

The Loyalist Quaker Settlement, Pennfield, New Brunswick, 1783

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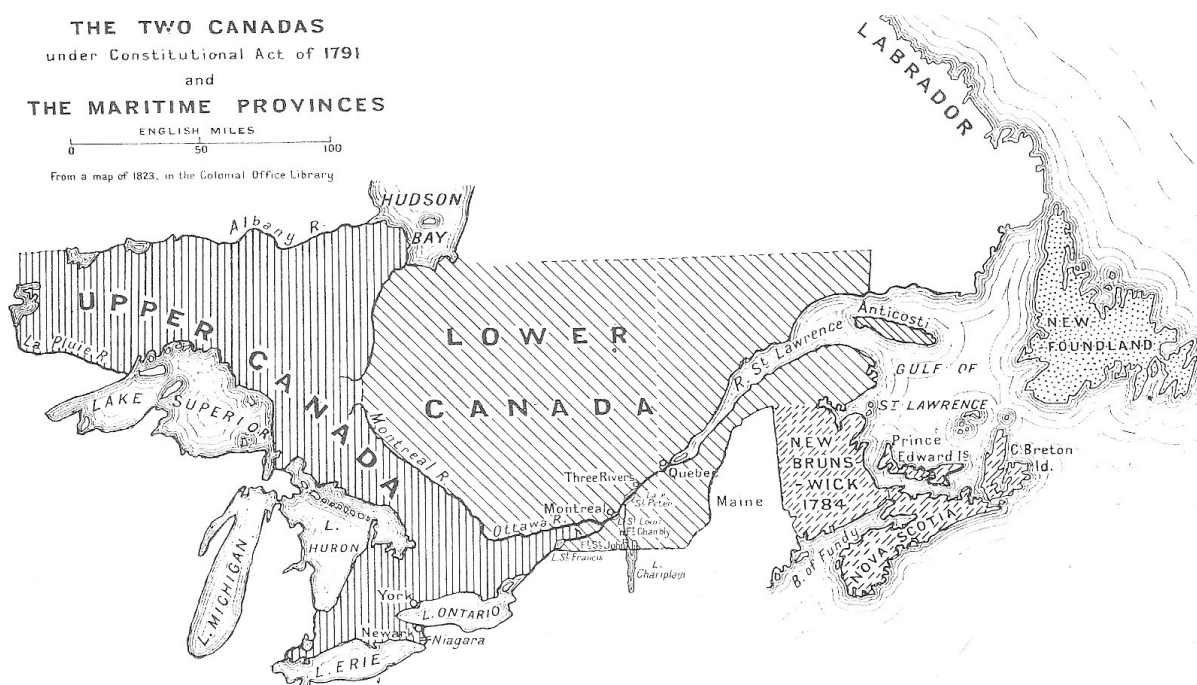
The year 2008 marked the 225th anniversary of the founding in 1783 of the Loyalist Quaker Settlement at Pennfield, New Brunswick. The Revolutionary War (1776-1783) in America wrought havoc upon many families. Those who supported British rule were outlawed; many became refugees in British colonies in North America. After the Peace of 1783, tens of thousands made the frightful and memorable journey to the British colony of Nova Scotia. This exodus marked a drastic change in the history of the colonies that would become Canada. Following the Revolutionary War, a group of Quakers left well-established farms in the United States on account of persecutions and confiscations of their properties, and on unexplored tracts of land in the wilderness of New Brunswick they established the Quaker settlement named Pennfield at Beaver Harbour on Passamaquoddy Bay in the Bay of Fundy, a

huge inlet on the Atlantic Ocean.

In the history of the Society of Friends, the Pennfield settlement is unique both for its Loyalist identification, and for its anti-slavery stance. Although there were other Quaker ventures in the maritime provinces, the settlement at Pennfield is considered an anomaly because its designation as 'Loyalist' is a contradiction in Quaker terms. The Quakers who established the Pennfield settlement in 1783 were pioneers in their stand against slavery. Pennfield was the first avowed anti-slavery settlement in North America.¹

An account of the hardships and upheavals sustained by members of the Knight family of Pennsylvania is typical of many Loyalist experiences. Joshua Knight (1731-1806), the oldest son of Isaac and Elizabeth Knight, became the leader of the Pennfield colonists. After their ancestors had settled in the

THE TWO CANADAS
under Constitutional Act of 1791
and
THE MARITIME PROVINCES
ENGLISH MILES
0 50 100
From a map of 1823, in the Colonial Office Library



American colonies, the Knight family had acquired a substantial amount of property. In the period before the Revolutionary War, Isaac Knight and three of his older sons Joshua, John, and Isaac Jrowned a combined total of about five hundred acres of land in Abington Township, Philadelphia County, Pennsylvania. In 1769, before the outbreak of the Revolution, Mahlon Knight, the younger son of Isaac Knight, was a tailor living in Byberry Township, Philadelphia County.

Joshua Knight owned three different pieces of property in Abington Township: two pieces that he used himself and a piece he rented out. He had received the land from his father, who had had a part of his land surveyed for Joshua in April 1754. Isaac gave this 102-acre parcel of land to his son by Deed of Gift, although Joshua had paid his father £100 in acknowledgement of fatherly affection. Joshua improved the place and repaired the buildings; there were about 60 acres cleared – 10 acres of meadow and 50 acres of ploughed land. He rented the house and garden portion of the land at a rate of £9 per year. Joshua acquired the second parcel of land, ten acres, in 1761 from Nicholas Austin for £50. It was very conveniently located on a public road, twelve miles from Philadelphia. Joshua built good stone buildings – a house, a blacksmith's shop, some out-buildings, and a barn. Here, he carried on his trade as blacksmith and lived with his family. Joshua's wife was Sarah Tyson, daughter of John Tyson. Joshua and Sarah (Tyson) Knight had three children – Joshua Jr, Isaac, and Priscilla. Joshua purchased the third parcel of land about 1771, a thirty-acre lot for which he paid £7.5 per acre Pennsylvania Currency. He improved the property so that twenty acres were cleared and ten acres remained wood.

Prior to the outbreak of hostilities, Isaac Knight Sr served on a Committee of Correspondence and Inspection, which attempted to establish a unified policy among

the various colonies towards oppressive acts of the British. When the "Troubles" began, Isaac declared his sentiments in favour of the British Government. After 1777, some states in America had proclaimed that those who were loyal to Great Britain were guilty of a crime punishable by imprisonment and hard labour or death. Many were subjected to the ordeal of tar and feathers for their loyalty. Quakers experienced a constant struggle between their pacifist convictions and their responsibilities to their families and to the state. In times of war, the struggle intensified. Instead of having their Quaker meetings impress them with a sense of error in their ways, many Quakers came to believe in free thinking according the dictates of their own consciences. The choices that they made were made out of necessity, for survival, not because they were determined to go against their pacifist beliefs.²

Isaac Knight's sons – Joshua, John, Isaac Jr, and Mahlon – also aligned with the British. Joshua Knight was disowned by Abington Monthly Meeting of Friends on 30 June 1777 for repairing arms and performing activities related to the Revolutionary War. He was taken prisoner by the Rebels the night before the Battle of GermanTown (4 October 1777), but escaped the next morning and got home. When a party of Rebel Light Horse came to his house and made enquiries after him, he fled, seeking protection from the British. He remained behind British Lines at New York until the end of the war. He carried on his trade as blacksmith, and frequently worked for the Barrack Master and Quarter Master. Accused of treason by Rebels in Pennsylvania, he was ordered on 8 May 1778 to surrender himself for trial before 25 June 1778. Because of his friendship with the British, Revolutionary authorities confiscated the property he had abandoned and his business interests as a blacksmith in Pennsylvania. His wife was evicted from their home, and the estate was sold. Quaker records indicate that Joshua and

Sarah Knight and their children received a certificate of removal at Abington Meeting dated 30 – 04 – 1781. John Knight became a guide for the troops of Sir William Howe and reconnoitred General Washington's Army on 7 October 1778. Like his brother, John was disowned by Abington MM 02 – 06 – 1778 for joining the British army. John's farm was acquired by the Commonwealth for the "use of the University." Isaac Knight Jr was later seized by revolutionaries for treason but discharged for lack of witnesses.³

As they struggled to survive during the war, members of the Knight family became separated. In the autumn of 1782, a small migration party of 500 persons sailed to Nova Scotia. Mahlon Knight was among those who were anxious to find safety there, and by October 1782, he, his wife, and two sons had relocated to Annapolis, Nova Scotia, where they stayed for a year or so until moving farther west. Many Loyalists sought refuge first in Nova Scotia and would later claim lands around the Cataraqui settlement in that part of British North America which became Upper Canada in 1791. Within a year of the first migration in 1782, there was a large scale exodus of Loyalists from America to the British colonies of Nova Scotia and Quebec.⁴

News of the Peace, declared in Britain in December 1782, reached American shores in March 1783. Many who had taken refuge behind British lines attempted to return to their former homes but most communities in the new republic declared their intentions of discouraging the return of the detested Loyalists. Some may have been welcomed by relations and friends, but most met with unpleasantness or even violence. Treated as enemies of American independence, many Loyalists became refugees.

From Autumn 1776 until Autumn 1783, the port of New York was occupied by the British and was a place of refuge for those who had been driven from their homes and their

occupations because of their loyalty to King George III. Their properties had been sold to finance the American side of the war. Huge numbers of Loyalists who sought refuge in New York were gathered there when the War ended in 1783.

Joshua and John Knight, having been convicted of treason by the state and disowned by the Society of Friends, were among those who had sought protection in New York. Their families had joined them there when their lands were confiscated by authorities.

The British appointed General Guy Carleton to evacuate those Loyalists who wished to leave the country. To his credit, Carleton refused to withdraw British troops from New York until the evacuation was completed. Organizing and accomplishing a mass evacuation was a mammoth task. Ships were assembled in New York harbour to transport the refugees to new locations. There were a number of destinations requested but over half the applicants requested the St John River in Nova Scotia, with Canada as second choice. The fate of Loyalists who settled along the rivers of British North America was somewhat better than the fate of those Loyalists who returned to England. They were caught between the hatred of the Americans and the indifference of the English. In Britain, gratitude was shifting to indifference and irritation. The Loyalists were disappointed by the little recognition they received for their sacrifices.

Fleets of refugees in the great migration of 1783 departed in five main groups: spring, June, late summer, autumn, and late fall. The first several fleets sailed under the protection of a convoy of war ships. The spring fleet of twenty ships, taking 3,000 men, women children, departed New York harbour near the end of April and arrived at Nova Scotia in mid May. In June 1783 the Adjutant-General's office reported that in a single month it had received close to 8,000 more applications for removal

from New York.⁵

For many generations, the bonds of faith, friendship, and inter-relationships through marriage, had withstood hard times, and they now served the same purpose for this generation. At New York, many of the dispossessed banded themselves together through their membership in the Society of Friends. In June 1783, the following advertisement was published in the New York newspaper, *Royal Gazette*:

Notice is hereby given to those Belonging to the Society of people commonly called Quakers, and to those who have had a Birthright among them, and now wish to promote that Society, and have made A Return of their names in Order to be removed to the river St Johns in Nova Scotia, - that it is the request of some of that Society that they will call at No.188 in Water street between the Coffee house Bridge and the Fly Market on the East River, where a mode of proceeding will be Proposed to them, which it is expected will be agreeable to them: in so doing they will oblige Several Well wishers to that Society.⁶

At this meeting, Joshua Knight joined with other members of the Society of Friends and those connected with Friends, and became their leader. The Friends adopted the following memorandum of agreement:

Rules and regulations for the Government of the society of people called Quakers, who settle together on the river St Johns Nova Scotia, to be entered in their book of records as a standing rule to them, and Kept inviolate by every Member of Said society -

Articles:

1st. that a proper Book be procured by

said society in which their proceedings shall be recorded, and that a Clerk be appointed annually to make a fair entry of the Same -

2nd. that every publick [sic] matter which concerns the society in general, shall be Determined by a Majority of votes of the members of the society who are arrived to the age of Twenty one years.

3rd. that five persons belonging to said Society shall be appointed annually by the members of the Society, to hear and determine all complaints and controversies which May arise in Said society, and that any three of the Aforesaid persons meeting Shall be a sufficient number to hear and determine in those cases

4th. that no slaves be either Bought or sold nor kept by any person belonging to Said society on any pretence whatsoever -

5th. that in case any dispute or complaint shall be Brought before the committee appointed for Setling [sic] complaints and Disputes by a person not Belonging to said society, it Shall be their duty to See Justice done to the Complainants as soon as possible-

6th. that no person belonging to the Said Society Shall be permitted [sic] or have a right to Sell or Convey the lands aloted [sic] to him in said society to any person which the said Society Shall not approve of-those regulations to remain in force until some others may take place-⁷

Some weeks later, another meeting was called for 5 July 1783, at Joshua Knight's house. The following advertisement appeared in the *Royal Gazette*, New York, 2 July 1783:

Notice is hereby given to those of the people called Quakers who have entered into an agreement to settle together in Nova-Scotia - that they are requested to

meet at the house of Joshua Knight, No. 36 in Chatham-street, a little above the Tea-Water Pump, on Seventh Day next, the 5th of July, at four o'Clock Afternoon, in order to conclude upon some matters of importance to them; and those who mean to join the above-mentioned body are requested to call at No.188, Water-street, between the Coffee-House Bridge and the Fly-Market on the East River, and have their names entered as soon as possible.⁸

Forty-nine Quakers joined to work out a plan to emigrate to Nova Scotia and to settle on the St John River: "We whose names are hereunto subscribed do agree to settle ourselves together on the river St John in Novascotia - No slave master admitted."

A list of the 49 Quakers who decided for Nova Scotia (* those who subsequently signed for embarkation to NS):

- 01) *Benjamin Brown, Bucks Co PA
- 02) Thomas Buckley
- 03) Thomas Buckley Jr
- 04) Richard Buffington, Chester Co PA
- 05) *Edward Burk, tailor, Chester Co PA
- 06) *John Burk, tailor, Chester Co PA
- 07) John Dennis, wheelwright, Bucks Co PA
- 08) Rachel Done (widow)
- 09) *Samuel Fairlamb, merchant, Chester Co PA
- 10) George Fielder
- 11) *Jeremiah Fitch/Frith, farmer PA
- 12) *Evan Griffith
- 13) Abner Hampton
- 14) Andrew Hamton
- 15) John Hickman/ Hinchman/Hineham
- 16) Mathias Kizer
- 17) *Joshua Knight, blacksmith, Abington PA
- 18) *Richard Lawrence
- 19) *John Loofbourrow
- 20) *Nathaniel Loufbourrow
- 21) Richard Mathews

- 22) Jonathan Paul
- 23) Peter Price
- 24) Abram Rankin
- 25) *John Rankin
- 26) Daniel Regester
- 27) Gershom Remington
- 28) Jonathan Remington
- 29) William Reynolds
- 30) Daniel Southwick
- 31) *Samuel Stillwell
- 32) *Amos Strickland
- 33) John Strickland
- 34) *Joseph Thorne
- 35) *Joseph Tomlinson
- 36) Samuel Tomlinson
- 37) *Gideon Vernon
- 38) *Jesse Walton
- 39) Joseph Way
- 40) Amos White
- 41) Moses Winder
- 42) Peter Volta/Woltman
- 43) Abraham Woodward
- 44) Anthony Woodward
- 45) Anthony Woodward Jr
- 46) Isaac Woodward
- 47) Jacob Woodward
- 48) *Nimrod Woodward
- 49) Robert Woodward.

In deciding to apply for permission to establish a settlement on the St John River, these Friends agreed that three agents should be appointed to locate suitable lands; they selected Samuel Fairlamb, John Rankin, and George Brown for that purpose. The three agents set sail on one of the earlier ships with summer departure in order to arrive in time to carry out their duties.⁹

For Loyalists who chose Nova Scotia as a destination, the prospect of arrival there was grim. The weather was foul, the colony was isolated, and the settlement lacked organization. The main body of Loyalists arrived in Nova Scotia between the middle of May and the middle of November 1783. They had no means

of supporting themselves. Provision for their survival had to be made by Sir Guy Carlton. They were issued with one year's ration of food, clothing, blankets, tents, and necessary tools. Governor Parr was responsible for seeing that proper arrangements were made, but his administration was overwhelmed by the immensity of the task.

At that time, the inhabitants of Nova Scotia formed a small colony of several thousand people scattered about the province. The impact of having to receive a mass migration of some 15,000 immigrants, to cope with their temporary care, and with distribution of land allotments was staggering in its scope. In order to provide accommodations for many thousands of refugees, plans should have been put into place well in advance. But this was impossible in wild surroundings. As a result, preparations for food and lodging were hasty and poorly-planned; meager provisions were procured and rude huts were built. The lands had not been properly surveyed. There were insufficient building materials – lumber, bricks or carpenters' tools – on hand. Although those in charge wanted to improve conditions, the task was too big: there were too many refugees and too few supplies.

Those Loyalists who arrived in Nova Scotia with the spring and summer fleets fared much better than those who arrived later in the year; they at least had the best chance to prepare for winter. The Loyalists who arrived in spring had better provisions. They were also fortunate enough to be able to plant some crops and to construct some dwellings over the summer. As a result, they spent a more comfortable winter than the later arrivals. Those who arrived late in the year suffered terribly during the winter of 1783-84. The shock of leaving late summer in New York where they were warm and comfortable to live through winter in Nova Scotia where they found themselves freezing from the blustery gales of the Atlantic must have been great indeed. Arriving late in the

season, the refugees were forced to brave the icy cold weather in temporary shelters. Many survived their first hard Canadian winter in canvas tents using pine boughs and snow for insulation against the bitter cold. Suffering from cold and hunger, sickness prevailed, and some died before spring despite attempts to secure the necessities of life for them.

The autumn fleet discharged another 1,200 persons onto the maritime landscape. The vessel transporting the Quakers and their goods to Nova Scotia sailed in company with this later fleet. It is doubtful that the Quaker refugees were able to take much personal property with them. Very likely, they had items such as keepsakes rather than useful items. The *Camel* left New York on 23 August 1783 bound for the St John River. Nearly all the passengers on the *Camel* belonged to two special groups of Quakers and Anabaptists who had assembled at New York. The Quaker Company totalled 102: 40 men, 14 women, 9 children over 10 years old, 20 children under 10 years old, and 19 servants.¹⁰

On 15 September 1783, the *Camel* arrived at St John River (then known as Parrrtown Nova Scotia, and subsequently as Saint John, New Brunswick). The Quakers found the place all in confusion: some refugees were living in log houses, some were building huts, many were living in tents. Their agents informed them that they had found so much disorder and so many delays in allotting grants at St John River that they, along with a considerable number of Loyalists, were thinking of selecting a new destination. In preference to any lands they found available on the St John River, their agents reported that they had chosen Beaver Harbour as a place of settlement.

Still on the *Camel*, the refugees sailed down the coast from the St John River to a location east of the St Croix River on Passamaquoddy Bay. The waters of the Bay of Fundy are noted for fierce tides and currents. In a communication to the Secretary of State in

London, England, dated 21 October 1783, Governor Parr mentioned the surveying of land between St John's and Passamaquoddy to settle a company of Quakers.¹¹ Suffering from immense fatigue and discouragement because of their long journey, they finally arrived at their destination in early October 1783. The Quaker party saw only a shore abounding in rocks, and remote land covered with brush and small trees with dense forest in the distance. The refugees disembarked into the rocky wilderness. They were disheartened by the gloomy prospect before them. In a letter from Isaac Knight to his son Joshua, dated 16 November 1783 at New York, his father commiserated, "I am afraid you are in miserable country."¹²

The forty Quaker families began to establish a settlement at Beaver Harbour. They were persons of tough inner fibre and resilience who drew strength from one another to deal with crises. Given the time of year, it was wet and cold. Winter was near and they had to find shelter. Their agent, Samuel Fairlamb, began to survey land for the settlement, but the harsh winter closed in upon them and prevented further work. Had they arrived earlier, they would have been able to make some preparations for winter, but their late arrival prevented them from building log dwellings. In the shelter of the woods near the shore, they pitched tents and covered them with spruce boughs. Their tents had no floors. Rain soaked up into their beds as they lay on the ground. They used stones for fireplaces. They had nothing but green wood for fuel. Someone had to remain awake during the night to keep fires burning in order to keep the others from freezing. Snow began to fall in November. Winter was very cold with deep snow, which they packed around their tents in an attempt to keep out the cold. Mothers tried to protect their children from the bitter cold by the warmth of their own bodies. Supplies expected before the close of navigation did not come.

Their strength was almost gone for want of food. Many families faced starvation or death by exposure. Men caught fish and hunted game. To allay the pangs of hunger, they sometimes steeped spruce or hemlock bark for drinking. In spring, they made maple sugar, and ate fiddle-heads. Somehow they managed to live through the perilous winter.

A full supply of provisions was expected in spring; however, the people felt betrayed by those they had depended upon to supply them. In spring, the survey was resumed with greater haste as the settlers were in need of their locations. Without locations, it was difficult to cope with supplying provisions. There was great rejoicing when the first schooner arrived with cornmeal. The few tools they had were simple and roughly made. As soon as snow was off the ground, they began to construct log houses with fireplaces and chimneys built of stone laid in yellow clay. Roofs were covered with bark bound over with small poles. It was a long time before good houses replaced log huts.¹³

The year 1784 revealed serious problems. The loyal supporters of the British who had left America for settlements in New Brunswick had some grievances. They were suffering from the treatment they had received and complained bitterly to the government. At the beginning of 1785, the inhabitants of Beaver Harbour found it necessary to petition Thomas Carlton Esq., Captain General and Governor-in-Chief of the newly-formed Province of New Brunswick. In three letters dated 15 January 1785, they outlined their grounds for dissatisfaction.

The first letter informed that in October 1783 Samuel Fairlamb had come to Beaver Harbour as a Surveyor for the Friends Company but through his neglect of duty they had little surveying done until Jacob Buffington arrived in June 1784. Since that time, Buffington had laid out all the farm lots for that Company and the other settlers. They

therefore requested, to prevent any further deceptions from Samuel Fairlamb, that the surveying and drawing of lands be left to Jacob Buffington who was always ready to serve them in that duty.

The second letter, containing information similar to the first, was signed by a different group of settlers. They reported the alarming prospect that existed if they did not receive their lands. They stated that “from the constant deceptions and negligence of Mr Samuel Fairlamb,” many of them were confronted with the termination of government provisions. They concluded that while Fairlamb remained in his present situation, they could not expect their situation to improve, and they requested that the laying out and framing of their land be left to Jacob Buffington.

The third letter pointed out that the lack of a Civil Magistrate in their settlement subjected settlers to many inconveniences, and they petitioned for the appointment of John Elliott to that office, since he was the general choice of the inhabitants. The Captains of Companies – Captain John Shaw, Captain John Garrison, Captain Ephraim Shaker – signed on behalf of the residents.¹⁴

Although it seemed reasonable and urgent for the Loyalist inhabitants of Beaver Harbour to petition the government, finding a solution to their problems was difficult. Only those supplies which could be obtained could be distributed. It was impossible to deliver supplies to outlying regions in the dead of winter. Jacob Buffington seems to have done much of the work as a land surveyor, as there were frequent references to Buffington’s lines in the eastern part of Charlotte County.

They called the place Bellevue. The tract of land granted to the Friends consisted of 940 acres on the west side of Beaver Harbour. Their original grant consisted of 149 lots in a very elaborate layout, with town lots, and behind the town, 5 acre lots and 10 acre lots. Ringed around those north and east from the town

plot were large tracts laid out as small farms. Some settlers held more than one lot. A list of the original grantees of town plots in Beaver Harbour with plot numbers assigned is available, but not included here. Of the inhabitants at Bellevue, two-thirds came from Pennsylvania, one-third from New Jersey, and a few from New York.

There seems to have been considerable interest in this colony among Friends. In 1784, the settlers at Pennfield applied to Governor Parr of Nova Scotia on behalf of five to six hundred Quaker families in New York, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey, who wanted to join them in Pennfield. Parr opined that it would be improper to take inhabitants of the States; he was supported by the Secretary of State in England, but it was decided that any who came at their own expense should be eligible for grants of lands. Striving to attract as many Loyalists as possible to the community of Bellevue, Samuel Fairlamb reported in the summer of 1784 that 192 settlers with 60 women and 112 children were present there, and hundreds more had applied for lots. By 1786 the colony was said to have approximately three hundred houses, and several years later the population was estimated to be eight hundred.¹⁵

The Loyalists who settled in that part of Nova Scotia that became New Brunswick laid out three new town sites. In addition to the settlement on Passamaquoddy Bay, Bellevue at Beaver Harbour, there were two on the St Croix River: St Andrews and St Stephen. In accordance with the British policy of forming small colonies, in August 1784, the colony of New Brunswick was created. In 1785, Charlotte County was created; it is bounded by the Bay of Fundy to the south and Passamaquoddy Bay on the southwest; on the west the St Croix River divides it from Maine, USA. The Parish of Pennfield was created in 1786, the name Penn’s Field given in honor of William Penn, the founder of the Quaker colony in Pennsylvania.

The inhabitants of the Maritime Provinces were a diverse lot in terms of origins, religious denominations, and social status. Many of the refugees came from upper classes who were accustomed to comforts and were ill-adapted to the hard conditions of pioneer existence imposed upon them in New Brunswick.

Slavery existed then in New England, and some of the Loyalists who settled in parts of Nova Scotia took slaves with them. Although some early Quakers held slaves, many had come to see that this was incompatible with their testimony of equality. The anti-slavery declaration of the Pennfield colonists in 1783 is quite remarkable. In 1787, when the Continental Congress passed an ordinance setting up new laws for colonization of the Ohio Country, it included freedom of worship and declared that “there shall be no slavery nor involuntary servitude within the territory.” In 1803, Ohio became the first slave-free state in the Union. The Quaker document, stating “No Slave Master Admitted,” was written fifty years before the abolition of slavery in British North America in 1833, and eighty years before the emancipation proclamation in the United States in 1863.

Because the Quaker agreement to remove to Nova Scotia (New York 1783) contained a clause prohibiting slavery, it is fitting to make some mention of the plight of Black Loyalists. During the American Revolution, a large number of free Black people had sought protection behind the British lines. In addition to free Blacks, hundreds of slaves had also arrived at New York. A number of Black indentured servants who had escaped from slavery during the War found themselves destitute in New York. Fearing that they might be handed back to their former owners, they signed for wages and other concessions in order to secure protection.¹⁶

When American victory became certain, in 1783, several thousand Black Loyalists took refuge in Nova Scotia. Settlers in the new land,

both white and black, encountered major challenges –disappointment, unfair treatment, discontentment. Blacks were frequently shorted on provisions. If less influential white persons had trouble getting adequate land, black persons had it even worse. Many Blacks were given poor land in isolated locations. They usually had to make do with a piece of land which was very small and/or very bad. Many Blacks had little experience with managing farm work. Some were more suited to work as servants. No one, black or white, was permitted to work in Saint John without being granted ‘Freeman Status’. Blacks managed to obtain work as servants, and in order to survive, often worked as labourers on roads. Unlike so many white Loyalists, the black Loyalists could not risk a return to the USA and slavery, no matter how wretched their situation. Most had to stay and take their chances.¹⁷

Dissatisfied with the lack of progress in settling Blacks on lands in Nova Scotia, Thomas Peters, the Black leader, brought a group of 200 Blacks over from Annapolis NS to New Brunswick. In 1791, he organized an exodus of blacks from both New Brunswick and Nova Scotia to Sierra Leone in West Africa. The British government paid for transporting approximately 1,200 evacuees to Africa. At this time, the maritime colonies lost a group who could contribute much-needed labour in building and developing the country.¹⁸

The hardships which the first Loyalist settlers experienced seem enormous in comparison to the life they left in the United States. Those who came to British colonies in North America were promised compensation for their losses in remaining faithful to King George III. Many of them had abandoned substantial land holdings in New England. In a letter from Isaac Knight to his son Joshua, dated 16 November 1783 at New York, Isaac reported that he had had Joshua’s and John’s estates appraised by Abraham Tyson and John Shoemaker. John Knight wrote from Digby, NS

to his brother Joshua on 16 April 1784 and reported that he had gone to Annapolis in the fall of 1783 with a view to settling there but finding conditions unsuitable, with great difficulty he had made his way to Halifax and returned to New York. While in Nova Scotia, he saw Jesse Lawrence and had given him Joshua's estimates.

In 1785 Col. Thomas Dundas and Jeremiah Pemberton travelled to Nova Scotia in order to adjust the claims of the Loyalists who had not been able to proceed to England in order to present their claims and apply for compensation for the losses they had incurred, as provided by the British Parliament. In November 1785, they opened an office at Halifax. They afterwards proceeded to St John, and from there to the upper provinces. Pemberton was appointed chief justice of Nova Scotia in 1788.¹⁹

Early in 1787, Joshua Knight proceeded to St John NB where Loyalist claims were being processed. On 19 March 1787, he appeared before Commissioner Pemberton to submit his claim. He stated that he had come to the province in 1783, that he had landed first at Campo Bella, and that he had settled at Beaver Harbour. He declared that it had been absolutely out of his power to send his claim from Beaver Harbour because there were no vessels which sailed from there in the winter; consequently, there was not any communication during that winter with St John. Joshua reported that when he had last seen his father at New York in 1783, he was of the opinion that something would be done by the British Parliament, and had asked his father to get his estate valued and to send his claim to England. His father had endeavoured to send the claim by giving his brother John charge of it. Merciless weather meant that John had arrived so late at Halifax that he could not have sent it to England in time. Joshua stated that he did not know until after the time was expired that the claim which he had hoped would be

sent home by his father was not sent in time.

The claim of Joshua Knight of Pennsylvania consisted of the following items:

Property No. 1 The Deed for 102 acres was lost. Claimant admitted there was a Mortgage to the Loan-Office for £200 on No.1 for which he had paid £35.

Property No. 2 Claimant produced Deed for 10 acres from Nicholas Austin, 1761. He considered the value of buildings £500. At New York, he had seen Lewis Grant who told him that he had purchased Knight's property.

Property No. 3 Valued 30 acre lot at £8 per acre.

In addition, Knight lost two sets of blacksmith's tools, value £50, three horses, five horned cattle, six fat hogs, six sheep, a wagon, farming utensils, furniture. He had left these on his farm, and they were taken and sold.

John Shoemaker and Abraham Tyson affirmed the value of Knight's real and personal estate. They valued lot number one at £7 per Acre, lot number two at £500, and lot number three at £8 per acre. They stated that the estate had been sold for the use of the Commonwealth. Abraham Iredale and John Loughboro', both sworn as witnesses for the claimant, declared him to be a steady Loyalist. They testified that they had known him for many years when he lived at Abington near Philadelphia, knew him to be in possession of his properties, and corroborated the values placed upon them. The previous year, when Loughboro' had been in Pennsylvania, he learned that Knight's estate had been confiscated and sold. The first purchaser, Colonel Dean, purchased the property at a public sale. Lewis Grant had then come into possession of the property.²⁰

The officers instituted to manage the new community at Beaver Harbour under the

agreement of 1783 had their appointments extended for two years. At a general election in the community in June 1785, the clerk was Benjamin Brown and five directors of the town company were John Gill, John Loofbourough, Joseph Tomlinson, Anthony Woodward, and Elias Wright. It was their duty to re-assign allotments of land. In this new settlement, some settlers wished to locate alongside lifelong friends, which would allow for sharing of their resources. Consequently, much bartering of land grants took place. Some were able to purchase additional land. Some lots remained vacant when grantees did not settle them and some grantees stayed for such a short time that their lots remained unimproved. From time to time, redistributions were made. Allotments were to be assigned to persons who had received land incapable of being improved or too far away for settlement. In 1787 a list of grantees of certain lots contained an additional twenty names. The masters of roads and highways were Richard Mead and John Horner. They supervised the construction of roads by dividing the work into shifts. In addition to road work, it was necessary to clear away the brush and rubbish. Despite their hardships, as early as 1785, these Friends began to clear the land on an allotment from the common land so that they could provide a burying ground for the settlement (subsequently the property of the Baptist Church in Beaver Harbour).

In June 1786, a second town meeting retained the same clerk, Benjamin Brown, and chose as directors Richard Buffington, Joshua Knight, John Loofbourough, Gideon Vernon, and Anthony Woodward. Once the land was cleared, it was agreed by the Company that they would meet on the seventh day of the week and the 16th of the 7th month 1786 and approve specifications to build a meeting house to be used by Quakers.²¹

Hardships abounded for the settlers at Pennfield. During their first two years in the settlement, they were completely destitute,

without the means of supplying their needs. In the first year, their crops were frozen and the community faced starvation. Agriculture was only for subsistence; there were no markets to sell or to purchase produce. There were no domestic animals. In all likelihood, there would have been deaths from starvation, had it not been for the benevolence of Quakers in other parts, who heard of their dire need.

After news of the difficulties faced by the colonists reached their friends back in the USA, on a number of occasions, the settlers received supplies from Friends. Measures were taken to render them both spiritual and material aid. Early in 1785, Philadelphia Yearly Meeting sent up a collection of books and some provisions. The concern of Friends prompted three of them to decide to make a journey to the colony. In August 1785, Joseph Moore of New Jersey received a certificate from Burlington Quarterly Meeting for a visit and was joined by Abraham Gibbons and John Townsend. On his way north the next year, in June 1786, John Townsend attended New England Yearly Meeting at Newport, Rhode Island where Shubad Coffin and Thomas Robinson Jr were appointed to accompany him. In the summer of 1786, these five gentlemen made visits to the settlers.

The following spring, in March 1787, the three Friends (Moore, Gibbons, Townsend) presented a report of their trip before Philadelphia Yearly Meeting for Sufferings, advising that the YM needed to render the necessary assistance. Accordingly, the Meeting for Sufferings appointed a committee to take charge of the matter, directing it to draw bills to the amount of £400 on the relief fund established by Irish Friends at the time of the Revolution. They had sent a donation of over £2,000 for the relief of distressed Friends in America. A considerable balance remained unspent which was being applied to various needy causes. Out of the balance, £400 was used for relief at Beaver Harbour. Joseph

Moore again offered to make another journey of inspection to the settlement at Beaver Harbour. William Wilson offered to accompany him. Their offer was accepted with instructions that they take supplies of food and, in addition, obtain a list of members of the Society and the meetings from which they came, those who had been disowned, and other pertinent information. In July 1787, the two Quaker gentlemen embarked at New York with the generous gift of Friends in Philadelphia, a cargo of goods consisting of barrels of Indian meal, middlings, rye meal, pork, and other necessities. It was reported in Saint John, in August 1787 that the provisions arrived safely and had been distributed and would probably save large numbers of them from starving. The two Friends travelled over 500 miles and in the course of their tour, assisted families at Beaver Harbour, St John River, Digby, St Marys Bay, Dartmouth, and other places. In the fall of 1787, they reported their findings.²²

Through information received from Philadelphia Quakers and privately, English Friends became interested in the plight of the new settlement. In July 1788, they shipped food, clothing, agricultural implements, and other necessary articles. Pennfield Friends appointed a committee to distribute the donations. At a meeting of Friends at the Meeting House in Beaver Harbour on 10 – 03 – 1789, Jacob Buffington, John Dennis, Daniel Registrar, Richard Mead, and John Horner were appointed a committee to examine the accounts and proceedings of the committee who distributed the provisions received from Friends in England, and report.²³

Disastrously, in 1790, Friends ill-fated community was razed by a forest fire which swept over a large portion of Charlotte County. The Friends Meeting House was destroyed and all records of the colony were lost in the fire. According to the Pennfield Records, only one dwelling was left in the settlement, that of Elias Wright. Most of the settlers were forced to take

refuge in nearby communities. Many stayed in the new locations. A few of the inhabitants, including the family of Joshua Knight, remained or returned to rebuild their dwellings near the old sites. They moved to a plateau behind the original site, and called their new settlement Penn's Field or Pennfield Ridge.

In October 1794, the inhabitants of Pennfield celebrated the joyous occasion of the marriage of Joshua Knight Jr and Jane Vernon. Their marriage certificate is quoted here:

Whereas Joshua Knight Junior of Pennfield in the County of Charlotte and Province of New Brunswick, son of Joshua Knight of the same place, and Jane Vernon, daughter of Gideon Vernon of Saint Georges in the County and Province aforesaid, having given notice of their intentions of marriage with each other, and having Consent of Parents, and nothing appearing to obstruct their said proposals of Marriage.

Now these are to certify to all whom it may concern that for the full accomplishing of their said intentions, this second day of the tenth month in the year of our Lord one thousand, seven hundred and ninety-four - They, the said Joshua Knight Junior and Jane Vernon, appeared in a Meeting for that purpose, appointed at Pennfield aforesaid.

And the said Joshua Knight Junior, taking the said Jane Vernon by the hand, did in a solemn manner openly declare that he took her, the said Jane Vernon, to be his wife, promising with the Lord's assistance, to be unto her a loving and faithful husband until Death should separate them, and then and there in the said Assembly, the said Jane Vernon did in like manner solemnly declare that she took him, the said Joshua Knight Junior, to be her Husband, promising with the

Lord's Assistance to be unto him a loving and Faithful Wife until Death should separate them.

And Moreover - they the said Joshua Knight Junior and Jane Vernon, she according to the Custom of Marriage assuming the name of her Husband, as a further confirmation thereof, did then and there to these Presents set their hands.

Joshua Knight Junior
Jane Knight

And We, whose names are hereunto Subscribed, being present at the solemnization of the said Marriage and Subscription as aforesaid, have as Witnesses Hereunto set our hands, the day and year above written.

James Campbell, Amy Campbell, Amy Campbell [Jr?], Mary Ann Campbell, Lucretia Clinch, Ward Hardy, Isaac Justason, Gideon Justason, Justus Justuson, Euphemia Knight, Joshua Knight, Margaret Knight, Sarah Knight, Margrate Loofbourow, Donald McDougall, Hugh McKay, Benjamin Mead, Richard Mead, Margaret Mead, Pharele Mead, James Paul, Priscilla Paul, Sarah Paul, Ann Pratt, Eleanor Sanger, Hannah Sanger, Justus Seelye, Stuart Seelye, Aaron Synton, Evan Thomas, Mary Thomas, Rachel Thomas, Edward Vernon, Gideon Vernon, Gideon Vernon Jr, Moses Vernon, Phoebe Vernon, Jesse Walton, Hannah Walton, Moses Winder.²⁴

Soon after this happy event, the Pennfield settlers received a visit from some important Quakers. In 1795, Joshua Evans (1731-1798), a prominent minister from Newtown Township, Gloucester County, West Jersey, USA, set out

on a religious journey to the northeast into the provinces of Lower Canada and Nova Scotia in order to visit Quaker families and meetings in the area. En route, Evans met up with Timothy Rogers of Vermont, "a Friend who kindly offered to bear me company." In August 1795, the Quaker travellers reached Nova Scotia. Seth Coleman (17?? -1822), the clerk of Dartmouth Meeting which had been established in 1785, reported that Joshua Evans's arrival was unexpected, as they had been ready to think that poor Nova Scotia was almost unworthy of the notice of any of their brethren. Samuel Moore, a Quaker farmer who had migrated from Woodbridge, Middlesex County, New Jersey, and then lived in the County of Annapolis, NS decided to accompany them on their journey; he served as guide for a distance of about 150 miles, as far as Beaver Harbour.

On 12 August 1795 Joshua Evans and Timothy Rogers landed at Beaver Harbour and spent a few days there. They stayed with Joshua Knight (1731-1806), one of the leading spirits in the Friends' settlement. The two visitors encountered a group of poverty-stricken Quakers who had dealt with dislocation, starvation, and other crises, and yet had managed to find the wherewithal to build a Meeting House in their community, only to have it destroyed and their community wiped out by a disastrous fire five years previously. In the opinion of these two men, these people did not measure up to Quaker standards. In his Journal, Timothy Rogers mentioned that the meeting at Beaver Harbour was "a small meeting of Friends that was set up by them without the notice of any monthly meeting." Evans stated that "many of the people hereaway have had an education amongst Friends, and are friendly; but appear to be as sheep without a shepherd." With some dismay, the visiting Quakers reported that the meetings were not kept up, and the children were not trained in the thought and discipline of Friends. Joshua Evans concluded that a

considerable number of the inhabitants had at one time been Friends but were no longer directly connected to the Society.²⁵ Pennfield Meeting held almost no status amongst Friends, having been guilty of the irregularity of establishing a meeting without permission of any Monthly Meeting.

Some seven years later, the inhabitants of Pennfield received another visit from a travelling Quaker from Vermont. Over the winter of 1801-02, Joseph Hoag (1762-1846) made a journey to Nova Scotia. He stayed and attended first day meeting at the home of Samuel Moore who hailed from Rahway, New Jersey, but then lived on a farm at Wilmit, about thirty miles above Annapolis Royal. They then rode to Granville and put up with Thomas Green. From Annapolis, they started back for Wilmit, but hearing of Obadiah Griffin, an old neighbour of his father's when a boy, they went and were joyfully received. Samuel Moore and Thomas Green accompanied Joseph Hoag, setting sail for New Brunswick via the St John River and visited Archelaus Carpenter, Benjamin Birdsall, and attended meeting at Robert Smith's.

While staying at the house of Samuel Moore, Joseph Hoag heard of three families of Friends (the men were all brothers) who lived in the back country and had not been visited by Friends since they settled there approximately twenty-five years earlier. With Samuel Moore and Thomas Green for company, Joseph Hoag set out and found them; one of brothers had died. Just about the time that war was declared with America in 1774, the men had taken passage for Pennsylvania but before they had set sail, the captain had been ordered to land them in Nova Scotia. The war continued so long that they became discouraged and bought land there, lived in the country twenty eight years without having any interaction with the Society of Friends. Hoag saw that the old people appeared to retain behave like Friends, in language, deportment, and dress, but the

children did not. After parting with these Friends and looking over the great number who told him that their parents and grandparents were Friends, and some who stated that they were members, Hoag decided that he had fallen in with a number who appeared as sheep without a Shepherd. In this land, Hoag passed through many scenes which affected him greatly. All within him capable of feeling, was awakened to sympathy. He came to wonder whether Friends had sufficient consideration for what their ancestors had passed through for the principles which Friends profess.²⁶

It is possible that if yearly meetings of Friends in the New England States of the United States could have established a more vital connection with the groups scattered throughout the Maritime Provinces of Canada, beyond the occasional visits of itinerant ministers, the groups might have retained their Quaker identities and traditions.

Like other Loyalist towns, Beaver Harbour had arisen with the expectation of trade. Although the harbour was excellent and the fishing good, the rocks and swamps in that area discouraged agriculture, and the settlement was slow to thrive. Despite the fact that commercial prospects never developed, settlers remained there and kept up the struggle. Gradually more families began moving into Beaver Harbour. There was plenty of land for all as most of the first settlers had left their grants. A statement of population in June 1803 reported a population of fifty four in the Parish of Pennfield. The inhabitants were principally Quakers who had settled on a good tract of land. They made excellent farmers and lived comfortably. They made great improvements in agriculture. Pennfield was noted for producing excellent wheat. In addition to farming, these people fished for a living. Farming was not quite as important as fishing, lumbering, and shipping. They caught and cured considerable quantities of scaled fish. The country was well-stocked with pine. Enterprising settlers

established two saw mills which cut many thousands of feet of boards for construction. After 1794, because of the Napoleonic Wars, New Brunswick became more focused on lumbering and timber trade as well as ship-building. There were two vessels, about 250 tons, built at Beaver Harbour. The maritime colonies were in a favourable trading position and replaced the New England colonies in furnishing the British West Indies with necessary supplies.²⁷

Relations between the British provinces and American states on the Atlantic seaboard became tense again at the time of the War of 1812-14. There were several cases of plundering. One incident reported in the *St. John* newspaper of 17 June 1813 was recounted from a letter written by Elias Wright, dated 10 June 1813. He wrote that on the night of 8 June 1813, a privateer whaleboat *Weasel* manned by seafaring men from Maine plundered the inhabitants of Beaver Harbour. Mr. Wright and Mr. Young suffered most. About a dozen men went to Mr. Wright's house, broke open the door with a crowbar, and robbed him of 300 lbs sugar, nearly a barrel of coffee, 200 lbs dried meat, part of a barrel of molasses, his wife and daughter's clothes, 2 pairs of boots, all his fishing lines, part of a cask of nails, a large trunk filled with small articles, and many other items. At Captain Young's house, they took sugar, broadcloth, and all his wife and children's clothing. After loading their plunder into their own boat as well as Captain Cross's boat, they said they were sorry that they had no more boats to load. The sturdy men of Charlotte County were not the kind to be over-awed and stand idly by while their friends and neighbours were being robbed. A number of them collected together and, manning three boats, went after the buccaneers, put them to rout, and drove them ashore.

Another time, the buccaneers sailed into the Harbour under cover of darkness and stole

nearly all of George Wright's flock of geese. They put a penny in the bag for each goose stolen and tied it around the gander's neck with the following note: "Mr Wright. We bid you good-night. We stole your geese at a penny apiece and left the pay with the gander."²⁸

Not all of the Quaker refugees remained in their original locations in the Maritime Provinces. By 1784, within a year of arriving at Annapolis, NS, Mahlon Knight and his family had embarked upon the arduous twenty-six day journey by batteaux inland to the settlement at Cataraqui (Kingston) situated on the north shore of Lake Ontario near the St Lawrence River. In 1804, Mahlon Knight requested his Quaker Certificate of Removal from Abingdon MM in Pennsylvania to Adolphustown MM, Upper Canada.²⁹

Approximately one third of those who had attended the Knight-Vernon marriage (1794) and signed their names as witnesses left the settlement in New Brunswick and migrated to Upper Canada, settling in York County. In the period between 1800 and 1826, descendants of the Justason, Knight, Vernon, Walton families removed to York County. Other families from Pennfield NB migrated to Upper Canada at later dates.³⁰

John Dennis, an early settler at Beaver Harbour, was among those who moved to York County, UC. In May 1822, he took advantage of the fact that Moses Vernon was travelling to New Brunswick to send a letter with him to his friend, Elias Wright appointing him "to see to the preservation of every part of his property," and sending the deed to his lot at Beaver Harbour (which he bought from William Reynolds) to Elias Wright's daughter, Ann, hoping that it would "be beneficial to her."³¹

After the War of 1812, changes were made to settlement patterns, notably against Americans and in favour of British. By the 1820s, the settlement began to dwindle. In 1824, the population of Pennfield Parish numbered 558 persons; the population of

Charlotte County numbered 9,267.³²

In this Quaker settlement, Rachel Walton married John Tatton. In 1829 their son Jesse Tatton was born. A family tale is recounted about him. The hum-drum existence in the backwoods settlement of New Brunswick did not appeal to the youth. He wanted a stirring life of adventure. The sea offered exciting pursuits to some of the daring young men for they could sail to the West Indies in their home-made sailing ships. At a very early age, Jesse Tatton ran away from home and went to sea, without his father's consent. After a ship's captain signed up this promising lad, he became apprenticed to the sea. Life on board ship, however, was cruel and hard, and the lad soon made up his mind to desert. On his next trip to the West Indies, he arranged with a coloured boy whom he had met on the shore, and according to arrangements, he threw his clothes overboard into a boat that had been brought alongside the ship at night and they were taken ashore. He then threw his sailor's knife overboard, and at sunrise he told the captain that he would not sail, for according to the rules of the sea, every seaman should be equipped with a knife. Under this pretext, the captain allowed him to go ashore to procure the necessary knife. He secreted himself in the loft of a Negro's cabin and hid until the ship had left the harbour. It was many months before he could obtain passage on another ship and so work his way back to Halifax Harbour. As he arrived there in winter, clad only in the cotton clothes of the West Indies, he nearly perished of cold and exposure. He rejoined his father and mother in the old settlement, and migrated with them across the country through the woods and wilderness to Upper Canada.³³

Descendants of Elias Wright and William Eldridge continued to live on their original grants of land. Among the early settlers who migrated to Beaver Harbour were Caleb and Jonathan Paul, sons of James Paul of Warminster PA and members of Horsham

Friends Meeting PA. Caleb Paul married Joshua Knight's sister Priscilla. He had the first Crown Grant to the Eastern Wolves Island of five hundred acres, twenty acres on the west side of the harbour, and a town lot. Jonathan Paul owned land on the opposite side of the harbour. He was a shipbuilder. Jonathan Paul was burned to death at his home, named 'Woodlands' by later owners whose daughter married Daniel Justason of Pennfield. Joshua Paul moved his family from St Andrew's to Caleb Paul's grant on the Eastern Wolves Island. He died in 1890 at the age of ninety four at the home of his daughter Julia Ann Wright, wife of George Wright of Beaver Harbour. An interesting anecdote is told about a bottle containing a poem written by Julia Ann Paul and a message signed by Joshua Paul Sr, Elizabeth (Stinson) Paul, Walter Warnock, Julia Ann Paul, and other members of the family. The bottle was sent into the waves one evening in 1858 and found in 1893 by Wallace Matthews of Campobello while fishing off Wolves Island.³⁴

Although New Brunswick had the advantage of Atlantic ports for trade and commerce, within half a century of its founding, its economic development and progress had fallen behind the inland province of Upper Canada. The Maritimes had less space and less fertile land to offer settlers. Nevertheless, there were some successes. After being awarded the first British transatlantic steamship mail contract in 1839, Samuel Cunard (1787-1865) formed and operated the British & North American Royal Mail Steam-Packet Company, reorganized in 1879 as Cunard Steamship Company Ltd, a leading operator of passenger ships on the North Atlantic. The first sardines were packed by Lewis Holmes at Beaver Harbour. After Patrick and Lewis Connors became interested, they took over Holmes's business in 1882. This was the beginning of Connors Bros Ltd, the famous Brunswick Brand Sardines.

For many years, some Quaker families in isolated parts of New Brunswick retained their family and religious relationships with Friends in New England and Upper Canada. Regrettably, as the younger generation intermarried with the other settlers, gradually the characteristics of a distinctive identity as a Quaker group and their Quaker connections were lost. The younger people made their way to more promising areas of settlement, while the Pennfield community declined and almost disappeared.

Endnotes:

- ¹ Arthur Garratt Dorland, *The Quakers in Canada: A History* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1968), 30-50. The first Quaker settlement in the Maritimes was established in Barrington Township, Nova Scotia, in 1762 at the time of the Seven Years War. After the American Revolution, in 1784 Quakers who had settled on Nantucket Island were offered inducements by Governor Parr of Nova Scotia to remove to Dartmouth Township, Halifax County. Other Quaker settlements were established in Prince Edward Island, and Farnham, Quebec.
- ² Arthur J. Mekeel, "Free Quaker Movement in New England during the American Revolution," *Bulletin of Friends Historical Association (FHA)* 27, no. 2 (Autumn 1938): 72.
- ³ Phyllis Knight Armstrong and Barbara Knight Cruchon, "Mahlon Knight, UE," in *Loyalist Vignettes and Sketches*, ed. Arthur Bousfield and Garry Toffoli (Toronto: the United Empire Loyalists' Association of Canada, 1984), 96; Theodore C. Holmes, *John Holmes of Beaver Harbour, New Brunswick, 1776-1859* (Camden, ME: Penobscot Press, 1998), 77; Arthur J. Mekeel, "Quaker-Loyalist Settlers in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia", *Bulletin of Friends Historical Association* 36, no.1 (Spring 1947): 34.
- ⁴ Armstrong and Cruchon, "Mahlon Knight UE," 96.
- ⁵ Esther Clark Wright, *The Loyalists of New Brunswick* (1955, rpt. Windsor, NS: Lancelot Press, 1977).
- ⁶ Theodore C. Holmes, *Loyalists to Canada: The 1783 Settlement of Quakers and Others at Passamaquoddy* (Camden, ME: Picton Press, 1992), 2. [New Brunswick Museum & Archives: Ganong Papers, Book of Proceedings of the Society of Friends or Quakers who settled at Pennfield, Charlotte County in 1783].
- ⁷ Holmes, *Loyalists to Canada*, 4.
- ⁸ Holmes, *Loyalists to Canada*, 5.
- ⁹ Mekeel, "Quaker-Loyalist Settlers in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia," 31; Elizabeth Moger, "Loyalists' who

went to Nova Scotia (1783)," *Canadian Quaker History Journal* (Winter 1990). Return of the Company of Loyalists and Quakers who embark for the River St John in Nova Scotia, for whom Samuel Fairlamb, John Ranken & George Brown are appointed agents. From the list of forty nine Quakers who decided for Nova Scotia, those who subsequently signed for embarkation on the first voyage are marked *; others migrated to NS at later dates.

- ¹⁰ Wright, *The Loyalists of New Brunswick*, 92, 244; Stuart Trueman, *An Intimate History of New Brunswick* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd, 1970): 12-18.
- ¹¹ J. Vroom, ed., "A Book of Records of the transactions and proceedings of the Society of People called Quakers who have agreed to settle themselves on the River St Johns in Novascotia." New Brunswick Historical Society, 2, no. 4 (1889): 77.
- ¹² Holmes, *Loyalists to Canada*, 314.
- ¹³ Peter Fisher, *Sketches of New Brunswick* (Saint John, NB: Chubb & Sears, 1825), 126-29; Jesse M Walton, "The Hungry Year of 1787," *The Aurora Banner* (29 September 1939).
- ¹⁴ Canadian Yearly Meeting Archives, Newmarket (CYMA) vertical file: Beaver Harbour - Pennfield, New Brunswick. (Legislative Library NB 289-671533), 3 petitions from inhabitants of Beaver Harbour, 15 January 1785.
Petitioners (1): Joshua Knight Sr, Abram Rankin, John Barnhawk, Samuel [Beck?], Cornelius Blowfitt, Asher Brown, John Brown, John Cain, Nathaniel Coleman, Edward Connell, Stephen Dow, Michael Dunhill, [Ehasue] Ferris, James French, William Giborson, Jacob Giles, John Grime, Samuel Hart, Daniel Hill, John Huestis, Robert Jackson, William Kelly, George King, Thomas Leonard, Frederick Mabec, Jacob Mabec, Thomas Paul, James Pearce, Isack Pratt, James Pratt, Daniel Register, Eleazar Sanger, Ezra Sanger, Ephraim Sheaton, Drummond Simpson, Peter Teeple, Amos White, Josiah Whitney, Abraham Woodward, Samuel Yeorce.
Petitioners (2): John Burk, Samuel Butlor, John Claus, Jarman Davis, James Denight, Elijah Dikeman, Matty Eisen, Jeremiah Fitty, Evan Griffith, Elisha Halsey, Samuel Hand, Andrew Harnton, James Harris, William Hughs, David Kniphon, Richard Lippincott, John McClelland, Thomas Parent, Thomas Parent Jr, Peter Price, Joseph Russell, Gilbert Smith, Joseph Thorne, William Thorne, Gideon Vernon, Moses Winder, Nimrod Woodward.
- ¹⁵ A list of the original grantees of town plots in Beaver Harbour with plot numbers assigned is available, but not included here. The population estimate of 800 persons came from a plan of Beaver Harbour drawn by William Mahood shortly after the settlement was founded.

Wilbur H. Siebert, "The Exodus of the Loyalists from Penobscot and the Loyalist Settlements at Passamaquoddy." *New Brunswick Historical Society* 3, no. 9(1914): 485-525; Wright, *The Loyalists of New Brunswick*, 202; Arthur J. Mekeel, "The Quaker-Loyalist Migration to New Brunswick and Nova Scotia in 1783" in *Bulletin of Friends Historical Association*, 32, no. 2 (Autumn 1943): 65-75

¹⁶ W.A. Spray, *The Blacks in New Brunswick* (Fredericton, NB: Brunswick Press, 1972), 16-41.

¹⁷ Alan Skeoch, *United Empire Loyalists and the American Revolution* (Toronto: Grolier Ltd, 1982), 65.

¹⁸ Spray, *The Blacks in New Brunswick*, 38.

¹⁹ Rev. William Odber Raymond, ed., *Winslow Papers AD 1776-1826* (1901 rpt., Boston, MA: Gregg Press, 1972), 321.

²⁰ W. Bruce Antliff, *Loyalist Settlements 1783-1789 - New Evidence of Canadian Loyalist Claims* (Toronto: Archives of Ontario, 1985), 232; Armstrong and Cruchon, "Mahlon Knight UE," 96.

²¹ Mekeel, "The Quaker-Loyalist Migration to New Brunswick and Nova Scotia in 1783," 68.

²² Mekeel, "Quaker Loyalist Settlers in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia," 27-30; Letter from Mather Byles Jr (1755-1802) to Edward Winslow (1746-1815), 2 August 1787, in Raymond, *Winslow Papers*, 345. Mekeel, "The Quaker-Loyalist Migration to New Brunswick and Nova Scotia in 1783," 74.

²³ Mekeel, "The Quaker-Loyalist Migration to New Brunswick and Nova Scotia in 1783," 74.

²⁴ Jesse M Walton, "A Quaker Wedding Certificate of 1794," *The Aurora Banner* (14 July 1939); Holmes, *Loyalists to Canada*, 77. The children of Joshua Knight Jr (1773-18??) & Jane (Vernon) Knight were Joshua 1795, Gideon 1796, Sarah 1798, Phoebe 1800, Isaac 1801, Moses 1802, Priscilla 1804, Edmund 1806. Joshua Knight (1795-1851) m Elizabeth Justason. In 1936, at the time of the Walton Reunion, at "Brunswick Hall", the Walton residence in the village of Kettleby, King Township, York County, Ontario, the original document recording the Knight-Vernon marriage (1794) was sent to the archives in New Brunswick.

²⁵ Chris Densmore and Albert Schrauwers, eds, *The Journal of Timothy Rogers: "The Best Man for Settling New Country ..."* (Toronto: Canadian Friends Historical Association, 2000), 71, 79, 81(footnote), 82; Dorland, *The Quakers in Canada*, 35 (footnote), 48. Twentieth century Quaker historian, Arthur Dorland, reiterates the opinions of earlier visiting Friends, maintaining the view that many of the Loyalist refugees had no connection with the Society of Friends because a number of them had been disowned by the Society for their active partisanship in the war. He cites the fact that a number of persons associated with the group at Beaver Harbour,

such as Gideon Vernon of Philadelphia and Evan Thomas, had held military rank in Loyalist corps.

²⁶ Joseph Hoag, *Journal of the Life of Joseph Hoag, an Eminent Minister of the Gospel in the Society of Friends* (Auburn, NY: Knapp & Peck, Printers, 1861), 118-19.

²⁷ Raymond, *Winslow Papers*, 490.

²⁸ CYMA vertical file: Beaver Harbour - Pennfield, New Brunswick; Holmes, *Loyalists to Canada*, 141. In 1801, Elias Wright (1749-1825) and his wife Ann (Klein/Kline/Klyne) Wright were witnesses to the will of Joshua Knight who died in 1806. Elias Wright continued to live in Pennfield, at Beaver Harbor where he died in 1825, at the age of 76 years. After his death, an inventory of the estate of Elias Wright was prepared in April 1825 by Joshua Knight, Justus Justason, and Evan Thomas. Elias Wright Jr (1784-1854) married Mary Walton (ca1793-1867), daughter of Jesse Walton of Beaver Harbour.

²⁹ Armstrong and Cruchon, "Mahlon Knight UE," 96.

³⁰ Walton, "A Quaker Wedding Certificate of 1794."

³¹ Holmes, *Loyalists to Canada*, 317.

³² Fisher, *Sketches of New Brunswick.*, 90.

³³ Jesse M. Walton, "Family History," *Newmarket Era* (24 November 24 1911), 1. Rachel (Walton) Tatton was born in 1795 in NB - died ca. 1850 in King Township, York County, Canada West. Her son, Elder Jesse Tatton (1829-1873), was well-known.

³⁴ CYMA vertical file: Beaver Harbour - Pennfield, New Brunswick