- ⁷⁵ See the tory report on the "seditious" meeting of reformers at Albion, which called on Orangemen in other townships to attack Mackenzie in his "route of rebellion." And Patriot, 1 Sept. 1837.
- ⁷⁶ Wilton, Popular Politics, 187.
- ⁷⁷ Constitution 29 November 1837.
- ⁷⁸ Unpublished Journal by Samuel Hughes, 33.
- ⁷⁹ Unpublished Journal by Samuel Hughes, 30-1.
- ⁸⁰ Samuel Hughes, manuscript history of the Society of Friends in Canada, 33-4, CYMA.
- ⁸¹ Christian Guardian, 15 August 1832
- ⁸² A notice of the pamphlet's publication appeared in the Constitution 19 July 1836 under the headline "Remarks on Intemperance by Saml. Hughes of Hope" and noting its publisher as Coates. Only one copy of the pamphlet is known to survive, slightly damaged and without title page. A photocopy has been deposited at the Sharon Temple Museum Archives.

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- ⁸³ Samuel Hughes, A Vision Concerning the Desolation of Zion; or, The Fall of Religion Among the Quakers, set forth in a similitude or vision of the mind: particularly dedicated to the captives, or scattered tribes of that body, now commonly called Orthodox and Hicksites (Toronto, W.H. Lawrence, Guardian Office, 1835).
- ⁸⁴ See "Intemperance" Constitution 15 March 1837, and "Squire Selby's Memory" 17 May 1837.
- ⁸⁵ "An Address to all Priests and Ministers, of every description or denomination that assume the name of being teachers in this present generation." Unpublished Journal by Samuel Hughes, 3-20.
- ⁸⁶ Letter, Samuel Hughes to Rachel Cronkhite, Hope, 20 January 1839, F550, PAO.
- ⁸⁷ Unpublished Journal by Samuel Hughes, 37.
- ⁸⁸ Samuel Hughes Letters, dated Hope 19 January 1840, E. H. Marion Cronk Fonds, CYMA.
- ⁸⁹ Minute, 18-6, and 13-8-1840, Hicksite Meeting Yonge St, Minute book H-16-3, CYMA.
- ⁹⁰ Minute 14-11-1844, Hicksite Meeting Yonge St, Minute book H-16-3; and Minute, 15-1-1845, Hicksite Meeting Yonge St, Minute book of Ministers and Elders H-15-6, CYMA.
- ⁹¹ Samuel Hughes Letters, dated Newmarket 16-07-1845, E. H. Marion Cronk Fonds, CYMA.
- ⁹² An Epistle to my Friends, and all that Love the Truth in Mariposa (Newmarket, n.d. [1846]), 8 pages.
- ⁹³ Samuel Hughes Letters, dated Newmarket 30-10-1849.
- ⁹⁴ Samuel Hughes Letters, dated Newmarket 19-2-1849..
- ⁹⁵ The economy of human life : translated from an Indian manuscript, written by an ancient Bramin: to which is prefixed an account of the manner in which the said manuscript was discovered, in a letter from an English gentleman residing in China, to the Earl of ****. Aurora, C.W. : Re-published for gratuitous distribution by direction of the will of the late Samuel Hughes, W.L. Matthews, printer, 1866. viii, [9]-111 pages.