

‘I AM GETTING A CONSIDERABLE OF A CANADIAN
THEY TELL ME’: CONNECTED UNDERSTANDINGS
IN THE NINETEENTH-CENTURY QUAKER ATLANTIC*

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ABSTRACT

In July 1821 William and Mary Mullet and their eleven children emigrated from the county of Somerset, England to the colony of Upper Canada, British North America. The failure of William’s tannery in the depression that followed the Napoleonic wars led Friends and extended family to raise funds to send the family to Upper Canada where it was hoped that they would prosper. The Mullets settled in the Quaker community of Adolphustown and married into the established Quaker families in the area. About the same time, another branch of the family emigrated from England to Maryland, United States. The family’s correspondence with their English and American relatives along with other personal papers provide a unique window through which to view the experience of migration and British-Quaker identity in the context of the rapidly changing transatlantic Quaker community of the early nineteenth century. In this era of tremendous change, transatlantic identities were reclassified within specific nation-building narratives. As much as these English Friends were shaped by the world they encountered, they influenced the communities in which they settled, helping to create a unique British-Canadian Quaker identity that was similar to, yet distinct from, both its British and American counterparts.

KEYWORDS

Upper Canada, transatlantic, Atlantic world, migration, identity, Mullett family, Adolphustown, West Lake.

In the past decade, the ‘Atlantic world’ or ‘Atlantic system’ paradigm has expanded dramatically as an organising concept for examining the history of the circum-Atlantic lands.¹ Its emphasis on trans-national, trans-regional, and transatlantic events or trends rather than particularly national ones has been valuable in breaking down traditional historical nationalist narratives that have confined the history of these lands and their peoples into silos ultimately defined by teleological interpretations of the past that assume specific nationalist outcomes. The paradigm has been particularly

successful in its application to trade and migration studies, but still needs to be developed more completely in religious and cultural history.² With respect to early Atlantic history, Canadian historians Allan Greer and Kenneth Mills have suggested a model for the study of Catholic Christianities in what they term the ‘Catholic Atlantic’ where they argue that ‘[i]t is the dialectical relationship between...the universalizing Catholic Christendom and its particularizing micro-Christendoms that marks out a story and style so common to the early modern period’.³ The Atlantic world model has shown particular promise for the re-evaluation of traditional historical periodisation as it relates to the lived experience of historical actors. This theoretical framework has been more extensively applied to the earlier era of Atlantic history when empires were being created and the concept of nation-states did not exist than to its later stages when empires were disintegrating and nation-states were on the rise. This is especially the case in the history of the British Atlantic empire which has traditionally been declared as shattered/terminated with the American Revolution when Britain’s focus shifted from her first to her second empire.⁴ This approach assumes a hegemonic sense of fully fledged American identity among those who were British North American colonists one day and Americans another.⁵ It also excludes the story of the Britain’s West Indian possessions, still her most profitable overseas territories in this period, and the ‘rest’ of British North America, which eventually came together as Canada, and where the British Empire was alive and well for a good long time. Recently, Nancy Christie’s edited collection, *Transatlantic Subjects: Ideas, Institutions and Social Experience in Post-revolutionary British North America*⁶ situates itself in the ‘new British history’ spearheaded by J.G.A. Pocock, David Armitage, and Kathleen Wilson. This framework suggests that ‘Pocock’s notion of the three kingdoms may yield more positive interpretive results for the study of British North America’.⁷ Employing the concept of ‘multiple monarchies’ with its understanding of the exchange of cultural ideas and societal discourses among nation-states—Britain and the United States—and the colonial provinces allows for an understanding of the formation of transatlantic subjects as

a fluid, unstable process of competing national traditions which had the potential for various outcomes: a reassertion of older localisms or ethnic particularisms which had long disappeared in the metropolis; the direct transplantation of social norms from the metropolis which remained either undiluted or modified by the new world environment; or the creation, through contact, of a distinctly new cultural hybrid.⁸

I would like to suggest that Quaker history and the end of what I call the Quaker Atlantic offers a particularly unique window into this debate at the other end of the Atlantic era from that examined in Greer and Mill’s ‘Catholic Atlantic’.⁹ The nineteenth century was a period of dramatic change in the transatlantic Quaker community when transatlantic, hemispheric and transnational identities were recast within the context of nationalist narratives. At the same time, the inclusive nature of Quakerism—despite its divisive schisms—suggests the existence of a transcendent identity that persisted across political boundaries established by national and colonial entities. Even so, Quakerism was lived within its local contexts and moments of choice born in the circumstances of social, political, and religious dislocation created

openings where particular national identities overlaid transcendent religious ones. Of course this was a factor in the formation of the Religious Society of Friends and its development all along, but the American Revolution did create a particular political division. When it was over British North America no longer contained the sizeable territory that became the United States; nevertheless, Britain's empire in North America continued to exist, albeit in a truncated form. As the focus of the British Empire shifted east to India, relations between what remained of British North America and the United Kingdom were also modified. The relationship between the North American colonies/provinces and the metropolis was continually redefined over the long nineteenth century and it was not until well into the twentieth century, with the Statute of Westminster in 1931 (or 1947 with the first Canadian citizenship, or some would say the Centennial in 1967, when people began to think of themselves as 'Canadians'), that what is known today as Canada became entirely independent of its imperial connection. Throughout this period we see shifting definitions of identity on multiple layers in all quarters of the Atlantic world. Quakers were an integral part of this episode of Atlantic history.

The nineteenth-century Quaker Atlantic presents a fascinating site for the study of these shifting notions of identity. In revolutionary and early national United States, British subjects reworked themselves into American citizens. The multifaceted negotiation of many identities into one national American identity that, according to Liam Riordan, presented 'respectable, white, Protestantism' as normal, was not simple, straight forward, or uncontested.¹⁰ The process itself, though, demonstrates the ways in which local diversity played a role in crafting a sense of national unity 'for a diverse collection of citizen-strangers'.¹¹ American Quakers were essential to this process, carefully negotiating their place in the narrative of the nation; at the same time they reshaped their own identity as Friends.¹² British North American Friends navigated similar paths to colonial identities and active participation in provincial society and politics.¹³

What of triangulated identity in the Quaker Atlantic between British, American, and British North American Friends? Friends' communities in one colony, Upper Canada, faced a particularly interesting challenge. The founding Members of the Society of Friends in Upper Canada were American Quakers, but in the years following the War of 1812 and Napoleonic Wars, immigration from Britain entirely altered Meeting demographics. The challenges of the nineteenth-century Quaker Atlantic were worked out against a background of competing spheres of colonial and post-colonial influence, resulting in three distinct groups of Friends who had diverse backgrounds, experiences, and national identities. And through the nineteenth century, these groups were further divided into smaller religious factions. But the end of the Quaker Atlantic did not end the persistent sense of identity that transcended national boundaries. Even amidst the bitter schisms that divided Friends, especially in North America, their commitment to the principles of peace and equality continued to bind Quakers together.

The story of the extended Mullett family provides us with an insightful lens through which to view this process. In July 1821 William and Mary Mullet and their

eleven children landed in Quebec, Lower Canada, their first step in their immigration to the colony of Upper Canada, the fastest-growing colony in British North America at the time.¹⁴ They emigrated from England along with the flood of Britons whose financial circumstances in the wake of the Napoleonic Wars had become extremely limited and for whom the empire's frontier seemed to hold the only promise of prosperity.¹⁵ According to family tradition, the Duck family followed a few years later; Dr. James Duck's first wife, Sophia Mullett, was William Mullett's niece.¹⁶ Apparently the Duck family 'wandered through "Upper Canada" expecting to find the Mulletts'.¹⁷ Failing to do so, they moved on to the United States settling eventually in Baltimore, Maryland. However, the families were reunited in 1860 when Minnie Duck Fowler and her husband, Francis or Frank, travelled from Baltimore, Maryland to Bloomfield, Canada West to visit her cousins. The correspondence and diaries of these family members provides us with an opportunity to explore the ideas of interchange of cultural ideas and societal discourses among nation-states.¹⁸



William Mullett and Mary Clothier were both from Street, Somerset in England. Family tradition suggests that the Clothiers were French Huguenots who had come to England in the sixteenth century at Henry VIII's behest to start the woollen industry near Street. A century later, the family joined the Religious Society of Friends in its earliest days, becoming by the eighteenth century prominent Friends in the Street and Bristol Meetings.¹⁹ The Mullett family was also involved in the textile industry in the same area and appears to have been prosperous; in the inventory of William's grandfather's, John Mullett, goods and chattels were valued in 1765 at £2114.²⁰ According to the signatures on two wedding certificates in the family papers, the Mulletts and Clothiers were well-acquainted by the early eighteenth century.²¹ William Mullett of Ilminster and Mary Clothier of Street married in 1795 and over the next twenty-six years William plied his trade as a tanner and currier. The long years of the Napoleonic Wars were profitable for him as a supplier of leather goods to the British army, but when the wars ended in 1815, the family suffered deeply in the depression that followed. The family's fortunes in England are represented in the birth places of their children: the eldest was born in Ilminster (1796), the next two in Shaftesbury, Dorset (1798–1799), the next six were born in Frampton Cotterell, Gloucestershire (1802–1814), and the last two were born back in Ilminster (1816–1818).²² The family's years in Frampton Cotterell correspond closely to the years of the Napoleonic Wars. Back in Ilminster in the post-war years under sharply reduced circumstances, the family sought out new prospects, along with a number of other Friends, in Upper Canada.

Transatlantic immigration was not something undertaken lightly. While British immigration to the North American colonies was popular during the years after the wars, it was expensive, especially in the wake of the depressed English economy.²³ It must have been decided that, despite its expense, emigration was the best alternative for William and Mary Mullett and their eleven children. With the assistance of

Friends in their Meeting and their extended family, sufficient funds were raised to send the family to Upper Canada where it was hoped they could take advantage of the ample supply of land and prosper.²⁴ The effect of this decision on the divided family is reflected in the responses of various family members. Arthur Clothier and his wife, Keturah Tuttreth Clothier, had a baby boy, Columbus, on 25 April 1821, the day the Mulletts's ship, *The Friend*, sailed from England. The fact that they named him Columbus in honour of his uncle and aunt's departure for the 'new world' suggests something of their attitude about the family's new 'adventure' in the North American colonies.²⁵ For the family who sailed to the 'new world', it was even more significant, since they were the ones whose living experiences changed so dramatically. William and Mary were middle aged when they arrived in Quebec on 3 July 1821 (53 and 47 respectively). Their daughter, Deborah, who was 17 when the family 'landed' in Quebec, marked the day in her diary every year, her final reference to the event being in 1891 just a year before her death.²⁶

No one who immigrated knew what to expect when they landed in Quebec. Some spoke glowingly about their initial reactions to their new home.²⁷ For those who arrived during the cholera epidemics of the 1830s, what they initially saw at a distance did not correspond to the reality of life in quarantine on Grosse Ile.²⁸ Arrival at Quebec was only the first step; from there families took a steamer to Montreal and then travelled overland nine miles to Lachine from where they were transported upriver by Durham boat to Kingston at the mouth of Lake Ontario. According to a letter sent by Mary Mullett jr, the eldest of the Mullett's children, to her grandmother, Hannah Clothier, the Mulletts had a fairly good experience upon their arrival in Montreal, if one discounts them being 'sadly annoyed with bugs'. The family's lodgings were 'very comfortable', sufficiently comfortable to earn the compliment 'they are equal to most of our English Hotels'.²⁹

The Mullett family initially settled in Adolphustown Township, Prince Edward County, one of the oldest counties in Upper Canada. This was a Loyalist county; its townships had been surveyed immediately following the Treaty of Paris in 1783 as land grants for those who had taken up arms for the king in the American revolutionary war.³⁰ The first Loyalists arrived in June 1784, having overwintered at the refugee camp at Sorel in the Eastern Townships of Quebec. The party, led by Major Peter VanAlstine, contained a number of Quaker families including the Allens, Dorlands, Barkers, Niles, Bowermans, and Haight's.³¹ While they were political refugees from the American Revolution and peripherally associated with the Loyalist migration and regimental settlement of Upper Canada, the majority of these Friends cannot be considered Loyalists in the conventional definition of the term.³² The first preparative Meeting of the Society of Friends in either Upper or Lower Canada was established in Adolphustown Township in 1798 at the home of Philip Dorland under the authority of the Nine Partners Monthly Meeting in Dutchess County, New York, a distance of roughly five-hundred kilometres.³³ Given the distance, the Preparative Meeting was established with jurisdiction in matters not normally granted to Preparative Meetings such as the right to allow marriages and appoint overseers. By 1800 there were sufficient Friends in the county to warrant the organisation of a

Monthly Meeting. In 1801 the Adolphustown Monthly Meeting was established and very quickly it had its own Preparative Meetings at Kingston (1801), West Lake (1803), Green Point (1811), and Wellington (1816). By 1821, the West Lake Meeting had far exceeded Adolphustown in size and it became a Monthly Meeting in its own right. Within a generation of their arrival Friends had become the primary religious denomination in the county.³⁴ It was in this environment that the English Mulletts settled.

The early settlement years were not easy, although the size of the family and the age of the children at their arrival (the eldest was twenty-five and the youngest three) made a significant difference in their ability to accomplish the work of settlement, which was extensive. The general observations about immigration during this period made by Thomas Cather, a settler from County Londonderry in Ireland, seem particularly apt for the Mullett family:

From what I have seen of Canada I like it very much, and although inferior in several respects to some parts of the [United] States, it is in others superior for the British emigrant... The class of people who do best here are Labourers, Mechanics and working Farmers, the larger family of the latter, the better—these people are accustomed to hardship and suffer very little additional in the woods, which in the course of a few years they are sure of a comfortable competence, but the retired officers and reduced gentlemen, of whom there are a considerable number feel severely the privations they must undergo, and sadly miss the society to which they have been accustomed.³⁵

Family tradition and correspondence suggests that Mary Clothier Mullett never adapted to her new home; William, on the other hand, seemed to have adapted very well.³⁶ The early years were certainly challenging. In 1823 at the age of 49, Mary Clothier Mullett gave birth to her last child, Hannah Phoebe, who lived only five weeks, the only Mullett child not to survive until adulthood. Four months after losing her youngest child, Mary Clothier Mullett lost her eldest child, Mary jr who died in childbirth.³⁷ Not long after that, the family moved onto land on Amherst Island, a move one daughter reflected on as being 'banished so entirely from society'.³⁸

The move to the backcountry or 'into the woods' as it was commonly called was anticipated differently by various family members. Seventeen-year-old John Clothier Mullett notified his grandmother in England that 'We are all looking forward to remove up the Country on our new farm it is 20 miles back from any village or store and a lake to cross of three miles. I suppose thee wilt think it is a great way but we do not. Unless it was 60 or 70 miles and that is not far in this country[. T]he Canadians think but very little of going 7 or 8 hundred miles'. Perhaps it was this relatively positive attitude towards his new homeland that prompted James to conclude his letter to his grandmother with the observation that 'I am getting a considerable of a Canadian they tell me'.³⁹ James's twenty-one year old sister Deborah did not share her brother's enthusiasm: 'I don't know how it will be when we get into the woods, where we are going the latter end of next month. I hope it will answer Father's expectation there are none of our friends scarcely like our going there, I do not like it at all myself as there are no friends and the nearest friends that will be to us is forty miles and its eighteen miles back through nothing but woods'.⁴⁰ The fact that

Deborah also referred to herself as 'an exile from [her] native land' and made frequent reference to 'going home' suggests something of her attitude to the entire immigration experience. Despite James' assurances to his grandmother, the distance of three miles across a lake was significant in the early nineteenth century. Today a ferry carries passengers back and forth with ease; in 1825 traffic moved between the island and the mainland only in the coldest winter months.⁴¹

Five years after the move to the backwoods, family back in England must have decided to step in to restore the family to society by bringing them back to the mainland. By 1830 Deborah Mullett Haight, who was married and living back on the mainland herself, was telling her grandmother that she was thankful 'that there was a probability of our dear relations helping them a little' even as her father was insisting to her that the family had a 'mistaken idea' and he 'was never happier in [his] life and more contented'. Regardless of William's contented state, the family did move back to the mainland at what must have been substantial cost. Deborah was thrilled at the 'prospect of having our dear Parents once more restored to society so that they can visit their children; and their children them', but obviously did not think the Canadian family would ever be able to reimburse their English relations, declaring 'I am more thankful to my dear friends and relations in England than I can express, but I trust that Him that alone knoweth all things will doubly repay them both here and afterwards'.⁴²

The Mullett children seemed to adapt to their new rustic frontier lifestyle more easily than their mother and even encouraged other members of the family in England to join them in Canada.⁴³ In 1823, Mary Mullett jr had asked her grandmother when they could expect to see their Cousin Edward, adding 'I think 'tis a country he would much like. The only thing we want is agreeable society. As for living that we can do with the greatest ease'.⁴⁴ Two years later Deborah Mullett echoed these sentiments. While she conceded that 'we have things as comfortable as at home', she lamented their absence from their familiar English Meeting, exclaiming, 'Oh! What a favour I should think it if I could live within the compass of such a nice Meeting as Bristol no person can tell but those that are deprived of it'. She was pleased to report, however, that just three months earlier they had 'had a very nice friend here...from England'.⁴⁵

This commentary on the Meeting and the state of the Society in Upper Canada is interesting in light of the events taking place among North American Friends at the time. The Mulletts and their children were active, consistent Friends. They were not Ministers or Elders; nor were they mere adherents. While their participation in Meeting increased over the years, presumably after the immediate challenges of settlement were abated, even in their earliest years in the province they appear in the Meeting minutes requesting clearance for their marriages and as committee members.⁴⁶ Those, like William and Rachel, who settled in the newer townships of Huntingdon were active in the establishment of Meetings and those who married into Amer-Canadian Quaker families like the Haight and Bowermans joined families already well-established in their Meetings. In her correspondence, Deborah makes no direct reference to the doctrinal factionalism that was eroding the unity of

the North American Meetings at this time, but it is possible that her comparison between her Canadian Meeting and ‘such a nice meeting as Bristol’ extended beyond the adversities of frontier living and getting to Meeting.

That ‘very nice’ Friend to whom Deborah refers was Elizabeth Robson who did a four-year marathon of travel in ministry through North America in the contentious years leading up to the Hicksite–Orthodox schism. Robson, an elite Member of the London Yearly Meeting, was an ardent supporter of the Orthodox cause; while she was in North America she travelled over 18,000 miles, attended 1134 meetings and did 3592 family visits in her attempt to impart a particular interpretation of doctrine.⁴⁷ Robson was especially concerned about the situation in the Canadian Meetings, noting in her diary as she concluded her time there that ‘[t]his long detention in Canada has been a close trial but I had a particular view towards it before I left home’.⁴⁸ The work of the travelling English, American, and Upper Canadian Friends did little to encourage unity and much to deepen divisions in the North American Meetings. It should be of little surprise that the Mulletts and their children ended up in the Orthodox camp in this controversy. Virtually none of the newly immigrated English Friends joined the Hicksites and in the *British* North American context of Upper Canada, the authority of the London Yearly Meeting and its representatives was appealing. On the other hand, the mammoth efforts of the London Yearly Meeting and English Friends like Thomas Shillitoe and Elizabeth Robson on the part of the Orthodox cause was resented by American Friends, and the Canadian Friends who sympathised with them. Sunderland P. Gardiner classified their work as ‘a palpable case of foreign interference’ and equated the events leading to the separation to those leading up to the American Revolution. In attendance at the time of the separation in the New York Yearly Meeting in 1828 he ruminated:

it seemed to me that London Yearly Meeting assumed authority as manifested by their numerous ministers here at that time, to endeavour to exercise a power over the Yearly Meetings in America in religious matters, similar to that exercised by the English Government politically toward the colonies, which they could not bear, and hence the revolution; the coincidence was clearly seen.⁴⁹

The use of a specific national political narrative to interpret religious events within the Religious Society of Friends speaks to changes in the way American Friends were defining themselves by the third decade of the nineteenth century.

The landscape and geography of North America was definitive as a factor of identity for both British North American and American Friends. The Atlantic Ocean separated North American Quakers from their British counterparts and regional topography and its associated ‘customs of the country’ added another layer to the development of unique identities among North American Friends. Consider Elizabeth Comstock’s comments on her arrival in Canada West in 1854. Comstock had a connection to the John H. Mullett family in England and so, on her arrival in Canada, family members William Mullett jr and his wife Eliza helped her to settle in the town of Belleville. Thirty years after the Mulletts first arrived in the colony, the issue of distance to Meeting had still not been overcome:

This meeting consists of from ninety to one hundred members, some of them living ten or twelve miles off. They think nothing of that to ride, but a walk of a mile frightens them... Monthly Meeting at Picton, thirty-eight miles distant, will be next week, and W[illiam] M[ullett] promises to drive us to it in his four-wheeled chaise.⁵⁰

Where such a distance might have impeded her Meeting attendance in England, it did not in Canada. Friends from around the district were eager to drive Comstock whenever she pleased so that Comstock assured her sister that she was 'attend[ing] as regularly now as at any time since leaving Ackworth School'.⁵¹

Beyond the ever-present vastness that needed to be conquered, the backwoods were also a source of pervasive, and often romanticised, beauty. In September 1854, Comstock revelled in the beauty of the Canadian landscape and the '*scarlet*' maple leaves:

I wish you could have gone to meeting with us yesterday, so as to see the trees we passed. I thought them unequalled a fortnight ago, but they were then tame compared with their present hues... As I stood gazing at them yesterday, with my body in Canada, and my spirit in England, I almost fancied I could see them change, while I gazed, like the scenes in a dissolving view, only infinitely more splendid. Really Canada is a glorious country, in its natural beauties, and did not history assure us the Garden of Eden was in the East, and America unknown until 1492, I should be strongly inclined to believe it was in the backwoods of Canada that Adam awoke from his sleep, and found a wife beside him, and the St. Lawrence that was Eve's mirror.⁵²

Even the winter drew glowing praise from Comstock who reassured her sister that they did 'not suffer from the cold at all... This is a glorious country'.⁵³

Comstock related the geography of Canada West to a particular type of politics, commenting to her family in England that '[p]eople here are very loyal to our Queen and Government. There is a feeling akin to acrimony towards the Americans, as they call the inhabitants of the "States", while the latter despise the Canadians. They need not, for Canada is rapidly rising, and will soon equal them in all that is worth boasting of'.⁵⁴ She maintained her devotion to the space that was Canada when she married John T. Comstock of Rollin, Michigan and moved there in 1858.⁵⁵ After becoming involved in the Underground Railroad (on the heels of the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850), she described her first assisted escape in the framework of a particular landscape tied to a specific politics: 'Lucy set foot upon the Canadian soil, which she had so long been seeking and traveling toward. The first thing she did on reaching land, was to prostrate herself upon the earth, kiss the ground, and pray God to bless Queen Victoria and all her people for providing a refuge for the oppressed'.⁵⁶ The implication is clear: the land itself and the politics of Canada were different than those of the United States. Comstock's interpretation of 'Canadian soil' as a 'refuge for the oppressed' is understandable from the perspective of a Friend acting as an agent on the Underground Railroad; it is, however, too facile to represent accurately either Canadian or American society.

Interpretations like this, though, provided the symbols—even myths—that were important factors in defining identity on both sides of the border. Consider the excursion of the Mulletts' American relations to Canada West⁵⁷ in 1860. Minnie and

Frank Fowler travelled by train from Baltimore, Maryland to Niagara Falls where they crossed Lake Ontario to Toronto. From there they again travelled by train to Brighton where they had to remain overnight until carrying on to Bloomfield. Minnie described her first night in Canada in a letter to her children:

Reached the dirty little town of Brighton at 10 PM here we were to remain for the night and take the mail stage across the country to Bloomfield the next day, it was with considerable difficulty we could obtain a nights lodging... The house is conducted by a Frenchman who conducted us to the door by the dim light of a lantern, where completely filling up the entrance stood a stalwart Indian, his face was large and coarse, glossy black hair hung over his shoulders nearly to his waist his chest was brawny and bare and he wore a short full skirt suspended by a broad leathern girdle, he was accompanied by several squaws and had just concluded an exhibition of war dance and music. Rather a foreign scene this, our first night in Canada. Being late we were ushered at once to our dirty little bedroom with neither bolt or bar to window or door, a straw bed musty with age from which arose a most disgusting odour and in close proximity to these wild looking Indians! It was impossible to make up our minds to get into it.⁵⁸

Canada may have been viewed by Friends as the land of freedom from slavery, but for these American Friends, it remained an untamed wilderness, a factor that apparently created hearty and happy folk who were beacons of plain living. Minnie ruminated on the ways in which the Canadian wilderness had separated her cousins' experience of immigration from her own:

What a strong contrast does the Canadian life present to the southern luxurious ideas of living, where the proclivities are for show and indulgence where many servants must be kept to do a very few things and where the happiness of both maid and mistress is weighted by the lightness of her cares and exemption from toil, where a young couple begin the world by straining every nerve to make a handsome appearance and where a magnificent house elegantly furnished with stylish equipage and plenty of servants is considered the climax of eligibility in a matrimonial connection. But in Canada a couple love each other and they marry, they perhaps buy a hundred acres of uncleared land and by degrees the tall Forrest [*sic*] is cleared, first just enough for a log cabin and garden and then field after field is laid off and brought under successful cultivation.⁵⁹

Certainly Minnie's assessment of life in both places completely disregards the complexity of both societies and the people who lived in them. Nonetheless, it was stereotypes like these that formed the basis of nationalist rhetoric in nineteenth-century North America. None could be more clichéd than Minnie's lengthy description of maple sugaring done by Levi Bowerman, Deborah Mullett Haight Bowerman's step son. Minnie considered her cousin, Deborah, to have been 'what I suppose you will call more fortunate', since her second husband, Vincent Bowerman, had already 'served his apprenticeship at hard labour in the woods and is now reaping his reward in a hundred and eighty acres of well cleared land'. Nonetheless, his son Levi, 'an excellent son, intelligent and industrious' worked slavishly in tapping 'five or six hundred trees' day in and day out each March. As Minnie and Frank returned to Baltimore, she concluded, 'The monotony of the scene is diversified by wintry pastimes of snow storms and hurricanes, but the little cabin is there and in it he finds shelter, but we shall often when sitting around our own fireside at home think of

cousin Levi in the lonely maple forrest [*sic*].⁶⁰ There is the Canadian Friend, defined by others almost completely by the landscape that surrounded him.

The Canada Yearly Meeting of Friends was established in 1867, the same year that Canada gained Dominion status. One of the first pieces of business was the composition of a document for the newly established Dominion government assuring it of their loyalty and outlining the historic position of Friends regarding war, oaths, and liberty of conscience. Four hundred copies were printed for general distribution and two Friends were selected to travel to Ottawa to present a copy to Viscount Monck, the first governor general of Canada, and to John A. Macdonald, its first prime minister. The delegation was well received and those appointed reported that they 'had satisfactory interviews' with both officials. By this time, as I have pointed out elsewhere, Friends had become well integrated into mainstream Canadian society and considered themselves Canadians.⁶¹

The events of the late nineteenth century highlight the cultural hybridity of Canadian Friends: they were neither British nor American, but shared commonalities with both groups. The controversy surrounding the adoption of the Richmond Declaration of Faith in 1888 is illuminating in this regard.⁶² The Declaration arose out of the Richmond Conference of 1887, the first time ever when delegates from Great Britain and the Orthodox North America Meetings assembled to review the general doctrinal position of the Society of Friends. Even the formulation of such a document was challenging, since many Friends viewed it as creedal, something Quakerism had traditionally opposed. The London and New England Yearly Meetings refused to adopt it; Dublin, New York, and Baltimore, though expressing a general approval of its contents, also refused to adopt it formally. The remaining Orthodox Yearly Meetings in North America, including Canada, adopted the Declaration in 1888.⁶³ Rufus M. Jones categorised the Declaration as 'the culmination of Gurneyism'.⁶⁴ Arthur Garratt Dorland contends, however, that the Yearly Meetings that did adopt the Declaration did not differ doctrinally from those that did not. Rather, he suggests that the cleavage revealed by the adoption or not of the Declaration was 'less doctrinal than it was geographical and social'.⁶⁵ The needs of the Meetings of the American Middle West and Canada were similar and, as a result, Dorland claims 'they took this step believing that it would help to create a common basis for certain methods of church organization and worship which they thought were best suited to their peculiar circumstances and needs'.⁶⁶ Here is an example of Canadian Friends parting ways with their British compatriots. As Canadians, they identified with the British imperial connection, but as Quakers in North America they shared a geographical experience, social background, and history of doctrinal schisms with their American neighbours. That identity took precedence in this case.

They may have shared common interests with American Friends in the Midwest, but Canadian Friends were not American. They retained, and even valued, their continued connection to the British Crown. In the case of the Mullett family, the connection was based on a personal meeting with the infant who became queen and whose name defined an era and an empire. Just as Deborah Mullett marked her landing in Canada, so too did she denote the queen's birthday. A couple of times she

added an additional comment: 'The Queen's birth-day, it will not make much difference [*sic*] with us, although [*sic*] my Sister Mary was carrying [*sic*] of her about the room when she was about twelve months old'.⁶⁷ And again in 1889 she recorded, 'In the year 1819, my sister Mary carried *our* Queen Victoria about the room, at the George Inn (Hotel) in Iminster Somersetshire Old England'.⁶⁸

Indeed, Deborah probably shared a great deal in common with other British loyalists of the day. John A. Macdonald, Canada's first prime minister, is a case in point. Both were immigrants to Canada, he from Scotland, she from England. Both had lived their first years in the province in Adolphustown Township.⁶⁹ Both witnessed and participated in the transformation of the outpost and remnant of the British Empire in North America into a thriving province in a new nation. And both died before the boom years of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century that transformed Canada from a bicultural to a multicultural nation. In 1891, the elderly and failing Macdonald, leader of the Conservative Party, fought his last election against the issue of commercial union with the United States. Since 1879, the National Policy, an economic policy of import tariffs, had defined Canada's economic relationship with the United States. The Liberals, under Wilfrid Laurier, threw down the gauntlet of commercial union. Macdonald, for good reason, considered this suggestion to be nothing short of treasonous. By 1891 the US had reached its own age of empire and was threatening to swallow up large chunks of Canada or, as one leading American politician said, to force the assimilation 'of the people of the Dominion of Canada and the United States under one government'.⁷⁰ It was in this light that Macdonald gave one of his final, and probably most famous, speeches proclaiming, 'As for myself, my course is clear. A British subject I was born—a British subject I will die. With my utmost effort, with my latest breath, will I oppose the "veiled treason" which attempts by sordid means and mercenary proffers to lure our people from their allegiance'.⁷¹

The Canadian Mulletts were transatlantic subjects, just as their American and English cousins were. Those who crossed the ocean in the early nineteenth century had participated in the 'fluid, unstable process of competing national traditions' and had become part of 'a distinctly new cultural hybrid'.⁷² The Ducks became Americans; the Mulletts became Canadians; and the Clothiers remained English and adapted to the immense changes of that world. This was a result of decisions about migration to and participation in the society, politics, and evolving nineteenth-century nationalist narratives of particular places in the British Atlantic world. Like John A. Macdonald, Deborah Mullett and her siblings would have identified themselves as British subjects to assert their independence from their American neighbours. For all her wishing to return 'home' that is reflected in her early letters to her grandmother, Deborah Mullett never did get back to England, even for a visit. However, seventy-one year old Columbus Clothier and his daughter Katie Impey did come to visit the Canadian and American branches of the family in the summer of 1892.⁷³ Two months after their visit, Deborah died; the departure of Columbus and Katie is the second-to-last entry in her diary. Deborah's life and the lives of her family members demonstrate the creation of a new cultural hybrid that was neither American nor British, but an equally important part of the Quaker Atlantic. While

this project is still in its early days, it suggests that a closer study of, to use Greer and Mills' terminology, Quaker Christianities or perhaps, more appropriately, Religious Societies of Friends, will provide us with a better understanding of the ways in which Friends across the Atlantic world defined a place for themselves within the dialectical relationship between universalising Quakerism and its particular local expressions that marked the end of the Quaker Atlantic.

NOTES

* This paper would have been impossible without the contributions of a number of people to whom I would like to express my sincere thanks. Anne Adams of Picton, Ontario drew my attention to the Mullett/Bowerman family papers that were recently donated to the County of Prince Edward Public Library and Archives and provided me with inspiration and a place to stay when I was in Picton doing research. Archivists Larry McQuaid and Pam Noxon permitted me to make copies of a number of important diaries. And Lydia Wytenbrock, a graduate student at Trinity Western University, voluntarily transcribed those diaries for me.

1. Evidence that this is an approach that has 'arrived' can be seen in new university courses and textbooks devoted to this particular approach. See, for example, Bailyn, B., *Atlantic History: Concept and Contours*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005; Egerton, D., Games, A., Lane, K., and Wright, D.R., *The Atlantic World: A History, 1400–1888*, Wheeling, IL: Harlan Davidson, 2007.

2. An example of this is the Egerton, Game, Lane, and Wright text, *The Atlantic World*. While it provides an excellent overview of many areas, religion is largely absent from its analytical framework.

3. Greer, A., and Mills, K., 'A Catholic Atlantic', in J. Canizares-Esguerra and E.R. Seeman (eds.), *The Atlantic in Global History, 1500–2000*, Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 2007, p. 14.

4. Armitage, D., *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000; Marshall, P.J., *The Oxford History of the English Empire*. Vol. 2. *The Eighteenth-Century*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998; Porter, A., *The Oxford History of the English Empire*. Vol. 3. *The Nineteenth-Century*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999.

5. This approach also excludes the substantial African-American population held in slavery (the 1800 United States Census shows 893,602 slaves in the United States) as well as the Native American population whose identity was neither British North American nor American.

6. Christie, N. (ed.), *Transatlantic Subjects: Ideas, Institutions and Social Experience in Post-revolutionary British North America*, Montreal, QC: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2008.

7. Christie, *Transatlantic Subjects*, p. 13.

8. Christie, *Transatlantic Subjects*, p. 14.

9. This article is part of a larger project and only begins to examine the ways in which particular, nationally located identities developed within the context of the Atlantic world.

10. Riordan, L., *Many Identities, One Nation: The Revolution and its Legacy in the Mid-Atlantic*, Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007, p. 10.

11. Riordan, *Many Identities*, p. 271.

12. See, for instance, Hamm, T.D., *The Quakers in America*, New York: Columbia University Press, 2006; Ryan, J.E., *Imaginary Friends: Representing Quakers in American Culture, 1650–1950*, Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 2009; and Yount, D., *How the Quakers Invented America*, Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2007.

13. For the case of Upper Canada, see Healey, R.R., *From Quaker to Upper Canadian: Faith and Community among Yonge Street Friends, 1801–1850*, Montreal, QC: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2006.

14. Upper Canada grew steadily after its inception as a colony in 1791. Population estimates were 70,718 for 1806, 76,000 for 1811, and 95,000 for 1814, an increase of 9 per cent and 25 per cent respectively. The colony experienced brisk growth after the War of 1812/Napoleonic Wars with population increases generally being between 5–12 per cent annually for each census estimate. The exceptions in the period between 1814 and 1840 were the years around the Rebellions when the population increased only .5 per cent between 1837 and 1838 and 3 per cent between 1838–39. It quickly rebounded back to its regular 6 per cent increase in 1839–40. Statistics from Statistics Canada website Censuses of Canada 1665 to 1871. Online: <http://www.statcan.ca/english/freepub/98-187-XIE/1800s.htm> (accessed 25 May 2010).

15. Probably most well known as representatives of this group are the sisters Susanna Moodie and Catharine Parr Traill who emigrated from Britain to Canada in 1832. Both published extensively in the genre that can be called emigration literature. Their most celebrated works are Catharine Parr Traill's *The Backwoods of Canada* (1836), *Canadian Crusoes* (1852), and *The Female Emigrant's Guide* (1853), and Susanna Moodie's *Roughing It in the Bush* (1852) and *Life in the Clearings* (1853). These tales of the Upper Canadian woods have been reprinted numerous times since they were first published in the mid-nineteenth century. Most recently, the fame of these two women is evident in the National Library and Archives of Canada's digitisation of some of Moodie's and Traill's private papers for widespread access. See online: <http://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/moodie-traill/027013-1000-e.html>.

16. Thomas Bowerman Williams, Foreword to 'The Fowler Visit to Canada', p. 1. Anne Williams Collection, County of Prince Edward Public Library and Archives, hereafter CPEPLA, Wellington, Ontario. This collection was originally housed at Picton, Ontario, but in 2009 was moved to Wellington.

17. Williams, Foreword to 'The Fowler Visit to Canada', p. 1.

18. The family's correspondence with their English and American relatives along with a number of family members' personal papers survives and was collected by Merton Yarwood Williams, one of Deborah Mullett Haight Bowerman's descendants. It was recently donated to the County of Prince Edward Public Library and Archives by Anne Williams, a niece of Merton Williams. As extensive as this collection is, it does not include diaries from every one of the Mullett children. The focus in the later part of the article on Deborah Bowerman and her family is a function of the material in the collection.

19. Williams, M.Y., 'Introduction to Consider Merritt Haight's Journey from Adolphustown, Upper Canada to Dutchess County, and New York City 1824', p. 12; Williams, M.Y., 'The Bowerman Family, 1739 to the Present', pp. 43–44. Both unpublished papers in the Anne Williams Collection, CPEPLA.

20. According to a Frink conversion, £2114 in 1765 has the same buying power as \$309,931.43 in 2010. See <http://futureboy.homeip.net/fsp/dollar.fsp> (accessed 25 May 2010).

21. Wedding certificates of John Mullett and Ann Sherwill (5 April 1724) and John Mullett and Anna Maddock (24 December 1727), CPEPLA accession numbers A2001.016.113 and A2001.016.112.

22. Williams, M.Y., 'The William Mullett Mary Clothier Family in Canada, 1821–1892', unpublished paper, and genealogical papers in the Anne Williams Collection, CPEPLA. One last child, Hannah Phoebe, was born in 1823 after the family immigrated to Upper Canada.

23. See Hoffman, F., and Taylor, R., *Across the Waters: Ontario Immigrants' Experiences, 1820–1850*, Milton, ON: Global Heritage Press, 1999, Chapters 1 and 2.

24. Mary Clothier Mullett's brother, Arthur Clothier, seems to have donated the largest share of funds to this enterprise. Mary's brother-in-law, William Gillett, wrote to his wife, Martha, that Arthur had 'come forward with a very generous offer of giving them 70 pounds towards it'. The entire family's straitened financial circumstances can be seen in Gillett's comment 'were it in my power [I] should most willingly have done something for them also'. William Gillett to Martha Gillett, 04-03-1821, in 'William Mullett Family Letters, Canada—England, 1821–1859', Anne Williams Collection, CPEPLA. According to Frink, £70 in 1821 has a current purchasing power

of \$6650.18; it was a generous donation. See online: <http://futureboy.homeip.net/fsp/dollar.fsp> (accessed 25 May 2010).

25. According to family tradition, the Mulletts were able to convince *The Friend's* captain to hold the ship until word came by way of a messenger that Columbus Clothier had been born. Williams, M.Y., 'The William Mullett Mary Clothier Family in Canada, 1821–1892', pp. 13–14.

26. Her entries were simple, usually the same as her final entry: 'My father & mother landed in Quebec 70 years ago to day with eleven children Also Joseph Swetmans family'. Diary of Deborah Mullett Bowerman written in and near Bloomfield 1887–92, p. 43a, Anne Williams Collection, PECPLA. Accession number 2001.016.096a. This entry is actually labelled '5th' instead of the correct date of July 3; it is the only year she did not record the date properly.

27. This was certainly the case with both Susanna Moodie and Catharine Parr Traill who were effusive in their praise of the landscape of the St. Lawrence. Most settlers were not quite so enthusiastic when they faced the reality of pioneer living.

28. See Moodie, S., *Roughing it in the Bush, or, Forest Life in Canada*, Toronto, ON: Hunter, Rose & Co., rev. edn, 1871, Chapter 1.

29. Letter Mary Mullett to Hannah Clothier, 10–07–1821, 'William Mullett Family Letters Canada—England, 1821–1859', Anne Williams Collection, CPEPLA.

30. Townships laid out between the Cataragui River and the east end of the Isle of Quinte are in order from Kingstown, Ernestown, Fredericksburgh, Adolphustown, and Marysburgh, named after the children of King George III and his wife Charlotte.

31. These families were political refugees because they had actively supported the Royalist cause or because they insisted on remaining neutral. Some of these Quaker families were still Friends in good standing; some were not. Those who were not frequently brought family with them who were still Members of the Society. For instance, Joseph Allen was a Quaker mill owner at Monmouth, New Jersey who accepted a contract for supplying flour and provisions to the British Army. This was contrary to discipline and Allen was disowned. When Patriot forces looted his mill, he enlisted with the British and was given a captain's commission and placed second in command to Captain VanAlstine. Similarly one of the Dorland brothers, Thomas, held a captain's commission in the British Army and joined the Church of England after being disowned by Friends. His brother, Philip, a staunch Friend, refused to fight and had his property confiscated for being neutral. Philip Dorland was elected as the first representative of Adolphustown and Prince Edward to the first Legislative Assembly in Niagara in 1792. Since he refused to take the oath, however, he was disqualified from taking his seat and was replaced by Peter VanAlstine who served the duration of the term. Dorland, A.G., *The Quakers in Canada: A History*, 1927, repr., Toronto, ON: The Ryerson Press, 1968, pp. 23–24, 50–51. For information on Thomas Bowerman and his descendants see Williams, M.Y., 'The Bowerman Family, 1379 to the Present: English, American, Canadian', Anne Williams Collection, PECPLA.

32. Certainly there were members of these families, like Thomas Dorland and Thomas Bowerman, who had taken up arms on the part of the British. Nevertheless, they were in the minority. The majority of Friends who arrived in Upper Canada as political refugees of the American Revolution had had their property confiscated 'because they refused to fight for the American cause and *not* because they fought for the British'. Dorland, *The Quakers in Canada*, p. 314. Emphasis in original.

33. Friends who settled in the Adolphustown Township just after the American Revolution had been Members of the New York Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends. The structure of Meetings that had developed in the colonial British North American Yearly Meetings began at the lowest level with the Preparative Meeting. This Meeting coincided with a group that also worshipped together weekly; it met monthly to prepare business for the Monthly Meeting, but it had no decision-making authority. The Monthly Meeting, comprised of a number of Preparative Meetings, received business from its constituent Preparative Meetings and implemented the Discipline among its Members. It was at the level of Monthly Meeting that Friends held membership. A number of Monthly Meetings made up a Quarterly Meeting, which served as interlocutor between

the Monthly Meetings and the Yearly Meeting. Quarterly Meetings had the authority to discontinue a Monthly or Preparative Meeting. Finally, the constituent Quarterly Meetings made up the Yearly Meeting, the Meeting with the highest authority for Members of the Religious Society of Friends. This structure had worked efficiently in the more densely populated colonies along the eastern seaboard, but was difficult to transfer directly to the less-populated regions of British North America where clusters of Friends settled at a great distance from one another. To accommodate distance, Meeting structures were adjusted slightly and some Preparative Meetings were invested with the authority to approve marriages. And when the equivalent of a Quarterly Meeting was established for the Canadian Monthly Meetings in 1810, it was established as a Half-Yearly Meeting.

34. Despite being the largest denomination in Prince Edward County, the West Lake Monthly Meeting was not the largest Quaker Meeting in the colony. That honour fell to the Yonge Street Monthly Meeting. See letter of Isaac Stephenson to his wife, 1824. Canadian Yearly Meeting Archives, hereafter CYMA, vertical files, Newmarket, ON.

35. As quoted in Hoffman and Taylor, *Across the Waters*, pp. 25-26.

36. Mary and William's daughter, Deborah, commented in one letter to her grandmother that Mary was 'ill fitted' for 'hard labour'. In the same letter, Deborah related that her father had never been 'happier', suggesting that William seems to have been better-suited to the labour required to farm in the backwoods. Deborah Mullett Haight to Hannah Clothier, 09-02-1830, in 'William Mullett Family Letters', pp. 25-27.

37. Hannah Phoebe Mullett was born 30-09-1823 and died 06-11-1823. Mary Mullett Clendenan died 16-03-1824.

38. Deborah Mullett Haight to Hannah Clothier, 09-02-1830, in 'William Mullett Family Letters', p. 26.

39. James Clothier Mullett to Hannah Clothier, 16-01-1825, in 'William Mullett Family Letters', p. 15.

40. Deborah Mullett to Hannah Clothier, 21-01-1825, in 'William Mullett Family Letters', p. 17.

41. If travel was not confined to the coldest months, there was a danger of sleighs and teams of horses being lost under the ice. Apparently there was little fear of this happening with William Mullett's horses as he was exceptionally cautious. According to his daughter Mary 'there is no fear of father losing his—being very timid unless it is perfectly safe'. Mary Mullett Clendenan to Hannah Clothier, 06-04-1823, in 'William Mullett Family Letters', p. 9.

42. Deborah Mullett Haight to Hannah Clothier, 09-02-1830, in 'William Mullett Family Letters', pp. 25-26.

43. In spite of the hard labour of settlement in the colony, for the most part, the Mullett children did prosper in Upper Canada, most of them settling into frontier homesteads that became part of prosperous mid-nineteenth-century Ontario farming communities. A brief summary of the situations of William and Mary Mullett's twelve children show that most lived to old age and thrived in their new home. (Information in this note is taken from throughout Williams, 'The William Mullett Mary Clothier Family in Canada, 1821-1892'.)

a. Mary Mullett, born 15 May 1796, married in 1823 William Clendenan, an Irish Friend, whose family had arrived in Upper Canada about the same time as the Mulletts. Mary and William farmed in Hallowell, Prince Edward County, which would become part of Picton. Mary died in childbirth 16 March 1824.

b. Sarah Mullett, born 22 May 1798, married in 1825 James Swetman whose family had immigrated on *The Friend* along with the Mulletts; the Swetmans were Friends. James had emigrated earlier from England to the United States, but followed his parents to Upper Canada after they arrived. James fabricated woodmaking tools and died in Montreal during the 1832 cholera epidemic. Sarah, the mother of four young children, moved to Fredericksburg, remarried to Morgan Outwater in 1834 and had two more children and then died 7 May 1838.

c. William Mullett [jr], born 18 November 1799, apprenticed as an iron worker in England and plied that trade in Picton until 1832 when he married Eliza Baker, daughter of Samuel Baker and Sarah Waring Baker, one of three Baker sisters to marry into the Mullett family. The Bakers were a large family of Irish Friends who had arrived in the colony in 1819. Samuel Baker purchased 1000 acres of land in Huntingdon Township and divided it up among his family. William became the township's first postmaster. He and Eliza farmed until their two children were of school age at which time they leased their farm to become superintendent and matron of the Friends School at Bloomfield while their children attended. They then returned to farming in Huntingdon. William died 3 September 1865.

d. John Mullett, born 30 August 1802, married in 1823 Bathsheba Trumpour Haight, the sixth child of Daniel Haight and Mary Dorland Haight. Both the Haight and Dorland families were among the earliest Quaker settlers to the area. Daniel gave Bathsheba a fifty-acre farm in Fredericksburg where John practiced his tanning and currying business. John and Bathsheba had eleven children and John lived a long life, dying 2 March 1889.

e. Deborah Mullett, born 29 November 1804, married in 1828 Consider Merritt Haight, the fifth child of Daniel and Mary Haight. Consider was also given a fifty-acre farm where he and Deborah settled and he ran a blacksmith shop. Deborah and Consider had six children before Consider died in 1838. Deborah kept the farm going and in 1850 married Vincent Bowerman, a member of another founding Quaker family in the area. Deborah lived to the age of eighty-eight, and died 27 October 1892.

f. Rachel Mullett, born 21 September 1806, married in 1826 her sister Mary's widower, William Clendenan. They settled near Pickering, another Quaker settlement near present-day Toronto. They were successful farmers and had seven children; Rachel died 28 November 1881.

g. James Clothier Mullett, born 28 June 1808, married in 1836 Hannah Baker, another daughter of Samuel and Sarah Baker. They farmed successfully in the backwoods of Huntingdon Township and had seven children. James lived to be ninety-four years old, dying 28 July 1902.

h. Maria Mullett, born 12 October 1810, married in 1830 Robert Richardson, another Irish Friend. They had eleven children and moved to Pickering. Maria lived until 17 October 1886.

i. Arthur Mullett, born 29 October 1814, married in 1836 Jane Baker, daughter of Samuel and Sarah Baker. Arthur and Jane settled and farmed near the other Mullett-Baker families in Huntingdon Township. They had nine children and Arthur died 3 October 1889.

j. Henry Mullett, born 13 July 1816, was the only son who seemed to have lived a somewhat troubled life. He apprenticed in tanning with his father and brother, John, in Picton and then returned to England to improve his currying skills. His uncle Arthur Clothier got him a position in London where he practiced for three years. After that he was in New York briefly before moving back to Upper Canada where he managed a tannery in Belleville for four or five years. In 1846 he married Elizabeth (Betsy) Simpson who died in childbirth. Henry then became a wanderer, even serving some time in the American Civil War. He lived common law with the widow Betsy Anderson, but they had no children of their own. He lived his last few years with his brother William's son, William Henry Mullett, and died 16 January 1900.

k. Benjamin Mullett, born 29 December 1818, married in 1842 Elizabeth Shepherd, daughter of another family that crossed the Atlantic on *The Friend* alongside the Mulletts. Benjamin and Elizabeth cared for Benjamin's parents until Mary Clothier Mullett died in 1845. His father William Mullett stayed with Benjamin for some time and also with Arthur. After Deborah remarried to Vincent Bowerman, William moved to Bloomfield where he lived until he was almost ninety-seven years old (he died 31 October 1865). Benjamin and Elizabeth had four children and Benjamin died 20 October 1906.

l. Hannah Mullett, born 30 September 1823, died 6 November 1823.

44. Mary Mullet Clendenan to Hannah Clothier, 06-04-1823, in 'William Mullett Family Letters', p. 12.

45. Deborah Mullett Haight to Hannah Clothier, 21-01-1825, in 'William Mullett Family Letters', p. 19.

46. See Adolphustown Women's Monthly Meeting Minute Book, 1808-1824; West Lake Women's Monthly Meeting (Orthodox) Minute Book, 1828-1851; West Lake Monthly Meeting Minute Book, 1828-1849, Canadian Yearly Meeting Archives, Newarket, Ontario.

47. 'Elizabeth Robson, American Diary, 1824-1828', in 'Quaker Women's Diaries: The Diaries of Elizabeth Robson, 1813-43', reel 6. Library of the Society of Friends at Friends House, London, England.

48. 'Quaker Women's Diaries: The Diaries of Elizabeth Robson, 1813-43', vol. 26, no. 154, reel 8, 19 December 1824.

49. Gardiner, S.P., *Memoirs of the Life and Religious Labours of Sunderland P. Gardner*, Philadelphia, PA: Friends' Book Association, 1895, p. 285.

50. *Life and Letters of Elizabeth L. Comstock Compiled by Her Sister C. Hare*, London: Headley Brothers, 1895, pp. 37-39.

51. *Life and Letters of Elizabeth L. Comstock*, p. 45.

52. *Life and Letters of Elizabeth L. Comstock*, pp. 41-42.

53. *Life and Letters of Elizabeth L. Comstock*, p. 47.

54. *Life and Letters of Elizabeth L. Comstock*, p. 48.

55. Comstock also maintained contact with the Mulletts, visiting when she was in Canada at Meetings promoting the cause of freed blacks. See Vincent Bowerman's Diary, 1877-1884, 7th month 1881 and Deborah Mullett Haight Bowerman Diary, 1874-1881, 09-07-1881, Anne William's Collection, CPEPLA.

56. *Life and Letters of Elizabeth L. Comstock*, p. 63.

57. Canada West is the name of the former colony of Upper Canada. In response to the Rebellions in 1837-38, the colonies of Upper and Lower Canada were united by the Act of Union, 1841 under a single legislative assembly. Upper Canada became known as Canada West; Lower Canada became known as Canada East. After Confederation in 1867 the provinces would become respectively Ontario and Quebec.

58. 'The Fowler Visit to Canada', pp. 10-11, Anne Williams Collection, CPEPLA.

59. 'The Fowler Visit to Canada', p. 12.

60. 'The Fowler Visit to Canada', pp. 13-14.

61. Healey, *From Quaker to Upper Canadian*, pp. 184-93.

62. Dorland notes that 'the development within the Society since 1887 seems to indicate that while the Richmond Conference may be said to mark the culmination of Gurneyism, the 1887 Conference may also be said to mark the end of an era of separations within the Society of Friends'. Dorland, *The Quakers in Canada*, p. 268.

63. Dorland, *The Quakers in Canada*, p. 267.

64. Quoted in Dorland, *The Quaker in Canada*, p. 267.

65. Dorland, *The Quakers in Canada*, p. 267.

66. Dorland, *The Quakers in Canada*, p. 267. Thomas Hamm disagrees with Dorland's interpretation, suggesting that the debates surrounding the Richmond Declaration were ultimately doctrinal (Hamm, T.D., *The Transformation of American Quakerism: Orthodox Friends, 1800-1907*, Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1988, pp. 137-39). This interpretation does not deny the connection that existed between Canadian and American Friends on the questions of doctrine.

67. Deborah Mullett Haight Bowerman Diary, 1874-1881, 24-05-1880, Anne Williams Collection, CPEPLA.

68. Deborah Mullett Haight Bowerman Diary, 1887-1892, 01-05-1889, Anne Williams Collection, CPEPLA. Emphasis mine.

69. Family tradition suggests that John A. Macdonald and Deborah's younger brother, Benjamin, were playmates for a period of time when their fathers operated shops in Adolphustown and the two boys 'used to run behind the counter and eat sugar'. Williams, 'The William Mullett Mary Clothier Family in Canada, 1821-1892', p. 19.

70. Quoted in Marsh, J., 'Election of 1891: A Question of Loyalty', Institut Historica—Dominion Institute. Online: <http://www.histori.ca/prodev/article.do?id=15356> (accessed 15 May 2010).

71. Quoted in Marsh, 'Election of 1891: A Question of Loyalty'.

72. Christie, *Transatlantic Subjects*, p. 14.

73. Deborah Mullett Haight Bowerman Diary, 1887–1892, 12-08-1892 and 20-08-1892. The connection between the branches of the family continued well into the twentieth century when Deborah's great grandson, Merton Yarwood Williams, compiled the family history in letters and documents that is now held in the County of Prince Edward Public Library and Archives.

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