

“Confined in Toronto Gaol for High Treason, July 19th, 1838”: Loyalties in Conflict in Upper Canada¹

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Note: since writing and delivering this address, I have learned that an unpublished PhD Thesis by Ronald J. Stagg, “The Yonge Street Rebellion of 1837: an Examination of the Social Background and a Re-assessment of Events,” (University of Toronto, 1976) includes a statistical analysis of Rebellion participants which may offer more insight into Quaker participation in the Rebellion.

Introduction - Joseph Gould

*When liberty with all its charms
Shall comfort the distressed
Then I'll return with open arms,
And clasp you to my breast.*

These words were carefully inscribed in ink on the front and back sides of a small wooden box crafted one hundred and seventy-five years ago.² The box was made by an Uxbridge Quaker farmer and mill owner – “From Joseph Gould, in

prison June 1838” is the inscription on the bottom.



Joseph Gould ca. 1875

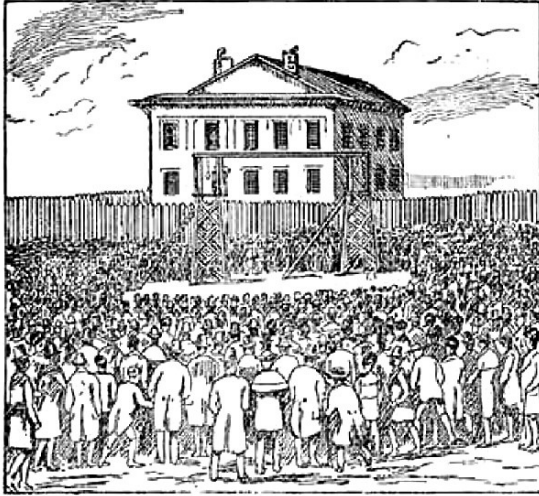
*When liberty with all its charms /
Shall comfort the distressed...* The many prisoners jammed into Toronto's jail³ during the winter and spring of 1838 lacked all liberty and were indeed “distressed,” in need of comfort. In the days and weeks following the December 1837 Rebellion debacle at Montgomery's Tavern some nine hundred men were rounded up and

¹ My principal resources for Upper Canadian Quaker history: Arthur G. Dorland, *The Quakers in Canada: A History – Second Edition* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1968); Robynne Rogers Healey, *From Quaker to Upper Canada: Faith and Community Among Yonge Street Friends, 1801-1850* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2006); W. John McIntyre, *Children of Peace* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994); Albert Schrauwers, *Awaiting the Millennium: The Children of Peace and the Village of Hope, 1812-1889* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993); and Clayton Webb “Reflections of former days” in Newmarket Historical Society, *Reflections on the Pioneer Settlement of Newmarket by Two Yonge Street Quakers*, Occasional Papers Vol. 1, No. 2 (n.d.). I would also like to express my thanks to Robynne Rogers Healey, Laura Peers, Jane Zavitz-Bond and Thomas Socknat for their helpful assistance with my research.

Image: Frontispiece, W. H. Higgins, *The Life and Times of Joseph Gould* (Toronto: Harper Rose, 1887 – reprinted Fitzhenry & Whiteside, 1972).

² This box (YP56 in the inventory referred to in a note below) was once held by the Uxbridge Historical Centre (its files record its inscription details); the box was “de-accessioned” some years ago at the request of the donor family and its current location is unknown.

³ Or “gaol,” as it was more often spelled in 1838.



Execution of Lount and Matthews – LAC C1242

jailed.⁴ Through the winter of 1838, most were held without trial or counsel. At last, in late March, provincial authorities began to deal with them, convicting many of “high treason.”⁵

In April Samuel Lount, and Peter Matthews were publicly hanged; the death

sentences of a number of other prisoners were commuted to transportation to the penal colonies half way around the world in Van Diemen’s Land. Dozens more were sentenced to terms in Kingston’s penitentiary; many more yet were banished from the province. The rest, over a period of several months, were “pardoned” after posting bonds and providing assurances that they would not further disturb the peace.

That spring of 1838, while crowded into two rooms on the upper floor of the jail, a few men began to make small boxes from scraps of firewood. Soon others took up the craft, cooperatively sharing their skills to carve, decorate and inscribe boxes with verses and mottos. Once crafted, these boxes were sent out from the prison to relatives and friends. In the course of the next few months, hundreds of boxes⁶ were

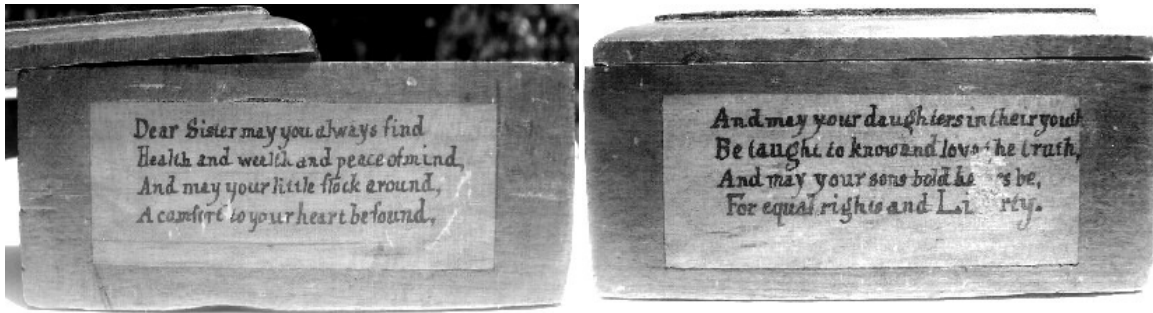


Five of the prisoner boxes owned by the City of Toronto

⁴ See Charles Lindsey, *The Life and Times of William Lyon Mackenzie* (Toronto, P.R. Randal, 1862, reprinted Toronto: Coles Publishing Co., 1971), Appendix I. This list of “Persons Arrested for Insurrection or Treason,” [1837 December 07 to 1838 November 01] was re-arranged and published by the Toronto Branch, Ontario Genealogical Society.

⁵ For a discussion of these trials, see Rainer Baehre, “Trying the Rebels: Emergency Legislation and the Colonial Executive’s Legal Strategy in the Upper Canadian Rebellion” and Paul Romney and Barry Wright, “The Toronto Treason Trials, March-May 1838,” in F. Murray Greenwood and Barry Wright, *Canadian State Trials Volume II: Rebellion and Invasion in the Canadas 1837-1839* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press for the Osgoode Society for Canadian Legal History, 2002).

⁶ According to a memory written sixty years later: Charles Durand, *Reminiscences of Charles Durand* (Toronto: Hunter, Rose, 1897), 326.



Joseph Gould Box – YP119

made, crafted by at least 60 different prisoners.⁷ These boxes are historically significant, not simply as examples of folk craft, but because they are windows into the minds and motives of their prisoner makers.

Joseph Gould made his box as a gift to a young Quaker woman and neighbour: “To Miss Mary James” he wrote on the lid. Mary and her younger sisters, Joseph would recall many years later, “were blooming into womanhood. They dressed strictly in the old Quaker style – rich, plain, clean and tidy. ... [T]hose girls were perfect models of what a good Christian girl should be; so innocently pure, unassuming and modest.”⁸

Hence we ought not be surprised with the passion of his poem:

*Then I'll return with open arms,
And clasp you to my breast.⁹*

Nor should we be surprised when, less than three months after Joseph was eventually released, he and Mary James were married.¹⁰

In early July 1838, Joseph Gould crafted a second box, a gift to his sister:¹¹

*To Mrs. Anna Shell
From Joseph Gould, a state
Prisoner in Toronto Gaol, July, 1838.”*

The box’s message was a prayer:

*Dear Sister may you always find
Health and wealth and peace of mind,
And may your little flock around,
A comfort to your heart be found.
And may your daughters in their youth,
Be taught to know and love the truth.*

But it was not entirely sentimental and domestic:

⁷ For an inventory and reflections on ninety-six different boxes, each listed by a “YP” number, see Chris Raible with John Carter and Darryl Withrow, *From Hands Now Striving to Be Free* (Toronto: York Pioneer and Historical Society, 2009). The inventory to date (September 2013) has increased to 127 boxes. For details of the process of crafting boxes by the prisoners, see Withrow’s essay in the volume, “With Glass or Chisel? The Tools and Skills Needed to Create the Boxes.”

⁸ Higgins, *Life and Times of Joseph Gould*, 89.

⁹ I have been unable to trace the author of this poem – it was also inscribed on at least four other boxes: box YP07 made by Harvey Bryant; box YP93 by Jesse Doan; and boxes YP56 and YP57 by William Poole.

¹⁰ Higgins, *Life and Times of Joseph Gould*, 111, records they were married by Toronto Baptist minister, [Alexander] Stewart on 1 January 1838. Why they were not married according to Quaker custom is not clear. For details of Gould’s life, see Ronald F. Stagg, “Gould, Joseph” *Canadian Dictionary of Biography*, Vol. XI (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003).

¹¹ Box YP119



Joseph & Mary Gould – courtesy Uxbridge Historical Centre

*And may your sons bold heroes be,
For equal rights and Liberty.*

The “Liberty” Gould longed for meant much more than his personal freedom, his release from jail. The Liberty he lauded (with an upper case “L”) was profoundly political. Indeed, fears for the loss of liberty had prompted Gould to join the movement for political reforms that ultimately led to the outbreak of rebellion. His duties to his faith, his family, his community, his country had become incompatible. Gould’s commitment to Quaker social justice clashed with his Quaker convictions of non-violence – a clash of loyalties that inevitably led to his incarceration.

Quaker rebels?

Joseph Gould, Quaker, joined (indeed, helped lead) an armed insurrection against the established order, a resort to violence seeking to overthrow the government. Was Gould the only Quaker? No. But the question of how many Quakers in Upper Canada became armed rebels in December 1837 is not an easy one to answer.

In the introductory chapter of her splendid study of Yonge Street Quakers, Robynne Healey declares that, by the time of the Rebellion, “Quakers were well represented in political reform movements.” As for their actual participation in the Rebellion itself, she notes, “they formed 4.2 per cent of the population in rebel areas, yet accounted for 40 per cent of the known rebels and supporters.”¹²

Unfortunately, that startling statistic – in rebel areas, 40% of the known rebels and supporters were Quakers – is not as simple as it sounds. Healey cited as her source an address given to this Friends Historical Association almost thirty years ago by Canadian historian Thomas Socknat.¹³ He graciously replied to my inquiry,¹⁴ telling me that his original paper and its sources were not readily available, but that he had undoubtedly drawn his information from Colin Read’s comprehensive 1982 study, *The Rising in Western Upper Canada*.¹⁵

Read’s admirable and comprehensive study focuses exclusively on the so-called

¹² Healey, *From Quaker to Upper Canadian*, 13; repeated, 146.

¹³ Newsletter, Canadian Friends Historical Society, #36, (December 1984).

¹⁴ E-mail Thomas Socknat to Chris Raible, 2013 July 03

¹⁵ Colin Read, *The Rising in Western Upper Canada 1837-8: The Duncombe Revolt and After* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982).

“Duncombe Rebellion” that was prompted by Mackenzie’s Toronto uprising. One aspect of the study examined the religious identification of rebel participants and their sympathizers. Without overloading you with caveats and the details, it is quite true that *in the western area of Upper Canada* that Read studied, in 1842 (three years after the Rebellion), 4.2% of *the population whose religion was known* were Quakers. But only 2.9% of *the area’s total population* were Quakers. In that area, 69 persons were identified as rebels or rebellion sympathizers *whose religion affiliation was known*. Of these, 27 (39%) were Quaker; but of the total 317 identified rebels and rebellion sympathizers, 9% were Quakers.¹⁶ This latter numbers is less dramatic, of course, but it is not insignificant.

We cannot, of course, extrapolate and apply these figures to Upper Canada as a whole. To the best of my knowledge, no careful study has been made to ascertain the total number of rebels and rebel sympathizers in all of Upper Canada, much less any study of their religion. Nor could I find a statistical study of just the Quakers who took part in the Rebellion. My own attempt to make an estimate¹⁷ using secondary sources ran into problems.

My first problem: who is a Quaker? Clearly anyone on record as a member of a Monthly Meeting is a Quaker. Is anyone who self-identifies, though there is no other

known evidence, a Quaker? Is anyone identified in a biography or a family or local history a Quaker? Is the child of a known Quaker still a Quaker as an adult, even if there is no evidence of any continued Quaker association? Is anyone disowned by a Monthly Meeting, still a Quaker? Does it require the act of disownment to make someone no longer a Quaker?

Almost immediately after the routing of the rebels at Montgomery’s Tavern, Lieutenant Governor Francis Bond Head issued a proclamation offering large rewards “to anyone who will apprehend, and deliver to justice” five rebellion leaders who had escaped capture: William Lyon Mackenzie, David Gibson, Samuel Lount, Jesse Lloyd and Silas Fletcher.¹⁸ Two of these men are often identified as Quakers

Was Samuel Lount a Quaker? Robynne Rogers Healey treats him as a Quaker – or more particularly, treats his wife, Elizabeth Lount, who pleaded for his life, as a Quaker.¹⁹ But I turned up no other evidence, although I feel sure there must be some. There is some suggestion that Samuel Lount was associated with the Children of Peace, yet neither of the modern scholarly studies of that “Quaker sect” identifies him as a member.²⁰

Was Jesse Lloyd a Quaker? His biographer, historian Ronald J. Stagg, identifies Lloyd’s Quaker roots, but states that in 1832 “his membership in the Yonge

¹⁶ Read, *The Rising in Western Upper Canada 1837-8*, 185.

¹⁷ Appendix 1 below: “Quaker Participation in the 1837 Rebellion.”

¹⁸ For the full text see, Edwin C. Guillet, *Lives and Times of the Patriots* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1968 – first published Thomas Nelson, 1938).

¹⁹ Healey, *From Quaker to Upper Canadian*, 165-67.

²⁰ William John McIntyre, *Children of Peace* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1994); Albert Schrauwers, *Awakening Awaiting the millennium: the Children of Peace and the village of Hope, 1812-1889* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993).

Street Meeting had been cancelled because of non-attendance. This action appears to have ended his involvement with the Quakers as such.”²¹ Yet neither Robynne Rogers Healey nor Arthur Dorland mentions him.

My second problem: who is a rebel? Clearly anyone who fought with Mackenzie at Montgomery’s Tavern was a rebel. Was anyone who arrived at the tavern, but soon left not taking part, a rebel? Was anyone who was arrested and imprisoned a rebel? (There is a list, albeit incomplete and not entirely accurate, later compiled from official sources.)²² If released very quickly, was he a rebel? Was anyone who confessed guilt in order to be released, but was probably innocent, a rebel? Was anyone indicted by the government, though never captured or tried, a rebel? Was anyone who fled the province to avoid arrest, a rebel?



Meeting House Newmarket



Meeting House – Sparta

There is no list, there are no agreed numbers. And beyond this, how does one define who was a rebel sympathizer?

Nonetheless, I compiled a list of individuals identified as participants in the Rebellion and also identified as Quakers.²³ Based entirely on secondary sources,²⁴ I found twenty-seven Quaker men from the Home District – and thus the Yonge Street meeting – whom I could identify as rebels. (I also identified fourteen Children of Peace members – almost certainly there were more.)²⁵

By 1837 there were Quaker settlements three areas of the province. In eastern Upper Canada, there is little or no evidence of Quaker interest in the Rebellion.²⁶ In the west, as revealed by the research of Colin Read²⁷ already mentioned, especially around Sparta, Quakers were notably – or

²¹ Ronald F. Stagg, “Lloyd, Jesse” *Canadian Dictionary of Biography*, Vol. VII (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988).

²² Toronto Branch, Ontario Genealogical Society, “List of persons arrested for Insurrection or Treason, 1837 Rebellion.”

²³ Appendix 2 below: “Quakers identified as 1837 rebels.”

²⁴ Healey; McIntyre; Peers; and, Read.

²⁵ Appendix 3 below: “Children of Peace identified as rebels.”

²⁶ Although there were many Quakers among the earliest settlers of Prince Edward County, I found no rebels or rebel sympathizers identified as Quakers in the only substantive studies of the Rebellion east of the Home District: Betsy Dewar Boyce, *The Rebels of Hastings* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992); and Charles D. Anderson, *Bluebloods & Rednecks: Discord and Rebellion in the 1830s* (Burnstown, Ontario: General Store Publishing, 1996).

²⁷ See also David Brearley, *Hotbed of Treason: Norwich and the Rebellion of 1837* (Ottawa: David Brearley, 1986).

notoriously – sympathetic. Their rebel activity led to many arrests and, ultimately, to the hanging of Joshua Doan (convicted, however, not for rallying to Duncombe's forces, but, after escaping to the United States, for joining a disastrous attempt in late 1838 to re-ignite the fires of Rebellion at Windsor).²⁸ Read listed 317 (nearly all men) who were rebels or rebel sympathizers,²⁹ specifically identifying twelve Quakers as rebels and eleven more as rebel sympathizers. It is the central area – the Yonge Street Meeting area – that deserves more careful study.

Thus my own tentative guess – and it is only a guess – is that among the men who actually took part in the 1837 Rebellion, some forty to fifty were Quakers; something like twice as many more Quaker men and women were active sympathizers. Whether, in retrospect, all this Quaker rebellious activity deserves commendation or condemnation, only a Quaker can decide.

In Upper Canada, as the storm clouds leading to violence grew darker, Quakers in their meetings reaffirmed their pacific principles. "Are Friends clear of bearing arms, of complying with military requisitions, and of paying any fine or tax in lieu thereof?" they regularly asked themselves.³⁰ Quakers then – and now – refused to participate in the evil of

violence. Their convictions also forbade any activity – publishing documents, supplying goods, paying designated taxes – intended to promote war. Nonetheless, as we have noted, significant numbers of Quakers took up arms and joined the Rebellion.

In her 1988 landmark – but, alas, unique – consideration of Quakers in the Rebellion, Laura Peers aptly noted:

The long forward inward journey that these Friends made from pacifism to armed revolt, and from political frustration to violent action, was made only under the duress of political deadlock and the absence of any other avenues for long-needed changes. Their desperate and painful decision to act also had heavy consequences: of those who chose to fight, at least five were imprisoned for their efforts, one was hanged and a number were disowned by the Quaker meetings to which they belonged.

Quaker Settlers in Upper Canada

By 1838, the quest by Quakers in Upper Canada for "equal rights and liberty" – as summarized by Joseph Gould's box inscription – had a history as old as the

²⁸ See Colin Read, "Doan, Joshua Gwillen" *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, Vol. VII (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988).

²⁹ See Appendix 2, below.

³⁰ Quoted by Laura L. Peers, "The Not So Peaceable Kingdom: Quakers Took Up Arms in the Rebellion of 1837," *The Beaver* (June-July 1988, reprinted *Canadian Quaker History Journal*, 69-70. (2004/5). Unfortunately, conforming to the magazine's editorial practice, no source citations were given. I recently wrote the author, now living in Oxford, England, and pursuing other historical interests. She responded with encouragement, but acknowledged that she no longer had access to research notes which would have supplied specific source citations. [Editor's note: Quakers and others familiar with Yearly Meeting Disciplines will recognize this question as one of the standard queries integral to the meeting for business. Upper Canadian Friends followed the New York Yearly Meeting *Discipline*, first printed for widespread circulation in meetings in 1810.]

province itself. (It is a history undoubtedly better known by you than by me.) A review of the early beginnings of Upper Canada will reveal, I believe, how the loyalties of early Quakers somewhat differed from those of other Upper Canadians. I make this brief review focusing on five topics.

First – *Constitution*

The Constitutional Act of 1791,³¹ an act of the British Parliament, divided the old province of Quebec – the conquered colony that was once New France – and created a new, separate colony: Upper Canada. The Act defined Upper Canada's constitution, designed to ensure "peace, welfare and good government," that is, untainted by notions of democracy.

The province's administrators sent out from London, were totally accountable to the Colonial Office in London. Its Parliament, supposedly patterned on the British Parliament, was essentially powerless. Its judicial system was politically appointed and directed. At all levels of government, a network of appointed officials exercised control. Political order was thus as imposed upon its populace as were the survey lines superimposed upon its landscape. The first Lieutenant Governor, John Graves Simcoe, praised this political structure as "the image and transcript" of the British Constitution, but it was no such thing. Upper Canada was the

totally dependant child of the "mother country." Nevertheless, the "Constitution" became a sacred symbol to which unequivocal loyalty was expected.

The first Quaker immigrants to Upper Canada, however, were not especially committed to British political traditions, nor were they especially loyal to King George. Thus appeals to support and preserve "the British Constitution" can hardly have moved them.

Second – *Land*³²

The territory of Upper Canada was hundreds of millions of acres of land,³³ vacant land, "waste land," densely forested and undeveloped. All this land – having been by treaties "purchased" in great chunks from resident First Nation peoples – was held by the Government.³⁴

The Government ordered the surveys to define the townships to be subdivided into lots, and thus made available for settlement.

The Government decided which of these lots would be "granted," given away to compensate loyalists for losses in the American war, to reward military service, to pay off Government obligations, and to enrich Government officials and friends.

The Government decided which lots could be sold at what price and to whom. Or – a big or – the Government decided which lots were to be "reserved," that is,

³¹ 31 George III, c. 31, also commonly called the Canada Act.

³² For a comprehensive study of land policies, see Lillian F. Gates, *Land Policies in Upper Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1968).

³³ In 1819, John Strachan (ghost writing for his brother James) calculated there were in Upper Canada 17,000,000 acres of land potentially available for settlement. James Strachan, *A Visit to the Province of Upper Canada in 1819* (Aberdeen: D. Chalmers, 1820, reprinted New York: Johnson Reprint, 1968).

³⁴ See J.R. Miller, *Compact, Contract, Covenant: Aboriginal Treaty-Making in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009), chapter 3.

held onto for the future by the Government itself.

Quakers came to Upper Canada seeking land – available land, cheap land, fertile land – which they could own and clear and farm. They sought neither special rewards nor grants. Their land was bought and paid for. They bought lots large enough to support their own families, located near lots available for settlement by others of their faith. To them the mutual support of fellow Quakers in community was essential.

Third – *Immigrant Settlers* ³⁵

In 1791, apart from small scattered native groups (a total of perhaps a thousand), all Upper Canadians were immigrants. A few were early French settlers, mostly near Detroit. About 6,000 were Loyalists – later labeled “United Empire Loyalists” – Americans who were loyal to King George and thus losers in the American Revolution. There were also retiring members of the military and others. In 1791, perhaps 10,000 settlers formed a broken ribbon along the north shore of the St. Lawrence and of Lake Ontario.

Upper Canada’s administrators, desperately needing settlers skilled in converting forests into farms, recruited more Americans. Lured by promises of good land,³⁶ new settlers came in droves.

Not refugees but opportunists, these “late loyalists” were happy to swear allegiance to King George in return for real estate – cheap and tax-free – and the promise of being largely left alone.

Thus the earliest Quakers to settle in Upper Canada were not loyalists; they were not refugees escaping persecution; they were not seeking rewards for having endured suffering. These “pious pacifists,” as described by American historian Alan Taylor, “came [to Canada] because they felt threatened by [American] republicanism, which promoted majority rule at the expense of cultural minorities.”³⁷

These Quakers were specifically recruited by Lieutenant Governor Simcoe, whose American experience had convinced him that Quakers possessed the settler-skills he sought. They knew how to clear land. They did not need government subsidies. They looked after each other. They paid their bills and their taxes. They were neither political troublemakers nor political office-seekers. They mostly wanted to be left alone. Their primary loyalties were to family and the Quaker community.

Fourth – *Church* ³⁸

There was no separation of church and state in Upper Canada. Faith in God and loyalty to King George were presumed

³⁵ For a study of the transformation of Ontario brought by settlement see J. David Wood, *Making Ontario: Agricultural Colonization and Landscape Re-Creation Before the Railway* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2000.)

³⁶ See Alan Taylor, “The Late Loyalists; Northern Reflections of the Early American Republic,” *Journal of the Early Republic* (Spring 2007).

³⁷ Alan Taylor, *The Civil War of 1812: American Citizens, British Subjects, Irish Rebels and Indian Allies* (New York: Knopf, 2013), 62.

³⁸ For more details on church and state questions in Upper Canada see John S. Moir, *Church and State in Canada 1627-1867: Basic Documents* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart – Carleton Library No. 33, 1967), parts Four to Six. A comprehensive study of the Clergy Reserves: Alan Wilson, *The Clergy Reserves in Upper Canada: A Canadian Mortmain* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1968).

synonymous. The Church of England was an instrument of colonial authority. It preached peace; it maintained order; it affirmed good government – and it expected obedience. The state funded the church. As one means to ensure long-term funding for this essential religious enterprise, one-seventh of all land in the province – hundreds of thousands of scattered lots – were set aside as “Clergy Reserves.”³⁹ Their purpose: “the maintenance and support of a Protestant clergy,” meaning, of course, Anglican ministers.

Meanwhile, other faiths – Presbyterians, Methodists and various other Dissenters, as well as Roman Catholics⁴⁰ – were to be temporarily tolerated. Anglican priests would perform all marriages; Anglican priests would direct public education; Anglican priests would fill key public posts. Anglican churches would receive full public funding. In time, it was assumed, the glorious day would arrive when all Upper

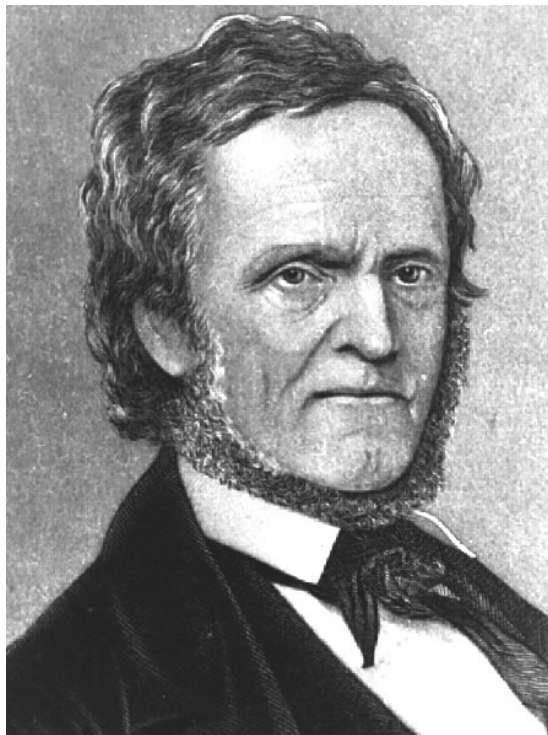
Canadians had become Anglicans.

Needless to say, it did not work out that way. Most settlers were not Anglicans. Other faith groups flourished – and began to demand their rights and privileges. Nevertheless, for many years in Upper Canada, not to be Anglican was to be of questionable loyalty.

However, Simcoe had been so eager to encourage the immigration of Quakers that he specifically promised to tolerate their religious convictions – especially their

pacifism. Their refusal to take up arms would be honoured and respected.⁴¹ They would not be required to serve in the militia.⁴²

But Quaker religious sensibilities did not end with the colonial Government’s accommodating their pacifism. Especially after the outbreak of the War of 1812, Quakers suffered for their refusal to supply Government troops as well as their refusal to pay extra taxes because of their



³⁹ An additional one-seventh of all lots of land were designated as “Crown Reserves,” held for future support of the Government.

⁴⁰ Catholics received direct Government support in exchange for their continued loyalty – the complexities of this arrangement are beyond the scope of this paper.

⁴¹ Dorland, *Quakers in Canada*, 54.

⁴² These early agreements between Simcoe and Quakers – and the succeeding early difficulties Quakers faced – are neatly summarized by Sandra McCann Fuller, “Quakers and the War of 1812-14 in Upper Canada, *Canadian Quaker History Journal*, 72 (2007).

exemptions from militia service. Their property was confiscated; some suffered imprisonment.

There were also strains related to recognizing Quaker marriages and to securing title to land for their meeting houses – all because of the Government bias toward the Church of England as the all-but-formally established church for the colony.⁴³

Perhaps the most serious and persistent church-related grievance that affected the Quakers – along with many other religious bodies – was the issue of the Clergy Reserves. In the early years, when vacant land was readily available, the government received little or no income from the lease or sale of reserved lands. But by the 1830s, in the most settled areas – including York County north of York/Toronto – there was little vacant land available except Reserve land. Quakers believed that leasing Clergy Reserve land was contrary to their principles. It thus became a matter of deep concern if a Quaker family violated Quaker prohibitions and leased or purchased Clergy Reserve land. Yet such land was often the only available land for a next generation Quaker family to occupy if it wanted to live near Quaker relatives.

It was also seen by Quakers – indeed by all reformers – as continuing to be grossly

unfair for the Anglican Church to be supported by Clergy Reserve land sales and leases, while roads remained unimproved, bridges remained un-built, schools remained unfunded.

Fifth – *The United States* ⁴⁴

From the start, Upper Canadians always kept at least one eye on the United States. The first Lieutenant Governor, John Graves Simcoe, as a ranking British officer was, in a sense, a casualty of the American Revolution. He passionately wanted to re-fight that war. He created his colony as a clear alternative to American republicanism. He imprinted it with British symbols – from the names of towns, streets and rivers to the structures of government – all explicitly not American. Yet much colonial trade – and all the illegal trade – was with the Americans. The United States was the immediate, ever-present neighbour. Whatever was happening there was to be distrusted and envied, denounced and imitated. Anything or anyone American was tainted. Any lauding of anything Yankee was evidence of disloyalty.

The first generation of Quakers in Upper Canada thus had a severe disability – they were all American-born – despite their coming to the new colony, in the words of Quaker immigrant Peter Lossing because

⁴³ See John S. Moir, *Church and State in Canada 1627-1867* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, Carleton Library 33, 1967), 153-155.

⁴⁴ Much has been written about Canadian-American attitudes, but I know of no full study of anti-Americanism before Confederation. For an excellent study of early Upper Canada see Jane Errington, *The Lion, the Eagle and Upper Canada: a Developing Colonial Ideology* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1987). See also S.F. Wise and Robert Craig Brown, *Canada Views the United States: Nineteenth-Century Political Attitudes* (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1972 – first published Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1967) and Edgar W. McNinnis, *Unguarded Frontier: A History of American-Canadian Relations* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, Doran, 1942).

they had found the American republic, “pleasing in theory, but troublesome & frequently factious in execution & practice.”

⁴⁵Further, as already noted, they were not UEL, not true blue. Canadian Friends not only maintained contact with their extended families in the United States, their newly gathered Upper Canadian Monthly Meetings were under the jurisdiction of American Yearly Meetings in Philadelphia or New York.

As long as the Quaker settlements were relatively isolated, these American connections mattered little, but with the outbreak of war in 1812, Quaker loyalties to their American associates raised doubts about their loyalty as British subjects. The history of the commitment of Canadian Friends to peace – during the War of 1812 and, indeed, throughout the last two centuries – has been well studied.⁴⁶ A particularly troubling issue was the Government’s granting Quakers (and “Menonists and Tunkers,” two other pacifist groups) exemption from militia service, only if they paid an annual fine of £5 per man and provided draft animals, wagons, etc. on military demand. Most Quakers balked at anything that promoted bloodshed; many suffered jail and property seizures accordingly.⁴⁷

By the 1820s, another vexing political issue arose, the so-called “Alien Question.” Although there is some disagreement

among historians as to the motivations for this action, there was a powerful attempt to deprive long-resident American-born Upper Canadians (a category which, of course, included most Quakers) of their civil and property rights, by denying their citizenship. After several years of political turmoil, the controversy was only settled – in favour of the so-called “aliens” – by an explicit act of the British Parliament.⁴⁸ But it left behind a residue of distrust.

Although I cannot here consider their implications further, I believe that in these five areas – constitutional political structure, land policies, treatment of immigrant settlers, religious passions and prejudices, and fears of American domination — were seeds sown at the founding of this province, that in time grew into all the weeds of dissention and discontent. The grievances felt by so many Upper Canadians in the 1820s and 1830s, can be traced back to these beginnings. Indeed, the inability of the Colonial Government equitably to deal with them, ultimately prompted the Mackenzie-led Rebellion.

William Lyon Mackenzie and Upper Canadian Quakers

For the past quarter century, my own focus of historical research and writing has been the life and times of a controversial Scottish-Canadian, William Lyon

⁴⁵ Quoted by Taylor, *The Civil War of 1812*, 62.

⁴⁶ For a recent brief study, see Jonathan Seiling, “Upper Canadian War Resisters in the War of 1812” <http://activehistory.ca/2012/05/upper-canadian-war-resisters-in-the-war-of-1812/> (consulted September 1, 2013). A comprehensive and balanced history of the War of 1812 is Alan Taylor’s volume, cited above.

⁴⁷ Taylor, *The Civil War of 1812*, 310-11.

⁴⁸ For a comprehensive discussion of the Alien Question, see Paul Romney, “Re-inventing Upper Canada: American Immigrants, Upper Canadian History, English Law, and the Alien Question” in Roger Hall, William Westfall and Laurel Sefton, eds., *Patterns of the Past: Interpreting Ontario’s History* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1988).

Mackenzie. By Canadians Mackenzie has been both maligned and idolized, but I think largely misinterpreted and misunderstood. My task here is neither to describe nor to defend Mackenzie, but I will briefly touch on his connections with Friends in Upper Canada.

Mackenzie was, of course, anything but a pious, quietist Quaker. By birth, training and conviction he was a Scottish Secessionist Presbyterian Calvinist. (Indeed, I think he is best understood if viewed through such a lens.) He was also a merchant, an entrepreneurial businessman – first as a general storekeeper, later as a printer/publisher. In Upper Canada he used his voice as a journalist, and became the best-known editor in the province. While continuing as a newspaperman, he became a politician – an elected Member of Parliament (1828-1836), the first Mayor of Toronto (1834-5). In all these roles he was passionate, fearless, and (I think) extraordinarily successful, despite serious errors and failures. In the course of all this he was an advocate, a voice, for the yeoman farmer, for the small entrepreneurial businessman, for the member of a persecuted minority. His focus was always human, people-oriented. He travelled constantly to meet and personally know his customers, his constituents.

In the course of his life he came to know many Quakers – and sometimes to write about them. In the very first issue of his *Colonial Advocate* discussing the Clergy Reserves,⁴⁹ he urged that their proceeds should be shared among all religious groups

(an opinion he later abandoned in favour of abolishing them), among those named: Quakers. Later that summer of 1824, reporting on the diversity of people making up an election crowd in Lincoln, on his list was Quakers.⁵⁰ The next winter, he reported on the Parliamentary debate and ultimate passage allowing Quakers to testify in criminal cases without taking an oath.

The first substantive *Colonial Advocate* newspaper story about Quakers was of Mackenzie's visit, in late July 1826, to a Quaker school in the Niagara township of Bertie. On entering he discovered an old friend, William Wilson, teaching some twenty to thirty boys and girls. The editor took delight in the "healthy, happy, cheerful, and placid countenances" of the children:

How happy is youth when placed at a distance from the snares of vice, and far away from the cotton or lace factory! – here is the native abode of innocence and peace. These children never see their parents contending and quarrelling about dogmatical points in religion or politics, for their parents refuse to adopt creeds, and are loyal and true to the government which protects them; willingly obedient to the law, enemies of oppression, the friends of all mankind, charitable and humane. This is the character of a true professor of the religion of Fox, Barclay, and Penn.⁵¹

In 1828, Mackenzie reported

⁴⁹ *Colonial Advocate*, 18 May 1824.

⁵⁰ *Colonial Advocate*, 26 July 1824.

⁵¹ For the full *Colonial Advocate* article, see Appendix 4 below.

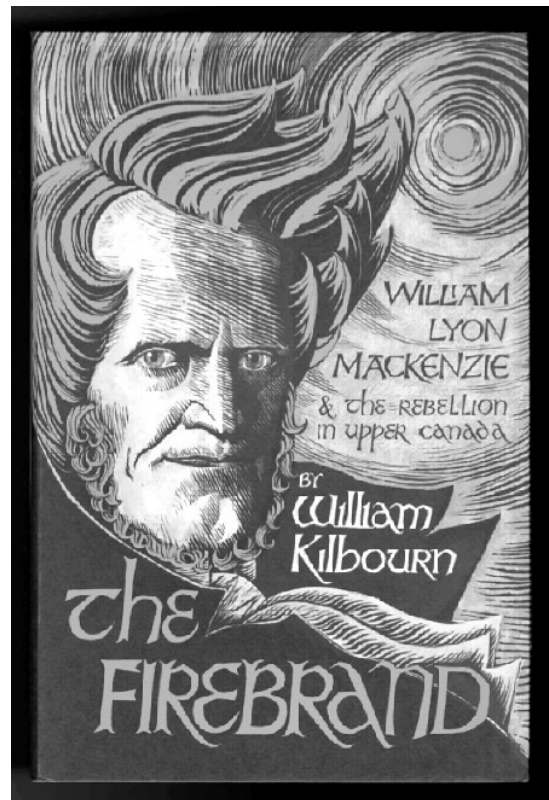
Parliamentary debate and the ultimate passage of the Act for the Relief of Religious Societies, explicitly including Quaker meetings, allowing them to own property.⁵² The next year, in as a new member of the Assembly, Mackenzie was on his feet demanding a clear financial accounting of the fines paid by “Quakers, Menonists and Tunkers.” He wanted to know the exact amounts paid per district for each of the last fifteen years – and an accounting of how the money received was spent!⁵³

While Mackenzie was in England in 1832 and 1833, meeting with Colonial Office officials, seeking redress for many grievances felt by Upper Canadians, he took time to research British law and report to Quaker leaders back home on the question of Quakers becoming members of the Legislature “without violating their religious principles by taking the oaths required.” (Mackenzie had some years earlier failed in an attempt to pass a bill in Upper Canada.) He confirmed that a Quaker could in fact legally become a candidate, taking no oath whatsoever; if elected, “on taking his solemn affirmation in the form prescribed,” a Quaker could sit as a member of the House of Assembly.⁵⁴

Reform leads to Rebellion

The late 1820s and early 1830s in Upper Canada were marked by much controversy, indeed turmoil. Waves of new immigrants

meant the population doubled and redoubled again. These mostly British (and especially Irish) newcomers radically changed the religious as well as the political landscape. One result was the evolution of a more deliberate organizing of efforts to bring political reform. It was also a period, as every Quaker knows, of religious controversy. Not only Quakers, but nearly every religious body in the province was torn by dissention and often division.⁵⁵ Although these decades have in recent years been subjected to fresh academic research and review, to the best of my knowledge there has been no careful collective



⁵² *Colonial Advocate*, 10 April 1828.

⁵³ *Colonial Advocate*, 15 January 1829.

⁵⁴ WLM to Thomas Moore and Elias Moore, 31 December 1832, published *Colonial Advocate*, 28 February 1833. For the full text, see Appendix 4 below.

⁵⁵ Some of this dissention is described in John Webster Grant, *A Profusion of Spires: Religion in 19th Century Ontario* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press for the Ontario Historical Studies Series for the Government of Ontario, 1988), Chapter 5.

examination of either religious quarrels or of the role religion may have played in the social and political disputes or in the personal lives of the major figures.⁵⁶ In the mindset of many, dare I say most, modern historians, religion is seen as a symptom rather than a cause.

I cannot here begin to sketch the events and forces that led to the 1837 Rebellion. Suffice it to say that a decade of failure of peaceful attempts – petitions, consultations, exhortations, publications, elections – to bring political and economic reforms that seem commonplace today, caused the frustration that ultimately erupted in Rebellion.⁵⁷

Upper Canadian Quakers watched the coming storm with dismay and apprehension, but also with hope and some appreciation. Most shared the same frustrations and felt the same grievances as their neighbours. They were not alone in suffering from prejudice and persecution; with others they sought relief from denials of their civil right to practice their religion freely.⁵⁸ Undoubtedly most Quakers were moved to join with their neighbours in efforts to bring radical political change.⁵⁹ Yet most Quakers opposed all suggestions of insurgency if it meant a resort to

violence. But, as we have seen, not all.

Another Gould box

While still “confined in Toronto Gaol for High Treason, on July 19th, 1838,” Joseph Gould crafted another small box,⁶⁰ a present to Ruth James, his future mother-in-law. He inscribed it with a poem, written by Robert Burns more than two centuries ago, but still, I think, speaking to our own time:

*A few seem favorites of fate,
In pleasure's lap carest;
Yet think not all the rich and great,
Are likewise truly blest;
But oh what crowds in every land,
Are wretched and forlorn,
Thro' weary life this lesson learn,
That man was made to mourn
Many and sharp the numerous ills
In woven with our frame!
More pointed still we make ourselves,
Regret, remorse, and shame!
And man, whose heav'n erected face,
The smiles of love adorn,
Man's inhumanity to man;
Makes countless thousands mourn!*

⁵⁶ For instance, Jeffrey L. McNairn, *The Capacity to Judge: Public Opinion and Deliberative Democracy in Upper Canada 1791-1854* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000); Carol Wilton, *Popular Political and Political Culture in Upper Canada 1800-1850* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill and Queen's University Press, 2000).

⁵⁷ Essential to any consideration of the Rebellion is Colin Reed & Ronald J. Stagg, editors, *The Rebellion of 1837 in Upper Canada* (Ottawa: Carleton University Press for the Champlain Society, 1988).

⁵⁸ Indeed, among the many grievances listed in the July 1837 “Declaration of the Reformers of the City of Toronto”, was the government’s refusal to give assent to bills passed by the Assembly, “laws the most wholesome and necessary for the public good” including “bills for the relief of Quakers...” *Colonial Advocate*, 3 August 1837.

⁵⁹ In September 1837, Mackenzie, calling for the formation of local “political unions” throughout the province, decried the fact that “Unfortunate Reformers! like the Quakers of old ... are persecuted for their principles.” *Colonial Advocate*, 13 September 1837.

⁶⁰ Box YP19.

Appendix 1

Quaker participation in the Rebellion

In the introductory chapter of her splendid study of Yonge Street Quakers, Dr. Robynne Rogers Healey declares that, by the time of the Rebellion, “Quakers were well represented in political reform movements.” And for their participation in the Rebellion itself, she notes, “they formed 4.2 per cent of the population in rebel areas, yet accounted for 40 per cent of the known rebels and supporters.”⁶¹ Her source for this statistic: a 1984 address given to the Canadian Friends Historical Association by Canadian historian Thomas Socknat.⁶²

The CFHA Newsletter reporting the meeting at which Professor Socknat spoke included two newspaper reports of his address. Both reports were impressive, but on the question of Quaker involvement in Rebellion they differed. The Woodstock *Sentinel-Review*:

During the rebellion of 1837, led by William Lyon Mackenzie, Quakers played an active role in supporting the rebel cause. While only 4.2 percent of the population in the Norwich area at the time was Quaker, about 40 per cent of those Quakers lent their support to the rebels, although few took up arms in keeping with their non-violent philosophy.

The *Tillsonburg News*:

During the rebellion the Quakers formed 4.2 per cent of the population in rebel areas and 40 percent of the known rebels and accomplices. Solomon Lossing and Peter DeLang of Norwich may have influenced the cause of participation in the rebellion.

Note that the latter suggests a much larger Quaker involvement than the former. The *Sentinel-Review* reports 4.2% of the population of the Norwich area was Quaker, and 40% of those Quakers lent support to the rebels; the *News* report says 4.2 percent of the population in rebel areas were Quakers and 40% of the known rebels and accomplices were rebels.

For clarification, I wrote Dr. Socknat. He kindly replied, telling me that he did not have readily available either his original paper or the source for the figures cited, but that he had undoubtedly drawn his information from Colin Read’s comprehensive 1982 study, *The Rising in Western Upper Canada*.⁶³ Its focus is the so-called Duncombe Rebellion, which erupted in western Upper Canada in December 1837 in the immediate wake of the Toronto uprising. And one section of the work considers the religion of Rebellion participants and sympathizers.

Despite the severe limitations of the data that Read acknowledges, he used 1841 census population figures. Three years after the Rebellion, the census reported that the

⁶¹ Robynne Rogers Healey, *From Quaker to Upper Canadian: Faith and Community Among Yonge Street Friends, 1801-1850* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2006). 13; repeated, 146.

⁶² Newsletter, Canadian Friends Historical Society, #36, (December 1984).

⁶³ Colin Read, *The Rising in Western Upper Canada 1837-8: The Duncombe Revolt and After* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), 185-88.

area of the Duncombe-led uprising had a population of 36,098.

- Of these, there were 24,741 persons whose religion was reported; of these, 1,032 or 4.2% were Quakers.
- Of the whole population of 36,098, 2.9% were Quakers.

The total population of Upper Canada in 1841 was nearly half a million – how many were Quakers is not a figure readily available.

Read also studied the religious affiliation of rebels and rebel sympathizers. In western Upper Canada, he identified 317 persons, of whom

- 197 were rebels,
- 57 were persons known to have aided them, and
- 63 were persons suspected by authorities as being sympathizers.

Of these 317, the religious affiliation was known of 69 of whom 27 (39%) – were Quakers – far more than any other religious group.

- 44 (22%) rebels – 12 (22%) Quakers
- 14 (25%) accomplices 10 (71%) Quakers
- 11 (17%) suspects 5 (45%) Quakers.

Thus it is true that *in the Read studied western area of Upper Canada*, in 1842 (three years after the Rebellion)

- 4.2% of the population whose religion was known were Quakers, but

- 2.9% of that area's total population were Quakers.

Of the known rebels and sympathizers whose religious affiliation is known,

- about 40% were Quakers, but
- of the total 317 rebels and sympathizers, only 9% were Quakers.

We cannot, of course, extrapolate and apply these figures to Upper Canada as a whole. To the best of my knowledge, no careful study has been made of the total number, much less the religion, of persons in Upper Canada who can be identified as actual rebels, accomplices or sympathizers.

Appendix 2

Quakers identified as 1837 rebels

Does not include rebel Children of Peace members – see Appendix 3

Chris Raible September 2013 Additions and corrections welcome: chrisraible1@gmail.com

Summary

Home District:

- 26 Quakers identified by name as rebels:
- 17 of these named, 9 not named on the List of Rebels Arrested.

Source Toronto Branch O.G.S. list noted below

- 4 of these identified as prisoner box crafters (10 different boxes)

Source Raible, et al book noted below.

Western area

- 23 Quakers identified by name by Read
- 12 rebels (Appendix 1)
- 5 “aided the Rebels” (Appendix 2)
- 6 rebel sympathizers (Appendices 6 &

9)

Note Read Table 15 "Religious affiliation (page 187) totals

Quaker "Rebels" 12; "accomplices" 10; "suspects"5.

Home District:

Note: this list may or may not include, as reported by Peers, two unnamed persons disowned for by the Yonge Street Meeting in January 1838 "bearing arms in the late rebellion."

Betts, Platt

Healey (page 241) reports disowned

Rebels Arrested list: not named

Cleaver, Jesse

Healey (page 248) refers to his box (to Mary Armitage) and its inscription indicating "reasons behind Quaker pacifism"

Rebels Arrested list: 1838 March 5 to ??

Box crafter: YP42, YP107

Dennis, Isaac

Healey (page 241) reports disowned

Rebels Arrested list: not named

Dennis, Levi

Healey (page 241) reports disowned

Rebels Arrested list: not named

Doan, Jonathan

Peers lists as nominal Quaker

Rebels Arrested list: 1837 Dec 22 to 1838 Jan 38

Doan, William

Peers lists as nominal Quaker

Rebels Arrested list: 1837 Dec 22 to 1838 May 11

Gould, Joel

Healey (page 241) reports disowned

Peers identifies

Rebels Arrested list: not named

Gould, Joseph

Healey (page 241) reports disowned

Peers identifies, reports imprisoned 291 days

Rebels Arrested list: 1837 Dec 13 to 1838 October

Box crafter: YP19, YP56, YP104, YP119

Hilborn, William

Healey (page 241) reports disowned

Peers lists, reports disowned

Rebels Arrested list: not named

Hughes, Mark

Healey (page 241) reports disowned

Rebels Arrested list: not named

Lloyd, Jesse

Barnett reports 1831 "disunity with... established ... Friends"

Stagg reports joined Yonge Street Meeting 1814, not active; 1831 disowned

Rebels Arrested list: listed "under indictment"

Lount, Samuel

Healey (page 145) identifies as Quaker; (165) reports wife Elizabeth

Rebels Arrested list: 1838 Jan 18 – executed (1838 April12).

McMillan, John

Peers lists, reports imprisoned 2 weeks

Rebels Arrested list: 1837 Dec 11 to Dec 26

Moore, Ebenezer

Peers lists as nominal Quaker

Moore, Enoch

Peers lists as nominal Quaker

Rebels Arrested list: 1837 Dec 22 to Dec 27

Pearson, William

Peers lists, reports imprisoned 2 weeks

Rebels Arrested list: 1837 Dec 7 to Dec 21

Randal, John

Peers lists as nominal Quaker
Rebels Arrested list: 1838 April 14 to
May 04

Reid, William

McIntyre lists as Quaker

Rogers, Asa (son of Timothy Rogers)

Healey (page 148) reports arrested 3
times – fled to Michigan
Rebels Arrested list: not named

Rogers, William

Peers lists as nominal Quaker
Rebels Arrested list: 1837 Dec 13 to
1838 April 18 (acquitted)

Taylor, Robert

Peers lists as nominal Quaker
Rebels Arrested list: 1837 Dec 27 to
1838 May 12

Vernon, Gideon

Peers reports imprisoned 71 days
Rebels Arrested list: 1837 Dec 13 to
1838 Feb. 223

Vernon, John

Peers lists as nominal Quaker,

*Rebels Arrested list: 1838 July 17 to (death,
transportation -*

Watson, Joseph

Healey (page 241) reports disowned
Rebels Arrested list: 1837 Dec 20
banished
Box crafter: YP58, YP59

Webb, John

Healey (page 241) reports disowned
Rebels Arrested list: not named

Winn, Joshua

Peers lists as nominal Quaker
Rebels Arrested list: indicted fugitive

Western Area:

Rebels identified (Read Appendix 1)

Carman, Edward

Rebels Arrested list: 1837 Dec.-?,
sentence jailed 3 years banished for life ’

Coville, James

Rebels Arrested list: 1837 Dec. 30 -1838
Aug. 13, sentence jailed 3 years
banished for life

Doan, Joel P.

Rebels Arrested list: “fugitive under
indictment”

Doan, Joshua G. (Sparta)

Healey (page 241, note 50) identifies as
birthright, hanged
Rebels Arrested list: listed “under
indictment”

Heaton, Levi

Rebels Arrested list: 1837 Dec 17 -1838
Jan 12

Kipp, Caleb

Rebels Arrested list: 1837 Dec 16 -1838
Jan 11

Lancaster, Joseph

Rebels Arrested list: 1837 Dec 26 -1838
Jan 6 or 26

Moore, Elias

note: apparently not same as Elias Moor below

Moore, Hugh W.

Not on Rebels Arrested list

Moore, Isaac

Rebels Arrested list 1837 Dec 17-1838
April 09, acquitted

Moore, James

Not on Rebels Arrested list

Steele, Jonathan

Rebels Arrested list 1837 Dec 20-1838
August 13, bailed
“*Aided the Rebels*” (Read Appendix 2)

DeLong, Peter (Norwich)

Rebels Arrested list: “fugitive under
indictment”

Harvy, David

Not on Rebels Arrested list

Lawton, George

Rebels Arrested list: "fugitive under indictment"

Lossing, Solomon

Peers reports imprisoned 101 days

Rebels Arrested list: 1837 Dec 12 to 1838 April 03, acquitted

Moore, Elias (Yarmouth, Middlesex MPP)

Rebels Arrested list: 1837 Dec 21 to 1838 April 09, indicted not tried

Note: apparently not same as Elias Moor above.

Rebel sympathizers (Read Appendices 6 "Bound over" & 9 "Norwich men")

Corbin, Aaron (6)

Not on Rebels Arrested list

Lossing, Horace (9)

Rebels Arrested list: 1838 July arrested

Mills, David (6)

Not on Rebels Arrested list

Scott, Enos (9)

Not on Rebels Arrested list

Scott, Job (9)

Not on Rebels Arrested list

Swayzie, Caleb (6)

Not on Rebels Arrested list

Additional comments:

Hansen: "Despite their peace testimony several young Quakers decided to participate in the Upper Canada Rebellion ...A few of the Quakers who were involved in the insurrection were subsequently caught and served prison terms. One was hanged for treason. Within the society those who did not admit error in bearing arms were disowned by their meetings.

Peers: "Despite their convictions, a number of Quakers from both central and

western Upper Canada chose to shoulder arms for the reform cause during the Rebellion of 1837. ... Their desperate and painful decision to act also had heavy consequences: of those who chose to fight, at least five were imprisoned for their efforts, one was hanged and a number were disowned by the Quaker meetings to which they belonged.

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Toronto Branch O.G.S. List of persons arrested for Insurrection or Treason, 1837 Rebellion

Appendix 3

Children of Peace

identified as 1837 rebels

Chris Raible September 2013

Additions and corrections welcome:
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Summary

14 Children of Peace identified by name as rebels: 12 of these named, 2 not named on the List of Rebels Arrested.

Source Toronto Branch O.G.S. list noted below

4 of these identified as prisoner box crafters (10 different boxes)

Source Raible, et al volume noted below.

Brammer, Joseph

Rebels Arrested list: 1837 Dec 20 – 1838 May 12

McIntyre identifies

Box crafter: YP06, YP07

Doan, Charles

Rebels Arrested list: 1837 Dec 18 – 1838 May 10

McIntyre quotes statement

Schrauwers (*Awaiting*) quotes statement

Schrauwers (Letters) identifies

Box crafter: Boxes YP09, YP10, YP118

Doan, Jesse

Rebels Arrested list: 1837 Dec 19 – 1838 ??

McIntyre identifies

Schrauwers (Letters) identifies

Box crafter: Boxes YP11, YP12, YP13, YP14, YP43, YP44, YP45, YP54, YP92, YP93, YP98

Graham, John

Rebels Arrested list: 1837 Dec 17 – 1838 May 12

McIntyre identifies

Box crafter: Boxes YP16, YP17, YP74, YP102

Graham, Richard

Rebels Arrested list: "Fugitive under indictment"

McIntyre notes indicted & fled country

Schrauwers (Letters) identifies

Graham, Jeremiah

Rebels Arrested list: "Fugitive under indictment"

McIntyre notes indicted & fled country

Schrauwers (Letters) identifies

Graham, John

Rebels Arrested list: 1837 Dec 17 – 1838 May 12

Schrauwers (Letters) identifies

Graham, William

Rebels Arrested list: 1837 Dec 17 – 1838 Dec 26

Schrauwers (Letters) identifies

Henderson, James

Rebels Arrested list: not named

McIntyre reports killed on Yonge Street

Schrauwers ("*Union is Strength*") reports killed

Kavanaugh, James

Rebels Arrested list: not named

McIntyre reports killed on Yonge Street

Schrauwers ("*Union is Strength*") reports killed

McLeod, Alexander (son of C of P member)

Rebels Arrested list: "Fugitive under indictment"

McIntyre reports transported to VDL

Willson, Hugh (son of David)

Rebels Arrested list: 1837 Dec 14 – 1838 Oct

McIntyre identifies

Box crafter: YP35

Willson, John

Rebels Arrested list: 1837 Dec 17 – 1838 May 12

McIntyre identifies

Schrauwers (Letters) identifies

Willson, William H.

Rebels Arrested list: 1837 Dec 17 – 1838 May 12

Schrauwers (*Awaiting the Millennium*) identifies

Schrauwers (Letters) identifies

Additional Comments:

Schrauwers ("Letters") declares that among the Children of Peace there was "overwhelming support for the Rebellion," but also notes that David Willson papers relating to the period just after the Rebellion, were "carefully cut out and destroyed." In his more comprehensive study, (*Awaiting the Millennium*, 176), he reports that "only twenty-seven of approximately eighty-one adult men responded to [Samuel] Lount's appeal for support ... Most... were young, although the ages range from twenty-two to seventy-two."

McIntyre (*Children of Peace*, 166) adds "twelve or thirteen of the original twenty-two decided to make the journey and arrived ... at Montgomery's Tavern."

Sources Consulted:

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Schrauwers, Albert, "Letters to the Children in Prison, 1938: *York Pioneer*, 82 (1987).

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Toronto Branch O.G.S. List of persons arrested for Insurrection or Treason, 1837 Rebellion

Appendix 4

William Lyon Mackenzie and Quakers in Upper Canada

1826 – A report of a visit to a Quaker school in Bertie Township

Colonial Advocate 1827 February 22 – partly reprinted in Mackenzie's *Sketches of Canada and the United States* (London, Effingham Wilson, 1833), 234.

Quaker Meeting House & School Room in Bertie.

A few miles from Lake Erie, in the township of Bertie, Upper Canada, in a quiet and retired spot near by a concession

road, stand the plain and unadorned place of worship of the society of friends; and at a little distance beyond their school.

On entering the latter, I recognized in the teacher my old friend Mr. William Wilson. He had from twenty to thirty boys and girls round him, the children of the neighbouring quaker families. The healthy, happy cheerful and placid countenances of these young innocents was delightful to look upon – How happy is youth when placed at a distance from the sources of vice, and far away from the cotton or lace factory – here is the native abode of innocence and peace. These children never see their parents contending and quarreling about dogmatical points in religion or politics, for their parents refuse to adopt creeds, and are loyal and true to the government which protects them – willingly obedient in the law, enemies of oppression, friends of all mankind, charitable and humane. This is the character of a true professor of the religion of Fox, Barclay and Penn.

Opposite the school house, and fastened to the boughs of the lofty beech and maple trees which surround the area, are placed two swings, made of the bark of the elm and bass wood, prepared in an ashery – one is for the boys, the other for the girls. I took a turn in one of these machines, was sent aloft in the air, and thought for a few minutes that I had been borne back in the halcyon days of youth.

Mr. Wilson then took me to see the burying ground of the society, where these children of peace rest in quiet, awaiting their eternal morning – We retired to dine at Mr. Thomas Moore's, much pleased that we had not missed the quaker meeting-

house. Mr. Moore, in 1813, planted in the fall 99 apple trees on an acre of ground on an acclivity – they now form an excellent and valuable bearing orchard; this is worthy of imitation – I had almost forgotten to mention Mr. Wilson's staff – it is a crab tree, ornamented with a piece of ivory, part of one of the tusks of the celebrated boar imported by lieutenant governor Maitland; the rest of the tusk Mr. W. keeps as a relic.

July, 1826 *Edit. Advocate.*

1832 – Mackenzie writes to Upper Canadian Quakers

Colonial Advocate 1833 February 28.

Letter from William Lyon Mackenzie in London

December 31, 1832

To Thomas Moore, Bertie; Elias Moore, Yarmouth; and to the members of the Religious Society of Friends or Quakers in Upper Canada.

GENTLEMEN:

At the request of several highly respectable and influential members of Your Society I introduced a bill into the House of Assembly of Upper Canada, some time ago, to enable Quakers, Menonists, and Tunkards to sit and vote in the Principal Legislature, without violating their religious principles by taking the oaths required by several acts of the British and Colonial Statutes--and although I afterwards abandoned the measure from a conviction that no act of the parliament of Upper Canada could annul the provisions of the act 31st George 3d, chap. 31st, constituting the government of the province, I took an early opportunity after my arrival in this

country to bring the question under the cognizance of His Majesty's Government, in documents copies of which I have since transmitted to Canada.

Not long since I stated in a letter to York, that a member of the Society of Friends or Quakers was a candidate for Durham in England, and as he is a clear headed man I am glad that he is elected. The first frank ever written upon a letter by a Quaker was written last week--yet that Quaker has taken no oath, nor will he be required to take any.

This is no new regulation introduced by the reform bill, but was the law of England when Upper Canada by its first provincial enactment adopted the English Law in 1792.--I believe that on taking the opinion of Mr. Bidwell, Mr. Rolph, or some other able and constitutional lawyer, the Quakers will find that at the next ensuing election they may come forward as candidates for towns and counties in Upper Canada, without taking any oath whatsoever; and am happy to find that there is an act of parliament which most clearly enables a Quaker, on taking his solemn affirmation in the form prescribed by the 31st George 3rd, chapter 31st, to take his seat in the House of Assembly.

The act to which I refer, and which has never been quoted in Upper Canada within my knowledge, is the 22nd George 2nd, chapter 46, section 36th, which provides "that in all cases wherein by any act of parliament now in force *or hereafter to be made* an oath is or shall be allowed, authorized, directed, or required, the solemn affirmation or declaration of any of the people called Quakers, in the form prescribed by the act of 8th George 1st,

shall be allowed and taken instead of such oath, *although no particular or express provision be made for that purpose in such act or acts.*" It had been previously enacted, by 8. Geo. I chap. 6, that instead of the oaths of allegiance, supremacy, & abjuration, Quakers may take the declarations particularly specified in that act.

I am sure that there are many members of the Society of Friends who would make prudent, cool, and exceedingly useful legislators; and have long desired to see some of them in the Assembly. I hope a few of the leading members of their body will submit the above facts to counsel for their judgment on the whole case without delay--it is important--every extension of the powers of the government to worthy, estimable, prudent men, is a triumph gained for all those to whom the liberties of Upper Canada, and the peace, tranquillity, and comfort of its inhabitants are dear. The statutes I have cited are to be found in the library of the House of Assembly, and are at all times to Mr. Ketchum, who is resident at York, or to any other member of the House who may wish to consult them.

Yours respectfully.

Wm. L. MACKENZIE.

1833 – Mackenzie Reports on Quaker fines in War of 1812

Summarized from *Colonial Advocate* 1833 September 19; October 03.

After returning from England to York in 1833, Mackenzie was moved to publish a discovery uncovered by his research in London. Referring to accounts of Thomas Ridout, a Justice of the Peace in the Upper Canada in 1812, Mackenzie noted that the

officer had that year

issued warrants of distress against 62 Quakers of the Home District,* for having refused to pay exemption money nor not serving in the militia for 1812. He appears to have levied twenty dollars from each of them, besides heavy costs:.

The editor went on to ask, “What became of the £307?”

A month later, Mackenzie pressed the matter further:

We have been informed that Quaker and Menonist fines collected under the late Mr. Ridout’s warrants during the late war, were paid over to Mr. M’Gill.... Many sums are understood to have been retained by some of the persons appointed to collect. What Mr. M’Gill did with the money ... Sir John Colborne promised several years ago to inform the House of Assembly. Has he done so?

* William and James Pearson, Reuben Burr, Ezekiel James, Timothy Rogers, William Cornell, Nicholas Brown, and many others of our worthy neighbours