'A Parcel of Quakers' and the War of 1812-14 in Upper Canada[1]

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Quakers are governed by two sets of laws. "Render therefore unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's, and unto God the things which are God's."(Luke 20: 25). Many Quakers found themselves caught between the requirements of state policies and religious discipline, both in peace and war. The Historic Peace Testimony of the Society of Friends, stated in a `Declaration from the harmless and innocent people of God called Quakers, was presented to King Charles II of England on the 21st day of 11th month 1660.

> We utterly deny all outward wars and strife and fightings with outward weapons, for any end or under any pretence whatsoever. And this is our testimony to the whole world.

For Friends, the requirements of duty both to state and to religion led to a collision of opposing principles.

In 1812, for a second time in approximately 35 years, Great Britain (GB) found itself involved in a war with its breakaway colonies in North America. The American War for Independence (1776) had severed the southern portion of British North America (BNA) and created the United States of America. As they had in 1776, again in 1812, the inhabitants of their former colonies were rebelling against being governed by policies which originated in England. This time, instead of suffering another loss, Britain retained Canada as a British territory in North America.

As it had during the American Revolution, the Quaker doctrine of pacifism created many problems. The War of 1812-14 proved to be another testing time for the peace principles of the Society of Friends, and the places where they lived in Upper Canada (UC) another testing ground. As a consequence of being accused of being friendly with British Quakers were persecuted by Americans in the USA. In Canada, Quakers were persecuted by British because they were accused of being friendly with Americans. During the War of 1812-14, Friends once again become foes.

Although Friends were habitually good citizens and loyal to their country, because of their peace testimony their loyalty was questioned, and very often they were accused of treasonable activities. During the American Revolution, the majority of Friends had maintained a quiet opposition not only to military activity but also to active support of the revolutionary government. A contemporary, J.P. Brissot de Warville, stated the Quaker position very well. Had their refusal to fight been dictated by devotion to the British cause, their persecution might have been justified. On the contrary, their neutrality was dictated by their religious beliefs - always professed and continuously practiced. The majority of Quakers did not favour one side more than another. They helped anyone who needed help, no matter who he was. The Society of Friends expelled all who bore arms.

A number of Friends in America suffered persecution from Patriots who misinterpreted

their pacifism for opposition, or were envious of their large land holdings. An extreme case of persecution was that of Quaker John Roberts, a miller from Lower Merion, Pennsylvania. Roberts had suffered severely from the requisitioning and confiscations of American troops. According to the Minutes of Sufferings Radnor Monthly Meeting of Friends, his losses amounted, on one occasion, to as much as $500 worth of property. In November 1778, he was executed by the Revolutionary government on a charge of high treason for assisting the British military forces.[2]

At the close of the British-American conflict in 1783, many persons who found themselves on the wrong side of the war discovered that life in the USA had become sufficiently intolerable from persecutions that they were ready to emigrate. A sense of nationality had not yet developed in the United States, especially in the backwoods areas. As a consequence of the revolutionary war, many Quakers became displaced persons who were forced to re-establish communities in Canada. Since many of these people had been British subjects earlier in their lives in the Thirteen Colonies, they found it easy to renew their allegiance to the British system of government in Upper Canada. Even so, most people did not move to the new province because they preferred the government of Britain to that of the USA, but in order to obtain land on easy terms.

The Constitutional Act (1791) divided Quebec into two provinces - Lower Canada and Upper Canada. After 1791 immigrants continued to flow from the USA into British North America, principally to the new frontier lands opening up in Upper Canada. During this early period of BNA, when the American frontier movement was spilling over the border into Canada, Upper Canada came close to being an American community.

Initially, during the revolutionary war, General Washington had formed an ill opinion of the Society of Friends, but upon knowing them better, he acquired an esteem for them; for their simplicity of manners, the purity of their morals, their exemplary economy, and their attachment to good government.[3] The newly-appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada, John Graves Simcoe, had formed a similar good opinion. The prospect of large emigrations of Quakers to Upper Canada was extremely important to its future prosperity. Realizing that Quakers might be too wary to commit their plans to writing, in 1792 Simcoe contacted Phineas Bond, in Philadelphia, enticing them with the vacant lands of the Crown which were ready to be allotted immediately, to an almost immeasurable amount, to those who should prefer the British Constitution in Upper Canada. It was known that Quakers would come in numbers into Upper Canada, provided they would have free exercise of their religion and exemptions from military duties and taxation for the express purposes of war. Realizing that Quakers made good settlers, Simcoe did not hesitate to encourage them with the promise of exemptions from militia duties similar to those which they had always met with under the British Government.

Attracting settlers to Upper Canada became a balancing act between Simcoe and superior government officials who feared that other persons who were more shiftless in their outlook would claim the same privileges. Lord Dorchester realized that Quakers were "a useful People and of good Example in a young Country, but thought that Exemptions might be carried too far." Similarly, Henry Dundas agreed that "Every reasonable degree of Encouragement should be given to the

Quakers as they are perhaps of all others the most useful to an Infant Colony, but to exempt them from any Taxes would be impolitic if not impracticable, and would sooner or later occasion discontents in His Majesty's other Subjects."

Dundas also pointed out that the Oath of Allegiance required a person to "defend His Majesty to the utmost of his Power against all traitorous Conspiracies and Attempts, &c." This obliges him to personal Service and to use force if Necessary, whereas the Principles of Persons of Pacifist Persuasion extend only to their being obedient to the King & the Government, and not to the bearing of Arms in their defence. In most instances, the Affirmation of a Quaker is equivalent to an Oath, but there was some question as to whether the Affirmation of Quakers could be considered as legal as an Oath and enable them to have a seat in the Assembly or Legislative Council. A Quaker (Philip Dorland) from Prince Edward County who had been elected into the Assembly, vacated his Seat because he would not take the prescribed Oath.[4]

The Militia Act (1793-33 George III, chap. i) stated that every male inhabitant from the age of 16 to 50 years was to be enrolled in the militia. Quakers, Menonists, and Tunkers were not required to perform military service in the militia, but, in order to be exempted from this service, they were required to pay a fine of twenty shillings a year in time of peace, and five pounds sterling in time of war. If they refused to pay this fine in lieu of military service, a warrant might be issued by the Justice of the Peace to levy the tax "by distress and sale of the offender's goods and chattels." The Militia Act (1794-33, George III, chap. vii) stated that in time of war there were to be no exemptions from military service in the militia up to the age of 60 years.

Initially, some Friends in England and America paid such taxes, but John Woolman became uneasy and wrote in his Journal (1755) that he believed "that the spirit of Truth required of an individual to suffer patiently the distress of goods rather than pay actively." Since the proceeds from these fines went directly to the support of the militia, the exaction of these yearly fines implied that Friends should support the military establishment of the country. Friends consistently refused to pay the fines. Anyone who paid this fine, or who hired a substitute in the militia, was disciplined and disowned. To answer to one's name on the militia roll, or to drill, even though no actual fighting was engaged in, was likewise forbidden. Anyone who actually joined the militia was disowned.[5]

Friends' peace testimony, which prohibited them from participating in any way in any military conflict, always remained a major source of contention between Quakers and those who administered the government of Upper Canada. Despite Simcoe's initial assurances, insofar as they understood the intent of legislation, Friends remained unsatisfied. British authorities usually adopted two contrary attitudes to Quakers in Canada. Members of the Society were either praised for being prosperous good citizens, or condemned for seditious conduct directed against the government.

In the span of years separating 1783 when peace was restored between Great Britain and the USA, and 1812 when the second war broke out between the two powers, the western border of British North America was not secure. Despite the fact that the Ohio country had been officially granted to the USA in 1783, trouble arose in the lands south of the Great Lakes. Because it was still the territory of Indians and fur traders, this region had re-

mained tied to the Canadian fur merchants of the St Lawrence River. The North West Ordinance 1787 opened these lands to settlement. Although Britain and the USA had attempted to reach an agreement regarding their western difficulties with Jay's Treaty (1794), problems continued and strained relations increased. The ensuing decades brought troublesome times between Great Britain and the USA, with multiple reasons for hostilities.

Enmity with the USA increased with the beginning of Britain's war in Europe in 1793. At that date, Lt. Gov. Simcoe removed the capital of Upper Canada from Newark (Niagara-on-the-Lake) just across the Niagara River from the USA, to York (Toronto) on the north shore of Lake Ontario. Simcoe was alert to the necessity of establishing a central force in Upper Canada, adequate enough to support a war with the Indians, anticipating the day when the US would alienate the Western Indians by driving them from their lands.

In this era, the easiest way of travelling was by water. The few roads that were available for travel were generally narrow and unfit for transportation of heavy loads. As part of Simcoe's military strategies for protection of the province, he constructed military roads radiating from the capital of the province at York to important military posts. As a means of establishing communications with the Upper Great Lakes, he employed Queen's Rangers to build a road from York to Lake Simcoe, some 40 miles north. Construction work on the road began at York in 1794 and continued until 1796 when the road ended where the Holland River flows into Lake Simcoe. A Pine Fort was built at the Lower Landing in Gwillimbury, and near the fort was a trading post belonging to the North-West Company of fur traders. They were pleased to contribute to an improved shortened route in order to receive the benefits of commercial relations with the new capital at York on Lake Ontario. Not only did this alternate route shorten the distance, it also prevented contact with the American frontier which was unavoidable when following the water route through Lake Erie to Lake Huron. Yonge Street was little more than a woodland trail cut out of the forest, but it served several purposes. Although its primary function was military - its secondary functions both as a commercial and a settlement route were extremely important in supporting the development of the capital at York.[6]

As the 18th century turned into the 19th century, western states were driving to expand the US frontier westwards. There was a eagerness, left over from the Revolution, to round off the American Republic with the acquisition of Canada. It seemed to them that the west could only be safe from Indian attack when the British had been driven out of Canada. By the early 1800s, the settlements in Upper Canada were confined to the borders of the St Lawrence River, and Lakes Ontario and Erie. Other than Kingston, York, and Newark, there were not many villages of much note in the province. Settlements did not extend over a few miles back from the water, except on Yonge Street, and there but a concession or two on each side. Both Kingston Road and Yonge Street were passable, but Dundas Street which extended from Burlington Bay to Lake St. Clair, was still crude. Most of the inhabitants engaged in agriculture because the land was fertile, plentiful, and very cheap.

The Home District of Upper Canada became thinly-settled with a population comprised of a variety of diverse settlements. The village of York, the capital of the province, had a few hundred inhabitants.

Both sides of the southern part of Yonge

Street had begun to be settled and improved. In York County, the southern townships of Markham and Vaughan were settled by Pennsylvania Dutch or Mennonites who also settled around the Grand River in the Western District. Previous to the arrival of the Quakers, a group of Emigrés from France had established a short-lived settlement near Willcock's Lake, south of the ridges of land which rose up between Lake Ontario and Lake Simcoe.

In the first decade of the 19th century, a very large migration of Quakers began to move from the USA into Upper Canada, especially into the Home District. Those who participated in the settlement schemes in York County were offered lands in the area between the ridges of land and Lake Simcoe. A large number of the first settlers in the northern townships of York County - King, Whitchurch, East Gwillimbury, and Uxbridge - were groups of Quakers, mostly from the states of New York and Pennsylvania. Members of the Society of Friends, considered to be a very good class of settlers, were expected to add economic prosperity to the development of the province.

Did the feigned good will of authorities in negotiating grants of these lands conceal an ulterior motive?

For a number of reasons, offering settlement lands on or near Yonge Street was good strategy. The natural buffer of the ridges was strengthened by placing a cohesive group of settlers to the north of it, thus creating an additional line of defense in giving protection to the capital of the province at York. As part of their settlement duties, the settlers maintained and improved the road. In addition, there were extra benefits to be had from settlers who had a reputation for f/Friendly dealings with native Indians, most of whom supported the British.

In the decade before 1812, dissatisfaction with government did exist; however, most people were too busy trying to make homes in the wilderness to worry about political issues. British officials and North American Tories, wary of democratic sentiments, were uneasy at the influx of Americans into Upper Canada and feared that colonial governments would encounter opposition from their republican leanings.

Yonge Street Quakers suffered wrongs in the way that their land patents were delayed. They made several trips to York where they were sent about from one office to another attempting to obtain an answer to their inquiries about patents. Finally, a deputation of Quakers went to York to complain to Lt. Gov. Peter Hunter that they had not been able to obtain patents for their lands in King and Whitchurch Townships. When it became clear that the order for the patents was more than 12 months old, and that they had been delayed through the negligence of some officials at York, the blame for the delay settled upon the Secretary & Registrar Mr Jarvis, who offered excuses. The wrongs were peremptorily righted by the Lt. Governor who threatened that if the patents were not forthcoming within a couple of days, "by George, I'll un-Jarvis you!"

In the first decade of the 19th century, before the war years intervened, some persons in the Home District were early on able to identify and point out some problems in government policies. The British Colonial elite were distressed to find that elected representatives were not concerned with recreating and upholding the older social order. Curiously enough, these persons were British, not American. Judge Robert Thorpe, who represented the East Riding of the County of York

and the Counties of Durham and Simcoe in the Legislative Assembly, attempted to gain more financial power for the Assembly and a larger share of the decision-making process. His efforts did not meet with the approval of the UC authorities and resulted in his dismissal in 1807 and return to England. The trial of Joseph Willcocks, charged with sedition in 1808, was questionable. Largely as a result of the unfair treatment he had received at the hands of the governing class, he later deserted to the enemy during the War. John Mills Jackson, an ally of Willcocks, arrived from England prior to 1806, but found that public affairs were being managed in a way which he deemed to be unsatisfactory, particularly in the distribution and use made of Crown Lands. He returned to England where he published a pamphlet (1809), "A View of the Political Situation of the Province" which made a stir in Upper Canada.[7] These removals indicated that political unrest was beginning to manifest itself in Upper Canada, and was exacerbated by the events of the war.

By 1806, the countryside was settled into the interior of York County about 35 miles north from York. The necessity for migration and settlement on new lands in Upper Canada was in itself a desirable investment in their future prosperity, in terms of space, affordability, family life, and upward mobility. Friends fancied themselves as living in a self-governing community which was not being influenced unduly by the world around them. To a considerable degree, the rectitude of their conversation and conduct, as well as adherence to their religious concepts did set them apart from other inhabitants of the area.

Their habits of frugality, industry, and good-will, soon gained for them good standing in the new and undeveloped country. They played an important part in promoting the economic interests and welfare of the locality. Quaker communities were considered to be models of prosperity. Many benefits, financial and otherwise, were derived from maintaining and using the main thoroughfare which linked them to the mercantile world at York.

In September 1806, the Yonge Street Monthly Meeting of Friends was established under the care of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting. Although Friends had formed themselves into a distinct unit in a remote wilderness, they were not isolated from the pressure of external worldly issues. Friends continued to concern themselves with the problems of peace and war - the old question of the relationship between pacifism and civil government. At that time, Yonge Street Friends sent a message to Lt. Gov. Francis Gore in which they re-affirmed their peace principles, stating that "in submitting themselves unto every ordinance of man ... in this they hoped to be his humble and peaceful subjects, although, they could not, for conscience sake, join with many of their fellow mortals ... in taking up the sword to shed human blood."[8] Farmers wanted to be confident that there was a great commitment to peace.

Friends settlements were established on either side of the major military road which linked York, the capital of Upper Canada on the north shore of Lake Ontario, to Georgian Bay and the upper Great Lakes. The ironies of government's having offered lands on either side of this military road to peace-loving Quakers, and their accepting them, are inescapable. Surely, maintaining a military road should have been incompatible with their pacifist principles. Quakers might have been unaware that they would be facing a moral dilemma when they agreed to accept the settlement grants negotiated with government. At that time, any major road would be used

for military purposes. Possibly, they thought that York County was so far removed into the wilderness that the possibility of involvement in war was extremely remote.

In view of the set of circumstances unfolding there, accepting the location and the terms of settlement was ill-timed. Yonge Street Friends found that they were in the wrong place at the wrong time. Although they themselves considered themselves to be living separately from other inhabitants, authorities did not consider this to be the case. All were aware that there was the pending danger of war. All too soon, Quakers were confronted with the harsh reality of living on Yonge Street

The French Revolution and the outbreak in 1793 of the Napoleonic Wars had created increasing problems in Europe. After ten years of warfare, the seriousness of the Napoleonic campaigns prompted British Friends to issue these statements in 1804, 1805:

> Most, if not all, people admit the transcendent excellency of peace. All who adopt the petition, 'Thy kingdom come', pray for its universal establishment. Some people then must begin to fulfil the evangelical promise, and cease to learn war any more. Now, friends, seeing these things cannot be controverted, how do we long that your whole conversation be as becometh the Gospel; and that while any of us are professing to scruple war, they may not in some parts of their conduct be inconsistent with that profession! ... Friends, it is an awful thing to stand forth to the nation as the advocates of inviolable peace; and our testimony loses its efficacy in proportion to the want of consistency in any ... And we can serve our country in no way more availingly, nor more acceptably to him who holds its prosperity at his disposal, than by contributing, all that in us lies, to increase the number of meek, humble, and self-denying Christians.
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> Guard against placing your dependence on fleets and armies; be peaceable yourselves, in words and actions, and pray to the Father of the Universe that he would breathe the spirit of reconciliation into the hearts of his erring and contending creatures. (London Yearly Meeting of Friends, 1804, 1805)[9]

London Yearly Meeting continued to take a governing stance with Friends' meetings in North America.

Despite their isolation in forest, Friends in Upper Canada would still have maintained ties and received news from across the ocean. Very likely, a copy of LYM's statement might have given Yonge Street Friends the idea of making their own peace statement to authorities in Upper Canada.

Both America and France, two new republics formed by revolutions, shared a common goal in their quests for the power of political independence. There was no denying that the wars in Europe had an mounting impact on problems in North America. By underground sources, the aims of the US and France had been known for a number of years. In 1804, Matthew Wing made the journey from Upper Canada, where members of his family were residing, to Philadelphia in order to warn that during the visit which Napoleon's brother had made to the northern part of the USA, he was plotting an attack

against the British Government in Lower and Upper Canada.[10]

In an effort to prevent war supplies from reaching French-controlled Europe, Britain was stopping and searching neutral vessels at sea, including American ships. British ships cruised along the east coast of the US watching for French ships leaving American waters. The quarrel over the right of search embittered relations between the USA and Britain. The British also impressed suspected deserters. The impressment issue brought the two nations to the brink of war in June 1807 when a British ship attacked a US ship in the waters off Chesapeake Bay in order to capture deserters.

In 1807, Timothy Rogers (1756-1834) and his wife of Yonge Street once again travelled through eastern states, visiting various meetings, on their way to attend Yearly Meeting at Philadelphia. Their son Timothy Jr who had been attending the Friends' School at nearby West Town, returned with his parents. Rogers brought back books for use at Yonge Street, and Timothy Jr was to teach school. However, because of what his father called "of an uppish turn," Friends were not willing that he should teach their children. His reaction to having been deprived of his position as school teacher was to join the military. Friends around Yonge Street must have been shocked that a member of a prominent family should undermine Friends' principles with such blatant disregard. Several months later, 14 4th mo. 1808, testimony against Timothy Rogers Jr was accepted. His readiness to join the army may have been twofold - his rejection by Friends, combined with the war scare in the USA in June 1807.[11]

With the realization that war with the USA was likely, all legislation governing the militia was consolidated and revised in March 1808 with provision made for its enforcement and penalties for non-compliance. The principal provisions of the Militia Act (1808) called for every male inhabitant from 16 to 60 years of age who was deemed capable of bearing arms, to enrol in the company in which division he lived on the first training day that was called after his coming of age or after moving within the company limits. As in 1793, provision was made for Quakers, Mennonites, and Tunkers, who declined to bear arms "from certain scruples of conscience." Each year, they were required to register with the treasurer of their respective districts by December 1st, and to pay 20 shilling in peacetime, and £5 in time of war if the militia in the district was called out. Since these sums were not small amounts, they would have proved to be a significant burden to the average farmer. In peacetime, the penalty would have been approximately a week's wages for a day labourer ; in wartime, one month's wages. Responsibility for the enforcement of the Act lay with the local justices of the peace. A stated scale of fines for various misdemeanors was laid out, and failure to pay resulted in confinement in the district jail. Although the statutes were amended to make fines levied on absentees more effectual, it often happened that the local Justice of the Peace failed to enforce them.[12]

In the early years of the 19th century, the local captains of militia routinely mustered their enrolled neighbours on the annual Training Days which took place on the 4th of June, the birthday of King George III. Routinely, most of them failed to turn up. Admittedly, these training days had no instructional value to the forces, and no pay value to the recruits. On these days, trials of strength, such as boxing and wrestling usually followed, and drinking was common. The officers and their

friends felt that to make the day attractive and get out a crowd, it was necessary to provide beer in great quantities. The scenes of debauchery which followed were repulsive to Quakers.

For Quakers, it was difficult to know just where to draw the line where their actions would be inconsistent with their witness to peace. What response should a Quaker make if called upon to muster with militia? Should taxes be paid if the money was destined for military purposes? Where should the conscience of the Quaker merchant draw the line between peaceful trade and the profits of war? Might Quakers draw on land grants meant for veterans? To provide answers to these questions which incurred censure, no matter which response was chosen, Quakers relied on their inner voice to guide them on a correct path in life.

Their peace testimony made Quakers into non-combatants. This included training for military purposes. The order to report for service with the militia placed a Quaker in the trap of double jeopardy - either way, his decisions held ominous implications. Compliance with the order could have a Quaker ejected from the Society. After a great deal of mental turmoil about his predicament, the decision by a young Friend to attend a militia muster was the act which infringed upon the peace testimony most frequently. For having attended at trainings and answering to their names in order to save their fines, Peter Hunter in 12th 5th mo. 1808, and the following year 14th 12th mo. 1809 Elijah Winn were disciplined by Yonge Street Meeting. Friends upheld the standards of their faith and expelled those who failed to meet the mark. In the summer of 1810, it was reported to Yonge Street Friends that Robert Griffin had been involved in the military. By the time that testimony had been prepared against him, 15th 11th mo. 1810, he had already left the Society. Defections from the Quaker fold became more frequent.[13]

The alternative decision - refusing to serve - would make a Quaker liable to the jurisdiction of the courts. The Militia Act called for fines and imprisonment for non-attendance at drill. The Quakers brought before the magistrates for the offense of failing to muster with the militia, pleaded that they did not believe in war or training for it, and would not take any part in Training Days. They stated that they had been promised exemptions from military services. Authorities would not allow exemptions because they feared that exemptions for Quakers might encourage draft dodgers. The fact that the Society kept its membership records in an accurate manner prevented its being used as a cover for militia dodgers. The law had to be maintained. The magistrates fined them accordingly. On principle, Quakers refused to pay the fines for exemptions, considering them to be an infringement of the rights of conscience and freedom of religion. Practices differed from county to county. More often than not, neighbourly friendliness inhibited a harsh enforcement of the law on law-abiding citizens whose consciences had converted them into violators of the law. Wherever militia officers took their jobs seriously, distraints on property and occasional imprisonments ensued. To cover the fine, soldiers were sent to seize a man's property, usually sheep and cattle. But when the livestock were offered for sale by the bailiff, their neighbours would not bid or be a party to taking them away from their Quaker neighbours. As a result of Crown's policies regarding compulsory military service, penalties imposed on those who did not have property upon which to levy

fines resulted in more severe consequences. Their bodies were seized and cast into the jail at York. The Home District Jail, east of Yonge Street in the Town of York, was a squat unpainted wooden building, with hipped roof, surrounded by a tall cedar stockade. On a number of occasions in 1811, Sheriff Beikie suggested that steps be taken to remedy the dilapidated and comfortless condition of the Jail which had rotten sills and insufficient ceilings. In cold weather, the prisoners suffered from cold and damp as there was no stove to heat the cells, and their beds consisted of some straw on the floorboards over the ground.[14]

Most meetings kept careful records of the losses endured. More than two years before the War of 1812 broke out between USA and Great Britain, Yonge Street Meeting for Sufferings reported that from February 1808 to January 1810, property taken from members of their Meeting amounted to £243, 11, 6½ by distraint of goods in lieu of military service and payment of military tax.

Because of their refusal to pay military taxes and fines, land had been seized, and eight of their members had been imprisoned for one month. In January 1812, the Sufferings Committee reported that the amount of land taken from seven members because of their refusal of military duty was valued at $69.45.[15]

Those Friends who were members of Yonge Street Meeting suffered more for the sake of their consciences than any other group of Friends in Canada. Since they lived nearer to the capital at York than Friends elsewhere, they were more directly under the surveillance of British authorities. Putting the Quakers who had violated the law into prison was inconsistent with the former intentions of authorities in seeking immigrants of a law-abiding and industrious class for Upper Canada.. Pioneering practices in this section of the country stirred up strife.

In the years 1808-1812, immigration from the USA to Upper Canada continued at increasing rates. The threat of war after 1807 was a major factor in accounting for greater interest in relocation, but there were still political reasons, and a general need to obtain more and better land. On the whole, these persons (termed 'late Loyalists') were more concerned with cheap land than with political allegiances. For most of them, taking the oath of allegiance in order to acquire land was a mere formality. More often than not, the newcomers came from the expanding American frontier. By the time the War was declared, more than half of the inhabitants of Upper Canada were Americans from the northeastern states of the United States. Before the war, it was thought that it was safe to arm only a third of the militia, as the majority of the men enrolled were relatively recent arrivals from the US who had no particular affection for the British Crown. Farmers who had found good lands, at a good price, with minimal taxation in the new British colony were not desirous of joining the American Republic. The general desire of most settlers was to be left in peace.

In growing numbers, Quakers were prompted to remove their families away from the USA into the distant wilderness of Upper Canada, thinking that they were moving out of danger, but also expecting exemptions from military duties. The belief that many Quakers moved to Canada to avoid being drafted is not unfounded. Initially, many Friends had been attracted by word of Lt. Gov. Simcoe's promise of exemption from military duties. In reality, they were deceived because authorities could not give them spe-

cial status beyond the accepted terms for military duty. Not only did authorities deceive Quakers regarding exemptions, by providing them with government lands in York County, but authorities also placed them in a potential war zone and used them as a means of providing the work of defense.

One of the important factors in the task of defending Upper Canada was the question of pacifism. Throughout the province, there were a number of concentrations of pacifists. Friends had established settlements and meetings in a number of regions in Upper Canada: - in the Eastern District in the area west of Kingston on Lake Ontario, in the Niagara Peninsula at the west end of Lake Ontario, in the Home District on Yonge Street south of Lake Simcoe, including the new township of Uxbridge, and in the Western District not far from the Thames River and Lake Erie. In addition to settlements in York County, Mennonites had settled along the Grand River in Waterloo County. For any of these pacifists, participation on any side during a war should have led to disownment.

In the early months of 1812, it had become evident that war could not be avoided. At the end of January 1812, Timothy Rogers of Pickering attended Canada Half Year's Meeting at West Lake, Prince Edward County, west of Kingston. On his travels, Rogers found that there was much talk of war between England and the States and that it "made him very sorry, and he cried to the Lord".[16]

The first step in conducting any successful war is getting people to fight it. It was uncertain where the loyalties of recent settlers lay - with Britain or with the USA. It was felt that early Loyalists were loyal subjects and an asset to Upper Canada, but that later immigrants from the US had no allegiance either to Britain or to the United States. A great majority of settlers who came to Upper Canada did not belong to the Church of England. Of the religious groups, persons who adhered to the Methodists were the most numerous. Attempts to give to the Church of England in Canada the same exclusive political advantages that it possessed in Britain seemed unjustified. Members of the Church of England formed an élite group who controlled the province through the colonial government and its policies.

Rev. John Strachan, appointed to the Church of England at York in 1812, was a staunch supporter of the British Establishment Strachan had a real aversion to the religious preferences of many settlers, especially pacifists. Certain that Upper Canada was worth fighting for, Strachan knew that its inhabitants needed to be goaded into standing up and fighting. In an Address published in newspapers at York and Kingston in February 1812, Strachan launched a rhetorical attack on the Inhabitants of Upper Canada wherein he called for answers to important questions - 'would the yeomanry of the country quit their comfortable homes in order to fight the battles of Bonaparte and Madison?' and 'would the British Nation allow her enemy to enjoy conquest over them?' In righteous indignation, he asked, 'Do you suppose we are **a parcel of Quakers?**' He urged the inhabitants to step forward, and to present their services in any way where they could be of use in the common cause. In the same month, General Brock published a notice against persons entering the province with attempts at sedition.[17]

The question of disaffection cannot be seen in terms of the settler being for or against the government, or loyalty vs treason. Quakers were part of the story of disaffection during the War of 1812-14, but not the whole

story. Quakers did not tell their own story.

THE WAR

American grievances over the right of search of vessels, combined with their expansionist territorial ambitions, prompted President James Madison to declare war on Great Britain on the 18th June 1812.[18] Britain found itself simultaneously at war with France and the United States, the two nations which had recently gone through revolutionary changes. The President did not have the full support of the states. It was well known that the New England states, Vermont in particular, did not support a war that cut off most of their overseas trade. Many persons were opposed to this war. Americans were not politically united in favour of the war, nor were they militarily prepared. Moreover, American forces might fight to defend their own country but were not willing to submit to the dangers of invading another country. It was commonly believed that in taking this step, the US was relying on a couple of factors - the probability that Canada could not receive much aid from Britain while they were at war in Europe, and the supposed disaffection of Canada's inhabitants.

Americans were mistaken in thinking that British North America was an easy target. By the time of the War of 1812-14, the BNA colonies were emerging as small but well-established communities, each with special distinctions - the maritime provinces, the French area along the St Lawrence River, and on the new frontier, Upper Canada, on the Great Lakes in the interior of the continent. On the Atlantic coast, British sea power kept the Maritime provinces secure. The second struggle between the United States and Britain was fought chiefly in the Canadas. The US was convinced that French Canadians would identify with France, Britain's enemy, and would welcome American forces as liberators. Americans did not comprehend that French-Canadians feared the American invasion.

Upper Canada, predominantly a frontier society, was for the most part, made up of small farms. Much of the province had been opened to settlement for less than 20 years. The capital at York was still only a small village in 1812. Threatened with American invasion from the south, the province of Upper Canada became the battlefield The reasons for US concentration on Upper Canada were that this province was closest to the American West and lay on the path of the American frontier. Its population had a goodly number of recent American immigrants who might sympathize with USA and might be indifferent to British rule. The US believed that the Americans who had most recently settled in UC would welcome the chance to return to the American fold. However, the Loyalists who formed the backbone of the militia were determined not to fall again under American control. Among the militia officers connected with the force in the Midland District was Thomas Dorland, one of the first settlers of Adolphustown. He was the first captain commissioned in the township, and commanded a company at Kingston in 1812. Dorland said bitterly of the Americans, 'they drove us from our homes once, and now they come after us.'[19]

Through conversations with persons living on the main roads that led to Fort York or Fort George and westward, Michael Smith, an American visitor, reported that many were of the same mind - they dreaded war and a significant number had a partiality to the United States. Many of the inhabitants were feeling that they were being required to fight against

members of their own families and in many instances, this was actually the case. On the breaking-out of the war, in the summer of 1812, inhabitants were called together to take the oath of allegiance to the British Crown. A majority of the inhabitants were unwilling to answer the call. Some who left the province for the USA, did so possibly out of loyalty, or possibly to avoid militia service. Those who went back to the States, rather than renounce their citizenship, left large farms of excellent land behind them. Some American settlers who refused to take the oath of allegiance or to bear arms against the US were not dealt with too harshly, but others were imprisoned.[20]

Capable of inspiring others, Rev. Strachan rallied to the cause. In a sermon preached at York in August 1812, he wished for a happy termination to the disputes between the Enemies of Upper Canada and the Mother Country, promising that the friend of his country had nothing to fear, but that when UC was nearly surrounded by enemies, traitors should be punished. After Strachan's sermon, the UC Assembly passed an Act to Provide for the Defence of the Province (September 1812), setting aside a war grant of £5,000 which was scarcely enough to defend Canada against invaders. Notwithstanding the threat of war, fewer than 1,600 militia were maintained throughout the province. To supplement this weak force, it was necessary to embody some 700 men in 1812.[21] During the war, commanding officers were dissatisfied with the number of troops at their disposal, and with the level of regular support received. British regulars were used in combination with provincial regiments, as well as with native Indians. Early in the war, the British success at Queenston Heights in October 1812, and the American surrender at Sandwich, raised the confidence of the militia. In anticipation of other American invasions, General Sheaffe (who replaced Brock) considered it necessary to call out all the militia - both the flank companies and the sedentary battalions in the Home, Niagara, and London Districts.

In the Home District, there were very few in the York Militia, and the garrison at York was almost destitute of soldiers. Local men were desperately needed to supplement the regular militia. Young men braced themselves to do their duty, as they saw it. People tried to face up to problems and become obedient. For Quakers, it was not possible to do their duty to both state and religion. Individual paths frequently did not relate to the paths which others chose. Some persons chose paths that fell out of harmony with the traditional views of Friends. Those who abandoned pacifism to fight, or to support the British cause in other ways, earned disownment from the Society. Early in the war, it was reported 15th, 10 mo. 1812 that Nathaniel Vernon had enlisted in the military.[22]

The war was a sore question of conscience with the Quakers on Yonge Street. Most young Friends were ever mindful that their families upheld the Biblical teaching, 'Thou shalt not kill,' and that Friends considered all wars to be evil. Quakers on Yonge Street were firm in their allegiance to the British Government. When they had declared their loyalty in 1806, they had also stated that they refused to bear arms as killing was incompatible with their historic Peace Testimony. Pacifists were under the impression that they might stay at home and mind their own business - but in this they were deceived - they had to obey orders.

In the Home District, General Sheaffe's order was resisted with considerable spirit.

Towards the end of October 1812, William Graham, Captain of the 1st Regiment, York Militia, ordered his regiment to meet in order to draft a number of men to send to Fort George at Niagara. Instead of reporting as ordered, about 40 men chose to avoid the draft by leaving their homes and going to hide out in the wilderness of Whitchurch Township. There, they joined up with about 30 more who had fled to the woods from different places. Army officers were engaged to compel obedience. October was the usual time for Indians from the area around Lake Simcoe to assemble at York in order to hold fall council and to receive gifts. At first, the Indians declined to assist the war effort, but after being bribed with food and whisky, about 350 men embarked for Fort George. When the regiment met, some men were given a few days absence from Fort George to volunteer their services to Col. Graham. With others, to the number of 160 men, they were to go into the woods and fetch the shirkers. If caught, shirkers could be jailed. The Colonel agreed, but ordered them to take no arms. None of the people in this district bore arms at that time. When the militia found they must not take arms, they would not go. By December 1812, when Michael Smith passed through the region, he estimated that the number of rebels had increased to several hundred men. These men were not hardened regular soldiers, but settlers with families to care for and farms to tend. During the conflict, those opposing militia duties concentrated on the sacrifices required in order to survive. Confronted with the continuing problem of disaffection, Sheaffe decided that nothing could be done to halt numerous desertions. He saved face by granting general leave and let the men go home in December 1812.[23]

According to an account by Clayton Webb who was 13 years old in 1812, two of his older brothers, William Webb (1792-1860) and Thomas Webb (1793-1863), the young sons of Isaac & Ann (Clayton) Webb, were both drafted into the militia. Faced with the predicament of not wanting to fight nor go to jail, William took refuge in the woods with some others. Search parties did not catch William, but Thomas was taken prisoner. Col. Graham sent him to jail where he stayed confined for about six weeks. His father interceded for him with Col. Graham who finally gave an order for his release. Some respect for the Quaker willingness to suffer for their beliefs seems to have been felt at least by some of the officers entrusted with the task of enforcing the law against Friends. Adherence to Peace Principles put Quakers in peril of their lives. In addition to spiritual strength, there was a need for physical and mental strength.

While Thomas Webb lay in jail, a young man and a friend, Joseph Roberts, died there rather than violate his conscience. Another young Quaker who hid in the woods was Aaron Hambleton (1790-18??) of Uxbridge Twp., son of Moses & Abigail (Coates) Hambleton, who subsequently died from exposure while jailed during the War. In the dead of winter, the jail had neither heat, nor bed.[24]

In recent years, there has arisen an interpretation of the events of War 1812 in terms of disaffection. As proof of the severity with which disaffection affected the war effort, Sheppard cites the extreme actions taken by some settlers in the Township of Whitchurch, York County.

> The republican sympathies of the 'Whitchurch rebels,' and their determination to endure life away from their farms, set them apart from other Upper Canadians. Most men who

> managed to avoid service did not abandon their farms for caves in the countryside.[25]

In their analysis of the problem of disaffection, some historians have not probed into the reasons that some men set themselves apart from other Upper Canadians. Their reasons for not serving in the militia have been misinterpreted, not as the passive neutrality of the inhabitants, but attributing them to republican sympathies rather than pacifist principles. The unyielding conduct of pacifists stemmed, not from partiality toward the USA, but from deep religious motives.

Especially after the War broke out in 1812, when government suspicions about the allegiance of Americans quickened, accusations of disloyalty were directed especially towards those who were members of dissenting religious groups. Pacifists were sometimes harassed or beaten by soldiers and other settlers. Many personal scores were settled through the destruction of the property of those who laid themselves open to injustices. The number of reprisals directed against members of pacifist sects increased. When a Friend was summoned before a court-martial to answer for his refusal to serve with the militia, his explanation was that he would suffer the penalty of the law rather than comply with the order that went against his conscience. Friends were ready to suffer the loss of their material possessions in their endeavour to uphold their witness to pacifism. Friends around Yonge Street suffered heavily owing to their testimony against war. When he refused to fight, Isaac Davis of Whitchurch was fined but as he had no money with which to pay the fine, authorities confiscated his goods and chattels. Officers seized all the movable effects of the family of Isaac & Sarah Davis - oxen, chains, fanning mill, sled, and even their hand-saw, and clock, were taken away to be sold by special auction. The value of the property distrained was frequently in excess of the amount of the fine. Often, respectable people were reluctant to make profit from their neighbour's distress and religious scruples, and the goods went for ridiculously low prices. Those persons who collected fines did not allow friendship to interfere with prosecution of their jobs, but were held in contempt by the unfortunate settlers.

Rewards were given for information against defaulters. According to Walton, one individual hoped to make some easy money by swearing out information against many of his neighbours for this offence. He did not gain anything in the public esteem for this act. One year, there were 106 executions issued against the property of Quakers for militia fines and given to the High Constable to collect. Some law officers devised a scheme whereby selling these fines and judgements to private individuals for collection would let the purchasers assume the burden for such offensive actions. By selling the fines, the Crown had nullified its purpose because no cash was paid by the purchasers, and the promissory notes given were never paid.[26]

As pacifists, Quakers were concerned with a number of issues which had a direct impact on individual personal life and a theoretical implication on the religious life of the Society. Canada Half Yearly Meeting of Friends had been established in 1810 under the care of New York Yearly Meeting as a result of a visit in 1808 from a joint delegation from Philadelphia and New York Yearly Meetings. One of the first items to be dealt with by the newly-created Canada Half Year's Meeting was to appoint a committee to consider 'whether Friends, with their views on

war and a free gospel ministry, could consistently receive from the Government lands which were given for actual service in war or for assisting therein, or even to lease Clergy Reserve Lands.' It was considered a contravention of the Quaker peace testimony to receive land awarded for services to the military efforts of the British crown. Friends were censured by their Meetings for taking government lands set aside for United Empire Loyalists. David Willson's service on this committee may have given some impetus to the direction of his thinking.

With the establishment of the Half-Year's Meeting, Friends in Canada came under the authority of New York Discipline (1810). Friends were moulded by Discipline to know how members should behave in the peaceable kingdom. In seeking to follow the paths of peace, the Society of Friends first sought to carry out the rule of peaceable living within its own membership. At every Preparative and Monthly Meeting, the second of the Queries was read and solemnly considered: "*Are love and unity maintained as becomes brethren: if differences arise, is due care taken speedily to end them: and do Friends avoid and discourage tale bearing and distraction?"* Arbitration and friendly conference were the methods advised by the Discipline to preserve peace where actual wrongs had been done, and always self-control, even to the extent of passive resistance.[27]

Quakers strive to practice peace in their own lives, both as individuals and as a community. Central to their beliefs is living in a peaceable kingdom, but often their beliefs get put to the test, and can not be put into practice. Quakers were very protective of the religious communities in which they lived, but they also lived in economic and social communities. In the process of development, individuals were apt to form different opinions to those previously held about the direction which progress should take. The stresses and tensions of war brought forth a time when things were being done differently than before. Change would have happened over time, but war precipitated the quick shift from living in religious seclusion to being thrust into dealing with the problems of the world.

Elders guard the faith and maintain the unity of the meeting. Before venturing to act, elders analyse, mindful to be merciful in upholding its discipline. As interpreted by certain elders, their faith was not speaking to the condition of members at that time. Some were offended because different ideas did not fit with their views. The events and crises of tumultuous times caused divisions. At a time when Quakers should have been pulling together against adversity, they were indulging in a clash of opposing principles No society can retain members who flout its principles.

In the earlier years of living in an isolated wilderness, resorting to disownment was more critical because of the need to maintain the sustainability of meetings. Loss of members was most frequently the result of intermarriage with other denominations, especially Methodists. In the pre-1820s period, there was an increased incidence of acknowledgments.

Pacifism can be an abstract concept. It is easy to mouth platitudes in peacetime, but when war drops on the doorstep, one's reaction is apt to be different. In 1812, members of the Society of Friends on Yonge Street became caught in a double bind. Timothy Rogers declared that 'Great troubles arose both in state and in society.' The temper of the times had the effect of a double-edged sword which cut into their lives with outer conflict (war) and inner conflict (schism). Rogers re-

ported, 'A number of Yonge Street Friends became so good and zealous that, after telling their thoughts, they left our meeting, and met to one David Willson's nigh Queen Street Meeting, and soon after at the shop of Amos Armitage (1764-1847), within a quarter of a mile of Friends' meeting house at Yonge Street.' Ostensibly, the cause of the schism which occurred amongst Friends on Yonge Street was a doctrinal dispute. Nevertheless, the separation coincided with the outbreak of the War of 1812. Factors which may have caused a shift in thinking, sufficient enough to precipitate a crisis in their religious life included contacts with visiting Quakers (notably from Ohio), frustration with Quaker leadership, and inability to influence against participation in war. Re-affirming Quaker values, David Willson (1778-1866) claimed that he would take the Friends Peace Testimony and raise it as 'an ensign to all nations.' To a great extent, the war modified the thinking of Friends on Yonge Street - forcing some of them to become more practical and less idealistic, and some of them to toughen their thinking. Drawn by Willson's charismatic ministry, one-quarter of the Quakers in the Yonge Street settlement joined the Children of Peace during the War.[28] The effects of war on the Society of Friends were not always easy to assess. War was a contributing factor to change. The interplay of forces within their ranks was extremely diverse and caused a splinter group to be formed.

Friends on Yonge Street constituted a small minority group whose popularity was not increased by their opposition to war, especially where they were living. Yonge St Friends suffered a special trial in inhabiting the military route which separated the several Quaker communities from each other. This zone had to be crossed frequently by groups of Friends in order to attend various monthly, quarterly, or half yearly meetings. Friends on or near Yonge St endured most hardship, and fared worse in their relations with the military than was the case with Friends to the east and the west. About a hundred Quaker families lived in this war zone. They bore their testimony in perilous times.

Despite the fact that these Friends were country people who inhabited the wilds of North America, they were not isolated from other Quaker communities. Their reliance on an organized network of communications kept them aware of what was going on in other localities. Quakers and others managed to keep in contact with their American relatives, and visits continued. Through these visits, Quakers gained first hand knowledge of conditions elsewhere, both from word of mouth and through printed materials. There was an inter-connectedness between various Quaker Meetings. The war did not disrupt communications between the Canada Half Years Meeting and its parent Yearly Meeting at New York.

In spite of the War, the original Epistle for 1812 came across the border from New York Yearly Meeting. It was printed by a Kingston printer and distributed in Upper Canada. During the course of the war, Friends representing various meetings continued to make periodic visits between Canada and the USA.

Sometimes, Friends were treated with remarkable sympathy and understanding - presumably for the fact that the Quaker peace testimony and the individual's membership in the Society were well-known in the community. With a letter from William Graham, Colonel of Militia, dated February 19, 1813, Timothy Rogers was able to pass over from Kingston into the United States with others who were appointed to attend the Yearly

Meeting in New York City. The harmonious relations between Friends in Canada and the USA were not disturbed as a result of the war, and their support network continued to function. In 1814, Quakers in Canada responded to requests from New York Yearly Meeting to raise $1,000 to be forwarded to NYYM, and to open a subscription to assist in raising the sum of $400 for building a Meeting House at Ransellerville NY.[29]

Throughout the two and a half years of the war, the feeding of the troops presented a major problem to the military commissariat. In addition to the overwhelming need for foodstuffs and fodder, there was also a need for fuel and building materials to support the war effort. Upon the outbreak of war in June 1812, the government had declared that no more supplies would be sent out of Canada as it was buying all it could in order to form magazines for the war. An embargo was laid on all the flour, wheat, and pork, then in the province, destined for market. At this time very little left the province anyway. Agriculture in Upper Canada was not geared to war economy. At that early date, farmers were producing enough to feed themselves, with some extra for the consumption of the local population. Farms were not producing enough to feed the militia as well. Using local men to supplement the regular militia was counterproductive as it meant that there were fewer farm labourers available to produce food. Farmers who were called out for prolonged service could not work their farms, and could not support their families. Especially in districts where there was a concentration of troops, farmers could not protect their families and properties from their foraging.

At Yonge Street Meeting 18th, 1st mo. 1810, it had been decided that alcohol was used too often among Friends, and also that the selling of grain for that purpose should be discontinued. By the winter of 1813, government legislation prohibiting the exportation of grain also restrained distilling. At that time, farmers manufactured their own whiskey and were unwilling to stop even though a war was being fought and a food shortage existed. With no market and precious little money, they used the sale of whisky to provide ready cash. In addition, whisky was the only ready remedy to which settlers turned in medical emergencies. Few travelers would risk entering the wilderness without a flask of spirits.

By April 1813 when York was attacked and captured by the US, people still had sufficient provisions from the previous year; but that spring when farmers should have been preparing for sowing crops, they could not do it because more than half the farmers were called away to the lines. Those (women, children, elderly) left at home to take care of farms began to suffer for lack of food, money, credit, and no possibility of work. So many interruptions had occurred due to the men being called out for garrison duty that it was difficult to raise sufficient food to supply the people as well as the army. Michael Smith reported that by the approach of winter in 1813, 'all is war and misery.' By November 1813, the British were forced to provide for support of the war. A high price was offered for flour and pork. In the following winter months, some hundreds of sleighs were almost constantly on the road carrying military stores to Kingston, York, Niagara, and other parts of the province.[30]

After the first year of the war, shortages and inflation raised the price of all food and fuel. The problem was exacerbated by an ongoing shortage of cash of any sort. Quakers did not accept government paper money. John Doan who later joined the Children of Peace,

was never known to sell a bushel of grain or produce of any kind at the high prices occasioned by the war, but always at the price-rate before the war commenced. An English officer hearing that Mr Doan had a quantity of flour in store came to him and said, 'Mr Doan, I hear you have a quantity of flour for sale; if so, I will purchase all you have at the highest market price.' The reply was, 'Has thee got the money to pay for it?' 'Why certainly, or I would not have the face to make you an offer.' 'Well,' rejoined Mr Doan, 'if thee has got the money to pay for it, thee may go somewhere else to buy. I keep my flour to sell to them that cannot afford to pay war prices.'[31] Each Quaker household tried to provide for itself, but all were conscious of the fact that their own survival depended upon their neighbours.

British immigrants considered American settlers to be exceptionally shrewd when it came to money matters. In Prince Edward County there were a considerable number of Quakers who, although not wanting in loyalty, would not only not take up arms but conscientiously would not take payment in government bills then in circulation, when selling the produce of their farms. Without scruples, they could sell their grain to any one for gold or silver, but to take paper born of the war and circulated recognizing a state of war was another thing. They absolutely refused to take it. By sending to Kingston for a certain sum of gold the Militia was able to open the granaries of that rich section of Prince Edward County.

In some sections of the country there was a tendency to hold produce until prices were better. The result was that in the Eastern District martial law was imposed over the winter of 1813-14 in order to force reluctant farmers to sell provisions to the army at fair market value. As soon as the fighting ceased in 1814, England stopped sending provisions, and the prices of pork, wheat, escalated after the war.[32]

Upper Canadians undertook the necessary and important tasks of supplying food to the garrison and transporting military supplies. The supply system was not efficient, partly due to theft - but mainly due to poor roads and interception of supplies by enemy action. Pay was often several months in arrears. This work was not done out of a sense of duty; farmers and drivers were paid for their goods and services.

The Militia Act (1808) permitted officers to apply to a magistrate for warrants to impress carriages and horses. The owners were to receive 7 shillings 6 pence per day for every cart or carriage and pair of horses or oxen detained on public service. In 1812, this provision was amended to allow for an increased payment of 10 shillings if a driver with his team and cart were impressed. In 1813 this was increased to 12 shillings 6 pence for each carriage and team, and a further 2 shillings 6 pence for a driver. The following year, this was increased again to 20 shillings for a carriage, team, and driver, and 15 shillings without a driver. In addition, provision was made for the impressment of horses at 7 shillings 6 pence per day. Gray has pointed out that a lieutenant-colonel, the highest paid officer in the militia, received 17 shillings; however, a farmer contracted to transport supplies for the commissariat would receive 20 shillings a day for his labour and team, about a fifth more than the best-paid commissioned officer. Throughout the war, army departments were constantly advertising for labour at the posts. A day labourer during the war could earn from 5 to 10 shillings a day if he was a civilian working at the King's

works.[33]

Those who served under compulsion were frequently relied on for non-combatant transport and labour duties. Horses belonging to Quakers, being known for their high quality, were commandeered by the military authorities and used to pull field guns, ammunition, and stores wagons. Their drivers would be hired as conscripted civilians, into which category came Quakers and Mennonites. A great deal of material for war passed along Yonge Street. The Yonge Street Quakers would often go with their horses into York in order to be sure that their valuable animals were looked after properly as the military were not known for its care of other people's property. Friends who agreed to drive their teams of horses when they had been requisitioned for army use, or behaved in an aggressive fashion when their animals were impressed for service were disciplined and required to make acknowledgment of their faulty behaviour. They usually expressed regret for their conduct before their meeting in order to escape disownment.

Nicholas Brown (1785-1868), a prominent Friend of Pickering Meeting, and son-in-law of Timothy Rogers, presented to Friends a public testimony of wrong doing because he had so far complied with a military requisition as to drive his own team when impressed for a military purpose. He condemned his actions as being a violation of Friends' testimony against war and expressed a hearty sorrow. His voluntary acknowledgment of error was regarded as satisfactory, without taking any further disciplinary action. YSMM reported, in April 1814, that Joshua Vernon had been employed and had authority in conveying military stores, and by August 1814 testimony had been produced against him. Another member, Lewis Powell, was dealt with by a committee because 'he had given way to passion so far as to threaten with violence a man who imprest his team, and also of using deception to the officers of the Government to prevent the teams going.' Lewis Powel gave a written acknowledgment 17th, 12 mo. 1814, and his acknowledgment was met with satisfaction, 16th, 3rd mo. 1815. In 1814, Peter Wisner, husband of Phebe Webb and brother-in-law of young Clayton Webb, had his team pressed to Fort George, Niagara, with government supplies. Rather than trust his horses to strangers, he chose to go himself. He was away about two weeks traveling in winter over bad roads and staying in poor accommodation. He came home sick and died in about a week, leaving Phebe a widow with young children.[34]

Friends in other districts suffered similar disabilities, though perhaps not quite so severely as those on or near Yonge Street. For instance, Corey Spencer, a prominent Friend, member of West Lake MM, and one of the pioneers of the Township of Hallowell, Prince Edward County, had his teams requisitioned in 1813 to carry military supplies to Kingston, to Myers Creek (Belleville), to York, and to other points. Dragoons and their horses were billeted upon him, sometimes for a month at a time. In some cases he was given certificates for these 'services,' thereby entitling him to payment later from the Government. He consistently refused to accept these. Likewise, when he refused to pay the special tax levied upon Quakers in lieu of military service, his goods were seized under distraint and sold. The money from the sale of flour and wheat at public auction, plus legal fees, amounted to more than the original fine which Corey Spencer had refused to pay.[35]

It was the general opinion that the US militia forces despatched to Canada were

undisciplined men. Canadians claimed that whenever they got the chance, American invaders behaved savagely - looting, burning Indian villages and settlers' homesteads, and setting fire to small towns. In the spring of 1813, the capital at York was attacked twice and fell into the hands of American forces. Many public buildings, including the original parliament buildings, were destroyed. The capture of York resulted in extensive lawbreaking. Those persons who had been confined to the Home District Gaol under charges of treason were liberated by Americans. By order of General Sheaffe and the Executive Council, William Roe who was employed in the office of the Receiver-General, saved a considerable portion of the public funds from capture. Roe conveyed three bags of gold and a large sum in army-bills to the farm of John B. Robinson on the Kingston Road east of the Don bridge and buried them.

As the war progressed, feelings were running high. To a great extent, the confusion of war robbed people of their sense of right and wrong. Some inhabitants were emboldened by the American invasion. A number of the American settlers in the countryside around York had the idea that they might be better off if the US won the war. In their minds, it was safer to be on side with the victor. One such person, Samuel Jackson of Yonge Street, formerly of Pennsylvania, had too much to say that was critical of the way things were being done in York, and showed such American sympathies that he had to get out of town.[36]

With regard to paroles, some men cleared their names, but others - most probably in the 1st York, escaped further attention because the commanding officer, Colonel William Graham, died shortly after the capitulation of York. A remarkable number of men enumerated on the American parole list are not found on any militia rolls, which tends to support the contemporary suggestion that the old and young were sought out, as well as the unarmed militia on farms.[37]

After the US attack on York and its occupation by Americans the British army retreated to Kingston. Their route along the north shore of Lake Ontario was through regions (particularly Pickering in Ontario County, and Prince Edward County) inhabited by immigrants from the US who had seen fit to keep their politics to themselves at the outbreak of war. However, it was reported that they were prepared to demonstrate what was interpreted as their pro-American sympathies. In many instances, they concealed their horses, wagons, harnesses, in the woods to avoid accommodating the soldiers with them and told them they had none.

On Smith's journey eastward, on the main road between York and Kingston, he reported seeing about 50 pro-American sympathizers near Smith's Creek in the Newcastle District beating with fife and drum and cheering for President Madison. Some of these persons with pro-American leanings were blamed for acts of vandalism at York and Newark. When York was again attacked in July 1813, it was evident that Americans were assisted by some local residents.[38]

The turning point in the war came with the capture of the capital at York in spring 1813. To prevent any repetition of American's success the British realized that they would have to maintain strong garrisons in the area. They also needed to take strong measures against the disaffection of the inhabitants.

In crises, certain persons with strength of purpose rise to the forefront. Rev. Strachan was one of a number of men in Upper Canada who played a prominent part in the war. At Strachan's instigation, General Sheaffe had

been replaced in June 1813 by Wilmot. In August 1813, John Beverly Robinson, a young man not yet 23 years of age and one of Strachan's former pupils, was appointed Acting Attorney-General in place of D'Arcy Boulton. With the assistance of an appointed Committee, Robinson was placed in charge of apprehending and prosecuting American sympathizers. The Committee was to create a more effective body of legislation to deal with treasonable practices. Shortly afterwards, judges of King's Bench and local magistrates met and issued a statement outlining the law of treason, and requested loyal citizens to report treasonous activities to the sheriff in their districts.[39]

Pertinent to the history of these times is the fact that Robinson's mother and two brothers lived in Newmarket in the midst of the Quaker Settlement. Robinson's stepfather, Elisha Beman, was involved in a land dispute with Quaker Joseph Hill. Hill had set up the first mill in the Quaker Settlement in 1801, and owned a considerable amount of property at Newmarket at the time. Hill's partner, Lawrence, was in debt. In 1812, Hill was disowned by Yonge Street MM for negligence in business practices. Hill was drafted into the militia but refused to take up arms and consequently fled to the States. This resulted in everything he owned being sacrificed under the Sheriff's hammer. Peter Robinson acquired the Hill property. Hill bore no good will to some of the Officers of His Majesty's Government on account of the injustices which he had sustained over the ownership of his lands. After the beginning of the war, a number of Americans left the province, and many left land in Upper Canada which they might never obtain again.

After the second attack on York, and the change in regime, authorities began to receive depositions against American sympathizers, which led to their convictions for sedition and treason.

Early in the war, Gideon Orton, blacksmith, of the Township of Markham, had been incarcerated for refusing to serve in the militia when his name was balloted. On being released, he found himself again liable for duty because of a general call of militia in the autumn of 1812. He hid himself in the woods to avoid serving and did not re-appear until the following spring 1813 when the Americans captured the capital. Orton announced that he had been given enough public property 'to pay him four dollars a day for the time he kept out of the way.' As his neighbours knew only too well that was forty times the daily salary of a militia private. One of the informants against Gideon Orton was Stillwell Willson. The other informant, George Sisler, yeoman, of the Township of Whitchurch, swore a statement on the 18th of August 1813 saying that in the beginning of August, Gideon Orton had threatened all officers of militia who had meddled since the taking of York, that there was a reward of 500 dollars offered for them, and that he was one who would take them, not for the sake of the reward, but to have revenge. Gideon Orton was indicted March 1814, and convicted a year later. He was sentenced to one month's imprisonment, two hours in the pillory, and a fine of £5.[40]

Calvin Wood had been confined to gaol under a charge of treason but was liberated by Americans when they captured York in 1813. On the 1st September 1813, Samuel Haight, yeoman, of the Township of East Gwillimbury, made a sworn statement saying that Moses Terry, carpenter, Township of East Gwillimbury, had been aiding and abetting Calvin Wood of the same township in trea-

sonable and seditious proceedings against His Majesty's Government, and that the neighbourhood was kept in continual fear & alarm by both Wood and Terry by reason of their threats & depredations. Haight stated that about the 20th day of August 1813, Moses Terry aided and assisted Calvin Wood in cutting and carrying away by force the wheat from the field of William Huff of East Gwillimbury.

The information of William Huff, yeoman, of the Township of East Gwillimbury, given at York 7th September 1813, said that about the 8th August, Calvin Wood of the Township of East Gwillimbury, commonly called Doctor Wood, was at Huff's house, and told him that when the Enemy were last at York, that Wood gave the Americans information where the Guns and other Arms were lodged, for he knew where all property of that Description was to be found - also, Wood told Huff that he got from the Americans seven barrels of flour in compensation for the information he had given them. Huff also said that Calvin Wood informed him that when the Americans captured York, some time in the beginning of May 1813, he applied to a Major Forsyth for some cartridges. Calvin Wood had said that he hoped to God the Americans would soon come in and take the country.

Similarly, James McCarty, yeoman, of the Township of East Gwillimbury, reported that about the beginning of June 1813 Calvin Wood said that if he could get a few hands to go with him, he would go to Newmarket and disarm and take the Centry (sic) there and the whole guard - that he himself would seize the Centry - and said that if any man betrayed him, he would shoot him - and that if Calvin Wood should get taken and could not do it, there were others who would do it.

On the long list of persons charged at York, 29 September 1813, the following names appeared: #30 John Huff charged with disaffection, receiving presents of plunder from the enemy, and disseminating seditious opinions; #31 Moses Terry charged with seditious practices; #32 Calvin Wood, known to be notoriously disaffected, charged with treasonable practices and designs.[41]

Disaffection among the militia and the general population had remained a problem throughout war. Despite the fact that British authorities had resorted to bringing offenders up on charges, even when the war was turning badly for the British in the autumn of 1813, they continued to be plagued with the reluctance to serve. In October 1813, Joseph Cody and others were charged with sedition. The Attorney-General's motion for a bench warrant against the parties was granted. After busily loading boats for some months, in November 1813, Eli Playter was ordered to take a party to Pickering to collect offenders. Whenever an officer came to warn inhabitants to meet at a certain place to receive arms and orders, they promised to go, but instead of going they took some provisions and went into the woods. Vexed with the situation, Playter concluded that the men should be summoned to the Court and tried whether they came or not, a method acted upon by Col. Baldwin and Major Willmot (Graham's successor). The departure of a boat had been detained because two of the men ordered to go had refused. Playter's order to place them in confinement brought them into compliance. By December 1813, Playter had some success in ordering drafted men to be collected for duty.[42]

Avoidance of military service was rife; however, few men were harshly punished for desertion. Many inhabitants would shirk duty to the Crown, but few were eager to serve its

enemy. Most recalcitrants were neutral, rather than ardently pro-American.

The War of 1812 put a temporary stop to immigration from the USA. Plans to prevent further immigration were being made while war was still raging. In some 'Remarks respecting Upper Canada,' Rev. Strachan pointed out that every care needed to be taken in order to lessen the evils of emigration by paying close attention to the wants, feelings, prejudices of emigrants. He advised that they should be 'placed so as to assist in defending the Province, especially along the border between Kingston and Montreal, and that they should also be prevented from selling their land for some years.' He was of the opinion that emigrants from the States should not be admitted, especially persons who had resided long in States, without great caution.

In uncertain times, religious intolerance became prevalent, and it became possible to see members of another religion as potential traitors conspiring to overthrow the government. Strachan was adamant that no Quakers, Tunkards, or religionists who refused to bear arms should be admitted because they had been 'a clog by leaning to the Enemy, by hiding deserters, by obstructing the service by bad example and advice, by holding back their produce or selling it at exorbitant prices, by refusing to transport stores, and by crying down the Government paper currency.' Strachan considered that those already admitted to the country should be treated well but warned that the population was 'too small to allow a large proportion to be non-combatants.' In case of war, all capable of bearing arms should be considered as enrolled, and if they go over to the enemy, treated as deserters.[43]

In March 1814, the Legislature of Upper Canada passed three acts: 1) which limited the right to habeus corpus applications for those accused of treason; 2) provided for trials for treason and related charges (54 Geo III cap 6); 3) an Alien Act which made it an offence for anyone to have left the province for the USA after July 1812 (54 Geo III cap 11). Commissioners had the authority to declare an individual an alien and thus ineligible to hold land in Upper Canada. In order to keep track of treasonous activities committed by American citizens, they were required to report to special tribunals on regular basis.

After 1812, because all males 16-60 years were liable for militia duty, the adult male population was subject to military justice. There was some debate as to the extent to which martial law could be applied to civilians. Those who had refused to take the oath of allegiance were deemed to be enemy aliens. Disloyal inhabitants had begun to flee the province in large numbers. Desertion, sedition, were capital offenses.

The severity of these orders shows the depths of feelings in the province after two years of war, and the kind of extraordinary measures the authorities were willing to take in the interests of security. If the government of the day considered that the religious or political beliefs held by certain persons posed a threat to national security, they could be locked up. Persons who fell into the these categories were most likely disobedient soldiers, political radicals, or pacifists who could be locked up as prisoners of conscience. Much of the land belonging to Americans accused of disloyalty was confiscated and sold under the Alien Act creating widespread discontent, and causing much agitation for many years afterwards.

In order to retain respect for the government and its administration of justice, it was decided to proceed with the Treason Trials. In

May-June 1814, Attorney-General John Beverly Robinson conducted the trials at Ancaster near the western shore of Lake Ontario in case Americans should attempt to free prisoners. The traitors who were prosecuted were 19 residents of Upper Canada who had been captured while serving with the Americans. The result of the 'Bloody Assize' was that eight of the men tried for high treason were sentenced to be executed. John Dunham of London District was one of eight men hanged on Burlington Heights on 20th July 1814. During the trials a number of injustices were evident. Jacob Overholser of Niagara was convicted of relatively trivial acts on the testimony of witnesses who held grudges against him. He suffered a further setback when his own chief witness, a Quaker who was a non-juror, could not testify in court. Overholser was one of the remaining seven men who were reprieved and transfered to Kingston Gaol, and one of the three who died of the dreaded jail fever. Calvin Wood managed to escape from Kingston jail and made his way to the USA. The three survivors were banished. Joseph Willcocks, guilty of high treason, was killed in battle. None of the traitors who led or inspired raids in UC never returned to Canada.

In May-June 1814, 'Lists of Persons from the Home District who went to the USA after July 1st 1812 without License from the person Administering the Government of the Province of UC,' were submitted by a number of officials, including Sheriff Beikie of the Home District. Amongst those listed were Samuel Jackson Sr of Yonge Street, Township of York, who departed 27 April 1813, as well as Nathaniel Clark, William McCarty, John Bennel/Bonnel, all of East Gwillimbury, and Henry Powell of Pickering who had departed July 1812.[44] The 1814 measures were extremely repressive but Britain was at war.

In the months after the Bloody Assizes, was there any question of paying military taxes, especially when farmers needed to work on their farms in order to have enough food to survive the next winter? Settlers also feared the loss of possessions and homes. Many men tried to weave a path between civil and religious duties. It is possible for a person to admit that he has offended where no offense was meant. In June 1814, Ezekiel James acknowledged his guilt in paying a military tax, and Yonge Street MM re-admitted him in September.

The problem is to what extent it is possible to follow this path. In October 1814, Stephen Cody was found guilty of the charge of sedition. Witnesses for the Crown were William Travis, William Soles. Cody was sentenced to be imprisoned for one month and to pay a fine of £20, with further imprisonment until the fine was paid. The following spring, April 1815, amongst the prisoners arraigned were Thomas Davis, William Webb, and William Lloyd. Their indictments were held over to the next assizes, and they were bound over for £50 each.[45]

The War of 1812 was more a naval war than a land war. Britain had squadrons of ships in several areas of naval activity: Lake Champlain, Lake Ontario, Lake Erie, and the Upper Lakes - Huron and Superior. Their efforts were directed towards protecting the province from invasion, controlling the lines of communications, escorting provision ships, and keeping open the vital supply route of the St. Lawrence River.

At the beginning of the war, in July 1812, a British force had captured the Fort Michilimackinac on the Upper Lakes from the Americans. But by November 1812, the Americans were gaining control of Lake Ontario. In order to maintain Britain's naval supremacy on

the Lakes, about 120 ships' carpenters arrived at Kingston and York in December 1812 in order to build vessels for use on Lake Ontario. After the Americans captured and burned the capital of the province in April 1813, the following summer saw the British and American fleets struggle for control of the Lower Lakes. A naval victory in September 1813 gave Americans control of Lake Erie and ready access to Lake Huron and Fort Michilimackinac. Upper Canada was exposed to serious threat.

For the most part, traffic had continued to go mostly by water but this event prevented the British from mounting defenses in the Upper Lakes. Towards the end of 1813, with reversals, Britain was making anxious efforts to hold onto Upper Canada. Evidence of their determination was seen in the reinforcement of regular troops, the quantities of supplies being moved laboriously up and down the lines, the tremendous ship-building program, the new fortifications at Kingston, and the establishment of York as a defensible post. Also, the British had tried to rid the province of undesirable persons who had actively courted exchange of British for American authority, especially in 1813.[46]

In the closing year 1813-14 of the war, the British were working to replace its fortification at Amherstburg at the western end of Lake Erie by developing another naval base as quickly as possible.

At that early time, the district near Penetanguishene on Georgian Bay was considered to be a strategic point for access to the Upper Lakes. A site at Nottawasaga Bay was chosen and work on a naval yard was commenced. It was known that Americans were preparing for the re-capture of the fort at Michilimackinac in spring 1814.

Loss of the water route prompted the British Government to fall back on and improve the land route in order to retain communications with the north. The old military route between Lake Ontario and Lake Huron followed the line of Yonge Street to Holland Landing, then across Lake Simcoe to Kempenfeldt Bay (Barrie), and then again overland via the Nine-Mile Portage to Nottawasaga Bay in Georgian Bay, and then by water to Fort St Joseph, near Sault Ste. Marie. Yonge Street Friends suffered a special trial in the fact that they inhabited the 'no man's land' which separated the two forts. This stage of the war was being fought in districts thickly-populated by Friends. They were exposed to the marchings by their farms of the often hungry, ill-disciplined, ill-clad troops.

In late November 1813, two boats were brought up Yonge Street for the purpose of conveying large quantities of bags of flour and clothing for the troops at Sault Sainte Marie at the east end of Lake Superior. Richard Titus Willson (1793-1878) was hired by Hon. Duncan Cameron to go and manage these boats. Willson recalled that the twenty or more horses that carried the flour and clothing were taken from about Yonge Street. Very likely, a number of Quaker owners went with them. One of the Snake Indians piloted the boats from near Aurora to Cook's Bay at the foot of Lake Simcoe. These were the first supply boats to cross Lake Simcoe. After being taken to the north shore of Kempenfeldt Bay the flour was taken on the backs of the horses following the Nine Mile Portage Trail which was cut through the bush to the head of Willow Creek, the eastern branch of the Nottawasaga River. From Willow Creek the supplies were to have been taken in large canoes to their destination at Sault Sainte Marie, but the frost set in early and froze up the creek; the supplies had to remain there until spring

1814. In the winter of 1813-14, Willson was one of a party of men under the command of Captain Dennis who stayed at Willow Creek near Nottawasga Bay to cut trees from the surrounding forest, and to fashion the lumber into 25 or 30 boats of about 5 tons for use on the Upper Lakes

In February 1814, in order to reinforce the British garrison at Michilimackinac, a force of over 200 men was despatched from Kingston under the command of Colonel McDouall. Since a road was available, troops were obliged to go by foot. In March, this force marched overland from York hauling equipment and supplies up Yonge Street to Holland Landing, and from there over the ice of Lake Simcoe to Kempenfeldt. After reaching the fort at Willow Creek they assisted with building the batteaux. When spring came the relieving force floated down to the Nottawasaga River and Georgian Bay in these improvised craft and continued their journey to Michilimackinac. Remarkably, Colonel McDouall's expedition arrived at Michilimackinac with vital supplies for the relief of the beleaguered garrison in mid May 1814. In August 1814, an American schooner cruising in Georgian Bay in order to prevent more supplies from reaching the fort at Michilimackinac encountered and burned a British supply schooner, "The Nancy" sheltered at the mouth of the Nottawasaga River.

From June to the close of navigation in 1814, Willson took a contract from the government to boat stores from Holland Landing across Lake Simcoe to Kempenfeldt. There was great urgency for opening a road which would link together with the north end of Yonge Street. In November 1814, a number of men (including R.T. Willson) were employed by the commissariat department to cut a road between Kempenfeldt Bay north through the forest wilderness to Georgian Bay /Penetanguishene near Lake Huron. They were still at work on the extension of the military road when the news of peace reached them - about the first of April 1815.[47]

In 1814, an anchor forged in Chatham, England was shipped to Canada, intended for use on a warship that the British were building at Nottawasaga Bay for purposes of defense on the Upper Lakes. Late in 1814, after arriving at Quebec, the anchor was conveyed in a batteau along the St Lawrence River to Montreal, then by oxen over the road to Kingston, and again by batteau to what was then known as 'Muddy York.' Captain Samuel Brock, grandfather of Mrs Benjamin Cody (Hannah Jane Reazin) and a distant relative of General Isaac Brock, was dispatched to convey this anchor overland to its destination on Georgian Bay. Captain Joseph Hewitt, who later settled at Newmarket, also assisted in the task.

At York, the anchor was loaded onto a sledge dragged by many yokes of oxen. Its big wedge pushed through the thick underbrush on either side of Yonge Street, then nothing more than a rough trail through the bush. When any of the numerous steep hills were encountered, the anchor was lowered gradually down and up by block and tackle. Isaac Rogers of the Township of East Gwillimbury was one of the party who were taking the supplies from York. Near the mouth of the Holland River, the men commenced building a very large batteau to be used in crossing Lake Simcoe, before continuing to transport it westward by portage to Georgian Bay. Before the vessel could be completed, the news arrived that the war had come to an end; so, the men stopped work. The anchor remains to this day a relic of the War of 1812 in Anchor Park, Holland Land-

ing. The abandoned anchor bears mute witness to the efforts of the Royal Navy to defend the infant Canada from the wartime attacks of the American Navy on the Great Lakes, and to protect the valuable fur trade routes to the west.[48]

On the whole, American strategy had been inefficient and weak. Instead of concentrating on capturing Lower Canada in order to place a strangle-hold on Upper Canada and render it defenseless, Americans had concentrated on Upper Canada thinking that it was weakly held and closest to the American frontier. Moreover, they counted on the fact that many recent American immigrants with wavering allegiances might be sympathetic to American rule or indifferent to British rule. To Americans, Upper Canada seemed fated to join the Union. Nevertheless, Loyalists were determined that UC should not fall under American control. In the early months of the war, decisive action by General Isaac Brock in 1812 had shattered the American dream of easy conquest.

Moreover, both Britain and the United States were convinced that a conclusive defeat for either of them would result both in the loss of the war and in the loss of the country being protected. As there was very little popular support for the war, and not a decisive battle on either side, it was a war which was won by neither side. The War of 1812 lasted for two and a half years, from June 1812 until December 1814 when fighting in North America was stopped by the Treaty of Ghent. The Napoleonic Wars in Europe ended in 1815. The Rush-Bagot Convention negotiated in 1817, 1818, made for peace on the border between British North America and the United States.

AFTERMATH OF THE WAR

During the conflict, every effort was concentrated on what was required to win. With such intensity, there is often not much thought given to what should happen after the conflict ends - what is required to build peace. Word of the end of hostilities and the survival of Upper Canada in British North America reached York in February 1815.

As a result of the severity with which militia regulations had been enforced, inhabitants again felt the need for westward migration. Immediately after the end of the war, the families of the young Quaker men who had lost their lives as a result of the conflict, began to request certificates of removal to Quaker communities in the USA. The first family to make the move was that of Peter Wisnor. In the 4th month 1815, the families of his mother, Rachel (Wiggins) [Wisnor], wife of Robert Penrose, and his sister, Deborah Wisnor, wife of Isaac James, were granted certificates to Short Creek Monthly Meeting, Ohio. Ohio Yearly Meeting, established there in 1813, was the first Yearly Meeting to be organized west of the Alleghany Mountains and was officially known as Ohio Yearly Meeting for the State of Ohio, the adjacent parts of Pennsylvania, and the Indiana Territory.

Some months later, in the fall of 1815, the families of both Aaron Hambleton and Moses Hambleton, angry at the circumstances which caused the death of young Aaron Hambleton, decided to return to the USA and were granted certificates to Eden MM, Hamburg, Erie County, New York state, where brother Jonas Hambleton lived. Some ten years later, John Hambleton (1801-1870), son of Moses & Abigail (Coates) Hambleton, returned to Uxbridge to claim his family's land. Over the winter months of 1815-16, Elizabeth Orton,

Obediah Griffin & family, and John Dunham & family, also received certificates of removal to Eden Monthly Meeting. Others followed as soon as conveniently possible. In the winter of 1817, Robert & Lydia (Wray) Widdifield & family removed to Eden Monthly Meeting, New York state. In the spring of 1817, Ezekiel & Anne (Doyle) Roberts and family joined the Penrose and James families in Short Creek Monthly Meeting, Ohio.[49]

In the aftermath of the war, the necessity for continued protection of northern fortifications and trade routes remained uppermost in importance. As bases of supply, blockhouses had been built at Holland Landing, Kempenfeldt (Barrie), and Willow Creek (Nottawasaga). For many years, they remained important settlements. A regular winter traffic in war supplies was teamed by sleighs through Newmarket to Roche's Point to be transported across the ice of Lake Simcoe.

In the years after the war had ended, a number of Quakers were disciplined for hauling cannon and military stores for the military. In the spring of 1815, Isaac Lundy, Robert Willson, and Ezekiel James were disciplined and in the course of time their acknowledgements were accepted. In the spring of 1816, testimony was produced against Robert Willson, and a year later in 1817 Wilson offered a written acknowledgement condemning his guilt in hauling military stores for the return of his land. Non-violence was never far from Friends' concerns. In November 1818, Lewis Powell was disowned for his involvement with the military. Shortly thereafter, in January 1819, Powell gave notice that he would appeal the decision at the Half Yearly Meeting.

There should be no attempt either to deny the facts or to re-write history. Perhaps not during the war, but after the war, did Quakers find it necessary to accept financial profit tainted by its connection with war, poor crops, food shortages, and inflation? Benjamin Cody (1822-1906) of Newmarket, son of Stephen & Rebecca (Phillips) Cody, recalled that during the time of his grandfathers, farmers in the Newmarket district who possessed teams were willing to make a few dollars in the winter by conveying naval stores from York over the ice of Lake Simcoe to Penetanguishene. He recounted that his father, Stephen Cody (1793-1874) carried loads of these stores northward and often encountered cracks in the ice six feet wide so that the teamsters were compelled to unload their sleighs, take the boxes and make a bridge, then load up again.[50]

After its brief existence during the war, it was evident in March 1815 that the naval depot established at Nottawasaga should be discontinued. The Penetanguishene Road, begun in 1814 as a military highway, was continued as an important route to the north. By 1818, the depot had been re-established at Penetanguishene. This northern port became a centre of commercial activity, especially for the fur trade, and the Indian trade, as well.

In January 1817, the Meeting for Sufferings reported that land taken from members in the form of military requisitions was worth $67. In 1819, Yonge Street reported that $500.87 worth of land had been taken in 1818, confiscated from members of the Society of Friends in lieu of military duty. It is not possible to arrive at any accurate estimate of the total of their financial losses, but they must have amounted to thousands of dollars.[51]

Those who came through the war were eligible for land grants. Some of the grants were obtained through seizure of lands of those who had been found to have been dis-

loyal. W.L. Mackenzie, editor of the *Colonial Advocate* newspaper, considered the problem of war losses to be "the most puzzling question" in Upper Canadian politics. Who would pay - Britain or Canada? Where would money for payment come from? How would revenue be generated? Who would receive payment?

Although the 1829 election gave a clear majority to Reformers, it was not until the next parliament in 1833 that legislation designed to deal with issue of compensation, the War Losses Bill, was passed. Tory sympathizers authorized a loan of £55,000. The Assembly was also authorized to have the money collected by taxes and from sale of confiscated estates. In 1833, Warrants of Distress were issued against 62 Quakers in the Home District for not having served in the Militia during the War of 1812. A fine of $20 was exacted from each with heavy costs. In 1835, one of the bills passed by the Reform Assembly was to relieve Quakers of militia fines. Finally, in 1849, an Act (12 Vic chap 88) was passed stating that there would no longer be compulsory service in the militia.[52]

The War of 1812-14 was a defining moment in Canadian history. In Upper Canada, the war had been a continual struggle to protect supply routes. Without Britain's regular militia and navy, and without the persons who transported the necessary flow of food, manufactured goods, guns, armaments, and ammunition, Canada would have ceased to exist between 1812 and 1814.

The Statute 1814 regarding the forfeiture of lands worked hardship on Upper Canada. Since markets had not yet been developed, land was its only source of wealth. Lands available for purchase became scarce. The War of 1812-14 completely checked all emigration from the United States. But by the 1820s, with a new immigration policy after the Napoleonic Wars, there was an influx of settlers from Britain.

There was a continuum in the type of thinking which resulted in the American Revolution (1776-1783), that was exacerbated by the War of 1812-14, and culminated in the Rebellion of 1837. The severity with which militia regulations had been enforced during the War of 1812-14 was one of the underlying reasons for the Rebellion of 1837.

Although Friends always claimed an aloofness from politics, the democratic ideas which they had learned from the American Republic combined with their experiences during the War of 1812 contributed to their support of the Rebellion of 1837. By then, the generational split was more pronounced. Younger persons were drawn towards the ideas of William Lyon Mackenzie. Silas Fletcher of East Gwillimbury, and Jesse Lloyd of King Twp, were two of Mackenzie's lieutenants. One myth was exploded. It was frequently stated that because of their well-known peace principles, Quakers were not regarded as being dangerous politically. As a warning, two of the three men singled out for executions, - Doane and Lount, belonged to the Quaker fold. Although the country was not at war in 1837-38, British treatment of traitors was harsh.

Not only did the War of 1812-14 become a defining moment for Canada, it also became a defining moment for Quakers in Canada. In 1812, Friends on Yonge Street had been forced to deal simultaneously both with war and with schism. The era brought about a drastic change in the complexity of the community. Internal regulations weakened. Behaviors which infringed upon current ideals became part of a more general drifting apart from Quaker moorings. Unfortunately, the spirit of schism which had arisen amongst

those Friends continued to grow after 1815.

For Quakers themselves, the time for living together on peaceful terms was no longer possible. In a self-reinforcing atmosphere, the tendency towards schism grew. As the generation gap widened, more ties with the home environment were loosened. Friends became excessively preoccupied with the internal affairs of the Society, turning in upon themselves and tearing themselves apart by arguments which culminated in disownments and separations. The era of discord which divided and weakened the Society of Friends continued throughout and beyond the 19th century. The damage was so extensive that reconciliation was not possible until the mid 20th century.

For a period of a century, between the War of 1812-14 and the First World War (1914-18), Canadians enjoyed a protracted period of peace. For Quakers in Canada, the meaning of the peace testimony was seldom called into question. The 20th century brought a new focus to pacifism and more integrated social action. Conscientious objection to war continues to play a major part in Quaker practices. There seems to be no satisfactory solution to the problem of taxation for military purposes.

Endnotes:

[1] The title comes from Rev. John Strachan's exhortation to the inhabitants to cast aside their disaffection for the war and to fight for UC. (see below - endnote #17).

[2] Brock. *Pioneers of the Peaceable Kingdom*, 205, 216. quote from J.P. Brissot de Warville, *New Travels in the United States of America 1788*, (1964 ed., 328-29).

[3] Dorland. *The Quakers in Canada, a History*, 46.

[4] Cruikshank. *The Correspondence of Lieut. Governor John Graves Simcoe*, relating to his Administration of the Government of Upper Canada. Vol. I, 1789-1793 JGS to Phineas Bond, Philadelphia, Quebec, May 07, 1792, 151; Suggestions from Capt. Chas Stevenson to Henry Dundas, July 31st, 1793, #18, p. 412. Vol.II, Lord Dorchester's Remarks on Capt. Stevenson's Suggestions, Portsmouth, August 4th, 1793, #18, p. 03; Hy Dundas to JGS, Whitehall, 2nd October 1793, #22, p. 82; memoranda JGS, 28th February 1794, #22, p. 168.

[5] Dorland, op. cit., 316; Quaker Faith & Practice, England, 24.17.

[6] Cruikshank, op. cit., Vol. I, JGS to Hy. Dundas, Quebec, April 28, 1792, p. 142; Scadding. *Toronto of Old*, pp. 425, 491; *Upper Canada Gazette*, March 9, 1799.

[7] Romney & Wright. "State Trials and Security Proceedings in Upper Canada during the War of 1812" in *Canadian State Trials*, p. 422; Scadding, op. cit., p. 427-29, 478. Willcocks operated a newspaper, *Upper Canada Guardian*, Niagara, and was killed in battle in 1814; Jackson later returned to UC and settled with his family where Jackson's Point is now located on Lake Simcoe.

[8] Canadian Quaker Archives (CQA). Records, Yonge Street Monthly Meeting (YSMM) 1806 9th mo 18th; published in *Upper Canada Gazette*, October 4, 1806.

[9] CQA. London Yearly Meeting of Friends (LYM): #614 LYM Declaration to Charles II, 1661; #617 LYM re Napoleonic Wars 1804, 1805.

[10] National Archives of Canada (NAC), RG5 A1 Upper Canada Sundries (UCS), Civil Secretary's Correspondence. Anthony W. Merry, Philadelphia, to Lt. Gen. Hunter, September 27th 1804, p. 1239/(100).

[11] CQA. YSMM, 1807- 12 mo- 07 ; *Journal of Timothy Rogers*, p. 108.

[12] Gray. *Soldiers of the King - The Upper Canadian Militia 1812-1815*, p. 25.

[13] CQA. YSMM Hunter 12-5 mo. 1808, Winn 14-12 mo. 1809, Griffin 15-11 mo. 1810.

[14] Walton. "Soldiers of York County", *Aurora Banner*, October 14, 1938; "Preparation for War in Canada in 1794 - Compulsory Military Service once Law in Upper Canada," *idem*, March 03, 1939; "Military Training Days," *idem*, July 01, 1938. Scadding, op. cit., p. 99.

[15] CQA.YSMM Sufferings 18 1st mo. 1810, 17 1st mo. 1812.

[16] *Rogers Journal*, op.cit., p. 114.

[17] Political Miscellany - from the *York Gazette*, February 04, 1812. *Kingston Gazette*, Kingston UC, Vol, II/No.14, February 18, 1812; Vol, II/No.15, February 25, 1812; Sheppard. *Plunder, Profit, and Paroles: A Social History of the War of 1812 in Upper Canada*, p. 24. Gray, op.cit., p. 42.

[18] President Madison's wife, Dolley Payne (1768-1849), was a Quaker, daughter of John & Mary (Coles) Payne; of New Garden Mtg and Philadelphia Friends Mtg.

[19] Gray, op. cit., p. 42; Canniff. *The Settlement of Upper Canada*, p. 550.

[20] Smith. *A Geographical View of the Province of Upper Canada*, pp. 85, 93, 101.

[21] Strachan. Pamphlet 1812 no. 4, sermon August 2, 1812; Walton, op.cit., Oct 14, 1938.

[22] CQA. YSMM, 1812- 10 mo. -15, O-11-6.

[23] Gray, op. cit., p. 108; Smith, op. cit., pp. 85, 93, 101; Sheppard, op. cit., p59. Captain Wm. Graham had been captain in the Duke of Cumberland's regiment, and captain of York Militia since 1798. His estates were located on Yonge Street (lot 77 Whitchurch Twp) north of the Ridges.

[24] Webb, Clayton. "Annals of the Webb Family - The Story of a Pioneer Family," from the manuscript of Clayton Web (1799-1883), *The Aurora Banner*, November 19, 26, December 3, 1937, p. 01; Uxbridge Township Public Library, Local History Collection. Emigrating from PA to UC winter of 1807-08, the Roberts family settled in the Twp. of Uxbridge. Joseph Roberts (1799-18??), son of Ezekiel & Anne (Doyle) Roberts, born in PA in 1799, may have died in February 1813. Some discrepancies in details are evident as Clayton Webb was the same age as Joseph Roberts.

[25] Sheppard, op. cit., p. 59.

[26] Brock, op. cit., pp. 213, 225; 'The Late Joshua Davis' (1803-1894), *Newmarket Era*, Newmarket ON, September 13, 1895, p. 4 obituary, published in *The Friend*, Philadelphia PA; Walton. *Aurora Banner*, July 1, 1938.

[27] Brock, op. cit., p. 218; Dorland, op. cit., p. 105. CQA. *New York Discipline 1810*: Second Query p. 34; Advices, Treating with Offenders, pp. 37-39.

[28] Sharon Temple Museum: exhibit, David Willson & Children of Peace; Schrauwers. *Awaiting the Millennium - The Children of Peace and the Village of Hope, 1812-1889*, pp. 26, 42.

[29] *Rogers' Journal*, op. cit., p. 116. Rogers' first wife died January 1812, and on the same trip Rogers married his second wife in New Jersey, in late October 1813, before returning to Upper Canada. CQA Library: New York Yearly Meeting Epistle for 1812; Ransellarville MH 1814, 2 mo. 17.

[30] Gray, op. cit., p. 42; Stanley. *The War of 1812 - Land Operations*, p. 68; Smith. *A Geographical View of the Province of Upper Canada*, pp. 98-99.

[31] Doane. *The Doane Family*, p. 229

[32] Canniff, op. cit., p. 557; Romney & Wright, op. cit., p. 379; Sheppard, op. cit. p. 170. Army Bills 1813-1815 were issued for the purchase of supplies and payment of troops. When war broke out, the greatly increased sums required for military expenditures could only be raised by issuing legal tender notes from the Army Bill Office established for that purpose in Quebec City, instead of from the British Treasury.

[33] Stanley, op. cit., p. 44; Gray, op. cit., p. 29; *York Gazetteer*, October 1812.

[34] CQA. YSMM Vernon 1814- 4 mo. 14/ 1814, 8 mo. 18; Powell 1814, 12 mo. 17 / 1815, 3 mo. 16 O-11-6. N. Brown & his wife, Esther Rogers, had first moved to Whitchurch Township in 1808 but returned to Vermont where they remained until 1812 when they returned to UC and settled in Pickering Twp. Webb, op. cit. P. Wisner was the son of Rachel [Weasnor] Penrose, daughter of Isaac & Phebe (Blaker) Wiggins, widow of Jacob Weasnor.

[35] Brock, op. cit., p. 213; Dorland, op. cit., p. 318.

[36] Scadding, op. cit., pp. 430, 483. After 1814, Roe removed to Newmarket where he became a merchant engaged largely in the fur-trade. On 18th April 1805, S. Jackson, 40 years, affirmed allegiance to Crown.

[37] Gray, op. cit., p. 40.

[38] Smith, op. cit., p. 93.

[39] PAC RG 5 A1 Upper Canada Sundries Vol. 16 Traitors & Treason, 1813 June 18 - 1814 December 31. UCS, Aug 18, 1813, p. 6535.

[40] Sheppard, op. cit., 'Enemies at Home', p. 149; PAC. UCS Vol. 16, Home District, pp. 6552, 6557, 6583; Romney & Wright, op. cit., p. 401.

[41] PAC. UCS, Home District, York, Haight pp. 6656, 6658, 6660, 6678.

[42] AO. RG 22-134/MS 530 (2) Court of Oyer & Terminer, Minute Books, 1810-1835, October 26, 1813. MS 87: Diary of Eli Playter 1801-1853, 1813 September, November #417.

[43] Spragge. *The John Strachan Letterbook: 1812-1834*, p. 92, remarks to be sent to Sir Geo. Murray.

[44] AO. RG 22-134 MS 530 (2), 1814 May 26, UCS, 1814 June 16, p. 6829; W. Chewitt's list, York, June 24, 1814, p. 6855; pp. 6894-95; Romney & Wright, op. cit., p. 394; Stanley, op. cit., p. 286.

[45] CQA.YSMM O-11-6: EJ acknowledgement 1814-6 mo.-16/ 1814-9 mo.-15. AO. RG 22-134 MS 530 (2) 1814 October 26 p. 189, 1815 April 1st, p. 193. Ruth Webb (1801-1871), daughter of Isaac & Ann (Clayton) Webb, married Thomas Davis.

[46] Gray, op. cit., p. 23.

[47] Reminiscences of Richard Titus Willson (1793-1878), *Newmarket Era & Express*, December 12, 19, 26, 1946. RTW was son of Hugh L. & Mary (Titus) Willson, and nephew of David Willson, founder of the Children of Peace.

[48] *Evening Telegram*, Toronto, August 28, 1909; Robertson. *Robertson's Landmarks of Toronto*, p. 54; Scadding, p. 89. After purchasing land from Timothy Millard in 1826, Captain Joseph Hewitt built and operated the North American Hotel, Newmarket.

[49] CQA.YSMM - certificates of removal to Eden MM NYstate for A. Hambleton 1815-10 mo. -12; M. Hambleton 1815-12 mo. -14; E. Orton 1815-11 mo.-16: O. Griffin 1816-1 mo. -18: J. Dunham 1816- 3 mo. -14; R. Widdifield 1817- 2 mo. -13; to Short Creek MM Ohio for R. Penrose 1815- 4 mo. -13, I. James 1815- 4 mo. 13, E. Roberts 1817- 5 mo. 15. Uxbridge Twp Public Library, Uxbridge ON, Local History Collection - Hambleton married [ca. 1825-29] Jane Hilborn, daughter of Amos & Phoebe (Dillon) Hilborn and farmed in Uxbridge.

[50] CQA.YSMM - I. Lundy 1815-4 mo-13/ , E. James 1815- 5 mo-18/accepted 1815-10 mo-12; R. Willson 1815- 5 mo-18/ ; R.Willson 1816- 4 mo -18/ acknow-ledgement 1817- 5 mo-15. Powell 1818- 11 mo-12 / 1819- 1 mo-14. *Evening Telegram*, Toronto, August 28, 1909.

[51] CQA. YSMM Sufferings 1817- 1 mo-16, 1819-1 mo-14.

[52] Sheppard, op. cit., pp. 233-241; *Colonial Advocate* 1830 Feb 4, 11; Dunham. *Political Unrest in Upper Canada, 1815-1836*, p. 148. War Losses Bill, 1833 Feb 13.