

A Quaker Odyssey:

The Migration of Quaker Whalers from Nantucket, Massachusetts to Dartmouth, Nova Scotia and Milford Haven, Wales

Maida Barton Follini

In a quiet graveyard behind the Milford Haven Friends Meeting House in Pembrokeshire, Wales stand the gravestones of four Quakers originally from Nantucket Island: Timothy Folger and his wife, Abial Coleman Folger; and Samuel Starbuck, Sr. and his wife Abigail Barney Starbuck. Around them lie the graves of other family members and fellow members of the Religious Society of Friends. How did these Quakers come to end their lives in Wales, far from their native island off the coast of New England?

Timothy Folger

Timothy Folger was born in Nantucket on February 9, 1732, the son of Abishai and Sarah Mayhew Folger. Timothy was descended from Peter Folger who was a missionary and interpreter to the Indians of Martha's Vineyard. When a group of Massachusetts settlers came to the Island of Nantucket, Peter Folger was invited to join them as an interpreter to the Indians and teacher. By 1664 Peter had received a parcel of land on

the Island for his services, thus establishing the Folger family in Nantucket.¹

In 1732, when Peter's great-great-grandson Timothy Folger was born, Nantucket was no longer a raw, new settlement but a thriving whaling community. The geography of Nantucket Island, which was little more than a low sandbar south of Cape Cod, twenty-five miles long, east to west and from six to twenty miles wide, meant that only a small amount of produce could be grown on the Island and its inhabitants were dependent upon imports for food and even for firewood. Although sheep and a few cattle and horses were kept, there was not enough pasturage or hay-meadows to provide for more than small herds. Consequently, the inhabitants turned to the sea for their sustenance. A tradition states that an early resident, observing whales playing off the coast of the Island, said, "There are the green pastures which will provide for our children's grandchildren."²

By 1730, there were twenty-five whaling vessels owned by Nantucketers.³ Just prior to the American Revolution in the 1770s, Nantucket sent out 150 whaling vessels annually.⁴ The mariners of Nantucket went out to face the perils of the sea - not only the ocean reefs and stormy waves but the leviathans of the deep. Like knights of old going forth to slay dragons, they dueled with the monster whales, casting their harpoons from the prows of small wooden whaleboats. The successful whalers would tow the slain whale back to their square-rigged ship, where the precious oil would be harvested. Every venture brought the risk that the whale would win the duel, spill the whalers into the sea to drown, or grasp them with his jagged teeth. Nan-



Nantucket island from space

tucket whalers needed courage, skill and endurance.

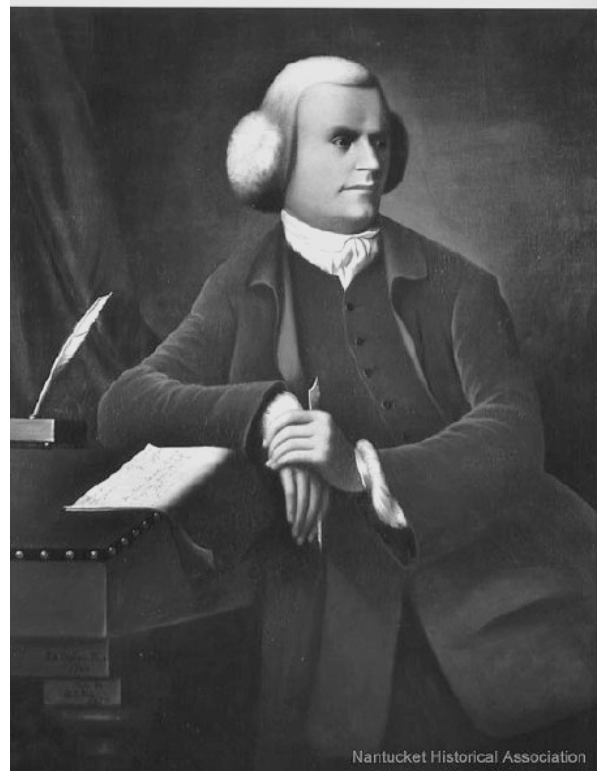
The island had also embraced a religion, the Religious Society of Friends, after half a century without any established church. In 1708, Nantucket Friends Meeting was founded and in 1711 the Quakers built their first Meeting House.⁵ Friends differed from other Protestant religions in that they believed in direct communication between the individual and God, since there was “that of God” in every person. There was thus no need for ministers or priests and Quakers refused to pay tithes to support them. Quakers refused to take oaths, as indicating a double standard of truth. Because every person shared in the divine, all were equal, rich and poor, men and women, black and white. Therefore, no titles should be used and dress should be simple, so as not to stress an artificial hierarchy. War and fighting were forbidden as opposed to the teachings of Jesus. These testimonies often caused the Friends to be persecuted, both in England and in the Colonies. However, on Nantucket Island, far from the authoritarian governments of both old England and Boston, the Quaker community was for long undisturbed.

Timothy Folger’s father, Abishai, was an owner and master of whaling ships, a leading man of the community and served as the island’s elected representative to the General Court of Massachusetts (the colonial legislature) from 1747 to 1765.

At age twenty-one, in 1753, Timothy Folger married Abial Coleman who was only seventeen.⁶ Between 1754 and 1769, the couple had seven children. Timothy, like his father, became a whaleship captain, a merchant and a leading member of the Nantucket community. Like his father, he was elected representative to the General Court but by taking the oath of office, he offended his Quaker Meeting who disowned him. However, to Folger, the testimony against oaths was of minor importance and he continued attending

Meeting all his life.

As a whaler and seller of whale oil, he frequently travelled to England, the largest market for whale products. Timothy Folger’s cousin, Benjamin Franklin,⁷ served as a colonial representative in London, as well as Postmaster to the American Colonies. The British had asked Franklin why the English mail packets sailing between Liverpool and New York took several weeks longer to make their passage than did the heavily laden American merchant vessels who sailed a



Timothy Folger by George Fish after Copley.

longer route from London. Franklin turned for advice to his whaling-captain cousin Folger, in London at that time. Folger showed him how the course of the Gulf Stream flowed north off the coast of North America and then east towards England. The American merchants avoided the Gulf Stream on their westerly passage, thus not having to sail against a strong current. Folger sketched the course of the stream and Franklin had this information made into a chart, first printed in 1769/70 in

London.⁸

One of Timothy's sons, probably Sylvanus (born 1754) was at school in England during 1769 and spent holidays with Benjamin Franklin.⁹ On another occasion, Folger, visiting Franklin in London, mentioned the recent birth of his youngest son. Franklin said, "Name him for me," and gave Folger a miniature portrait of himself. The baby was duly named "Benjamin Franklin Folger."¹⁰

Samuel Starbuck



Samuel Starbuck was born January 15, 1727 in Nantucket, the son of Paul and Ann Tibbetts Starbuck. Samuel's ancestor, Edward Starbuck, was one of the first proprietors of Nantucket Island, arriving in 1659. Samuel's father Paul was a glazier and mariner and Samuel was listed at various times as a glazier, a mariner and a merchant. In 1749, at age 22, Samuel married Abigail Barney. She was 18. The couple had two children surviving infancy, Daniel, born in 1751 and Samuel, Jr., born 1762.¹¹

Like Timothy Folger, Samuel Starbuck became a whaling captain, ship owner and merchant. Both men had become substantial citizens by the time the troubles between the Colonies and Old England began to intensify. Britain had tried for decades to control the trade of the colonies, for the benefit of merchants and ship owners in Britain. The Navi-

gation Acts of 1660 forbade trade from the colonies by foreign ships and prohibited direct trade from the continent of Europe to America. These rules were regularly flouted by colonial shipowners and smuggling was a respected occupation. However, England tightened its controls during the 1700s and attempted to raise money by placing taxes on goods imported into America.

The Boston Tea-Party and the American Revolution

In 1773, two whaleships, the *Dartmouth* and the *Beaver*, owned by Nantucket Quaker brothers, Francis and William Rotch,¹² and a third ship, the *Eleanor*, returned from London after discharging their whale oil and taking on cargoes of tea. They attempted to offload their cargoes in Boston but the tax which the British Government had placed on tea enraged the colonials. Disguising themselves as Indians, the colonial patriots went aboard the ships and threw the tea overboard. The British Government retaliated by closing the Port of Boston and revoking the Massachusetts Charter. There followed within the colonies the organization of the Continental Congress, the recruiting of the Minute Men and Militias, the establishment of armories at Concord and Lexington and the steps which resulted in "the shot heard round the world" and American independence.

Nantucket Quakers during the American Revolution

Now the Nantucket Quakers were in a critical situation. Their beliefs and consciences precluded them from fighting. William Rotch wrote, "When the War began we declared against taking any part of it."¹³ This was easier said than done. The Island depended upon its trade in whale oil to purchase goods to bring back for the sustenance of the inhabitants. Yet to the British, their ships were

enemy vessels, while the Americans outlawed their trade with the British. Consequently, their ships were seized by both sides and the island itself was attacked. The Colonials took away 50 small whaleboats. Loyalist renegades from Newport on the Mainland looted the Quaker warehouses and sailed off with a Nantucket brig.

Islanders petitioned both the British and the Americans to allow Nantucket to be declared a neutral island - with no success. Timothy Folger, Samuel Starbuck and William Rotch were often selected by the community to negotiate with the warring authorities for some relief for Nantucket. In July, 1780 Folger was sent to New York to recover stolen property from the British. He also petitioned the General Court of Massachusetts to recognize the unprotected situation of Nantucket Island, surrounded by the British Fleet and open to its ravages.

Although both Samuel Starbuck and Timothy Folger had loyalist sympathies, as Quakers, they refused to help either side. During the war, Folger was captured by a French warship and carried to Verdun. Fortunately for him, his cousin, Benjamin Franklin, at that time American minister in Paris, arranged for his release and because of Folger's known skill as a whaling captain, the Nantucketer was invited to join the French Navy and take command of a frigate. Folger declined, proclaiming his loyalty to the King of England and returned to his island home.¹⁴

Trying to negotiate with warring parties can lead to trouble. During a raid on Nantucket by renegade Tories from Newport, Samuel Starbuck and Timothy Folger tried to calm the crowd and met with the Loyalist leader, convincing him to leave but allowing him to take his booty with him. Soon it was learned the Loyalists were planning to return and continue looting. Samuel Starbuck William Rotch and others were selected to go directly to the British general at Newport in an attempt to have him stop the raid. At New-

port they were sent to the British authorities in New York. Here they were successful and an order was given by the British to stop raids on the Quakers, "a quiet and inoffensive people."

However, these contacts between Folger, Starbuck, Rotch and the British, caused suspicion among the Americans. The three Quakers were accused of treason and sent for trial in Boston. Their lives could have been forfeited had they been found guilty. Their accuser, Seth Jenkins of Nantucket, was in fact Timothy Folger's brother-in-law, being married to Folger's sister, Dinah. At the last minute Jenkins withdrew the charges and Folger and the others went free.¹⁵

Peace Amid the Devastation of War

When the provisional peace treaty between England and America was signed in 1782, Nantucket was impoverished and her whaling industry in disarray. Over one hundred of her whaleships had been captured, others had been shipwrecked and only twenty-four out of 158 whaling ships remained.¹⁶ The crews of many ships, if they had not been lost at sea, were made prisoners, or impressed into the British navy.

Yet those ship owners who had preserved some capital were quick to send out their whaleships again. William Rotch sent his ship, the *Bedford*, to London with a cargo of whaleoil with the Stars and Stripes flying from the masthead in 1782 - the first vessel to arrive in that port flying the new nation's colours. But as the wharves in Nantucket were rebuilt and new vessels sent down the ways, a new barrier was raised. Britain now levied a tariff of £18 a ton on foreign whale oil - and of course America was now a foreign country. The high tariff made it a losing proposition to market oil in England. And the markets in Boston, New York and Philadelphia were not yet large enough to provide an outlet for Nantucket's oil.

Once again, leaders Timothy Folger, Samuel Starbuck and William Rotch exerted themselves to find a solution. William Rotch hoped to transfer a community of Nantucket Quaker whalers to a whaling base in England on the English Channel. But lack of interest by the English government led him to approach France instead and he founded a whaling colony in Dunkirk where he had access to the French market.

A New Whaling Settlement at Dartmouth, Nova Scotia

Timothy Folger and Samuel Starbuck looked for a solution a little nearer home. They travelled to Nova Scotia and conferred with Governor Parr. Parr encouraged them and arranged for the Quakers to settle in Dartmouth, across the harbour from Halifax. Parr offered them free exercise of their religion; exemption from tithes; and the possibility of exemption from military duty. The Nova Scotia assembly provided £1500 and appointed a commission to build homes for the Quakers and set aside 2000 acres for them.¹⁷

In 1785, Dartmouth was still almost empty. There was little development in Nova Scotia other than some agriculture and the large military establishment in Halifax. Prior attempts to settle Dartmouth had not thrived. In August, 1750, the ship *Alderney* had arrived from England with over 300 settlers and house-lots were assigned to them in a planned new town. Unfortunately, the town had been laid out on the traditional summer camping ground of the native Mi'maqs. In May, 1751, the Mi'maqs attacked the settlement, killing at least four and taking others prisoner.¹⁸ Most of the English settlers were frightened away. Although from five to several dozen families resided in Dartmouth in the years following 1751, settlement remained sparse. In 1783, when Loyalists arrived from New York, many Loyalists camped in Dartmouth while waiting for settlement of their claims

for losses during the American Revolution. But most moved on to grants of large acreages throughout Nova Scotia. Parr and the Provincial Council were interested in attracting settlers and in developing new industry. Governor Parr knew the whaling industry would be an economic boon to the development of Dartmouth. He welcomed the Quakers who were not only skilled mariners but were known as hardworking and of good conduct.

On September 20, 1785, "the first contingent of the colony reached Halifax in three brigantines and a schooner with their crews and everything necessary for the whale fishery."¹⁹ Samuel Starbuck, Sr. with his son, Samuel, Jr., arrived aboard the whaleship *Lucretia*. The following May, 1786, the Starbuck's other son, Daniel, arrived with another party of Nantucketers. In June, 1786, Timothy Folger with his family, including his daughter Lucretia who was the wife of Samuel Starbuck, Jr. and her children, embarked from Nantucket for Dartmouth.²⁰ Between 1785 and 1790, twenty-seven families arrived to take up lots provided them in Dartmouth. Included among the settlers were 18 ship captains and whaling voyages were quickly initiated from Dartmouth.

The size and value of the whale fishery in the first few years of the Dartmouth Quaker settlement was as follows:²¹

1786 - 9 vessels - £14,700 worth of whale oil, etc. to London.

1787 - 14 vessels - £22,300 worth of whale oil, etc. to London.

1788 - 17 vessels - £27,500 worth of whale oil, etc. to London.

At this time, approximately half of the whaleships bringing whale oil and products to London were from the Quaker settlement at Dartmouth, Nova Scotia.²²

In settling the Quaker Whalers, Governor Parr ordered the Chief Land Surveyor to re-survey the town plots in Dartmouth and assign them to the Quaker families. The Com-

mission appointed by Parr planned to build 22 houses but some house-frames were “blown down by an uncommon Gale of Wind and much broken and damaged,”²³ so only 12 two-family houses were completed. Soon, the new settlers were moving in the furniture they had brought with them, putting in gardens and digging wells.

The township was laid out with streets in a grid pattern with an average of eight lots making up each block. Samuel Starbuck, his wife Abigail, their son Samuel, Jr., his wife Lucretia and their two young children were assigned lots on the block on the corner of the present Wentworth & Portland Streets in Dartmouth.²⁴ The Folgers received three plots, one for the parents, Timothy, Sr. and Abial; and one each for the two sons’ families: Timothy Jr. and his wife Sarah; and Benjamin Franklin Folger and his wife Mary. Timothy and Abial’s daughter Peggy Folger and her husband David Grieve also were provided a plot, as was their daughter Sarah and her husband Peter Macy. Names of other Nantucket families who were assigned lots were: Barnard, Bunker, Chadwick, Coffin, Coleman, Foster, Macy, Paddock, Ray, Robinson, Slade and Swain.

These early simple frame houses stood for many years until over time, one after another, they were pulled down to make way for larger, more modern buildings. The only one of the Quaker settlement houses remaining today is that of William Ray at 57/59 Ochterloney Street, built in 1786 and now the oldest house in Dartmouth. Concerned about saving this heritage building, citizens of the Dartmouth Museum Society bought the house in 1971 and it is now preserved as “Quaker House,” part of the Dartmouth Heritage Museum.²⁵

William Ray lived in the house with his wife, Elizabeth (Coffin) Ray and their six children.²⁶ Ray was a cooper, (barrel-maker), a trade that was vital to the whaling industry, as each whaleship needed a supply of barrels



Town plan of Dartmouth, Nova Scotia

which would be filled with whale-oil.

Not only were houses built but docks and warehouses, essential for sending out ships and handling cargo, were erected on the shores of Mill Cove in Dartmouth. “Within one season the land was converted into a thriving sea port.”²⁷

A plot was set aside for a Friends Meeting House, which was soon built, the exact date uncertain. The site of the Meeting House was where the present Post Office Building stands. (This Meeting House is mentioned by traveling minister Joseph Hoag in September, 1801: ...“We appointed a meeting in the evening at Friends meeting house in Dartmouth.”)²⁸ During 1786, the Friends held Meetings on First Day (Sunday) and in October, 1786, sent a letter to Nantucket Monthly Meeting requesting that the Dartmouth Friends be recognized as an established Meeting of the Society of Friends. The Dartmouth Meeting was advised to continue holding Meetings for Worship and eventually, after the request was referred to Sandwich Quarterly Meeting and New England Yearly Meeting, Dartmouth was recognized as a Preparative Meeting under the care of Nantucket Monthly Meeting. The parent Meeting in Nantucket was to send them the Friends’ Book of Discipline and a committee of Overseers was appointed to visit Dartmouth. An important consideration in being accepted as a Preparative Meeting was that the Dartmouth



William Ray house (Quaker House museum)

group was then allowed to perform marriages.

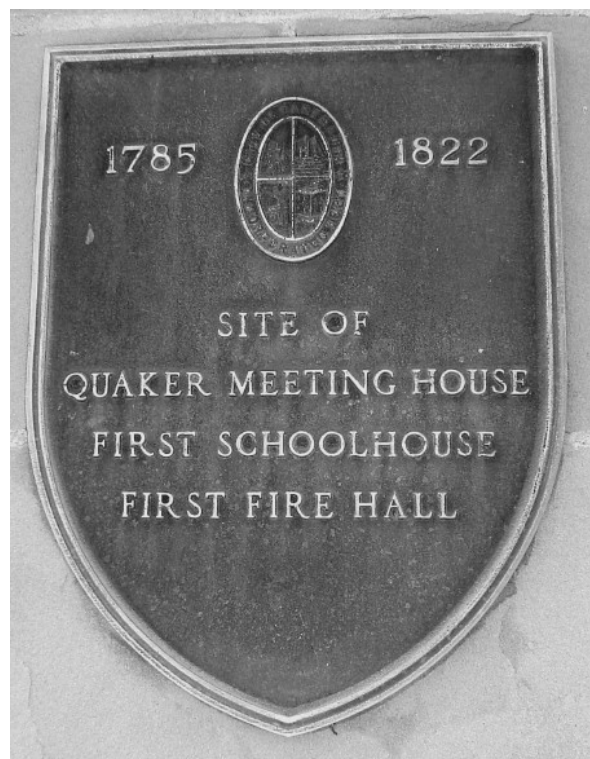
The Friends also established a burial ground on a hill overlooking the town. There Friends who passed away were laid but without markers in a place carpeted by grass and shaded by ancient trees, as these early Friends considered monuments to be too worldly. The site of the Quaker burial ground is now part of the Anglican Cemetery.

More Quaker families joined the flourishing Dartmouth settlement in 1789, from Nantucket and other places in New England and the middle Atlantic states. One notable immigrant was Lawrence Hartshorne, a Quaker from Black Point, New Jersey who had family and business ties to Loyalists.²⁹

The Quaker settlers took an active part in the running of the settlement.³⁰ In December, 1786, Timothy Folger was appointed a Justice of the Peace for Halifax County.³¹ In March, 1788 Samuel Starbuck, Sr. was nominated one of the surveyors of highways in Dartmouth. In March of 1789, Samuel Starbuck, Sr. and Timothy Folger were appointed Trustees of the Common Field of Dartmouth. Samuel Starbuck, Jr. was appointed an overseer of roads for Dartmouth and Seth Coleman was appointed Pound Keeper (to keep track of stray animals.). In 1790, Governor Parr appointed Timothy Folger to represent Dartmouth in a provincial agricultural society.³² Folger was named, along with two others, an assessor for Dartmouth, in 1792.

In addition to whaling, Quakers branched out into other businesses. Seth Coleman not only built whale boats for whaleships but tendered for merchant vessels and British Navy ships.³³ (Seth was an active Friend, sometimes serving as clerk of the Dartmouth Preparative Meeting. It is not clear whether there was any remonstrance from the Friends for his providing boats to the British Navy.) In 1792, Lawrence Hartshorne and his partner, Jonathan Tremaine, established a New Mill and Bake House at Dartmouth Cove. Quaker technology was in advance of other mills and their flour could last without spoilage during export. Flour was shipped within Nova Scotia, to Newfoundland and the Bermuda and the West Indies. The Bake House provided hardtack for the whaling vessels the *Army Garrison* and Navy ships.³⁴

Between 1785 and 1791, the Dartmouth Whalers sent out 37 whaling vessels, most to the Southern Oceans, to hunt the sperm whale. One ship was named the *Parr*, in honour of the Governor who had done so much to



Plaque memorializing Quaker Meeting House

encourage the establishment of the Quaker Whaling Colony in Dartmouth.

Challenges to the Quaker Whaling Industry in Dartmouth

Why, then, after this auspicious beginning, did the Quaker community not continue to grow and play a larger part in Nova Scotia's later development? Early 19th century historian Thomas Chandler Haliburton, in *A General Description of Nova Scotia* published in Halifax in 1823, states:

Unfortunately, in 1792, the failure of a house in Halifax, extensively concerned in the whale fishery, gave a severe check to the Dartmouth Establishment, which was soon after totally ruined. A Mr. Stokes was employed by the merchants of Milford in England to persuade the Nantucket settlers to remove thither; the offers were too liberal to be rejected and the Province lost these orderly and industrious people.³⁵

Arthur G. Dorland in his *The Quakers in Canada*, repeats this account, saying the Quaker settlement in Dartmouth "was doomed to failure... by the collapse of a large Halifax company engaged in the whale fishery, which involved other businesses in ruin as well as the lesser branches of the fishing industry."³⁶ Dorland quotes from a previous account by Lawson, "The Dartmouth branch received a severe shock which it was never able to surmount. In a short time all work ceased and the whale industry was irretrievably ruined."³⁷

However the true story, as uncovered by Trider, Stackpole and others,³⁸ and recorded in archives in Nova Scotia and Britain, is quite different, more complex and far more interesting.

The British Government Discourages Development in Nova Scotia

Governor Parr's efforts to enable the Province of Nova Scotia to be self-sustaining were not appreciated by the British government in London. The well-being of its colonies was not of interest to the British who considered colonies to exist primarily for the benefit of the mother country. Under the policy of mercantilism, colonies were seen as providing cheap raw materials to the home country while being consumers for the home country's manufactured products. Successful colonial manufacturies were rivals to be discouraged. The British government decided that whaling vessels as well as the whale-related industries of refining oil, making candles and the subsidiary work of boat-building, sail-making and ship chandlery, should be based in the home nation to provide work and profit for Britains. They had missed the opportunity presented by William Rotch in 1785 of allowing a colony of Nantucket whalers to set up their base in England. The British acted to encourage whalers to emigrate to the home island after finding Rotch's whalers established on the soil of Britain's great enemy, France, the next year. The Nova Scotian governor was instructed to discourage the whaling colony in Dartmouth in order to bring the Nantucket whalers to Britain.

"It is the present Determination of Government," wrote the British Home Secretary, "not to encourage the Southern Whale Fishery that may be carried on by Persons who may have removed from Nantucket and other places within the American States excepting they shall exercise the Fishery directly from Great Britain."³⁹

Greville's Plans

An enterprising Englishman, Charles Francis Greville, saw the possibility of establishing a whaling colony in Britain as an oppor-

tunity to advance a design of his own. Greville was the nephew of Sir William Hamilton who owned the manor of Hubberston, in Wales on the magnificent harbour of Milford Haven. Sir William, being envoy to Naples and out of Britain for long periods, made Greville his agent. Greville had a vision of developing the area as a whaling port.

The tie between uncle and nephew was clearly congenial as Charles Greville had introduced his young mistress Emma Hart, to his uncle. Emma soon became Hamilton's mistress and later, in 1791, his wife. Hamilton paid Greville's debts, supported his plans for developing a seaport at Milford Haven and named him his heir. Hamilton requested and gained permission from Parliament to build a town with docks, warehouses and a custom house on his land at Milford Haven.⁴⁰ The British government also agreed to subsidize the removal of the whalemens from North



Charles Francis Greville



Sir William Hamilton

America to Britain, as part of their plan to encourage whaling from the home island.

The next step was to recruit the whalemens - the Nantucket mariners. For, as Thomas Jefferson, writing about the whale fishery, said: "The Nantuckois... were the only people who exercised this fishery to any extent... Their country, from its barrenness, yielding no subsistence, they were obliged to seek it in the sea which surrounded them..." Nantucketers were "the best seamen existing..." and the pursuit of the sperm whale was "an art which they possessed almost exclusively."⁴¹

An agent, Charles Stokes, was sent to Nantucket to recruit whalers but "the people there refused to move, were highly suspicious of the British government and objected to the idea."⁴² Stokes then visited Dartmouth, Nova Scotia to recruit Nantucket whalers from there.

To Go or To Stay?

The Minutes of the Dartmouth Preparative

Meeting noted:

In the fall 1790 come a person from England with authority it was said to recive proposals of the Inhabitents of Dartmouth for the purpose of removeing with their famalies to the Shores of Great Britton for to carry on the whale fishery, after some days, said Inhabitants were conveyaned on the Occation and agreed that Each mans property should be estimated and proposals fixd on which Sd. Inhabitants would be willing to remove all which being Accomplish'd was laid before another Meeting of Sd. Inhabitents for that purpose. After being canvas'd and considered of appear'd to be satisfactory.⁴³

The value of the properties of the Dartmouth Quakers were then estimated, including houses, storehouses, wharves, lots and farmlands. Twenty-three of the thirty-five Quaker whaler families decided to move to Milford Haven. They sent their proposal to the British Home Secretary that they would move to Milford Haven if given compensation for the losses they would sustain by giving up their properties in Nova Scotia and if given permission to bring their whaling vessels and whaling equipment with them.

Governor Parr, in December, 1790, affirmed the statement of property values to be fair. The total came to £5985, 15 shillings, 9 pence in British sterling.⁴⁴

The British Treasury granted £2000 to be shared amongst the whole group rather than the £5985 sterling requested for losses incurred. £50 towards cost of removal was granted to each family to be paid when they arrived at Milford Haven. Ships were to be allowed in and registered British. However, unlike the agreement with Governor Parr, the British government did not make a commitment to relieve the Quakers of the obligation to pay tithes or to serve in the military. This

omission caused the Quakers serious trouble later.

There were misgivings on the part of some of the Dartmouth Quakers as well as within their parent Meeting in Nantucket. On May 30th, 1791, the parent meeting of the Quakers, Nantucket Monthly Meeting, wrote a letter of advice to Dartmouth Preparative Meeting on the proposed removal to Wales which said in part:

Dear Friends,

Being at this time brought into a renewed Exercise for the prosperity of Truth and your welfare; Occasioned by an Information that [you] were meditating a Removal to Great Britain and had proposed conditions for that purpose: The consideration for which hath deeply affected our Minds and raised a concern, early to Communicate our tender and affectionate advice thereon; whereby you will be made acquainted with the sympathy and anxious care of your concerned Brethren & Sisters: in order to awaken and encourage a lively review of the matter in all is various circumstances - for indeed the Subject appears weighty and momentous; deserving a deep consideration with an attention abstracted from all Vissibles; whereby you may be Qualified to know the real pointings of best Wisdom and in the Ability afforded, to move with that fearful Circumspection becoming the true dependant Heirs of the Heavenly Kingdom.

We are desirous that your advancement in a remove may not tend to discourage any scrupulous retrospections that might arise thereon or to prevent a seasonable commendation of the same to your concerned Brethren in order for their sympathy and united Concurrence therein, apprehending it

a debt due to Society which the tender principle of Truth ever enjoins on all its followers and when obtained must doubtless afford great comfort and solid satisfaction in times of Tryal; which this delusive state frequently presents.

When we consider the late care and deep exercise of Society in establishing you a Meeting and under a hopeful prospect of its being Divinely Owned: and doubtless there may have been many Eyes cast upon you, some perhaps for good and some for Evil, Our desires are that your lights may so shine before men that our heavenly Father may be Glorified thereby: and seeing the Consequence of your Removal may be the breaking up of said meeting - Oh! With what fearfull Circumstances ought we united be to Step a long, that whatever we do may have a tendency to promote that great and good purpose —

Wherefore, Dear Friends, may you by an humble enquiry, be favoured to know the pure mind of Truth therein and be abilitated to walk agreeable thereto, is our sincere desire.

With the Salutations of True Love, we conclude: Your Friends, Brethren and Sisters.

Signed by Order and on behalf of our
said Meeting
By Obed Marshall, Clerk
Dorcas Brown, Clerk ⁴⁵

The Dartmouth Preparative Meeting responded to this Letter of Advice:

To the Monthly Meeting of Friends at Nantucket:

Dear Friends,

We... received your acceptable Epistle of 5th mo 30th last. Respecting our meditating a removal to Great Britain

and the seasonable advice therein contained, am in hopes may be duly attended to. As to the subject of Removal, it remains very uncertain. But some of us still have it in view and am in hopes we may be favoured to see our way in it and if the matter ripens, shall acquaint you therewith...

Signed in and on behalf of our Preparative Meeting of Friends held at Dartmouth in the County of Halifax and Province of Nova Scotia the 8th of the 9th mo, 1791, by

Daniel Starbuck, Clerk. ⁴⁶

(Daniel was the older son of Samuel Starbuck, Sr.)

The Dartmouth Friends Divide

The misgivings were exacerbated by the discovery that the two most important leaders of the Dartmouth Friends, Samuel Starbuck, Sr. and Timothy Folger, had sent in addition to the group proposal, a private proposal requesting pensions for themselves and their wives on the basis of their losses as Loyalists during the American Revolution.

The Dartmouth Quakers who had followed the leadership of Starbuck and Folger to migrate from Nantucket to Dartmouth had taken their advice to join in with the new plan to migrate to Wales. Twenty-three out of the thirty-five Dartmouth families had signed up to remove to Milford Haven. Now they found, that first, the British Treasury would not reimburse them for the complete amount of the loss they would incur from moving and second, that their leaders without the community's knowledge, had submitted additional private proposals for their own benefit. It looked as if the leaders were working as agents of the British interests to "recruit" them for Wales and not as agents of the community. At this point, many of the Quaker community drew back from the Wales plan.

One of those who changed his mind was Seth Coleman, Abial Colman Folger's brother. Coleman and his wife Deborah and their large family remained in Dartmouth. Other Quakers remained in Dartmouth too, while some returned to the States - either going back home to Nantucket or to other Quaker settlements in New England and New York. William Ray sold his Dartmouth home to Daniel Starbuck, elder son of Samuel, Sr., for £289. In turn, Ray purchased from Daniel Starbuck a tract of land on Nantucket Island for the sum of £224 /10/ consisting of 50 acres more or less with a dwelling house, out houses, fences and two oxen. William Ray and his family returned to Nantucket where fifteen years later Ray signed his last will and testament on October 24, 1806 and died in Nantucket sometime before March 5, 1807, when his will was probated.⁴⁷

Starbucks and Folgers Lead the Migration to Wales

Starbuck and Folger had lost faith in Dartmouth as a whaling port. They believed that if the British Government was against it, it would not long succeed there. They were determined to continue their whaling business, sending out whaling ships and bringing in a good income for themselves, their families and their employees. Although pacifists, they had always been faithful to the British crown and they had fewer qualms about leaving the continent where they had been born and raised and emigrating back to the home of their ancestors. Both had spent many years voyaging as whalers and as merchants. They were familiar with English ports and had walked the streets of London as easily as the streets of Boston.

It was harder for their wives who had remained at home to travel across the wide ocean to a land completely new to them. And it placed them farther from their Nantucket birthplace and from the many family mem-

bers who remained there.

Samuel Starbuck, Jr., younger son of Samuel Sr., (age about 29 at this time) was sent to scout out the land prior to the migration. He sailed to London in the summer of 1791 and took the mail coach to Haverford West where he met Charles Greville, Sir William Hamilton's nephew and agent and the prime mover of the Milford Haven plan. Greville showed him over the site beside the great arm of the sea where the new town would be built. Milford Haven itself is a waterway extending from the Irish sea deep into the interior of Wales, extensive enough to provide safe shelter for fleets numbering hundreds of vessels. Samuel Starbuck Sr.'s brother-in-law, William Rotch, had described it as "the best harbour in England or Wales."⁴⁸

Through his first wife Catherine Barlow, Hamilton had possession of the manor of Hubberston on the north shore of Milford Haven waterway. Part of this manor, just east of the village of Hubberston, was a ridge of fields and farm land stretching down to the water, lying between two rivers or "pills" - Priory Pill and Castle Pill, which emptied into the haven. It was on this land, empty except for an old chapel and a farm, that Greville now planned to settle the Quaker whalers. He would build a new town and port and with the building of wharves and quays, warehouses and a customs house, forecast that the rents would bring in a substantial income for his uncle, the owner of Hubberston manor.

Samuel Starbuck, Jr., after seeing with his own eyes the harbour and proposed site of the new town, visited his cousin, Benjamin Rotch, in Dunkirk. He found Benjamin and the Quaker whaling colony there planning to leave France due to the disturbances of the French Revolution. Samuel, Jr., was able to give his cousin a good account of Milford Haven before returning to Nova Scotia to report to his father and the Dartmouth group.

The report was received favourably by his father and Timothy Folger who set about pre-

paring to move their families, ships, whaling crews and business to Wales. As has been noted above, others of the Dartmouth Quaker group were not so pleased with the arrangements. Consequently, only a half-dozen families from Dartmouth actually emigrated to Milford Haven rather than the original 23 families who had intended to settle in Wales. Five of the six emigrating Quaker families were closely related to Folgers or Starbucks.

Those who sailed for Wales were:

- Timothy Folger and his wife Abial Coleman Folger
- Samuel Starbuck, Sr. and his wife Abigail Barney Starbuck,
- Daniel Starbuck (eldest son of Samuel, Sr.) and his wife Alice Vaughn and their four children
- Samuel Starbuck, Jr., (younger son of Samuel Sr.) and his wife Lucretia Folger Starbuck (daughter of Timothy and Abial Folger) and their two children
- David Grieve and possibly his wife Peggy Folger Grieve (daughter of Timothy & Abial) (although it is not certain his wife travelled with him.)
- Captain Zachariah Bunker and his wife Judith and 3 children. The only family in this group not closely related to Folgers or Starbucks were the Bunkers.

Others, not necessarily Quakers, also went to Milford Haven - the captains and crews of the whaling vessels owned by the Folger and Starbuck families, as well as very probably other employees - nursemaids, shipwrights, etc. These "occasional" residents may have come and gone as jobs demanded and their names are not always known.

The first vessel to reach Milford Haven from Dartmouth was the *Sierra Leone*, arriving in June, 1792 with Samuel Starbuck, Jr., his wife Lucretia and their two children. The two older leaders, Timothy Folger and Samuel Starbuck Sr., sailed from Dartmouth on

the ship *Aurora* August 2, 1792 with their wives and families. Abial Folger later on recalled arriving in Milford Haven. In her diary for the year 1808, she writes, Sept. 22: "This day sixteen years I stepped my feet on Welch land and a grevous day it was to me."⁴⁹ She had had to leave her older children behind and leave her friends in Dartmouth to go to a strange land.

The Building of the Town

Temporary lodgings had to be found in nearby villages as the town was not yet built. The elder Starbucks and Folgers were given temporary residence at Robeston Hall two and a half miles outside of the site of Milford. Samuel Starbuck, Jr. and his wife Lucretia and children lodged at Haverfordwest. Over the next several years, the town of Milford took shape. In *The Building of Milford*, Flora Thomas describes it:

The plan of it was on American lines. There were to be three long streets parallel with each other and cuts down at right angles from the upper to the lower streets. The ground rises sharply from the sea, inland... wherefor the cuts are exceedingly steep in parts.⁵⁰

The lowest street on the seafront, first named *Front Street*, was afterwards called *Hamilton Terrace*, after the proprietor, Sir William Hamilton. The next street halfway up the slope became *Middle Street* (later renamed *Charles Street*, after Charles Greville.) The street at the top was named *Robert Street*, most likely after Charles's brother, Robert Fulke Greville. The cross streets were *Dartmouth Street*, *Priory Street*, *Barlow Street*, *Fluke Street*, *Francis Street*, *Mansfield Street* and the *Great North Road*. Certainly *Dartmouth*, Nova Scotia, is remembered by its street and it is likely that *Fluke* refers to the tail of a whale - a welcome sign to whalers

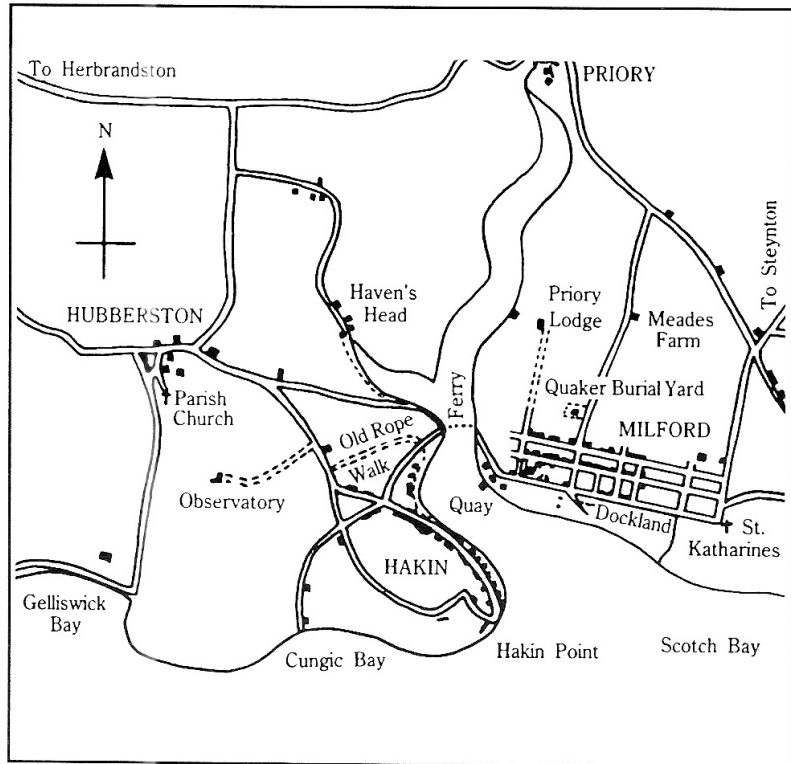
looking for their prey! Priory Street leads into Priory Road leads out a few miles to the village of Priory, which most likely is the site of a former, long-gone religious priory. Barlow Street honors Catherine Barlow, Hamilton's first wife, from whom he gained the property in Milford Haven. Francis Street takes its name from Charles Francis Greville's middle name.

There is also at present a *Nantucket Avenue*, a *Dartmouth Gardens* and a *Starbuck Road*. It is not clear at what point these names were given but they honour the Quaker whalers and their origins.

The first priority for construction was to build a quay for ships to come up alongside and a custom house. A stone quarry was opened, a builder hired and the work of docks and public buildings was begun. The custom house was built on what is now Hamilton Terrace near the wharves. While Charles Greville arranged for the public works to be built (with help from government grants) the Quaker families contracted for their own houses. Timothy Folger built a house farther up Hamilton Terrace where he could look out and see his ships coming and going.



Priory Lodge



Samuel Starbuck, Sr., had a beautiful spacious house built a little ways from the centre of town and set amid lawns and gardens. It was named "Priory Lodge" and the way leading to it was called *Priory Lodge Drive*. Made of stone (as were most of the houses in the area) it is three stories high and the exterior is coated with cream-coloured stucco. The gracious reception rooms and parlours inside indicate a pleasing and comfortable life-style.⁵¹

Starbuck's two sons Daniel and Samuel Jr., built houses next to each other on Hamilton Terrace. Daniel's house is notable for being one of the few houses with gray shingled siding on the front - giving it the look of a typical Nantucket home!

Quaker Industries at Milford Haven

Folger and Starbuck had brought to Milford Haven five whaling vessels as well as coopers, sail-makers, boat builders and candle-makers. The whaleship *Sierra Leone* set off immediately on a whaling voyage,



Daniel Starbuck's house

after it had disembarked its passengers and goods. No doubt the other whaling ships were sent out as soon as practicable.

The new settlers were active in engaging in other ventures as well. Starbuck and Folger traded not only in whaleoil, but in grain and wood products, using their vessels to bring in goods from across the Atlantic. In 1795 a scarcity of grain in Pembrokeshire was ameliorated by importations of barley, rye and maize by the Starbucks and notices were printed up informing people of the supplies at Milford.⁵² A bakery was set up to provide a supply of biscuit and ship bread to stock the vessels. A mill was established to grind the various grains into flour. Daniel Starbuck started a general store. Samuel Starbuck, Jr.

and his cousin Francis Rotch, son of Benjamin, along with a third partner S.L. Phillips started a bank, known as the Milford and Haverfordwest Bank.

The Arrival of Benjamin Rotch

Soon after the Starbucks and Folgers were established at Milford Haven, their kinsman Benjamin Rotch who had been in charge of his father's whaling business in Dunkirk, left France for England. In 1789 the masses had stormed the Bastille prison and released the prisoners; in 1792 King Louis XVI and his family were arrested; in 1793 Louis and Marie Antoinette were executed. The Reign of Terror had begun.

The Dunkirk whaling fleet of the Rotch family had comprised 48 vessels. Benjamin Rotch left France and brought his wife and three children to England in 1794.⁵³ They stayed in London for more than two years while Benjamin was engaged in business and legal affairs regarding the whaling fleet. While in London, they enjoyed the friendship of the Quaker artist from Pennsylvania, Benjamin West who was President of the Royal Academy. They also were invited to Charles Greville's London home where they met Sir William and Lady Hamilton.

According to Benjamin Rotch's daughter



Custom House

Eliza, “Lady Hamilton was still very handsome and sang sweetly. My mother refused to be introduced to her who was the lion of the evening... and though she [Lady Hamilton] saw that she was being avoided by the beautiful Quakeress, she was not to be deterred from speaking to her and... said she hoped to see her in Wales that summer, as Sir William and she hoped to visit Milford.”⁵⁴

Sir William and Lady Emma Hamilton did indeed travel to Milford Haven in the summer of 1802, along with the third person in their marriage, Admiral Horatio Nelson, Lady Hamilton’s lover. The tour through southern England and Wales was a triumphal tour for England’s great naval commander, “The Hero of the Nile” where he had defeated Buona-*parte’s* navy in 1798. In Milford Haven, Greville had arranged a banquet at the “New Inn” whose name was soon changed to the Lord Nelson Hotel. Nelson, in a speech at the banquet, described Milford Haven as one of the finest harbours he had seen and praised the town’s benefactor, Sir William Hamilton, Hamilton’s agent Charles Greville, the Quaker whalers and all who had worked to develop what Nelson saw as an important and strategic seaport.⁵⁵

Benjamin Rotch’s daughter Eliza recounts her father’s activities after the family settled in Milford:

My father began immediately to build stores and a dwelling house and ships began to arrive from America, full freighted with sperm oil. The business attracted the artisans necessary for carrying it on and houses sprang up on every side and Milford became a scene of activity unknown before. The author of so much prosperity was deservedly popular and his prompt pay secured him plenty of workmen. The oil imported from the United States [*New Bedford and Nantucket*] was landed, the casks coopered and then re-shipped



Emma, Lady Hamilton, painted by Romney

in small coasting vessels to London. This with the outfitting of his ships for the South Seas, made a thriving business for a variety of trades and intro-



Rear Admiral Sir Horation Nelson, painted by Lemuel Francis Abbot, 1800. Copyright National Maritime Museum, London, England.

duced some new shops into the town.”⁵⁶

Rotch was able to avoid the tariff on foreign oil by having registered his whaleships in British registry! His ships at sea during the upheavals in France were diverted to New Bedford, Massachusetts, where Benjamin's father William Rotch had established himself. The ship *Ann* arrived from New Bedford, Massachusetts in December, 1799 and delivered to Benjamin Rotch whale oil and bone worth £9,100. It also carried casks of bread, raisins, chocolates and two kinds of soap! It was followed in 1800 by the *Wareham*, one of Rotch's former Dunkirk whale vessels who arrived from New Bedford with whale oil valued at almost £7,000, plus £400 worth of beef, pork, molasses, coffee, rum and wooden staves.⁵⁷ Although there was some justification for allowing the ships which had sailed out of Dunkirk to return via New Bedford to Milford Haven, Rotch went beyond that to arrange for his “British registered” (but essentially American) vessels to sail from the Rotch family docks in New Bedford to the South Seas, returning full of oil to unload at Milford Haven, thus circumventing the British tariff!

One of these whaleships was captained by Laban Russell who had migrated from Nantucket to Dartmouth, Nova Scotia and from there to Milford Haven. In 1805 he was Master of the whaleship *Charles*, sailing out of Milford Haven. In 1811, Capt. Russell captained another ship for owner Benjamin Rotch, to go on a whale voyage.⁵⁸ Although the vessels brought back a cargo of great value, it wasn't easy. Not only was the whale-hunt a dangerous occupation but whalers were susceptible to being stopped on the seas as a result of the seemingly never-ending wars between nations. Thus the vessel *Hannah & Eliza*, owner Benjamin Rotch of Milford Haven, left New Bedford, Massachusetts under Captain Micajah Gardner on April 9,

1804. Five days out he was stopped by the British Navy frigate *Leander* and forced to heave to. Ten of the *Hannah & Eliza's* crew identified as British subjects were then impressed into the British Navy. The *Hannah & Eliza* returned to New Bedford to replace the ten crew members and sailed again, May 23, 1804. She went to the South Pacific, returning to Milford Haven, September 24, 1806 to unload her oil.⁵⁹

In spite of various challenges, Benjamin Rotch still became a wealthy man on the basis of whale oil. When he first came to Milford Haven he had a house built in Hamilton Terrace; while this was under construction he heard of a beautiful villa a short distance outside of Milford which he purchased in 1804. Castle Hall, on a rise overlooking the Milford Haven waterway, was built about 1770 for John Zephaniah Holwell, a former Governor of Bengal and a survivor of the Black Hole of Calcutta. The three story mansion with two wings was set in extensive grounds. When Benjamin Rotch moved in with his wife and children, he enlarged and beautified the house and laid out landscaped gardens and made an artificial lake. He assigned his whaling captains the task of bringing home from the South Seas exotic trees bearing flowers and fruit rare in England. This enabled him to



First Bank of Milford

grow oranges in his orangeries and pineapples in his pineries. Here his children grew up in a veritable garden of Eden.

The building on Hamilton Terrace which he had originally planned for a home became the Milford and Haverfordwest Bank, owned by Benjamin's son Francis Rotch, Samuel Starbuck, Jr. and their partner, S.L. Philips.

The Society of Friends in Pembrokeshire

When the Quakers came from Dartmouth to Milford Haven, they were able to worship at the Friends Meeting at Haverfordwest, eight miles from Milford. Quakers had been in Pembrokeshire since at least 1657 when George Fox with a companion travelled to Tenby, Pembroke and Haverfordwest. Among the meetings established in the 17th century were Tenby, Jameston, Redstone, Haverfordwest, St. David's, Punctestone and Newport.⁶⁰ Severe laws aimed at suppressing dissenters prohibited worshippers from holding services except at the established Parish Church. Harsh punishments received by Quakers and other dissenters included long stretches of imprisonment in cold and unhealthy jails; large fines; whipping; and banishment. As a result, many Friends took refuge in Pennsylvania, the proprietary colony of William Penn. The "Welsh Tract" of Pennsylvania, south of Philadelphia preserves the history of this migration in the names of its villages - Haverford, Radnor, Bryn Mawr, Bala Cynwyth.



Castle Hall after the Benjamin Rotch additions in the early 1800s. Drawn by Lyndon Dudley, Milford Haven

Friends Meetings that remained in Pembrokeshire were much reduced although Quakers were still there to welcome the Nantucket whalers when they arrive at the end of the 1700s. Meetings for worship were soon held in Milford on Sundays and Thursdays. The arrival of the American Quakers strengthened the Quaker presence in the Milford Haven area.

And just as in Nantucket and Nova Scotia, the Folgers and Starbucks took leading positions in their new community. Daniel Starbuck (Samuel's older son) was chosen Clerk of Haverfordwest Monthly Meeting, in 1794. Samuel Starbuck Sr., started a mill and a bakery. Samuel Starbuck Jr., was made supervisor of wrecks (which were frequent on the coast of Pembrokeshire.) And as previously stated, Samuel Jr. with his cousin Francis Rotch and another partner started the Milford and Haverfordwest Bank. Timothy Folger was appointed American Consul and surveyor of ships.⁶¹

In 1801, Abigail Barney Starbuck, wife of Samuel Starbuck Sr., died and her nephew, Benjamin Rotch, wrote Charles Greville asking for a plot of ground for a burial site. Greville responded with a respectful note:

Dear Sir,

I enclose a line to Mr. Barrallier [*Greville's town engineer*] to set out a lot of the dimensions you desire in the spot your uncle has often mentioned as suitable for a meeting House and burial ground...

I am glad to have paid my respects to your deceased Friend when last at Milford as I am aware she was released without a struggle and those who best knew her must be the most confident that her exemplary life will be rewarded by eternal bliss...

...Yours most faithfully,
C.F. Greville ⁶²

Abigail died at age 71. Her husband Samuel Sr., followed her two years later in 1803 at the age of 75. Their gravestone stand side by side in the graveyard behind the Friends Meeting House on Priory Road in Milford Haven.

A meeting house was built and completed at a cost of £573 with £100 contributed by leading whaler, Benjamin Rotch. It was opened in March, 1811.⁶³ Now the Milford Haven Quakers need no longer meet in Friends' homes or travel the eight miles to Haverfordwest to Meeting.

The Milford Haven Meeting House, a rectangular one-story building with a hip roof, is set back from Priory Road behind a high wall with a gate in it. Entering you pass through a door in the ridged entry-way to a lobby from which you step into one of the two large rooms inside. There is space for business meetings here. From here you pass into the room for meeting for worship. There are wooden benches arranged in a square along the floor with raised seats behind them along the walls. The meeting house has stood for almost 200 years, providing a simple and dignified setting for Friends as they quietly listened for the divine voice.

The graveyard is behind the meeting house shaded by trees. The graves are of dark slate, carved with the initials or names of those resting beneath the grass. Here rests Abigail

Barney Starbuck,(1730 - 1801) and her husband, Samuel Starbuck. (1727 - 1803). Here lies Timothy Folger (1732 - 1814) and his wife Abial Coleman Folger (1736 - 1816). Here lies Daniel Starbuck and his wife Alice Vaughn Starbuck; and Samuel Starbuck Jr. with his wife Lucretia Folger Starbuck, daughter of Timothy and Abial Folger. Around them are the graves of some of their children and grandchildren as well as other Friends and neighbors.

Not all of their family members are here. In the passage from Nantucket to Dartmouth, and from Dartmouth to Milford Haven, some daughters and sons, brothers and sisters, were left behind. And the journeying from land to land was not all one way. Some, like David Grieve, came to Milford Haven and left to return to America. Some spread to other parts of Britain. To follow the connections of the Milford Haven "pioneers" would take us to widely scattered parts - to Nantucket; to Nova Scotia; to London and Liverpool and Bath; to New Bedford, Massachusetts, Providence, Rhode Island and Hudson, New York; to Ohio and Illinois. We will not follow these trails but leave something for future discovery.

Consider the life journey of Timothy Folger and his wife, Abial; Samuel Starbuck Sr. and his wife Abigail. They were born and raised in Nantucket; lived through the Revolutionary War; migrated to Dartmouth, Nova Scotia in 1785 and '86; pulled up roots again and sailed to Wales in 1792, where they established themselves in a brand new town. A century before the Welsh Quakers had left oppression in the British Isles and sailed west to settle in Pennsylvania. The Folger and Starbuck ancestors had left Britain to seek a better life and crossed the ocean westward to New England. A hundred years later, Folgers and Starbucks from Nantucket went against the flow, sailing first northeast to Nova Scotia and then east to Wales, where they found a place to continue their livelihood in the mother country of their ancestors. They rest



Milford Haven Meeting House

in the green shade of the Milford Haven graveyard having travelled full circle in their odyssey.

Notes:

1. Harriet M. Grover, "Highlights of the Folger Family with a Brief Genealogy," MS., Berkeley, California, 1939.
2. Alexander Starbuck, *History of the American Whale Fishery from its Earliest Inception to the year 1876*, Washington, Government Printing Office, 1878.
3. Emil F. Guba, *Nantucket Odyssey*, Waltham, Mass., 1951, p. 127.
4. Gene Keyes, *The Quaker Whaler House in Dartmouth*, Dartmouth Museum Society, Dartmouth Nova Scotia, 1989.
5. Robert J. Leach & Peter Gow, *Quaker Nantucket*, Mill Hill Press, Nantucket, Mass., 1997, p. 30.
6. Robert J. Leach, letter to Stephen Griffith, Feb. 11, 1999.
7. Ken McKay, "Whaleman who helped to plot the Gulf Stream", *Western Telegraph*, Milford Haven, Wales, Oct. 28th, 1992.-, p. 9.
8. Letter from Benjamin Franklin to Timothy Folger, Sept. 29, 1769, in Benjamin Franklin Papers, Yale University Library.
9. Harriet M. Grover, *op.cit.* p. 15.
10. According to Flora Thomas, eight other children born to Samuel and Abigail died in infancy.
11. *The Builders of Milford*, Western Telegraph, Haverfordwest, Pembrokeshire, 1920, p.20.
12. William Rotch's wife, Elizabeth Barney, was sister of Samuel Starbuck Sr.,'s wife, Abigail Barney, making William & Samuel brothers-in-law.
13. William Rotch, Memo, New Bedford, Mass. 1814.
14. Flora Thomas, *The Builders of Milford*, 1920, Western Telegraph, Haverfordwest, Pembrokeshire, p. 17.
15. Harriet M. Grover, "Highlights of the Folger Family." typescript, Berkeley, CA, 1939.
16. Robert J. Leach & Peter Gow, *Quaker Nantucket*, Mill Hill Press, Nantucket, 1997, p. 125.
17. Douglas William Trider, *The History of the Dartmouth Quakers*, Lancelot Press, Hantsport, N.S. 1985, p. 38.
18. John Patrick Martin, *The Story of Dartmouth*, Privately Printed, Dartmouth, N.S. 1957, p. 83.
19. Edouard Stackpole, *Whales and Destiny*, U. Massachusetts Press, 1972, p. 33.
20. Gene Keyes, *The Quaker Whaler House in Dartmouth*, Dartmouth Museum Society, 1989.
21. Douglas William Trider, *The History of the Dartmouth Quakers*, Lancelot Press, Hantsport, 1985, p. 62.
22. Edouard Stackpole, *Whales and Destiny*, U. Mass. Press, 1972, p. 90.
23. "Report of the Commissioners for Encouraging and Advancing the Fishery of Whales," Record Group one, Public Archives of Nova Scotia, quoted in Gene Keyes, *The Quaker Whaler House in Dartmouth*, Dartmouth Museum Society, 1989, p. 15.
24. Lots E1,2,5,6, 7 & 8 - that is, all of one block of land except for lots E3 and 4.
25. Dartmouth Heritage Museum, "The William Ray House", 1999.
26. Ray's first wife, Elizabeth Coffin Ray, died September 12, 1788. Ray married a second wife, Elizabeth (Swain) Coffin, widow of David Coffin, October 5, 1789. There was no issue from the 2nd marriage. The 2nd Elizabeth Ray died of consumption August 29th, 1836.
27. Douglas William Trider, *The History of the Dartmouth Quakers*, Lancelot Press, Hantsport, N.S., 1985 p. 39.
28. "The Journal of Joseph Hoag - A Quaker in Atlantic Canada" ed. Christopher Densmore & Doris Calder, *Canadian Friends Historical Association, Monograph Series #1*, Toronto, 1995 p. 38..
29. Harry Chapman, *The Dartmouthians*, Dartmouth Historical Association, Dartmouth, 2005, p.28-29.
30. Douglas William Trider, *op cit* p. 44.
31. Trider, *op cit*, p. 54.
32. Trider, *op cit*, p. 77.
33. Trider, *op cit*, p. 114.
34. Trider, *op cit*, p. 103.
35. Thomas Chandler Haliburton, *A General Description of Nova Scotia*, Halifax, 1823, p. 19.
36. Arthur Garratt Dorland, *The Quakers in Canada: A History*, Toronto, Ryerson Press, 1968, p.34.
37. Mrs. William Lawson, *History of the Townships of Dartmouth, Preston and Lawrencetown, Halifax County, N.S.*, edited by Harry Piers, 1893, 19-20.
38. Douglas William Trider: *The History of the Dartmouth Quakers*, Hantsport, Lancelot Press, 1985; Edouard A. Stackpole, *Whales & Destiny*, U. Massachusetts Press, 1972; Flora Thomas, *The Builders of Milford*, Haverfordwest, Western Telegraph, 1920.

39. Lord Sydney to Governor Parr, April 20, 1786, PANS, v. 33, Doc. 26, quoted in Edouard Stackpole, *Whales and Destiny*, U. Mass. Press, 1972, p. 87.
40. Parliamentary Acts, "30 Geo. III, Cap.55", quoted in Edouard Stackpole, *Whales and Destiny*, U. Mass. Press, 1972, p. 199.
41. Thomas Jefferson, "Observations on the Whale Fishery"
42. Douglas William Trider, op. cit., p. 87.
43. Dartmouth Preparative Meeting, Minutes, 10th month 4th day, 1793, Seth Coleman, Clerk. Original in the Nantucket Historical Association Collection. Microfilmed in seventh month 1974 by the Nantucket Atheneum. Copied in longhand by Ralph Greene.
44. Douglas William Trider, op cit, p. 82.
45. *Minutes, 1786 - 1798*, Dartmouth Nova Scotia Preparative Meeting, Society of Friends, original in the Nantucket Historical Association collection, micro-filmed in Seventh Month 1974 by the Nantucket Atheneum, copied in longhand by Ralph Greene.
46. *Minutes, 1786 - 1798*, as above.
47. "Selected Deeds, Wills & Estate Papers of the Ray Family - Nantucket" typescript, excerpt from Marina Kavanaugh, "Quaker Whaler House Research Notes & Transcriptions of Historic Documents" Dartmouth Heritage Museum, 1993.
48. Quoted in Edouard A. Stackpole, *Whales & Destiny*, U. Massachusetts Press, 1972, p. 200.
49. Abial Coleman Folger, Diary, typescript, Dartmouth Heritage Society.
50. Flora Thomas, *The Building of Milford*, Western Telegraph, Haverfordwest, 1920, p. 32.
51. Stackpole, *Whales & Destiny*, op cit., p. 250 and Stephen Griffith, *A History of Quakers in Pembrokeshire*, Llandysul, Dyfed, Gomer Press, 2004, p. 22, state that Priory Lodge was built for Samuel Starbuck, Sr. However, Flora Thomas in *The Builders of Milford*, Haverfordwest, The Western Telegraph, 1920, p. 47 says Priory lodge was built "by one Captain Bunker and later was the residence of Gayer Starbuck, son of Daniel and grandson of Samuel Sr. However the house is supposed to date from 1793 according to Stackpole. A point for further research to settle!
52. Flora Thomas, *The Builders of Milford*, Haverfordwest, The Western Telegraph, 1920, p. 35.
53. For the date of Rotch's coming to London, see Ken McKay, "The Rotches of Castle Hall", Milford Haven, Pembrokeshire, Wales, Gulf Oil, p. 41-42.
54. Eliza Rotch Farrar, "A Daughter's Recollections," Bullard, *The Rotches*, p. 340, quoted in Edouard Starbuck, *Whales & Destiny*, U. Mass., 1972, p. 235.
55. Ken McKay, "A Remarkable Relationship" Heritage & Maritime Museum, Milford Haven, 1992, pp 88-89.
56. Eliza Rotch Farrar, "A Daughter's Recollections," Bullard, *The Rotches*, p. 341, quoted in Edouard Starbuck, *Whales & Destiny*, U. Mass, 1972, p. 237.
57. Ken McKay, "Haven of oil for whalers" in the *Western Telegraph*, Haverfordwest, April 22, 1992.
58. Letter-journals of Mary (Hayden) Russell; and Barbara Johnson Collection, Nantucket Historical Association Research Library & Archives.
59. Ships' Log Collection, Nantucket Historical Association.
60. Stephen Griffith, *A History of Quakers in Pembrokeshire*, Llandysul, Dyfed: Friends of Milford Haven Preparative Meeting. 2004, pp 10-12.
61. Stephen Griffith, op. cit., p. 22 -23.
62. Flora Thomas, op. cit. p. 41.
63. Wing Commander Ken McKay, "The Rotches of Castle Hall", Milford Haven, Pembrokeshire: Gulf Oil, Waterston Refinery, 1996, p. 69.