

SCOTTISH IMMIGRATION TO CAPE BRETON

1758-1838

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When one considers Scottish Immigration into Cape Breton during the years 1758 - 1838, several questions seem to require an answer. Who were these people, why did they come, how did they travel, when did they come and what did they find when they arrived?

In Chapter One we consider the life of the Scotsman before emigration. By surveying both the way of life and the changes occurring in it, we might arrive at the causes which led to the decision to leave the homeland. Chapter Two answers the question how as we survey and assess the conditions of an emigrant voyage. In Chapter Three, we see the state of the island when the settlers arrived and consider the early effect of the settlers and the island upon each other. Chapter Four traces the development of early settlement and the importance of religion and education in the lives of these settlers. Chapter Five follows the problems of the island during its early separate status until it acquires some stability after annexation. It concludes with an estimate of immigration and a survey of the land settlement problems. In the conclusion, the threads are drawn together to give an overall picture of Scottish Immigration to Cape Breton 1758 - 1838.

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CHAPTER I CAUSE AND DECISION

For Scotland, the eighteenth century was a period of change and adjustment. Prior to 1700, she had been an independent country making her own way in the world. Her ties were with France and her foreign policy was her own. Now, suddenly by the Act of Union, 1707, she became half of the country of Great Britain and the less important half at that. No longer would an independent foreign policy emanate north of the border. Scotsmen would still be found in the Courts of Europe, for example John Law in France and Gordon and Greig in Russia, and Scottish soldiers would still be found fighting in the ranks of most European armies. But as the eighteenth century wore on, the drift of the Scotsman would be to England, to the English commercial centres, to English armies and inevitably to English colonies.

The Union brought Scotland advantages, disadvantages and some compensation. The Equivalent - £398,085 a year for ten years - paid to balance the unequal National Debts, did materially assist in replacing the loss of currency suffered when the Darien Scheme failed. Union brought Scotland the right of entry into British Ports and substantially increased her carrying trade. But Scottish native industries, such as the fine woollen industry, found competition from the cheaper and better English product

very difficult.

The eighteenth century saw these basic difficulties increased by the distress of famine and the political unrest of the Rebellions. In both 1715 and 1745, the Highlands were disturbed by the marching of armies, followed by the imposition of harsh regulations and punishments. Many fled overseas for safety and they were followed by others to whom poor weather had brought distress amounting to famine. Thus we can see emigration beginning in the eighteenth century as a trickle, growing to a stream and becoming, early in the nineteenth century a broad and deep river.

Many reasons have been attributed to this movement as its cause. All of them, ambition, economic depression, enclosure, famine, overpopulation, are valid at some time in the course of its history. But no one can be held as the sole or basic element which gave the emigration movement its impetus. To understand the current and direction of the emigration movement, it is necessary to know and understand the country in which it began and the period in which it had its roots. To do this we must know the conditions in Scotland in the eighteenth century and have an overall picture of the world in which it was set. With this knowledge as a background, we should be able to gain some understanding of the causes of the emigration and the events which precipitated the decision to leave the native land. Thus, we will be able to assess the contribution which these eighteenth and nineteenth century emigrants would be able to make in their new home

across the sea.

Scotland is a country with two natural geographical divisions - the Lowlands and the Highlands. In both regions, farming was the basic means of livelihood. But in the Lowlands, there were two or three centres of commerce and throughout the eighteenth century these grew in size and population with the increase of subsidiary industries such as cotton and linen factories and with the increased importance of Glasgow as a shipbuilding centre and an overseas port.

In the Highlands, however, farming remained the basic form of livelihood with the farming areas usually less than one hundred acres. The soil was poor and

This infertility rendered subsistence difficult in more ways than one for it resulted in a concentration of population in narrow alluvial glens and valleys, and so dragged down all to the common level of poverty in an overcrowded agricultural area. The Scottish settlement with an area varying from 50 to 400 acres but in general below a hundred acres, was a miserable one beside the English township of a thousand or more fat acres. ¹

The Highlander was accustomed to putting only the minimum effort necessary into his farm and he spent the rest of his time in leisure among the hills and glens. Occasionally if his land were near the coast, he would go fishing but as a rule deep sea fishing and sea shore living were not the natural occupation for him that peat gathering, fishing streams and brooks and hunting the heaths and glens were. Farming areas were small and waste-

1. Handley, J.E. Scottish farming in the eighteenth century.
Lond., Faber and Faber, 1953 52

lands large. Centres of population were few, small and widely scattered. Roads were poor, impassable or non-existent. James Mackinnon tells us that "carts were not in common use in the Lowlands till 1760"² Travellers were so scarce that

...before the middle of the century a carriage of any sort upon wheels on the road between Glasgow and Edinburgh was such a rarity that the whole village turned out to see it as it passed, and the children followed it for a mile.³

It was only after the rising of 1745 that the British Government began to put roads through to the Highlands and then these were military roads designed for swift passage of troops in the event of revolt or rebellion. Roads for the purpose of commercial and pleasure traffic were not built between towns until the last quarter of the eighteenth century. To a large extent, communities remained isolated and in their isolation, they tried to be as self sufficient as possible. Farming, then, had to form the foundation of their economy and their farming methods were extremely primitive. Successful farming combines good weather, good soil, good methods and good markets as essential elements. In the Highlands, the weather was poor and uncertain with late summers and early frosts and frequent rain. As a consequence, the soil was infertile, its little fertility being quickly dissipated by the method of growing the same crop in the soil with-

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2. Mackinnon, James. The social and industrial history of Scotland: from the union to the present time. Longmans, 1921. 5
3. Handley. op. cit. 29

out any attempt to replenish the food values in the ground. The basic unit of the farm was the ploughshare which was the amount of land which could be cultivated by one plough. This ploughshare frequently supported eight or ten families numbering one hundred or more people. It would consist of long strips of land divided from its neighbours by an uncultivated strip of weeds. Tools consisted of primitive wooden ploughs and hoes. The lack of roads or other methods of transportation rendered the marketing of perishable items such as milk, butter, and eggs an impossibility. The result was that each isolated community became as self sufficient as possible and lived only for itself.

There were two chief crops - grey oats, chosen because it withstood the climate best although its yield was low and barley which was grown over a wide area although it was not as universally popular as grey oats. The hopes, problems and fears of the growing season have been described in these words,

When the farmer had lightly scattered the seed - necessarily late in the season on the undrained land - his work in the fields was over. He waited until the autumn and fervently hoped that the weather would be kind. The harvest was usually late and long. Rain interrupted the cutting of the grain. Rain prolonged the gathering-in of the crops. Rain, frost, and snow rotted the stacks in the fields...In the Hebrides every fourth crop was almost entirely lost through the lateness of the harvest and the inclemency of the weather.⁴

In addition to the crops, each family tried to keep a few cattle which were allowed to roam freely during the summer months and

kept in the shieling with the family during the winter. Since the crops were poor, there was little in the nature of fodder to carry through the long winter months. If the spring was late in arriving, some of them died and of those remaining, many would be too weak to walk to pasture and so would have to be carried. There were no fences or hedges to enclose the cultivated areas and cattle roamed where they would in search of food. The result of this freedom was the destruction of young shrubs and seedlings to such an extent that nearly every English traveller of the eighteenth century commented upon the scarcity of trees.

This lack of trees created a problem in building and frequently the wood for sheds and houses had to be imported from the Baltic and Norway at great expense. As a result, the Highland cottages were designed to make the most efficient use of the materials at hand. They were usually one story buildings of stone or rock thatched with sods. There were openings for doors and windows and a hole in the roof to allow the smoke to escape. Here the family passed the winter with the cattle at one end and the fire in the middle. One eighteenth century traveller, Peter Barber, described the appearance of these houses on the Scottish landscape in his journal:

There is very little level Ground the Country consists of Rocks and Mountains - The Peasants inhabit the most miserable Hutts, they are built with Sods, the Doors so low they are obliged to creep in, and Windows or Holes on all sides, and on the top of the House, which serve the double purpose of letting the Light in and the Smoke out.

Near every House is a Stack of Peats, a Traveller cannot distinguish the one from the other, till he comes near

enough to discern the Smoke issuing from the Doors and Windows of the Dwelling houses.⁵

This description certainly seems to agree with that of Fletcher of Saltoun who in 1698 said that one in every five or six of the population lived on the verge of utter destitution.⁶ And Margaret Adam described seven thousand natives of Lewis as knowing "nothing of a chimney, gable, glass-window, house flooring or even hearth-stone by their own experience at home."⁷ Under conditions such as these, it is little wonder that the average Highlander was content just to exist instead of striving to improve his lot. He knew that as long as he stayed with the clan he would be cared for by them and in his turn he was ready to meet the needs of the clan by taking up arms and fighting when the clan chief required it. As long as he had a cottage and a small piece of land he was content with his lot and saw no reason for change - certainly not a change which involved a departure from his native glen. But circumstances were such that change was to become a necessity. Faced with the necessity of moving, the Highlander would as soon go a great distance as a short one. If he could not remain in his native glen, then it mattered little where he did go.

The need for change was brought about by the changing

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5. Barber, Peter. "A traveller in Scotland." in The Scottish Historical Review. Vol. 36. 49-50
 6. Handley. op. cit. 13
 7. Adam, Margaret I. "Eighteenth century highland landlords and the poverty problem." in The Scottish Historical Review. Vol. 19. 9

social conditions to which the Highlander found it difficult to adapt himself. In the past, his clan chieftain had inherited the land and allotted it either to his sons and relatives or to tacksmen, all of whom promised certain services, usually military, in return. These relatives and tacksmen in turn divided the land among sub-tenants who held the land at pleasure and usually paid for it by service on the tackman's land or by military service at the request of the clan chief. Under this system, the Highland peasant knew that the clan would take care of himself and his family in good times and in bad. While he might sometimes be close to starvation, at least he had the somewhat dubious comfort of the company of the rest of his clan in his misery.

After 1745, however, the situation changed. No longer were the clan chiefs allowed their right of personal armies and private justice. These were considered the exclusive right of the state. Thus there was no need to keep the clan lands laden with peasants who were no longer permitted to fill the ranks of the laird's army. The laird, by this time, had acquired the tastes of his wealthier English counterpart. He was no longer content to vegetate in the rustic seclusion of his estate. Rather, he and his lady found it essential to maintain a well-staffed town house, and to entertain and be entertained at great expense. Of course, the money for this increased expense had to be found from the estate. Since the farming peasant could not pay in military service, he must pay in coin.

The result of this change in the mode of living was an

immediate and sizeable increase in the amount exacted from relatives and tacksmen alike for their lands. This increase was passed down through the sub-tenants and crofters increasing in severity as it went. Thus, Scottish society gradually changed from one with a somewhat paternal, personal nature to one of a greedy, impersonal sometimes rapacious character. This change in society's needs created problems in the basic elements composing it. The agricultural system was badly in need of an overhaul if it was to successfully bear the strain of the increased demands being made of it.

The changing social conditions presented problems to two groups of people in particular. These were the land owner who wished money not personal service in return for the use of his lands and the Highland peasant who could not supply the required money unless he had a good year and the time to work on his land. Between the two, stood the tacksman who leased the land from the laird, usually at a set fee and for a pre-determined period of time. However, in sub-letting the land, the tacksman generally failed to pass these advantages on to the sub-tenant. Margaret Adam stated that, "In Eddeachylis, while the proprietor had abandoned all claims to personal services, the tacksmen exacted them so rigourously that they were able to dispense entirely with any hired help." She illustrated this situation by the following quotation from Buchanan's Travels:

The land is parcelled out in small portions by the tacksmen among the immediate cultivators of the soil, who pay their rent in kind and in personal services. Though the tacksmen for the most part enjoy their leases of the whole district on liberal terms, their exactions from the subtenants are in general most severe. They grant them their possessions only from year to year, and lest they forget their dependent condition they are every year at a certain term, with the most formality, ordered to quit their tenements and to go out of the bounds of the leasehold estate...there is not perhaps any part of the world where the good things of this life are more unequally distributed. While the scallag and the subtenant are wholly at the mercy of the tacksmen, the tacksmen from a large and advantageous farm, the cheapness of every necessary, and by means of smuggling every luxury, rolls in ease and affluence. ⁸

Clearly this situation could not continue too long. The lairds were the first to make a change. As the tacksmen's leases expired, they frequently found them renewed for shorter periods of time and at higher rents. The increased rent, they passed on to their sub-tenants by further exactions, but the shortened term of the lease indicated that their tenure was becoming uncertain. As a MSS, dated 1750 and edited by Lang, indicated, the conviction was growing that

the Highlands could not be improved until the tacksmen either were deprived of their power of subletting or held it under conditions which would protect the interests of the under tenants, or better still, were only allowed to keep such land as they and their personal servants were able to cultivate. ⁹

As the leases held by the tacksmen approached their expiry date, the landlord began to consider his position and to wonder/if it might not be better to eliminate this middle man

8. Adam, Margaret I. "Highland emigration of 1770." in The Scottish Historical Review. Vol. 16. 288-9

9. Adam. ibid. 288

and to rearrange his land to bring about a better yield. The first step was to attempt a consolidation of the farms and an enclosure of the land to protect it from cattle. The enclosure was also necessary, it seemed, to improve the cattle. This argument was put forward as early as 1744 in a letter from Campbell of Knockly^{*} to the Duke of Argyll. Although dealing chiefly with matters of local trade, Campbell did state, "that cattle could be improved by increasing their weight, but for this to happen it would be necessary to improve the country by enclosures."¹⁰ In this case, the land was to be enclosed to give existing cattle the advantage of good pasture and to protect crops and seedlings from the ravages of the cattle in their search for food.

It was about this time that returning travellers who had seen the parks and gardens of their English and European counterparts decided to enclose the area immediately surrounding their manor house to form either formal gardens or parklands and in some cases, both were created. This enclosure entailed the first movement of population since much of the land near the main house was arable land which had supported many families on a joint farm basis. These families were given land, usually of poorer quality, farther away on the estate. Thus families which had barely gained a living before, were now asked to exist on

10. Gailey, R. A. "Agrarian improvement and the development of enclosure in the South West Highlands of Scotland." in The Scottish Historical Review, Vol. 42. 112-4

* Knockly should be Knockbury.

much less.

From enclosures for gardens and parks, the movement spread to provide ample grazing land for larger and united herds of cattle. R. A. Gailey, working with Roy's map - a military Survey of Scotland in 1750, stated that "At Minard, Knockbury's enclosures were laid out while he was experimenting with stock rearing and breeding as early as 1744."¹¹ Gradually the enclosure movement spread and when the landlords began to realize the monetary advantages to be gained by transferring from cattle to sheep, the Highland peasant's problem became critical.

Cattle, even when enclosed, required farm hands to care for them and people to milk them. With the consolidation of the small holdings into large grazing areas, the former holders were still employed and could still have their own house and small piece of land. However, once sheep took over the grazing areas, the number of farm workers necessary was reduced and the land which their cottages formerly occupied could be added to the enclosures. And so the landlord solved his problem. To the average Highland peasant who had not yet adjusted his social outlook, this was a cruel and inhuman way of treating the faithful clan members. The peasant did not regard the increasingly swift enclosure movement as a simple matter of pounds, shillings and pence. To him, the dislocation suffered by the peasant

11. Gailey. ibid. 112

farmer and the cotter was violation of the ancient laws of the clan and it was a violation which he neither understood nor liked.

The Sutherland Clearances, widely publicized by Alexander MacKenzie in all their pathos and cruelty, have another side to their story. Undoubtedly the actual clearances were accompanied by instances of individual callousness on the one hand and by suffering on the other. Of the burnings, however, recent investigations and diggings can find no trace.¹² Even the individual sufferings could have been considerably lessened if the Highland peasant had been willing to recognize the need for adjustment to the social change. But this he was unable to do. He could not believe that the laird would order his faithful clansmen evicted for their good as well as for his. Just as earlier he could see no reason for planting trees across his favourite path, despite the desperate need for wood in the country, so now he could not be brought to realize that the old social system was no longer able to provide even a subsistence living for the increasing number of people which the land was called upon to support. New methods had to be tried and tried quickly. In the case of the Sutherland clearances, warning was given and new land on the seacoast was assigned to each family. Yet disbelief in the inevitability of change and confidence in

12. Investigations, being conducted by the Department of Archaeology, Galsgow University, are incomplete, and therefore not conclusive at the present time.

the clan combined with a dislike of the sea to keep the people from preparations to move to the despised coast. Yet after the suffering had been undergone and the new settlement was established, Margaret Adam was able to state of it that,

It is significant that during the bad years between 1812 and 1818, when most of the Highland area suffered seriously, the Sutherland family had to distribute twelve thousand pounds to support their inland tenants who were still farming on the old system, but the crofters on the coast weathered the storm with little help. They could fall back in bad seasons on the fisheries. ¹³

Thus the lairds had a method of combatting the severe suffering which was caused by the frequent famine and not all landlords resorted to the methods employed by the Sutherland family. Many used leases to encourage improvement of the part of the peasant. The leases of the Duke of Argyll in 1787 stated that

the tenants were bound to plant 100 trees for the Duke's behoof round their Barn yards and gardens or to enclose a convenient piece of ground elsewhere for this purpose. All ditches to be planted with Sallies within the first three years of Tack' Even social improvements were incorporated like the prohibition of sub-letting, a measure calculated to prevent the re-emergence of tacksmen. The standard of peasant housing was specified for the tenants were bound 'not to have any Creel or Wattled houses on their Lands except Shielings', and so they were allowed free timbers for their houses from the Duke's reserved woodlands. The cutting of peats or screws in the meadows or on improvable ground was prohibited. ¹⁴

Again in Kintyre, the Duke tried persuasion instead of force for

13. Adam, Margaret I. "Eighteenth century highland landlords and the poverty problem." in The Scottish Historical Review, Vol. 19. 178

14. Gailey. op. cit. 114

"we are told 'in place of raising his tenants' rent even upon nineteen year leases, which is the term commonly given, rather he takes them bound to inclose and drain a certain portion of their farms." ¹⁵

But whatever the method, the lairds of the Highlands were unable to win the support of the peasant to whom the land was an extremely essential item. To the average Highlander, happiness consisted of his own cottage on his own little piece of land. It did not matter that the cottage was crowded, cold and uncomfortable or that the land was costly in rent and service, hard to work, poor in production and subject to change at the wish of the lord. As long as it was his to work, and located in his home glen, the Highland peasant was happy. But with the enclosures for cattle and sheep, there was neither land nor work for all. In the Lowlands, the excess peasants either moved to other parishes where larger farms had openings for day labourers or else they drifted to the towns to swell the growing ranks of factory workers. But the Highlander, unlike the Lowlander, was not happy at day labour, nor was he happy away from his glen and his family. Some, it is true, went to the Lowland towns to staff the town house when the laird had difficulty finding properly trained servants. As Marjorie Plant said, "people in Edinburgh and elsewhere came to depend more and more on Highland servants." ¹⁶

15. Gailey. op. cit. 114

16. Plant, Marjorie. "Servant problem in eighteenth century Scotland." in The Scottish Historical Review, Vol. 29 145

But the servants accounted for only a small minority of the unhappy, unemployed and landless Highlanders. Many others still remained and of those remaining many found the solution to their problem in emigration. For this reason, historians in the past have stated that the Highland clearances and wholesale evictions have been responsible for the drain on the population and the mass exodus in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Certainly there seems to be a basis of truth in this statement, but perhaps a closer look at the facts will broaden and modify the perspective and present a truer picture.

Emigration began to be a definite and definable movement early in the eighteenth century and continued until the late nineteenth century with Cape Breton receiving its greatest influx early in the nineteenth century. To say that Highland clearances, which began in the late 1700's and were completed in the early 1800's were chiefly responsible for an emigration which began fifty years earlier and ended more than fifty years later is certainly overweighting the importance of enclosure as a cause. It contributes to emigration more than a little, but enclosure itself was not responsible for the exodus. No one cause can be assigned, but rather, circumstances combined to render emigration a necessary solution to the basic problem of insufficient return from the land.

Enclosure had been originally designed for easier management of the farms. Any attempt to increase the prosperity of the country with the old system of narrow jointly-held farms was doomed

to failure. Hence, the original enclosure was designed to bring farms to a size where they could be economically worked. This meant taking small holdings from many tenants and giving them to one tenant with many labourers. Then much of the land was better suited to grazing than to cultivation and so it was converted to cattle on a larger and more orderly basis than previously. Still the return was insufficient to provide the people with an adequate living or the owner with one which he could consider satisfactory. So the change was made to sheep which gave the owner a larger profit even if it did not satisfy the needs of the Highland peasant. But the land had been used by cattle and farmed earlier without results. As Margaret Adam stated,

... there was certainly nothing in Highland experience to warrant the hope that any general measure for converting the existing cattle into arable farms was likely to meet with any success. Even if such a transformation had been possible, it is doubtful if it would have done much to solve the poverty and unemployment problems of the Highlands. ¹⁷

The reason that farm reform could of itself do little to overcome the problems of the Highlands is that the farm difficulties were only part of the problem. In the early stages of emigration during the eighteenth century, the reason given most frequently for emigration was that of high rents. To place this in its proper perspective, this was the time when the landlords and clan chiefs were adjusting to the loss of their hereditary rights and accepting or demanding payment in cash. In many areas,

the tacksmen, faced with increased rents and realizing the impossibility of collecting from already overburdened sub-tenants, decided that it would be better to go elsewhere to work out their destiny. They dreamed of establishing their own private estate in the New World. To this end, upon emigration, they would be accompanied by many of their sub-tenants. Ian Graham stated that,

It was the rent question that made of the tacksmen the greatest disaffected class of the period. It was these very tacksmen who gave to the Highland, and indeed the Scottish, emigration of the years 1763-1775 its special character. 18

These early emigrants were fortunate in that they could choose the time of their departure and by selling their cattle in a good year they were able to leave their native land with a reserve upon which they could draw in the New World. Their reason for departure could be termed hope. The known probabilities of the Old World offered them less hope of advancement than the unknown possibilities of the New World. Both tacksmen and tenant seemed to have felt that the uncertainties in the West were better than those which surrounded them.

The weather was not the major difficulty although bad weather did result in near famine conditions in 1740, 1756, 1778, 1782-3, 1796, and 1799-1800.¹⁹ The problem was to be found in

18. Graham, I. C. C. Colonists from Scotland: Emigration to North America, 1707-1783. Ithaca, N. Y., Cornell Univ. Press, 1956. 63.

19. Handley. op. cit. 35

the high rent. According to Margaret Adam,

the real grievance lay, not in the amount the tenant had to pay, but in the uncertainty regarding it. The uncertainty might arise, either from the tenant being still liable to irregular demands for personal services, or from the possibilities of a fresh rise in rent at any moment, in other words from the want of leases.²⁰

Both the tacksman and the sub-tenant desired security and the uncertain and changing conditions of the Highlands in the late eighteenth century and early nineteenth century seemed to offer none. Helen Cowan has stated that "emigration was advised only when one general test made it imperative; that test was necessity, either from actual poverty or impending ruin."²¹ The tacksman, feeling this impending ruin, left while he was still able to salvage something to carry with him for a fresh start.

To those Highlanders who waited hoping for better times and better opportunity, the passing years brought only difficulties and disillusionment. We have seen that the increasing enclosure left him only work as a day labourer and as Stanley Johnson said,

... the early years of the nineteenth century progressed, so the lot of the farm-hand grew less and less attractive. In the first year or so, his right of keeping a cow and a few fowls and geese upon the common lands was taken from him by the gradual spread of enclosures; ... with the amalgamation of farms and the introduction of such agricultural implements as the threshing machine, there came less chance of employment and when landlords raised the rentals, the farmer lowered wages. These conditions culminated in a great agricultural depression which lasted with varying

20. Adam. op. cit. Eighteenth century... 12

21. Cowan, Helen I. British emigration to British North America, 1783-1837. Univ. of Toronto Library, 1928. 242-3

severity, from 1816 to 1822.²²

During this period, the necessity of doing something about their increasingly desperate situation was forcing the Highlanders to move from their native glens. But to move from their parish, their family and perhaps their clan went against the grain of the Highlander's character. He liked his valley and his friends. His home was his even if it did not meet the minimum standards of the day. As John Mason said in his article, Conditions in the Highlands after 'forty-five,

Economic conditions affected the state of society adversely. They fostered that apathy, that tendency to accept poverty as inevitable which impressed all observers of Highland life. Only reform in the agrarian system and strenuous efforts on the part of both Church and school could dispel indifference and create the desire for a higher standard of life.²³

However both the Church and the school were almost hopelessly hampered by distance and difficulty of travel and thus unable to assist materially in the re-education and re-direction of the Highland attitude. It was the movement of agrarian reform including both large farm and cattle and sheep enclosures which joggled the Highlander out of his apathy and into a state of alarm at the apparently imminent loss of both land and livelihood. It was at this point that the importance of land affected the direction of the Highlander's move.

22. Johnson, Stanley C. A history of emigration from the United Kingdom to North America, 1763-1912. Lond., Routledge, 1913. 46

23. Mason, John. "Conditions in the Highlands after 'forty-five," in The Scottish Historical Review. Vol. 37 141

While there was no land or work in his own parish, frequently work could be found as day labour in a neighbouring parish and certainly, in the new factories in the lowland towns, there were openings for young men to be trained in the new methods. But as the Earl of Selkirk pointed out, "Whatever additional employment a man may follow, he must occupy a small spot of land; and any one who cannot procure such a possession, cannot live in the country."²⁴ Land seemed to be the prime necessity for the Highlander. If he was forced to leave his home, then he might just as well gather his energies and go where land was available, where he could live life as he was accustomed to living it. Thus emigration was the answer to his need.

However, whether or not economic distress or agrarian reform had been present in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the Highlanders would still have been incapable of supporting their families because those families were becoming too large. Large families combined with better food, better health measures and fewer wars account for the amazing growth of population.. It does seem a paradox that in times of near famine the Highlander should be living longer because of better food. But the last of the eighteenth century saw the root crops such as potatoes and turnips coming into common use. The potato

24. Selkirk, Earl of. Observations on the present state of the Highlands of Scotland with a view of the causes and probable consequences of emigration, 2nd. ed. Constable, 1806. 41

proved a good supplement to the Highland diet while turnips helped to carry the cattle through the long winter in a stronger condition. The two together kept more members of the Scottish family alive and healthy. Then, better methods of treating disease especially infectious diseases such as small pox, greatly reduced the death rate. Clan wars were banned after the rising of 'forty-five and many young men who would have fallen in these feuds, lived - some to fight in the British armies overseas, others to stay on the family plot and assist in its cultivation until they had established families of their own. This was one of the major causes of suffering since the family plots were usually divided on the marriage of the children and soon the subdivisions were too small to support even the smallest family. This practice frequently meant that families were not only living on a plot of land too small for their support but, because there was an increasing number of families, land was brought under cultivation which would normally be considered too poor for working and all land was frequently over-worked in a desperate effort to produce needed food. Under these circumstances, those Highlanders whose desire to support their families overcame their reluctance to leave the land moved to the towns and villages of the Lowlands or to the seacoast in search of work. But even this shift of population was insufficient. We are able to judge the tremendous increase in population when we look at the following table which shows the increase in resident population in three areas where enclosure and emigration had made themselves felt.

<u>Place</u>	<u>c.1755</u>	<u>c.1795</u>
SUTHERLANDSHIRE	20,744	22,961
INVERNESS-SHIRE	64,656	73,979
ARGYLLSHIRE	63,291	76,101

Thus in all three areas there is an increase in the population of from ten to twenty-five per cent despite large emigrations from the area. The Hebridean Church Records indicate that in 1750 the total population was 49,485 and by 1808 it had risen to 91,049. This latter figure, taken from MacDonald's Agricultural Report of the Hebrides 1811, does not take account of the emigrations which removed some of the surplus²⁵ Even so, to have a population double within sixty years in an area which could hardly support the original population does present serious difficulties. A contemporary review of Selkirk's Observations on the present state of the Highlands of Scotland pointed out that,

"There is some reason to believe that, while the emigrations operate this necessary change in the character and composition of the population, they do not ultimately reduce the numbers, even in the Highlands. A place, for example, has been pointed out upon the west coast by Mr. Irvine, which, in 1790, contained 1900 inhabitants, of whom 500 emigrated the same year to America; in 1801, the same spot contained 1967, though it had furnished 87 men for the army and navy, and not a single stranger had settled in it."²⁶

So we can see that the basic Highland problem was something apart from sheep and landlords. It was too many people and too little land. In a situation such as that the only solution can be either

25. Adam, Margaret I. "Highland emigration of 1783-1803." in The Scottish Historical Review, Vol. 17. 87

26. "Observations on the present state of the Highlands of Scotland ... Art. 13 in The Edinburgh Review, Vol. 7, October 1805. 193

an increase in land and its productivity or a decrease in population. Since the former was an immediate impossibility and would be a doubtful achievement over a long period of time, the latter, a decrease in population, remained. Thus emigration became a necessity.

A few people went to the Lowland towns and cities, but the majority decided on the voyage overseas. Two things prompted this move. The push of conditions and circumstances and the pull of opportunity, land and friends. To understand this push and pull we must set the emigration movement into the background of conditions in the New and Old Worlds.

During the eighteenth century, Great Britain had put down two political rebellions within her boundaries and lost an empire in a third and successful revolution. All three wars coupled with the Seven Years' War with France, contributed in an indirect way to emigration. Many in the armies of the defeated clans fled overseas for safety. They established themselves in the New World and wrote for family and friends to join them. The armies sent out to maintain the growing colonies, to establish British Rule in the former French colonies and to keep the colonists loyal, contained many soldiers who liked the new land and preferred to carve new lives for themselves out of the forests. The authorities themselves encouraged the settlement of soldiers especially after the American Revolution when they were faced with a long and unsettled frontier to defend. These soldier settlements were not a success but they did serve a purpose.

Dr. MacGregor, who visited Pictou two years after the 82nd and the 84th Royal Highland Emigrants had been given lands, reported indeed that soldier settlement was a failure; nevertheless these Scottish settlers together with those who came in the HECTOR with John Ross formed a nucleus to which were drawn many of the Highland Scots who were forced later to seek relief abroad.²⁷

This was a contribution that was made by every Highlander who discovered something of what he was searching for in the New World. He wrote for others to follow. As time went on, more and more were ready to go. Their reasons were varied: to escape high rent, to find land, to escape political persecution, or to gain security. Whatever their reason underlying it could be found a desire to improve themselves, and a feeling that life in Scotland held no hope. Letters from overseas, the reports of emigration agents and societies and their own imaginations had led them to expect opportunity, independence and land across the sea. So, ambitious to obtain their own property and the right to control their own lives, they decided to leave their native home and emigrate. No one cause can be assigned as being solely responsible for their departure. Rather a series of circumstances were always present with a shifting emphasis in each period of emigration. Thus political persecution, changing social conditions, economic and agricultural distress, enclosures, labour shortage all in their turn precipitated the desire for change. All these causes served in their turn to aggravate and render

27. Cowan. op. cit. 10

acute the growing distress of overpopulation. The desire for improvement and the individual ambition to get ahead turned this feeling of acute distress and hopelessness into a decision for action. The action resulted in the emigration of vast numbers of Highlanders to settle in the New World. Many of these emigrants settled on the shores, banks and forests of Cape Breton Island.

As Ian Graham pointed out.

Ambition was a constant spur to emigration from Scotland to America. People who had a little money saved, who inherited modest fortunes, or whose wealth and social position were being threatened by the social changes in the eighteenth century Highlands, were often easy prey to the lure of America.²⁸

Ambition was to combine with determination and perseverance to carry the Highlander beyond the decision to emigrate through the voyage with its difficulties and discomforts to a landfall in the New World where new and greater tests awaited them.

CHAPTER II THE VOYAGE

Once the Highlander had arrived at his decision to leave Scotland, there was much to be done to prepare for the voyage. The very conditions under which he made his decision would influence the nature, extent and circumstances of his trip. For example, if he decided to leave before the changing conditions affected his way of life, or changed his social status, he would be in a position to select his departure time to coincide with a high market, thus obtaining a better price for his stock. Also, his departure would occur before emigration was causing any serious concern to governmental bodies, shipowners or passengers. After 1800, the increase in the number of emigrants, the shortage of transport and government restriction rendered the passage expensive, crowded and more hazardous than before.

The emigration tables show a gradual rise during the eighteenth century until the American Revolution halted emigration to that area causing a sharp decline in the number of emigrants. Following the Revolution, the number increased gradually at first and then with increasing rapidity until there was a levelling off in the middle of the nineteenth century. Cape Breton, of course, received only a small part of the influx. Owing to the lack of accurate records, or indeed

any records, the number coming to this area can only be estimated.

J. S. Martell suggested that of the 39,000 emigrants who arrived in Nova Scotia between 1815 and 1838, Sydney received 13,000.¹ Considering the fact that there are only records of the official arrivals at Sydney and even these are incomplete since they were not kept for the first four years of this period, it seems clear that many emigrants must have been landed in remote areas of the Island under extremely difficult conditions. The discussion of emigrant conditions, because of the scarcity of material for any one place or area can be assumed to apply to all. The disease and sickness, the difficulties and distress of an emigrant voyage were felt by English, Irish and Scottish alike. No one was exempt.

It can generally be said that emigration in the period under consideration, fell into three distinct periods and was of three definite types. In time, one division can be made in 1803 when the first government legislation was passed to control or regulate the emigrant passage and again in 1827 when the government Select Committee on Emigration temporarily removed the regulations and left the trade to fend for itself. Thus we have a period in which the flow of emigration was a relatively small one, little affecting either the government or the shipping trade. This was followed by sporadic attempts on the part of the government to restrict, control and improve the condition of the emigrant

1. Martell, J.S. Immigration to and emigration from Nova Scotia.
Halifax, Public Archives of Nova Scotia, 1942. (Pub.No.6) 9

ships. In 1827, both the government and the ship owners discover the evils which an unrestricted emigrant trade can bring and we see the re-imposition of restrictions and the addition of new measures designed to alleviate the distress.

In type, the emigration divides itself into emigration which was government assisted, privately assisted and non-assisted. In reference to Cape Breton, Scottish immigration was almost entirely unassisted and for this reason, there is little evidence as to the people, the time or the conditions under which they made their voyages. In other areas of Nova Scotia, such as Halifax, the lack of official records is in part compensated for by the unofficial shipping reports which appeared in the local papers. But local newspapers were not published in Cape Breton until 1832 and only a few of the Cape Breton ship arrivals were carried in the Halifax and Pictou papers. Helen Cowan stated in British Emigration to British North America, 1783-1837 that British Colonies have been peopled mainly by voluntary emigration, giving the proportion as ten unassisted emigrations to one assisted.² Since Cape Breton, the subject of our inquiry, received only one assisted direct immigration (the founding of Sydney), the proportion here seems to be even higher.

In unassisted emigration, many people travelled in the holds of small vessels sharing their accommodations with two or three hundred others sharing the same difficulties as themselves.

2. Cowan. op. cit. 117

During the early period of emigration, the overcrowded conditions, the dirt and the subsequent disease were not too serious. But as the pressure of necessity increased the flow of emigrants, conditions became worse and passages more expensive. The transatlantic vessels were geared to a timber or produce carrying trade. The human cargo which they carried to the New World frequently was considered to be merely ballast - more profitable, it is true, than rocks or sand, but still of very minor importance. Consequently, no attempt was made to provide vessels suited to the emigrant's needs or even to provide extra vessels at all. Thus as the numbers desiring passage grew, the fares increased and overcrowding began.

Despite a general belief that the unassisted emigrations were movements of impoverished Highland settlers, however, both Margaret Adam and more recently John Prebble have discovered evidence to indicate that the early emigrations were not "the wretched, helpless exodus that were to come in the next century".³ These early emigrations contained a varying group of people. There were tacksmen who felt that they could no longer afford the high rents now being charged by the money-conscious landlords. These men, desiring a better opportunity for themselves and feeling a responsibility to their sub-tenants, took them as a group to settle a stretch of land in the New World. There they would have the advantages of opportunity and companionship with people

3. Prebble, John. The Highland Clearances. Lond., Secker and Warburg, 1963. 25

whom they knew. These people, leaving at their own pleasure, could select a time most convenient and most profitable to them. Thus they could sell their farm equipment and cattle at a good market price and have a good reserve with which to support themselves in the New World. A report of the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge stated that,

since the year 1772 no less than sixteen vessels full of emigrants have sailed from the western parts of the counties of Inverness and Ross alone, containing, it is supposed 6,400 souls and carrying with them in specie at least 38,000 sterling. ⁴

In addition to the emigrants of this period who travelled as a group and who had a modest fortune to support them, there were the individual families who had heard the news of the opportunities in the New World. Seeing the trend of affairs in the Highlands toward consolidation of farms and having the means to provide for the passage, they would choose a good market year, sell their holdings and use the proceeds to sail to America in search of the golden opportunity. Their journey if they lived on the coast, might be taken in a small fishing craft which would carry them and their belongings on the deck for the five or six week voyage. With luck, they would have sufficient food and water to last them and they would land safely in a port where they could support themselves until settled on the land. Only a very few were fortunate enough to travel in this manner.

The majority of the emigrants lived in the hills and valleys of the interior. Usually their decision to emigrate,

4. Prebble. ibid. 25-26

preceded by a careful weighing of the promises of the New World against the actualities of the Old, was followed by a long, tedious journey to the coast where they would settle in some port to await the arrival of a suitable ship on which they could book passage. While the main Highland ports were Campbeltown, Greenock, Port William, Loch Boisdale, Lochmaddy, Ullapool and Thurso, these were not the only points of departure. Frequently, especially after government restrictions limited the number of passengers which a vessel could carry, the departing ships would anchor off the coast of small villages and outports to receive additional emigrants.

The ships, which were used in the emigrant trade, were, to a large extent, timber ships which would have been travelling to the New World in ballast. They did not travel on any schedule and often the prospective emigrant would spend long weeks waiting to obtain passage and then, further time would be spent while his vessel was being prepared for the voyage. Prior to 1803, there was no limit to the number of passengers which a ship could carry, short of the obvious restriction that she must float to sail. Consequently, overloading, too many passengers for comfortable and reasonable space, became more frequent as the stream of emigration increased. During the eighteenth century, however, little interest was shown by the government, the ships owners or the general public in the problems, difficulties and inhuman treatment of the emigrants. The conditions and hardships which beset their travels neither excited interest nor aroused any

demand for reform or control.

As early as 1787, there had been enquiries, by groups such as the Highland Society of Scotland, into emigration and the causes and conditions under which it took place. But these enquiries were not prompted by humanitarian feelings or a desire to improve conditions. They stemmed, rather, from a fear of losing the Highland population. The motive of these early enquiries was prevention not improvement. The Highland Society of Scotland, founded at Edinburgh in 1787, consisted of influential landowners who were interested in maintaining and protecting the population and culture of the Highlands. The Society had access to the government through Henry Dundas, Secretary of State for War and Colonies, and it had been successful in obtaining a parliamentary grant for the restitution of the Highland Estates. Its interest in emigration was aroused by the threat of depopulation. Its early activities in this regard, however, were stilled by the hostilities with France which curtailed the outflow of population. Nevertheless, the great increase in population and the greater ease of movement provided by more and better transportation brought the problem to the fore again.

In the investigations during its campaign of 1801-1802, the Society brought to light,

some very dreadful instances of suffering and imposition in the passenger trade... The committee learnt of a Scottish vessel which had carried three passengers for every two tons burden. Each passenger was allowed but two square feet of deck space in the hold, and twenty-

five lacked berths altogether, until sleeping places were vacated by the deaths at sea of the same number of their fellow-emigrants: all this on a voyage of almost three months duration. It learnt of another Scottish vessel of 270 tons which had sailed with 400 passengers in 1791, on which the berths were only eighteen inches wide and two feet high and on which only two small cooking vessels had been provided. .. Perhaps worst of all because so close in time, the committee was informed that only two years before 700 highlanders had emigrated on two vessels which would have been forbidden by statute to carry even 500 slaves and that fifty-three persons (one-seventh of the total complement) had perished on one of these vessels during an miserable and terrifying voyage. 5

When this evidence was presented, the Society began to press vigorously for the implementation of government action. As a result of their persistent petitions, Thomas Telford, a civil engineer, was appointed to conduct a survey of 'the coasts and central highlands of Scotland' in the autumn of 1802. His instructions were to investigate both the possibilities of opening up the region by new communications and the development of indigenous industries and the causes of emigration and the means of preventing it. Very definitely, there was no thought of alleviating or preventing the distresses of emigration, no desire to aid and assist emigrants. The emphasis, rather, is upon prevention. The aim is to create conditions at home which would meet the needs of the people and effectively remove the causes of emigration. If, in the meantime, people found it necessary to emigrate, it was unfortunate from the viewpoint of the country

5. MacDonagh, Oliver. A pattern of government growth, 1800-1860: the passenger acts and their enforcement. Lond., MacGibbon and Kee, 1961. 56-57

which was being depopulated but no one thought it necessary to regulate the method of passage, if, indeed, it was ever considered.

Telford's report on communications, industries and emigration published in 1803, however, provided interesting and enlightening reading for the members of the Highland Society and the House of Commons alike. He attributed the emigration, as did many in his day, to the enclosure movement and suggested that regulations to prevent the landlord from depopulating his land below a certain minimum might be effective in reducing the amount of emigration. But he expressed his own feeling that emigration would eventually be beneficial and stated that about ten thousand highlanders could be expected to emigrate in 1802.⁶

This report, coupled with the results of their own investigations, undoubtedly influenced the change of emphasis in the Highland Society's aims. If emigration was as necessary and inevitable as Telford seemed to suggest then, instead of preventing their departure, it would be more sensible to assist the emigrants and improve their lot through control and supervision. Thus from attempts to gain the passage of government legislation to prevent emigration, their position was gradually widened until their aims were expressed in the Transactions of the Highland Society for 1803 in these words:

to prevent the unjust and tempting gains now accruing the traders in, and encouragers of emigration, and to afford to the country losing part of its inhabitants the consolation of their being carried in safety for

6. MacDonagh. ibid. 54-55

the culture and improvement of another, instead of being, as now, delivered over by numberless privations, and the want of comfort and of care, to disease and destruction. 7

Thus while the Society persisted in its request for preventive measures such as improved and increased industries, fisheries, manufacturing and communications, laws to regulate 'the conveyance and accommodation of passengers on ships sailing to the colonies' were added to their requests. Indeed, when one reads of the distress and discomfort of the emigrants, it seems that compassion would quickly result in regulations to eliminate at least the worst abuses. But there is usually a large step between the good intentions of legislators and the effective implementation of that goodwill. Such was to be the case with the Passenger Act of 1803.

Among the several problems which confronted the drafters of this legislation were the absence of any precedents, the lack of knowledge of conditions at sea and the danger of condemnation for interference with private enterprise, though this latter was not as important as it was to become. Despite these problems, the House of Commons Committee on Emigration drafted a bill containing legislation on various aspects of the transatlantic passenger trade. The bill, The Passenger Act, became law in 1803. A study of the clauses quickly illustrates some of the many abuses which had to be remedied.

This Act ruled that vessels could carry only one

7. MacDonagh. ibid. 58(footnote)

passenger for every two tons of unladen burthen. Each passenger was to receive a half pound of meat, one and a half pounds of biscuits or oatmeal, a half pound of molasses and one gallon of water daily. It included regulations for daily airing of bedding and bi-weekly fumigation with vinegar, and required every ship with fifty passengers or more to carry a medicine chest and a surgeon. Breaches of the Act were subject to fines ranging from £20 to £500. Thus, it would seem that the problems of overcrowding, cleanliness, diet and health were cared for. But unfortunately, no provision was made in the Act for its enforcement. As a result of this omission, there was no branch of the public service which was prepared, equipped or interested in implementing its provisions. The bill itself had originated outside of the usual circles of the government service and no one preparing it had thought to include a clause of departmental responsibility for it.

Even if there had been an efficient corps of government service prepared to enforce the requirements to the limit, there was still another intrinsic weakness in the clauses of the Act. As Oliver MacDonagh stated, "the Act of 1803 tended to condemn all that was iniquities which could be dealt with by law and iniquities which in existing circumstances could not."⁸ While it was a relatively simple matter, granted the necessary staff, to check the number of passengers against the tonnage of

8. MacDonagh. ibid. 63

the vessel and to ensure the presence of a surgeon before permitting the ship to sail, it was absolutely impossible to control the attitude and actions of the captain and the crew once the vessel was on the high seas. Under the circumstances, the clauses relating to provisions and cleanliness were a dead letter from their inception. So also was the clause relating to a surgeon, since there were not enough trained or even partially trained men to accommodate all the vessels requiring them, even if those available had been willing to go. Thus, the effect of the Act was to render many of the vessels illegal while doing nothing to make it possible for the ships to conform to its requirements or to prevent those which did not conform from sailing. Indeed, shortly after the Act was passed, Newfoundland was exempted from all its provisions, enabling emigrants to take passage for Newfoundland and transship there for other parts of British North America. The general conclusion which could be reached following the Act of 1803 was that its drafters accomplished nothing. The lot of the emigrant grew worse as each year brought an increase in the flow of the population and a corresponding increase in the number of profiteers and the ways in which they could exploit the unsuspecting travellers.

Between the years 1803 and 1826, various attempts were made to increase the effectiveness of the government legislation and to gain support for government assistance to emigrants. The Act of 1803 had been designed to correct the major abuses of the trade, but the difficulty and the lack of interest in its en-

forcement led to it being non-effective. This non-effectiveness was increased when Newfoundland was exempted from its provisions. Here was a colony which was ideally suited as a jumping off spot for Cape Breton and the other British North American colonies and the American States. Vessels which would be unable to meet even the minimum inspection which was given, could sail for Newfoundland with as many passengers as they wished and have no fear of violating standards. Thus, the Highlanders were still subject to exploitation by the men engaged in the emigrant trade. Any legislation which was passed was especially felt by the poorer emigrant since the fare for the government approved vessel was raised to cover the cost of the alterations necessary to meet the new standards.

Fares were rising as a natural result of the demand for vessels outrunning the supply. As increased prices made it more difficult for the poorer Highlander to bear the cost, and since the number of these Highlanders was increasing with the growing number of clearances and the frequent economic reverses, the demand grew for directly assisted emigration. Despite these demands, the government maintained a policy of indirect assistance only, assistance such as land grants to discharged veterans. Following the War of 1812, there was a small attempt on the part of the government to change the direction of emigration from the United States to the British North American colonies, especially the Canadian colonies which had suffered during the war through a scarcity of population. In 1819 and 1820, however, the

British government began to weaken in its stand. There are records of two government assisted emigrations to Upper Canada, one from Yorkshire and the other, Scottish weavers, whose industry was suffering a dislocation which had left many unemployed.⁹

During the years 1817-1819, amendments to the Passenger Act reduced the heaviest fines and considerably eased the restrictions upon the trade. The increased number of emigrants caused a revision in the passenger tonnage ratio to provide for greater numbers per ship. When publicity was given in the early 1820's to the scandalous conditions of the trade, the Act of 1823 was passed. This re-imposed several of the harsher regulations of the 1803 Act and added a clause which sought to eliminate the major method of avoiding the inspections. This was a requirement that every vessel carrying more than one passenger for every five tons was required to carry a large "P" on the hulk or sail and every such vessel could be boarded for inspection at any time. Henceforth, the vessels which had been cleared at a regular port would run a greater risk of being caught in violation of the Act if they continued the practice of taking on passengers at an unauthorized port after obtaining clearance.

But despite legislation and good intentions, the increasing flow of people, the shortage of the vessels and the

9. Cowan. op. cit. 56-57

rapacity of many engaged in the emigrant trade rendered overcrowding and acute distress an everyday occurrence for emigrants. Consequently, the Select Committee on Emigration met in 1826 under the chairmanship of William Horton to "inquire into the Expediency of encouraging Emigration from the United Kingdom, and to report their Observations thereupon to the House..."¹⁰ This Committee heard evidence from a variety of people in the colonies and at home including Richard John Uniacke, Member of His Majesty's Council in Nova Scotia. In his evidence, the Nova Scotia Attorney General described a voyage of three hundred emigrants from the north of Scotland to Cape Breton in these words:

A statement of a transaction that took place in the last year and the year before may give perhaps some insight with respect to the Island of Cape Breton; Sir James Kempt made an allotment of land there, he appointed a land committee to allot the land to the settlers;¹¹ as soon as it was known in Scotland that Cape Breton, a number of poor people in the north of Scotland, where custom-house regulations are not so strictly enforced, found the way to embark in three or four vessels; and there have, in the years 1824 and 1825, upon a moderate calculation, at least 300 settlers come from the north of Scotland, whose passage did not cost them more than fifty shillings or three pounds; For those people provided for themselves; all for that the master of the vessel looks to, is to see that they have a pound of oatmeal for every day he calculates the passage to run, from four to five weeks; and every man brings a pound of oatmeal for every day, and half that quantity for a child, with perhaps about half a pint of molasses, a little butter, and a few eggs; and he provides them with water in the passage, they paying about thirty to thirty-five shillings. Those settlers came out there upon their own expense, there was

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10. Select Committee on Emigration, 1826. (P.A.N.S. microfilm Misc. "E" (Emigration 1826, 1827) 4
11. see inf. Chapt. V 109

not a mouthful of provisions or anything given to them by government; they settled themselves upon the land that Sir James Kempt allotted to them and I doubt whether there is in Scotland so happy a set of people as those. ¹²

Unisacke here was supporting the contention that free enterprise was better for the emigrants in the long run. He felt that the individual on his own initiative was better able to secure the best possible conditions of travel for the best price. Asked his opinion of the value of the Emigration Acts, he replied:

The Acts that gave rise to that regulation were calculated, I have no doubt, upon principles of humanity and principles of great benevolence... but in their operation I am confident that they have operated directly the reverse of what the legislature intended, for it has kept people at home in a state of actual starvation, whose little means, if left to themselves to make use of, would have enabled them to escape from that state. They would have perhaps encountered much difficulty in the outward voyage, but it would have at least taken them to a country where they would have been removed from any kind of starvation; but the expense is now so great that the voluntary emigration is almost put an end to. ¹³

The Attorney General was being extremely optimistic when he stated that removal from Scotland meant removal from starvation. In his anxiety to present a case for freedom of contract and individual right to negotiate for the projected voyage, he tended to underestimate the extreme difficulties which could be encountered. He was expressing, however, the general feeling of the time and his testimony seemed to have

12. Select Committee on Emigration, 1826. 38-39
 13. Select Committee on Emigration, 1826. 38

had some effect upon the committee members because, despite evidence to the contrary, they eventually advocated "the total repeal of the passenger acts upon the grounds that legislative restrictions raised the cost of passages and retarded the full exodus from the United Kingdom."¹⁴ It is also entirely possible that the growing doctrine of LAISSEZ FAIRE made the committee members hesitate to attempt the stricter regulation of private enterprise. The passenger trade was considered to be the result of a bargain struck between adults who were considered capable of making their own decisions.

As a result of the deliberations of this committee, a new passenger bill was presented on April 5, 1827 which repealed all existing legislation with reference to the emigrant trade and left it to take care of itself. Almost immediately, the complaints were heard from both the more reputable ship owners and from the British North American Colonies. The ship owners objected because they had gone to the expense of making alterations and adjustments to their vessels in order to accommodate the emigrants in healthier and more comfortable surroundings. These changes meant that their fares had to be raised. Meanwhile, the less scrupulous owners would be able to charge much less since they had no particular interest as to whether their human cargo arrived alive or dead. Since the Highlanders were interested in reaching the New World with as little

14. MacDonagh. op. cit. 66

expense as possible and since they knew nothing whatever of the dangers and difficulties of the voyage, they naturally contracted for the lowest possible fare. Thus conscientious ship owners were deprived of potential passengers.

The British North American provinces complained for an entirely different reason. They did not care who brought the emigrants to the colonies, their interest was in the condition of the travellers upon their arrival. The repeal of the acts meant that there was no longer any legal method of enforcing even a minimum standard of treatment and the colonies were in no position physically or financially to handle an influx of sick and dying immigrants.

That these complaints were justified is clearly shown by the following examples which occurred during the shipping season 1827.

On one vessel some of the hungry passengers attacked the master and had to be imprisoned while he guarded his provisions under arms for the remainder until the ship arrived in Newfoundland... On the brig JAMES from Waterford, typhus broke out at sea, and when she berthed in Halifax and the contagion spread to the port, 800 of its 11,000 inhabitants fell victims. In 1827 the Secretary of the New Brunswick Emigrant Society wrote in his autumn report: 'It is notorious that many of the poor immigrants were deluded from their homes by false but specious statements of brokers and shipmasters whose sole object in prosecuting the inhuman traffic appears to be that of collecting as large cargoes as possible of their unsuspecting fellow subjects; and as the passage money is paid in advance it is of little consequence to them in a pecuniary point of view, whether the helpless victims of their cupidity perish on the voyage, or live to spread disease and death among the people on whose shores they may be landed. 15

These complaints, resulting from the misfortunes of the 1827 shipping season produced results. In 1828, a new act was passed which required a food allowance of fifty pounds of breadstuffs and fifty gallons of water per person; at least five and one-half feet height between the decks; a maximum of three persons for every four tons; passenger lists upon departure and arrival and a one thousand pound bond for the seaworthiness of the vessel. This Act was also directed against a major abuse - the depositing of passengers at ports or on shores other than those contracted for. This infraction incurred the only penalty which could be summarily recovered. This Act provided a sharp deviation from the doctrine of LAISSEZ FAIRE which had led Poulett Thomson to the conclusion that since all trade and private enterprise should be as free as possible of government interference, "free citizens, who plainly require it, should be denied the protection which was afforded to slaves at sea." ¹⁶ The supporters of the bill defended their deviation by the statement that the state of the passenger trade was intolerable.

Indeed it was. But the Act of 1828 did not remove the abuses. Passengers were still being dropped at ports to which they had no desire to go or even on the sea coasts with no habitation for miles and certainly no possibility of redress. A favourite place to deposit passengers was along the Cape

16. MacDonagh. op. cit. 71-72

Breton coast. James Martell mentioned an Emigrant Agent, Archibald MacNiven, who

declared in 1832 that in the past twelve years he had transported 12,000 Highlanders to the Island of Cape Breton, the peninsula of Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, and Canada, and that of these 7,000 had gone to Cape Breton alone. If Mr. McNiven was not given to exaggeration, it is evident that he did not direct all his ships to Sydney where the Custom's offices counted only 6,513 immigrants in all for the years 1821-1830, but like other agents, allowed his charges to be left at the outports where there was no bother and no questions asked. ¹⁷

But still despite continuing abuses, in 1831, the Commission on Emigration, which was considering the relief of over population by colonization and the circumstances of the voluntary movement decided that "we think their comfort must continue to depend chiefly on their own prudence."¹⁸ Their only suggestion was to issue public warnings to all concerned against the abuses. The poor man whose eyes were filled with visions and whose heart was filled with hope heeded few warnings, especially when he could barely afford the lowest fares to the golden opportunities to be found on the other side of the water. The Commission reported that

from an annual average of about nine thousand during the first ten years after the Peace, the inflow to Canada had increased in the five years ending with 1831 to an annual average of more than twenty thousand, also that these great multitudes of people had mostly gone out by their own means and disposed of themselves through their own efforts without any assistance or lasting inconvenience. ¹⁹

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17. Martell. op. cit. 10
 18. MacDonagh. op. cit. 80
 19. Johnson. op. cit. 21

It is perhaps understandable that Commissioners far removed from the actual scene could consider the trials of the emigrants as neither serious nor lasting. Nevertheless, they were sufficiently serious to force an order-in council in March 1832 which reimposed the medical clauses of the 1803 Act. The difficulty in enforcing these led to a major improvement in the appointment of emigration agents at seven major embarkation points in the British Isles. The duties of these men were to enforce the Passenger Act and to assist the emigrants. These men, half pay lieutenants, depended upon co-operation with port officials to accomplish their task. The first appointment was that of Lieutenant Low at Liverpool and his experiences give a good picture of the difficulties and hazards of emigrant travel.

The instructions to Low and the other emigration agents were to enforce the Act and 'receive applications from emigrants to give them advice as to the course which they should pursue, to see that no frauds were practised on them.' Lieutenant Low discovered many abuses upon his appointment and his energetic conduct brought him a rebuke from Sir James Stephen at the Colonial Office for overstepping his authority.

The function of an emigration agent', he [Stephen] wrote, 'is, I apprehend, to assist emigrants with his advice and aid; and to enforce the penalties of the passengers' act, when necessary... But I do not suppose that the emigration agent is further intended to undertake the redress of those wrongs which, in the progress of their mutual dealing respecting emigration, individuals may inflict on each other... Lieut. Low desires to engage in this action with a view, not so much as to damages, as to example; grounding himself on the defectiveness of the passengers' act, as an

apology for not resorting to the remedies which it provides. Without disputing the justice of these opinions, I should say that the general maxim must prevail; that the executive government, and those whom it employs, must enforce the law as they find it. ²⁰

Nevertheless, abuses persisted. In 1837, Low had almost four thousand complaints to investigate. These included emigrants taken to the wrong agent and losing their deposits; being sent on the wrong vessels or to the wrong ports; being overcharged and robbed in their lodging and being sold poor provisions. One example of the exploitation which led Low to draw up a list of agents to avoid is found in the records of the Robinson Bros. Co., Liverpool shipping agents.

The first vessel, the GENERAL BROWN, sailed despite Low's protests with fifty-four passengers in a living space of 250 square feet by 5 feet 7 inches high, which was, moreover, choked with luggage and sea-stock, and without any partition to divide it from the cargo. The other vessel, the CUMBERLAND, 336 tons burden, carried eighty-six passengers and their luggage and provisions in a room some 600 square feet by 5 1/2 feet high. 'The remainder of the space of this vessel,' Low's report ran, 'was taken up with the cabin, and fore-castle for the crew, beside which she was filled with a cargo consisting of the following articles, viz., 126 tons of iron stowed close to the ceiling, 292 tons of salt, in cargo, 17 tons of earthenware and 44 tons of water, provisions and coals, making together 479 tons.' Since the vessel was so grossly overloaded, and unseaworthy and dangerously stowed into the bargain, Low tried to prevent her departure by withholding a certificate of clearance. But Robinsons refused point-blank to provide an alternative passage, and as the emigrants were all the while eating into their little sea-stock, Low had finally to let her sail. A fortnight later, she put back in a 'crazy state', all cargo, provisions and luggage having been thrown overboard to save the ship; and Robinsons, taking their stand upon the law, remained indifferent to the sufferings of the penniless and ragged emigrants when they returned to Liverpool. ²¹

20. MacDonagh. op. cit. 105
 21. MacDonagh. op. cit. 94-95

Abuses continued despite legislation and the efforts of the people who enforced it. A typical emigrant voyage was surrounded by exploitation, indifference and misinformation from beginning to end. The emigrant's family arrived at the port of departure only to find that a ship supposed to sail the next day had not even arrived. Since they had, in all probability, paid a deposit for the passage, they were forced to await its arrival in one of the squalid lodging houses. Here, their reserve capital was eaten up by rent and their stock of food for the voyage dwindled as it was used to keep them alive. Once the vessel was ready to sail, they were assembled on board and assigned berths in order. The usual berth was two feet wide, six feet long and two to three feet high. The emigrants slept, in some cases, two to a berth and spent their leisure time in the narrow space between the two rows of berths. Some ship owners did try to keep families together and in the later stages of the trade, regulations were made requiring, in some cases, the separation of the sexes, but these were not always followed. Occasionally, the emigrants were not allowed out of the hold until the voyage was over. This was especially true in bad weather when the hatches were closed and all ventilation cut off. The average voyage was about forty days although some ships, running into bad weather, took as long as ten weeks to make the trip. John Whyte, surgeon, writing to R. D. George, Sydney, December 19, 1827, had this description of Scottish emigrants arriving in Sydney.

I find that the brig STEPHEN WRIGHT, of Newcastle which performed Quarantine in this port during the past season September had on board 170 passengers from Tobermory. More than one third of whom were afflicted with Small Pox and many now with Dysentery and other diseases - that during the passage 3 deaths occurred, while, in port 10 and 2 after landing... the Ship HARMONY of Whitehaven also arrived at a neighbouring port in August last having taken on board at Leith & Stornoway above 200 Emigrants, 13 of whom died on the passage - 5 were dead on board & 22 were cut off after landing on an uninhabited Spot by measles - Dysentery and Starvation.

The Cause of such dire fatality, can I imagine, be readily traced to the confined, crowded & filthy state of the vessels - the quantity & quality of food in the case of one of them at least the scarcity of water. It was stated here by the Captains of the Vessels that a very extensive emigration was contemplated in the ensuing Spring & that 10 to 15 vessels belonging to the Owners of the STEPHEN WRIGHT had been chartered to convey these poor creatures from the Highlands & Islands of Scotland to meet famine, disease and death on the shores of Cape Breton. ²²

The foregoing is a very different description, indeed, from that given by Richard Uniacke before the Select Committee on Emigration a year earlier. However, the fact that all ship captains were not as heartless as this is shown by the following item taken from the Acadian Recorder, October 16, 1819.

Advertisement: THE PASSENGERS in the ship ECONOMY of Aberdeen from Tobermory to Pictou, desire in this public manner to express their gratitude to captain James Frazer, the master, for the kind treatment they received from him during the passage, which consisted of five weeks. Two hundred and eighty-five souls embarked at Tobermory, and were landed in good health and spirits, together with four children born upon the passage. Pictou, October 4, 1819. ²³

Earlier, Alexander Hunter of Edinburgh told the Select Committee on Emigration, 1827, about three hundred persons whom

22. Martell. op. cit. 59
23. Martell. op. cit. 49

he had sent to Cape Breton. They were crofters whose landlord paid the expense of the voyage. When they landed they had been met by many friends. In this case, the voyage had been rendered more pleasant and less expensive by the substitution of oatmeal in the place of the required beef in the diet of the passengers.²⁴

Unfortunately the number of relatively pleasant voyages seems to be small, while there is abundant evidence to illustrate the abuses and exploitation suffered by the average emigrant. With this in mind, it seems amazing that so many emigrants continued to come to the New World and arriving in the condition that they did in a wilderness such as Cape Breton was, that they were able to establish themselves into the communities which have grown and lasted down to the present day. It is no easy task to pull up roots and settle in a new area under the best possible conditions. That these Scottish immigrants succeeded under extremely adverse conditions can be attributed to the necessity of staying alive supported by the pride, determination and independent spirit which seems to form a part of the Scottish character.

24. Select Committee on Emigration, 1827. 287-288

CHAPTER III THE ARRIVAL

Among the various destinations of these emigrants, was the island of Cape Breton. Some came to the island by choice and others, because of necessity or fate, found themselves tossed upon its shores. The island which now forms one end of the Province of Nova Scotia, lies between forty-five and forty-seven degrees of north latitude and between fifty-nine and sixty-one degrees of west longitude. Although called an island, it actually consists of one large island, rather badly cut up, and several smaller islands varying in size from Isle Madame in the South West to St. Paul's Island in the North. The centre of the island consists of a large salt water lake called, in recent times, Bras d'Or Lake.

Cape Breton's climate was bitter and hard for those people who were unaccustomed to snow, fog, rain and ice. Many Highlanders were quite familiar with fog, or mist and rain, but the bitterness of the winters would come as a severe shock to them. Its climate had many advantages over the British climate but even those who would speak favourably of it could not deny the discomforts which it brought. The Reverend R. J. Uniacke, for example, anxious to present the island in as favourable a light as possible and to overcome the impression left by the

statement, "These shores were envelopped in ice and fog during the larger portion of the year."¹ was forced to use these somewhat temperate words of praise.

The climate of this country is altogether clearer and more settled than that of England. The rain falls heavier, but much less frequently. You are not liable as at home to be caught by sudden showers, and can tell better what is to be the nature of the weather through the day. But when rain sets in it often continues without intermission for one sometimes two days. The most unpleasant part of the climate is the spring which as I have already described it, is changeable and uncertain: but during the autumn, summer and a great part of the winter in spite of its snow-drifts and northerly winds, - no healthier or finer weather can be wished than that which is enjoyed in Cape Breton.²

The immigrants were arriving on the island at all seasons of the year and in a great many varied places. Some parts of the coast and interior had been settled or temporarily occupied in times past, others were virgin forest or in some cases, rock. The island's history before 1758 is varied and scant. It is felt that on their voyages along the coast of North America, the Norsemen must have seen its coasts and perhaps landed upon its shores. John Cabot is thought to have made his initial landing in the New World near Cape North although Newfoundland disputes this claim.

Shortly after the Cabot's voyage, fishermen began to use the shores of the island frequently as summer stations. Here

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1. Fergusson, C. Bruce. Uniacke's Sketches of Cape Breton and other papers relating to Cape Breton Island. Halifax, Public Archives of Nova Scotia (hereafter P.A.N.S.) 1958. 57
 2. Fergusson. ibid. 61

they would land to repair nets, dry cod and occasionally a group of fishermen would winter at their station until the fishing fleet returned the next spring. These fishing stations were established by the members of the various nations who tended to appropriate certain bays and coves to themselves. Thus, Louisbourg came to be known as English Harbour and Sydney as Baie d' Espagnols.

The fishermen were followed by explorers who landed and mapped the rough outlines of the coast. Fagundes attempted a settlement for the Portuguese in 1520 and Verrazano explored the shores of the island in 1524. According to the Dictionnaire Encyclopedique,

There is an old French tradition to the effect that Verazzano the prominent Florentine navigator, landed near Cape Breton on his last voyage, and attempted to form a fortified settlement. But being suddenly attacked and overpowered by the Indians, himself and all his crew were put to death in a cruel manner.

English explorers or sailors by-passed or landed briefly on the coasts in the late fifteenth century. It was not, however, until the seventeenth century that a settlement of a permanent nature was attempted by the British. At this time, James I, anxious to raise money, created the Baronets of Nova Scotia. Sir William Alexander sent out two expeditions which were unsuccessful and then in 1629, Lord Ochiltree attempted to

3. Dictionnaire Encyclopedique. as quoted in The Maritime Provinces: a handbook for travellers... 2nd ed. rev. and enl. Boston, James R. Osgood, 1861. 149

establish a settlement at Baleine Cove. This settlement had little chance of success as Captain Daniel who was in charge of a French settlement at St. Armes attacked and destroyed the Scottish settlement and took the settlers captive.

The man who had the greatest success with settlement on Cape Breton in the seventeenth century was Nicolas Denys. Unfortunate in business with first d'Aulnay and then Le Borgne disputing his right to the trade monopoly of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, Denys, nevertheless, had a flourishing trading and fishing concern with settlements at St. Peter's and St. Anne's on the island. In 1668-69, fire finally put an end to his business but not before he had been able to explore the area. He left an account of Cape Breton which is interesting not only for the actual geography of the country but also for the potential which seemed to be possible. In his words,

...that which makes it [Cape Breton Island] valued are the ports and roadsteads which the ships use to make their fishery, Mackerel and Herring are very abundant around the island and the fishermen make their baitte or bait of them for catching the Cod, which is very fond of them, preferring them above everything else. This island has also been esteemed for the hunting of Moose.⁴

To which statement can be added the comments of Gargas made in 1687-88 while taking census.

4. Fergusson. op. cit. 18-19

Cape Breton and Labrador are places where the soil is both good and bad, but where there is more good than bad. The place abounds in fish, seals, etc. There are a good coal mine, a plaster quarry, an iron mine, which are known. The trading with the natives is fairly good... At St. Pierre the soil is very good, with considerable pastureland so that settlers could live without much effort.⁵

Despite the soil and natural attributes of the island, however, the settlers did not come in large numbers during the seventeenth century. Census of the island taken in 1671, 1685 and 1687 show that while there was one French family in the island at St. Peter's in 1671, there were none in 1685 and only one man and five enlisted men in 1687.⁶ As Denys pointed out, even the natives were deserting the island because of the expense involved in capturing game sufficient to feed themselves.

In 1713, however, the Treaty of Utrecht gave new life to the island and pointed its future in a different way and upon a surer foundation. By the Treaty, France relinquished many claims in the New World. Cape Breton was left as a French island guarding the entrance to the St. Lawrence. As sentinel of the Gulf, it assumed an importance to the Mother Country far greater than it could have attained as a mere fishing station. Now it was to become the mainstay in the defence of New France. To actively support this role, a new fortification had to be built and the French, after some debate, chose Louis-

5. Fergusson. op. cit. 19

6. Fergusson. op. cit. 19

bourg over its rivals, St. Peter's, Spanish River and St. Ann's Bay. The chief advantage of this choice was the ice-free harbour as the others were usually icebound for several months during the winter.

At Louisbourg Harbour between 1720 and 1758, the French constructed a massive fortress to defend the island and to protect the naval route to the capital of New France. The establishment of the fortress kept a contingent of the French army fully occupied and its presence was felt by many more remote areas as well. St. Peter's, for example, was renamed Port Toulouse and a small fort was erected there with a small garrison. Similarly, St. Ann's, renamed Port Dauphin, also had its fort and defenders. Richard Brown in his History of the Island of Cape Breton told us that Charles Morris who had been employed by Governor Wilmot in 1765 to report on the conditions on the island, had stated that during the period of French occupation, fifty men had been continually employed at Juste au corps (Port Hood) quarrying freestone for Louisbourg and French forts in the West Indies.⁷

Thus, gradually communities were established and ground was cleared. These early centres of population were not made by permanent settlers and with the exception of a few merchants and traders at Louisbourg and a few scattered fishermen, most Europeans on the island were temporary residents and belonged to the military or official service of France. Nonetheless, the

7. Brown, Richard. A history of the island of Cape Breton...
Lond., Sampson Low & Son & Marston, 1869. 355fn.

work of clearing and settlement done by men such as Boularderie were to leave a mark on the island. This mark of previous settlement was to assist the new immigrants when they arrived. The roads built by the French, running from Louisbourg to Mira and to Port Toulouse and Spanish River and the coal mines worked by the French during this period were to be used by the British soldiers and settlers after they took possession of the island in 1758.

Louisbourg's importance in the New World also gave a knowledge and familiarity of the island to future settlers. This close acquaintance with Cape Breton came in three ways. Firstly, Louisbourg was a growing commercial centre which attracted fishermen and traders from many countries and areas. Among these were Scottish people settled in the New World, but with contacts with the Old. Through descriptions in their letters and through personal observation, Cape Breton could be considered as a possible destination when the need for flight or emigration became apparent. Then secondly, the troops which accompanied the successful New England expedition in 1745 were given an opportunity to see the island of Cape Breton with their own eyes. Finally, the conquering armies of Britain had an excellent opportunity to see and assess the island. Many of the soldiers came from the Highland Regiments recruited by Wolfe for Britain's overseas armies. Some of these troops elected to receive their grants in Cape Breton and so became a part of its Scottish immigration.

Thus, the French occupation of the island and the growth of Louisbourg also played their roles in the founding of a permanent settlement. Some idea of the number of small semi-permanent or permanent settlements on the island during the French regime can be obtained from the 'State of the Fisheries carried on by the French in the Island of Cape Breton, previous to the British taking possession in 1758.' This lists the places on the island from which either decked vessels or shallops operated. Included on the list are the following names: Egaont, near Cape North; Niganish Bay and Cove; Niganish Island; Port Dauphin or St. Ann's; Entrance of Great Bras d'Or; Petit Bras d'Or; Spanish River or Sydney; Indian Bay, or Lingan; Scattarie Island; Main à Dieu; Lorembec; Louisbourg; Gabarous Bay; Fourche; St. Esprit Island; Grand Riviere; L'Ardoise; St. Peter's; Petit de Grat, Isle Madame; River and Bay of Inhabitants; Different places in the Gut of Canso.⁸

Thus we can see that the coastline from Cape North to the Canso Strait had small centres of settlement. A great many of these would be summer or winter stations with few people actually living on the location year after year. But they were a start at settlement and in the later years new settlers would occupy the old sites sometimes in preference to the virgin forest around them.

8. Brown. op. cit. 546

After the French were defeated in 1758, the British Government ordered Louisbourg demolished, marking the end of one era and the beginning of another. With Louisbourg's importance almost completely disappearing, many among the French population of the island left it. The majority returned to France, but when the Treaty of Paris in 1763 left France with the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, some French settlers moved to these Gulf islands only to return in 1767.

Under British rule, Cape Breton was placed under the jurisdiction of the Colony of Nova Scotia. Mr. Charles Morris reported in his survey of the island in 1765 that there were

twenty-eight families of Acadians residing in Isle Madame, chiefly engaged in the fishery, and a Guernsey firm that had commenced business at Arichat in the preceding year. [He added] that the Acadians had built small vessels during the winter of 1764-65 at Just au Corps, seven leagues to the northwards of the Gut of Canceau, for the French merchants at St. Pierre and Miquelon.⁹

In the entire island, the census of 1766 showed a total of 707 persons exclusive of Indians among which number were to be found six Scots. Names are not given and by 1774 while the population had increased to 1,012, the Scots and Americans were counted as English¹⁰ and so no definite number can be determined for the Scottish element.

Britain's policy toward this island was indicated in instructions received by the Nova Scotia Governor. The Treaty

9. Brown. op. cit. 355

10. Harvey, D.C. Holland's description of Cape Breton Island and other documents. P.A.N.S., Halifax, 1935. 10-12

of Paris had offered land grants in the conquered territories to the members of the army and navy. But Wilnot was specifically ordered not to make any grants in either the Island of St. John or the Island of Cape Breton,

until some definitive policy for the disposition of these Islands could be matured. In the meantime he was to do all in his power to encourage the fisheries, to collect information as to the geography and natural resources of the islands and to advise as to the best means of promoting their settlement and uniting them to Nova Scotia. ¹¹

Governor Wilnot proceeded to inform himself about the physical characteristics of the Islands by sending out the Surveyor General, Mr. Morris. Bad weather, however, prevented an efficient survey of Cape Breton. This was not effectively done until Samuel Holland as Surveyor General of the Northern District of America made and supervised a survey of the Island of Cape Breton in 1765, 1766 and 1767 for the Board of Trade. The lack of an effective survey might have given the British Government an excuse for not settling upon a land policy for Cape Breton. But the Island of St. John was granted to English landlords shortly after Holland's survey was completed and nothing was done for Cape Breton.

This failure to adopt a land policy for the island worked a double injustice on the settlers. Not only were they uncertain in the possession of the land they occupied but also, because they were not freeholders, they were denied representa-

11. Harvey. ibid. 7

tion in the Nova Scotia Legislature. In June, 1766, Gregory Townshend and John Grant, the two representatives which the new County of Cape Breton had returned, were told that they would be unable to take their seats in the House as there were no qualified electors on the island. In future, Cape Breton residents were considered to be adequately represented by the members for Halifax County.

To the Mother Country, Cape Breton became useful only as a base for the fishery and as a source of timber for the Royal Navy. The coal mines at Cow Bay and later deposits at Spanish River were worked during this period for the benefit of the military forces at Halifax, Boston and New York. Other than this, little use was made of the island's resources and no attempt was made to settle it. The Government policy was clearly expressed in a letter from Lord Dartmouth to Governor Legge dated September 7, 1774.

The Reservation to His Majesty of such parts of the Province of Nova Scotia as produce Timber for ship-building and masts for the Royal Navy is an object of very great importance; and it is the King's Pleasure, upon full consideration of Mr. Morris's letter to you, that all lands upon the River St. John above the Settlements that have been made upon it, as also the whole Island of Cape Breton should be reserved for those purposes, and no further grants be made of any part thereof, nor any wood cut thereupon, except for His Majesty's use under a License to be granted by you to His Officers for that purpose. 12

Thus, there could be no legal settlement upon the Island of

Cape Breton except by a permissive license which might or might not be honoured at a future date.

Settlement was taking place elsewhere in Nova Scotia, however, and two movements are of particular interest to us at this time because of their eventual effect upon Scottish immigration to Cape Breton. The first of these movements was the settlement of Scottish immigrants in Prince Edward Island in the years 1771-72. These settlers were brought out in two groups. Captain John MacDonald of Glenaladale came out with seventeen settlers in 1771 to settle his estate at Tracadie. The next year his brother followed with three hundred more who were landed at Scotchfort on the Hillsborough River. These settlers were assisted by a year's provisions and implements as well as subsistence for the voyage. On shore, they were told that they would be supported until they could raise a crop. If the crop failed they would be provided with transport elsewhere, and if they didn't work they would be kept until spring and then moved elsewhere to shift for themselves.¹³

The importance of this settlement to Cape Breton lies in the inability of these people to obtain land. After Holland's survey of Prince Edward Island had been completed, it was divided into lots and granted to absentee landlords. These landlords were interested in renting not selling their land. Consequently

13. Warburton, A.B. A history of Prince Edward Island.
St. John, Barnes and Co., 1923. 168-169

there was, and apparently would be, no opportunity for the settlers to obtain a title to the land which they occupied. As a result, many of the settlers when they realized that they were still in the position of tenants, moved from Prince Edward Island in search of vacant land. Cape Breton's western shore was an obvious point of call. In the later years of the eighteenth century, many of the Prince Edward Island settlers crossed to Cape Breton. True, they could not obtain a grant of the land there yet, but since it was still crown land, there was hope that when the land policy was finally established, their claims would be considered.

Similarly, the Scottish settlement at Pictou, beginning with the arrival of the Hector in 1773, began to grow. As the good lands were taken newcomers had to move farther inland and, in many cases, the settlers just moved across the water to the western shore of Cape Breton. These people brought with them the skills which they had acquired in their effort to carve out a new life for themselves. They also brought a determination to own their land and live their lives in freedom from persecution. It was religious persecution which had brought many of the settlers to Prince Edward Island with Captain MacDonald. It was lack of priests and services as well as lack of land which sent many of the Pictou settlers farther along the coast and over to Cape Breton and it was political persecution which brought many new settlers to the island.

When the American Revolution was over and Britain found

herself defeated and left with many loyal subjects, she determined to place as many as possible in her lands in the Empire which remained to her. To this end it was decided to form a permanent settlement on Cape Breton and to separate the island from the jurisdiction of Nova Scotia. This latter was a move which had been advocated by Samuel Holland. In one of his reports, a description of Cape Breton Island in 1768, he stated.

Whatever Prospects may be raised or Whatever Efforts be made in Favor of this Island, let the one, be ever so sanguine or the other ever so vigorous, untill the Dependency of it on an Infant Colony is taken off; little Advantages can be expected to result: When it is considered the great Distance between this, & the Seat of Justice, there can be no Surprize, at many Oppressions & Breaches of Order going unpunished before the proper measures can be taken for preventing them....

Should a Separation ever be thought necessary to make, there is no Doubt, but that with a little Encouragement this Country, would more than answer what hath been described of it; besides, this is not all; it would beget an Emulation between the then two Colonies, as would insure Success on all their Measures...¹⁴

Two groups of settlers contributed to the founding of the town of Sydney at Spanish River. The first group arrived at St. Peter's and Louisbourg and were under the direction of Abraham Cuyler, a United Empire Loyalist and former mayor of Albany, New York. Mr. Cuyler had gone to London as a representative of the Associated Loyalists at Quebec to obtain land in Cape Breton Island. The letter which he carried with him stated in part,

Whereas it has been proposed by Abraham Cuyler Esquire to solicit (sic) His Majesty the King for a Grant of the Island of Cape Breton, in order to establish thereon a Settlement of Loyalists, agreeable to a plan hereto annexed, and whereas (by the report of Capt. Jones, who was sent for the express purpose of exploring said Island) it appears that the Climate, soil and other natural advantages seem to answer the favourable idea formerly conceived relative to said Island.

We the Subscribers being perfectly convinced of the capacity, integrity, and good intentions of the aforesaid Abraham Cuyler (who is now in England) do constitute and appoint him our Agent to solicit for, and endeavor to obtain a Grant of the aforesaid Island of Cape Breton for our own use, and the use of those with whom we are associated, and we promise to emigrate thither as soon as we are certified that the said Grant is obtained for the adventures from the Government that are allowed to other Loyalists in their new Establishments. ¹⁵

The letter was signed by fifteen names accounting in all for five hundred and ninety-five families. Among the names were several of Scottish origin such as Hugh Monro, Alexander Campbell, Robert Robertson and possibly John Peters. But unfortunately not all these Loyalists were able to join Mr. Cuyler in Cape Breton. In explaining the situation to the Imperial Government, Mr. Cuyler stated,

In a disagreeable situation, I waited with impatience for the arrival of my family and associates from Quebec until the 28th October when three small Vessels arrived with about 140 Souls Conducted by Col. Peters, Capt. Jones & Mr. Robertson, three of the Trustees of the Associated Loyalists and the reason these gentlemen assigned why the residue of the Loyalists that had intended to form this settlement had not come forward was that the last arrival of the Secretary of State's Orders for their removal had made many believe that I would not succeed in the Application, and in this delay General Haldimand had Obligated them

contrary to their inclinations to settle in the Province of Quebec besides several that would [even at this late season] have come forward but were prevented for want of conveyance,...¹⁶

Thus, Mr. Cuyler's hoped-for settlement brought only one hundred and forty souls, most of whom spent the winter in Louisbourg where only a few houses were in good condition.

The new Lieutenant Governor of the Colony was Frederick Wallat Des Barres and he arrived in the island somewhat later than Cuyler. Having become familiar with the area during the siege of Louisbourg in 1758 and through his work on the maps of the Atlantic Neptune, he discarded Louisbourg as a site for his capital and chose instead Spanish River where he proposed to erect a town named Sydney in honour of Lord Sydney, Secretary of State for the Colonies. There seems to have been some doubt as to where Governor Des Barres spent his first winter. Although it has been suggested that he wintered at Louisbourg, Mr. Cuyler's statement that

In January last [January 1785] I was informed of the Governor's arrival at Spanish River and at this inclement season I hastened through the woods to make him a report of my charge...¹⁷

seems to indicate that Des Barres wintered at Spanish River.

The site of Sydney being uncleared, it seems probable that his headquarters was established on the western shore of the harbour,

16. C.O. 217/104 88-89 (a typewritten copy of this is to be found in the James McConnell Memorial Library, Sydney.)
 17. C.O. 217/104 89

possibly at the Coal Mines where Mr. Bown had apparently been in residence since 1775.¹⁸ Certainly his hut on the Sydney site was only half completed in August 1785 and Lieutenant Booth attended an 'elegant dinner' prepared by the Governor at the Coal Mines.¹⁹

The Governor brought with him the 33rd Regiment under the command of Colonel Yorke. There is no accurate estimate of the number of settlers who arrived in Sydney at this time. Lieutenant Booth suggested that by August 1785 "there are not a dozen Families, beside the six companies of the 33rd Regt. encamp'd and Huttetd, on the new Settlement..." Although Des Barres himself has suggested that about 800 settlers had arrived during the summer of 1785, Booth stated only that one hundred and fifty families were daily expected.²⁰ We know from Cuyler and Captain Jones that a portion of the Associated Loyalists settled at St. Peter's and Judge Patterson, in his History of Victoria County, suggests that Jonathan Jones went directly to Baddeck where his family joined him three years later. Land records indicate that he received a grant on the Baddeck River in 1788 and about the same time, he was confirmed in his possession of town lots which he had occupied in Sydney. Others of the original settlers no doubt took lands in the areas adjacent to Sydney. Perhaps some settled on lands near Adam

18. Council Minutes of Cape Breton Island. P.A.N.S. Vol. 320 154
 19. Fergusson. op. cit. 143-144
 20. Fergusson. op. cit. 143-144

Moore and William Campbell who were at North Sydney.

The town's growth during the next few years was greatly hampered by political quarrels of many varieties. Although Des Barres has been held responsible for much of the early troubles, the strife and dissension continued long after his departure. We may not be able to ascertain the exact single cause or reason for these quarrels, but their results are abundantly clear. Sydney failed to prosper as had been hoped and the Colony of Cape Breton suffered as a result.

In 1788, Rev. Ranna Cossit, reporting on the settlers at Sydney, Spanish River, North Arm, Big Pond, Coal Mines, Indian Cove, Brodon, Le Indian, Cow Bay, Luis Leroy, Main a Dieu, Louisbourgh, Gabbarus, St. Peters and St. Annes estimated the population at one hundred and seventy families totalling five hundred and seventy-nine men, women and children.²¹ This survey does not include Isle Madame, Canso or the western shore where we know from the land records that many families were living. The western shore was an area which received the greatest proportion of Scottish settlement during this period.

A survey of the records of people, living in the island during the years preceding the first direct immigration to Sydney in 1802, indicate that by the end of 1801, a total of one hundred and forty-one heads of families with one hundred and thirty-six dependants were of Scottish origin. These records are not

21. Cossit Letter Book. September 29, 1788.

complete, consisting of a list of names compiled from land grants, land papers, census records and council minutes. But they do suggest that the area of the western shore received the greatest amount of Scottish settlement with a total of sixty-six heads of families settling along the coast or on the Judique and Margarie Rivers. These would consist mainly of immigrants who had moved from Prince Edward Island and Pictou. Sydney and the surrounding area accounted for another twenty-seven families. Elsewhere on the island, the Scottish immigrants were to be found at Baddeck, French Village, Louisbourg, Arichat and Ship Harbour.²²

Records, such as these, can only be considered as an indication of settlement. Since no immigration records were kept for this period, there can be no accurate listing of the numbers who came to the island. Even land records are inaccurate since for many years no grants were permitted. Land was allotted during this period through the License of Occupation and the Permission to Occupy. License of Occupation had been granted to many fishermen while the Colony was a part of Nova Scotia and Governor Des Barres had given land to many settlers under a License of Occupation. However, David Mathews, as President of the Council, preferred to use a Permission to Occupy. The difference in the two forms was explained in the Council Minutes in these words,

22. See inf. Appendix.

A License of Occupation ought to contain all the requisites and Conditions of a Grant defeasible upon certain terms or conditions - a Permission²³ is merely a temporary License during pleasure.

Thus, those settlers who received the License from Des Barres could be said to have had a more enduring title than those who were recipients of Permits from President Mathews. However, whatever the legal state of the settler's claim to the land, his physical difficulties in acquiring any enduring legal title to his land were great indeed. In 1786, Council had ordered the Surveyor General to

Cause Accurate Surveys to be made of the Several Fisherys and Ports Occupied on the Coasts of this Island and its Dependencies with a Description of the Shape Quality and Quantity of Lands possessed by different Occupants and to make a Return of the Same immediately in Order for Adjustment before the Commencement of the Fishing Season, and that a Public Notice should be given to all Claimants to Set forth and support their Claims before His Excellency and the Council upon the Return of Such Surveys.²⁴

Failure to support the claim meant loss of right to the land. Consequently in the meetings following February 14th, 1786 much discussion in Council was concerned with the approval of the Land Surveys. Most of these were in the Sydney area and contained few Scottish names except Alexander Cantley of Berryden Aberdeenshire Scotland whose sister later married John Howie from Cullen, Banffshire²⁵ and John Muggah who was responsible for much of the work done on the early buildings. There is

23. Minutes of Council. P.A.N.S. Vol. 320 153

24. Minutes of Council. P.A.N.S. Vol. 318

25. Information obtained from records in the possession of J. W. McLellan in Sydney.

little record of approved surveys for the more distant areas of the Island at this time. Distance would be responsible for this omission since these areas would have been too far and too difficult for the surveyor to reach when there was work to be done closer to hand or, if he did reach them, the difficulties of travel and distance would prove too great for the settler to appear in defense of his claim.

Some effort was made to assist both the settlers and the Government to achieve some sort of legal and definite form of land title when the Council decided in October 27, 1787 to sit every Monday until February 1, 1788 to receive and consider petitions for Grants or Licenses.²⁶ In January 1788, Council ruled that Loyalists and Disbanded soldiers, while they would be allowed their full grant of land, must take it in one Patent or be liable for the payment of the usual fees for all Patents above one which they requested. To make things more difficult still, all settlers applying for Grants must, according to the forty-fifth article of His Majesty's Instructions, have them surveyed and registered within six months or the Grant would be deemed void. Because time, distance and the money for fees were to prove obstacles too great for many immigrants upon their arrival, petitions for grants were delayed until a more convenient time. Thus, the Land Papers for Cape Breton in the early 1800's often contain many petitions from settlers who had

occupied lands for many years before legalising their ownership.

There were many other obstacles, however, to a speedy and pleasant settlement of the Island. The political dissension resulted in changes of governor and led the Colonial Office to state emphatically that

It is high time that an end should be put to the disgraceful personal quarrels & animosities which prevail in that quarter, & which must materially injure the Island and obstruct its attaining that degree of advancement both in cultivation and Commerce to which it is justly entitled by its many and great local advantages. ²⁷

In addition to the personal quarrels which led to uncertainty of tenure and of policy, settlers had to contend with the physical conditions of the Island. Travel was difficult at the best of times. The Hon. James Miller stated in Council in 1795,

...that the total want of Roads in this extensive Island (those formerly made by the French having become impassible) is one of the most striking grievances to be complained of in its Inhabitants, whose [sic] Communication is thereby dependant on Navigation, which in the most favourable Seasons is frequently retarded by Storms and Calms, and for most of the Winter and Spring Months rendered impracticable by Ice covering the Rivers or drifting along the Coast. A Grievance most sensibly effecting the Inhabitants of Towns particularly of this the Capital being the Chief residence of His Majesty's Servants at all times... ²⁸

Despite ordinances to construct and repair roads, the problem did not improve rapidly. The lack of roads made it difficult to obtain supplies. Sydney Harbour was blocked by ice for

27. Minutes of Council. P.A.N.S. Vol. 321 30
 28. Minutes of Council. P.A.N.S. Vol. 320 56

several months of the year and to assist in stockpiling foods, successive governors were forced to renew the ordinance which permitted the importation of grain, livestock and other goods from the United States. These goods were banned by the Navigation Acts and the local farmers could not produce sufficient supplies to meet the needs of the Colony. Efforts to add to the food supply by hunting were hampered by foreign traders killing the moose for their skins. In 1789, the situation was so serious that Council sent Thomas Crawley, George Moore and a body of men equipped with snowshoes, moccasins, toboggans and tomahawks to track down the non-resident hunters and bring them to justice.²⁹ Another source of food were the fish to be found in the streams and around the coast of the Island. Here again, legal action was necessary both to effect the clearance from the streams of hedges and wharves and permit the free passage of fish and also to prevent the depositing of waste materials in the waters around the coast. This waste had the effect of driving the fish from the shores and sometimes of killing them.

That the colonists were faced with other problems which they considered equally serious is attested to by the Council Minutes of 1795 which stated,

...that want of a school has evidently interrupted the industry and retarded the prosperity of the Infant Settlement, ... a Number of valuable Settlers who have Sacrificed considerable improvements and quit this

Government for the express purpose of procuring education for their Offspring, and others who from the same motives have recently advertised and are now on the Eve of Embarkation...³⁰

Fortunately a teacher was found who proved satisfactory. But while Sydney was losing some of its Settlers, the western shore, an area of Scottish settlement, was becoming more settled and seemingly more prosperous. In 1798, Council was told that many of the new settlers on the other side of the island "say they are coming on very well and seem perfectly satisfied with their situations"³¹ This seemed to be proved by the quantity of provisions which appeared in the market from this area.

International politics affected the Colony little other than a routine observance of Fasts and Thanksgivings ordered by the King according to the state of the war in Europe. However, the possibility that the American Congress would enter the war against Britain did cause the Council some worry and called for orders to militia to testify to their loyalty to the Crown. From a survey of the records of settlement to 1801, it would also seem that the unsettled conditions overseas might have had an indirect effect on the Scottish settlement of the Colony. From an apparent settlement of two families in 1785, the figure rises to forty-six families arriving in 1789 and drops to none in 1791. By 1801, the figures appear to be rising again taking a sharp jump with direct immigration in

30. Minutes of Council. P.A.N.S. Vol. 320 54-55
 31. Minutes of Council. P.A.N.S. Vol. 320 164

1802. While this decline in immigration might not be entirely due to the political situation in Europe, there is little doubt that it was affected by the unrest. There was a petition in 1798 to retain land granted by Governor Macarwick at Lingan. The land was granted "towards making up a Quantity for Highland Settlers which were to have been out to this Country as soon as peace was restored."³² The Highlanders hadn't arrived by 1798 and there was no suggestion, at that time, that their arrival was imminent.

Thus, by the end of the eighteenth century, Cape Breton had various settlements scattered along its coasts. None could be called thriving successes but many were doing more than just existing. The advances made in these settlements might seem slight, but with these foundations upon which to build, the next twenty years would see a great increase in population and prosperity. The bulk of this population was to be Scottish, attracted in many cases by immigrants who were already settled and working to establish good farms and clear titles for their children.

32. Minutes of Council. P.A.N.S. Vol. 320 208

CHAPTER IV GROWTH

By the beginning of 1802 after more than a decade of settlement and growth, Cape Breton presented a slightly different picture from that of 1758. Louisbourg, the mighty fortress was gone and its town replaced by a village of ruined houses and a smaller population. The central town on the island was a struggling village on Spanish River with about eighty-five houses and a population of eight hundred and one. Many of the people were to be found in Isle Madame and along the western shore of the Island, where the Scottish immigrants had settled. In the entire island, the population was in December 1801, said to be only 2,513 people. It was a population which was outnumbered by the livestock which its members possessed.¹

This population, recently arrived and widely scattered, was only beginning to make its presence felt upon the land. In the Isle Madame area, the people were concentrating mostly upon fishing as they were doing in Louisbourg. Sydney's population consisted chiefly of people attached to the civil administration, or members of the military garrison. The few residents who did not belong officialy to either group were merchants or tradesmen whose livelihood depended upon government support. The popula-

1. Brown. op.cit. 421

tion, scattered throughout the island, consisted of settlers who were attempting to carve farms out of the forests and create homes in the wilderness. These scattered settlements had little communication with each other since the roads, which had been constructed by the French, were now overgrown and almost impassable. The chief method of travel was by boat along the rivers and lakes or around the coast. Indian trails through the woods furnished another type of road but both routes were unavailable in bad weather and at other times their use was tedious, uncertain and frequently hazardous.

For these reasons, a settler and his family had to be adaptable, skilful and able to make a little go a long way until he was well established. Even then, the long residents on the island were not necessarily assured of a safe and comfortable life. There were many forces in opposition to them and their success at this venture of settlement depended to a great extent upon their determination to succeed and their ability to overcome each misfortune such as crop failure and flood and to turn each difficulty into a lesson for future success. As time passed, a pattern of action seemed to emerge for each settler to follow.

Settlers would arrive in Cape Breton in a variety of ways and from many directions. Of direct immigration from Scotland, there is no record until 1802 when two hundred and ninety-nine people arrived in Sydney. Their condition was poor and their prospects worse. It was extremely late in the season

and there was no time for these people to settle on the land and raise a crop to support them through the long winter months. The community into which they arrived was small; indeed the new settlers represented an increase in population of more than thirty per cent. Since they were poor and had no hope of improving themselves until after the following year's crop was harvested, the Council voted to support them through the winter by paying forty shillings to each man, thirty shillings to each woman, twenty shillings to each child over twelve and fifteen shillings to each child under twelve.² This assistance was to be repaid by the settlers when they had established themselves.

Here then were settlers who had not only to raise sufficient to support themselves and pay the fees on their lands but also had to repay the debt for their support for that first year on the Island. Other settlers arrived elsewhere in the island after shorter voyages. Some just travelled across St. George's Bay to the western shore where they settled, possibly for a year or so with friends or relatives before proceeding to establish their own place. These immigrants were more fortunate as they arrived in better condition and at a settlement where they could adjust to their new environment without the pressure of necessity forcing them to difficult tasks for which they were unprepared.

2. Harvey, D.C. "Scottish immigration to Cape Breton," in Dalhousie Review, Vol. 21. 315-6

Some settlers took the precaution of a preliminary preview of the area in which they planned to settle. Such a group landed at Pictou in 1802. Having passed the winter with friends in Pictou, twenty men left Nova Scotia and came to the Narrows of Bras d'Or. Here on fields originally cleared by Acadians in 1752, when it was known as La Pointe a la Jeunesse,³ they planted a crop of potatoes. During the summer, they explored the section of the lake then called Little Bras d'Or and after harvesting their crop in the fall, they returned to Pictou and their families. The following spring, these men and their families returned to settle at the Narrows or Straits of Barra. Archibald MacKenzie suggested in his History of Christmas Island Parish that these twenty Barra men had been sent or directed to the Narrows of the Bras d'Or by the description which soldiers, who had fought at Louisbourg, had given to their Barra neighbours upon their return from the wars.⁴

But another settler, James Ross, discovered his land, not through the descriptions of others but by actually visiting the area with the Indians. It has been said that he met the Indians at Little Narrows and travelled with them through the country around Lake Ainslie and the Margaree. He wintered with

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3. Johnston, Rev. A.A. A history of the Catholic Church in Eastern Nova Scotia, 1611-1827. Antigonish, St. Francis Xavier Univ. Pr., 1960. Vol. 1 62
4. MacKenzie, Archibald J. History of Christmas Island Parish. (1926) 3

them and later returned to settle in the valley of the Margaree.⁵ In whatever way the location of settlement was reached, however, the settler was still faced with the problems of reaching his land with his equipment and supplies and then, having arrived, he was faced with the task of clearing the land and building his house and planting his crop. To those unaccustomed to the broad expanses of forest, this was a formidable task indeed.

The Highlander's first task upon arriving at the site of his new home was to clear the land and put a roof over his family. These tasks were often accomplished simultaneously since the trees cut down to clear the land would be placed in position and fitted for the log cabin. Frequently, the bark from the trees would form a covering over the rafters and moss from the forest floor would chink the cracks in the walls. This was not always a waterproof and airtight job but it was quite effective. The house itself would be a one room cabin with the furniture home made. If the settlers were fortunate, they would have a bed, a screen, a few dishes and possibly some cooking utensils. If there was no bed, the family would sleep on straw by the fireplace.

The fireplace was the central and most important item in the cabin. It provided the heat for cooking and for comfort. Usually it was large and it was always kept well supplied with

5. Jackson, Elva. "The little woman..." in Weekly Cape Bretoner, Sept. 29, 1956. 17

wood. As Charles Dunn said in The Highland Settler,

Not only did it provide warmth and light for the household, but by it all the cooking was done. An iron crane held the pots over the flames; roasts were dangled on a chain and turned round and round before the glowing logs; baking was done in iron pots placed in the hot embers. The unwelcome forest at least provided plenty of fuel and it was used lavishly. Back-logs, as large as the fire place could accommodate, were dragged to the house and lowered into place; pushed to the back of the hearth, they served to keep the fire burning steadily all day.

On this fire would be cooked the meals of the day.

The ingredients for these meals came from the land. After the cabin had been built, the first crop, usually potatoes, would be planted around the stumps. This would be supplemented by the game and fish which could be caught and from supplies which had been brought with them from the main settlement. But as these purchased supplies dwindled, the settler had to depend more and more upon his own resourcefulness to keep his family fed. Much of his success at this task depended upon his land and his ability to till it. A farmer's feeling for his land was greatly influenced by his past experience. At Grand Narrows, for example, the Acadians were anxious to leave because the soil was so stony and difficult to work compared to the marshlands with which they were more familiar. The men from Barra, on the other hand, felt that this was a most suitable area upon which to expend their efforts and it seems likely that the Narrows land was similar to or better than the Barra soil from

6. Dunn, Charles W. Highland settler: a portrait of the Scottish Gael in Nova Scotia. (Univ. of Toronto Pr., 1953) 28

which they had come. Mr. Luce, the deputy surveyor, told Colonel Cockburn that, "an increase of ten or twelve bushels of wheat from one would be an excellent crop from any land in the Province..."⁷ This certainly represented an increase over the average Highland yield.

Food supplies for the settlers came from three sources. The first source was the crops which were planted in the spring and harvested in the fall. These included the root vegetables, such as potatoes and turnips, which could be easily stored for winter use. Oats, barley and wheat formed the grain crops and these were usually planted in the second year of settlement. During the first summer, the root crops could be planted among the stumps. By spring of the second year, the settler usually burned his stumps out and planted grain. The ashes left by the burning enriched the soil and provided a good yield, often for several years. This was extremely fortunate for the farmer as there was a lack of fertilizer for the land and no way in which to import any. Normally, each settler had a few cattle, sheep and swine but no farm had many and it took many years to raise herds and flocks of any size.

Another problem faced by the early settlers was the lack of mills, butchers, coopers, blacksmiths and other necessary tradesmen. The grain which was grown frequently had

7. "Appendix to Colonel Cockburn's instructions and report on emigration." Appendix (D) No. 3 in H. North America Papers, 1828-48. P.A.N.S. 59

to be ground by hand since mills were few and far between. Often all the flour used by a family would be ground by the women in the querns which they had brought from Scotland. Materials which could not be grown on the land had to be imported. If the settler were on coastal land, this meant a trip by boat to Sydney or St. Johns, Newfoundland where the necessary items could be purchased. Frequently, the settlers preferred to travel to the Bras d'Or Lakes in winter and make the trip on the ice. It was not unusual for several in the family to make the journey to assist with carrying the supplies on the return journey. We are told by Elva Jackson that Granny Ross, the wife of James Ross, would "walk to Bras d'Or, a distance of over sixty miles with her husband; and she would help him carry back supplies."⁸

The food which was grown and the imported supplies were supplemented by the products of forest and stream. Fish were abundant and small game was plentiful although in some years the moose would be in scarce supply. The shrubs and bushes also contributed to the larder with a good supply of blueberries and raspberries. But these were crops which could only be eaten in season since the sugar, necessary for preserving, was scarce and containers were difficult to obtain. The settler's diet, on the whole was plain, though substantial, and it was the result of much energy, effort and co-operation by all members of the family.

Another problem confronting the settlers was the difficulty of obtaining material for clothes and equipment. Wool from the sheep and hides from the moose and deer were processed and converted into wearing apparel. Reverend Mr. MacDonald tells us in Cape North and Vicinity that

For footwear and harness, hides were tanned into leather in the juice of barks, a home process. The preparation of the bark, and the process of tanning took considerable time. Many families did most of their own shoemaking. Mooseshanks and moccasins made comfortable footwear in snow and cold weather.⁹

The settler's ingenuity and adaptability compensated for many missing necessities. These first settlers had to be able to work at almost every trade because there were no skilled tradesmen to do their work for them. Thus a settler's farm was the scene of milling, blacksmithing, tanning, weaving, sewing, cooking, lumbering and building. Even in emergencies, the settler had no one to rely upon except himself and his family. This was especially true in time of illness and disease. In Sydney, the garrison had its own doctor, but in the hills and valleys of the countryside, doctors were few in numbers and difficult of access. One of the problems which confronted the government of the island in 1801 was the danger of a small pox epidemic. For the settlers' protection, the Council recommended a solution in these words,

...the Board conceives that it will be impossible to prevent the infection from spreading over the Settlement and as it appears to be of a more virulent and

9. MacDonald, Rev. D. Cape North and Vicinity. (1933) 19

fatal kind when taken in the natural way, they cannot avoid giving it as their unanimous opinion that every means should be instantly adopted to introduce and recommend General Inoculation and that timely notice should be given apprising different settlements in the government that such a circumstance will take place with all possible haste, allowing time for those who may decline the mode of Inoculation to take the necessary precautions.¹⁰

The Council had suggested the remedy but because there was a scarcity of medical men, its effectiveness devolved upon women, such as Granny Ross, who performed the inoculation using a jack knife with a blade one and one-quarter inches in length and serum gathered from the sores of the sick.¹¹

Disease was not the only hazard which the settlers encountered. There were also the normal dangers faced by anyone who was engaged in difficult and strenuous tasks. In field and forest, lake and stream, dangers were to be encountered. Stories have been told of the dangers of the forests when wildcats and bears were apt to be unwelcome visitors. The sea and lake held their dangers with the risk of drowning, losing one's way in a storm or breaking through the ice in the middle of winter. But the settlers continued to work their lands and despite these hazards the settlements continued to grow.

As the settlements grew, the conditions of settlement for new arrivals began to improve. There were more small towns and villages such as Ship Harbour, Port Hood and Judique. In

10. Minutes of Council. P.A.N.S., MS.DOC.S., Vol. 321 145

11. Jackson, Elva. 'The little woman'... 17

some cases, the new settlers were able to purchase lands which had been improved by previous settlers thus saving themselves much of the back-breaking labour of clearing the land. With the increasing number of settlers came an increasing variety of professions and trades. After 1810, a number of men appear whose means of livelihood was not farming but a trade such as blacksmithing or coopering. Gradually the settlement began to assume the form and shape of a community with community services and co-operation. One organization which played an important part in these new communities as it had in settlement was the Church and the men who preached its message.

Religion played an important part in the settlement of the North American continent. In many cases, it was a desire for religious freedom which had brought the people to a decision to leave their native land. In Scotland, many of the settlers, having found it difficult to worship God in the way of their choice, had banded together and sought life in the New World. In some cases they were led by a man of religion, Norman McLeod for example, and in others their leader was a layman such as Captain McDonald who believed that his people should have the opportunity of freedom of worship which was denied them by the authorities at home. Because religion was such an integral part of the settler's way of life, even those whose main reason for emigration was economic rather than religious tended to seek land in areas which had been previously settled by those of the same faith. Thus we find areas in the New World which are

predominantly of one religious belief. Pictou, for example, was an area of Protestant Presbyterian settlement with Dr. MacGregor ministering to the spiritual needs of the people. When later settlers arrived who were of the Roman Catholic faith, they soon moved elsewhere to obtain the benefits of their own religious services. In this way, the western shore and also the Grand Narrows area of Cape Breton was settled.

These early settlers, scattered as they were, had little actual contact with the religious leaders of their Church. Frequently services were dependent upon the travelling missionaries who might visit the community once every two or three years. During the interim, services were conducted in the homes by lay readers. These men would visit the homes in the community teaching the precepts of the Church and leading Sunday services. In isolated areas, such as Cape North, there were several men who could take charge of a service and among the Scotch Presbyterians, Gaelic was frequently the language of the service. These Sunday meetings served a social as well as a religious purpose, since they provided the people of the area with a reason for coming together and visiting.

During the early years of settlement, three main religious groups could be distinguished. With the British armies came the established Church of England well represented by the garrison and its Chaplain. With the arrival of the military and civil administration at Sydney, arrangements were made to build a Church and the Society for the Propagation of the

Gospel sent one of its Loyalist clergymen, Ranna Cossit, to administer to the needs of the Parish. The Reverend Mr. Cossit, who organized his Church with Parish elections in 1786, was for many years the only resident clergyman of the Church of England on the Island. He strove to build up the Parish in Sydney and managed to make occasional visits to neighbouring communities. He was succeeded by the Reverend Mr. Twining in 1806. The Reverend Mr. Binney, another of Cossit's successors, seemed to have been most energetic. Travelling conditions were poor at the time, but he did attempt to visit the more distant areas of the Parish. On one such trip, he travelled from St. Peters to Arichat by canoe. Returning to Sydney, he continued to Mira, Louisbourg and Gabarus. In the last place, he was apparently the first minister whom the inhabitants had seen and on September 15, 1819 he baptised eighty-six of the residents. This trip was taken mostly on horseback and since the Old French Road was almost impassable, the travelling was very difficult.

The necessity and difficulty of travel were faced by clergy of all Churches and not of the Church of England alone. The other major faiths represented among the island settlers were Roman Catholicism and Presbyterianism. The Scottish immigrants belonged to one or other of these Churches. But while the members of the Presbyterian Church were almost entirely Scots, the Roman Catholic Church had adherents among the French Acadians, the English and the Irish settlers as well as the

Scottish. Its members were to be found scattered throughout the island and one of its problems was to find priests to visit the isolated areas and bring the services of the Church to the people. Generally speaking, the Roman Catholic Church found it easiest to serve the needs of the people from a central mission in Arichat with the western shore receiving visits from both Arichat and the neighbouring shores of Prince Edward Island and Pictou. Dr. Phelan served the Church in Arichat where in 1787 he estimated the number of families in his care at two hundred with the majority residing in Isle Madame.¹² On the other side of the Island, Father McEachern from Prince Edward Island paid occasional visits. One such visit has been described by Donald MacGillivray in these words,

At that time, I frequently served the illustrious Bishop's Mass, and subsequently, in June 1801, I accompanied him through the Gulf settlement around Cape Louis down to Antigonish, and thence to the western side of Cape Breton. I well remember the dreary roads we had to travel. A chip out of an occasional tree served as the only landmark to guide our weary steps through the dense forests of the then rugged country. A portmanteau, containing a missal, vestments and the furniture of the altar, we carried as best we could from one place to another, for the use of horses was as yet unknown to the few pioneers who composed the entire population of that portion of His Majesty's dominions.¹³

In these journeys, all had the common experience of a lonely road and poorly marked path. It was to be many years before the communities were able to build Churches and support permanent priests and ministers. On the western shore, the

12. Johnston. op. cit. 123
 13. Johnston. op. cit. 162

Scottish settlers petitioned for land to build a Chapel as early as 1804 and yet it was 1818 before Father MacDonell could write from Judique that

I begin to fix my residence in this parish at Grand Judique, 10 miles west (?) [sic] of the Gut of Canso, which I conceived to be the most central situation. I have a kind of road to River Inhabitants across the mountain which is only 8 miles distance. Parochial land had been purchased at Judique upwards of 15 acres, at the rate of 3 per acre. An excellent frame for it size is ready to be erected at said place, the dimensions of which are 50 feet long, 32 broad and 21 feet post. The completion of the timber for erection cost us £60.

Gaulin

The Rev'd Mr. Gaulin induced the Parishoners of Broad Cove to commence the building of a small Chapel in the centre of their own settlement, I hope matters in a short time will be on a better establishment, though this Parish in some respects was neglected for want of a fixed Clergyman.¹⁴

In other parts of Cape Breton, Churches grew to meet the needs of the communities. Where there were few people and no one to minister to the congregations, services were dependant upon travelling missionaries. This was especially true of the Presbyterian members since their first resident and licenced minister, Rev. William Miller did not settle on the island until 1821. The Reverend Norman McLeod also a Presbyterian, although not a supporter of the contemporary Church of Scotland arrived with his followers in 1820 but was not licenced until 1826.¹⁵ Prior to this time, the Presbyterian congregations were served by lay readers and two missionary visits by Dr. MacGregor of

14. Johnston. op. cit. 390

15. Murray, Rev. John. The history of the Presbyterian Church.
Truro, News Pub. Co., 1921 28

Pictou. His first visit was in 1798 and his second in 1818. On both occasions, he had to cover many miles on foot or by boat to visit scattered members of his Church. It was the zeal of Dr. MacGregor coupled with the zeal of his Catholic counterpart, Father McEachern, which influenced the settlement of Cape Breton. This occurred when two vessels of settlers, chiefly Roman Catholic, arrived at the predominantly Protestant Pictou late in the season of 1791. The Presbyterians undertook to shelter them during the winter months and many, because they had no Church of their own to attend, went to hear Dr. MacGregor's sermons. As Dr. MacGregor stated,

...Many of them came to hear sermon for a time and there was a fair prospect that numbers of them would become Protestant Presbyterians; but priest MacEachern in Prince Edward Island, hearing of their critical situation, paid them a visit, told them of the danger of living among Protestants, advised them to leave Pictou, to go eastward along the Gulf Shore to Cape Breton, where Protestants would not trouble them...¹⁶

This many of them did. Some to settle along the western shore and others on the Bras d'Or Lakes. Because of this desire to seek out those who shared a common faith, areas of Cape Breton are still dominated to-day by one religious faith. Thus the western shore was settled predominantly by Roman Catholics while Catalone - Mira was Protestant and the Grand Mira area was Roman Catholic. Thus it was that religion too played its part in determining an area in which to settle. The original

16. Patterson, Rev. George. Memoir of the Rev. James MacGregor, D.D. (Phila., 1859) 311

settlements were made, of course, by people who had travelled together or had banded together because of common bonds among which religion was to be found. Later additions to these settlements came because the land and the people offered the new comer something which he needed and something with which he was familiar. Included among the latter was the common bond of the same religion.

So we can see that the faith of the settler formed an integral part of his way of life. The beliefs which formed his code of living frequently directed the path along which he would go. Perhaps, the Reverend Norman McLeod and his followers provide a well known example of the over-riding importance to the settlers of religious faith and the religious leader. Norman McLeod had views which, although Presbyterian, would not allow him to accept the easy comfortable interpretation of the Scriptures which the Church of Scotland ministers seemed to accept. Consequently he came out to the New World and near Pictou gathered a group of friends and followers, people who appreciated his point of view and were willing to accept his leadership. With these people and their families, he moved in 1820 to St. Ann's Harbour, Cape Breton. This harbour, first settled almost two hundred years earlier by the French, then had only a few English pursuing the fishery on its shores. Here a community was established under the supervision and control of their acknowledged leader, Norman McLeod. Here for a generation flourished a Scottish community tightly knit,

hard-working and seemingly dedicated to the way of life which was the ideal of their leader. The existence of such a community brought others and the area of settlement began to increase. With this increase came a weakening of the leader's influence. People still flocked from miles around to hear him preach but many had been injured, insulted or constrained to withdraw their full support as a result of open denunciation of their conduct from the pulpit. Many who were willing to follow him still reserved to themselves the right to decide whether dancing or whiskey were bad for the soul. However, despite their objections to Norman McLeod's severe criticism of their actions, eight hundred men, women and children were still willing to follow him to his final destination at Waipu, New Zealand in 1851. Thus ended a generation of settlement in Cape Breton. It was a settlement which left its mark upon those of its members who remained. Norman McLeod had been the civil and religious leader of his community and he had also been one of the island's chief educators.

In the Island of Cape Breton, educators were few and very difficult to find. With the exception of a few such as Norman McLeod who were not dependent upon the income from their teaching to provide their livelihood and maintain their position, the life of a pioneer schoolteacher was insecure and financially unrewarding. One of the early teachers was the Reverend Mr. Kneeland who was stationed with the British garrison at Louisbourg. In 1768, he was described as teaching the children of

the poor for no recompense whatever. The Reverend Ranna Cossit highly recommended Mr. Edward Pate to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in these words,

Govr des Barres has desired me to recommend Edward Pate to the Society for a small Salary as School Master I beg leave to say that he has kept school the Summer past, worthy of Approbation and incouragement, he is about 25 years of Age, has obliged the Roman Catholic Children to learn our Catechism.¹⁷

However, Mr. Pate did not remain long and in 1788, Ranna Cossit recommended Mr. Hiram Payne. This gentleman had the support of Lieutenant-Governor Macarmick and he also had excellent qualifications. The Society viewed the excellence of his recommendations with doubt and then instructed the Reverend William Morice, its secretary, to refuse the request. In the words of Mr. Morice,

...the strong recommendations transmitted over Mr. Hiram Payne operate very differently from what was intended by them. For while they abundantly prove the manifold talents of that Gentleman for teaching school, and must insure him success wherever scholars are to be had, they as strongly mark out an impropriety in appointing him to teaching of poorer sort of children merely to read and write a little and to learn the first rudiments of religion...¹⁸

It would seem that the Society did not care to have its teachers highly qualified so long as they could teach the rudiments of religion to all children. The religion upon which so much emphasis was placed was the established Church of England. The importance of religion in a teacher's qualifications was empha-

17. Cossit Letterbook, November 12, 1786

18. Cossit Letterbook. Copy in the Sydney Library. 11,13

sized when in the Sydney Records for August, 1799 we find that Timothy Hogan was given a Licence to "open and keep a School in the Town of Sydney for the Instruction of Such Children and others as he may think proper to admit as his Pupils." The entry was signed by David Mathews as President of His Majesty's Council and was followed by a signed declaration that Mr. Hogan had subscribed to the Oath and so obtained a licence to keep school.¹⁹ Many Roman Catholics had been unable to accept the Oath and so their schools were supported largely by the grants and fees of parents. This uncertain source of income rendered the existence of the school teacher a precarious one indeed. Because of the system of boarding the teacher at various homes in the communities, the school master could be certain of a roof over his head and food for his stomach but he would be unable to influence or change the quality of either. His cash salary, in many cases, might have been little more than enough to purchase necessary supplies and keep him clothed. Usually each family subscribed an agreed amount for each child attending the school. Frequently, this amount went unpaid, and the teacher received only his room and board. In some cases, the teacher might possess another source of income such as a farm lot. An example of this is found in the Cape Breton Land Papers, when Angus McMaster petitioned in 1809 for salary and land at Judique. He stated that he had been teaching school there for the previous

19. Sydney Records, Book B, 301 (located in the Registrar's Office, Cape Breton County Court House)

four years. The land grant was approved although no mention was made of salary. In 1795, the S.P.G. had agreed to pay £10 or £15 toward the salary of a school teacher and the Lieutenant-Governor had included an amount in the estimates. From then until annexation in 1820, the Sydney school appeared to have had a succession of teachers including Timothy Hogan (several times), Mr. Fox (apparently for only a short time), Ranna Cossit, jr., John Story and James Hill. In 1811 it was suggested that a schoolhouse should be built but several years passed before anything could be done. In 1819, Mr. Potts was appointed Public Schoolmaster with a salary of £40 Sterling per annum from the Government and he had to rent a house "for the convenience of his Scholars".²⁰ By 1820, Cape Breton was again joined to Nova Scotia and its schools came under the provisions of the Nova Scotia Statutes. Since the terms of support were more beneficial to Grammar Schools, the Sydney School became one. This meant that it taught Greek, Latin, Orthography, Mathematics, Grammar and Geography. It included in its rolls children of poorer families admitted free of charge and not exceeding eight in number. The school master was to receive a salary of £50 for his efforts. By 1826, the island had been divided into districts and Sydney itself had forty pupils in attendance ranging in age from seven to thirteen.²¹

20. School Papers. Cape Breton, 1803-1842. P. A. N. S.

21. School Papers. Cape Breton, 1803-1842.

During this period, a few unofficial schools were in existence. Since Roman Catholics could not be public school teachers without taking the Oath, a few of the priests who could manage the time would gather together a group of students. In Cheticamp, Father Champion was teaching such a school as early as 1802,²² and it was in this way that the school at East Bay began. By 1824, Laurence Kavenagh, surveying conditions in Cape Breton as a Member of the Legislature, was able to report "There is no Regular School in the County of Cape Breton that I know of, except one at Sydney & one at Arichat..."²³ However, while he could not locate regular schools, he was able to find a number of privately and poorly supported teachers at places such as Arichat, Gut of Canso and L'Ardoise with places such as Judique, Margaree, Baddeck, Boularderie and St. Anne's employing travelling teachers when it was possible. This report, part of a survey of the Province, was followed by the School Act of 1826 which divided the Province into School sections, in each of which a school was to be maintained at the parents' expense and to which a Provincial Grant was to be made. Cape Breton Island, under this Act received £220 toward the support of its schools. By 1827, the Cape Breton School Commissioners were able to report that of the fifty-one school districts into which the Island had been divided, seven would be able to have licenced teachers. Included among these seven licenced teachers was Norman McLeod of St. Ann's who had begun teaching with classes

22. Johnston. op. cit. 186

23. Johnston. op. cit. 470

in his home during the summer of 1822.²⁴

Thus as time passed and the immigrants became settled and established the schools began to appear. These first schools were irregular in teaching and attendance and in accommodation. Scholars who attended them did so because they wanted to learn. The rooms were cold and school supplies were difficult to obtain. As one Cape Bretoner stated when asked about the number of highly educated men who came from Lake Ainslie. "They weren't afraid of anything or anybody. When they went to school, they said to themselves that if other people could master the learning necessary for a doctor or a lawyer or a minister so could they. Then they worked hard and accomplished whatever they set their mind to".²⁵

This ability to work hard for something which grew in the Scottish immigrant from the time of his arrival. There was no easy way in which he could become established and self-supporting in this land of trees and lakes to which he had come. If he wanted to earn a living for himself and his family, if he wanted to establish his claim to a lot of land, he must work and work hard. This necessity of work applied not only to the head of the family but to every member of it. Settling a new land was part of a co-operative effort. Everyone took part and those who were fortunate enough to be relieved of some chores to attend

24. McPherson, Flora. Watchman against the world: the story of Norman McLeod and his people. Lond., Robert Hale, 1962. 74-75

25. Dunn. op. cit. 111

school worked just as hard if not harder there. Not everyone in the family could have these advantages and those who did appreciated their opportunity. Thus, the Highlanders throughout their hard work of becoming established set great store on church and school and, as their own circumstances permitted, they worked for the firm establishment and spread of these institutions which they held dear.

CHAPTER V CONSOLIDATION

By 1820, Cape Breton had been under British rule for sixty-two years and had had an independent existence for thirty-six of those years. During this time of separate existence the colony had had a succession of governors, all of whom seemed to have had difficulty establishing a peaceful and productive form of government. Des Barres, governor until 1787, became involved in disputes and quarrels with the military officers and with the officials of the civil administration. The Colonial Office replaced him with Lieutenant-Governor Macarmick who they felt would be able to settle the situation and to restore a peaceful government which would forward the rapid growth of the colony. However, Macarmick also became involved in the internal quarrels of the island and was recalled in 1795. These early quarrels seemed to be centred around the personalities of Abraham Cuyler and David Mathews. Des Barres has been charged with the responsibility for these early difficulties but, while it is certain that his own personality contributed to the problem, especially with the military officers, it is equally certain that it requires more than one to create dissension and despite Des Barres' removal, the discord continued unabated. Each governor in turn arrived and in a spirit of good will reappointed suspended officers to their offices only to be faced with the recurrence

of dispute. Each man seemed incapable of remaining above and outside the dispute. Perhaps it was the size of the colony which in some way was responsible. It would have been rather difficult to avoid close contact with the disputing parties and thus correspondingly difficult to avoid taking sides. Once the Governor became involved in this internal dissension, his usefulness as the impartial and objective representative of the Crown was greatly impaired and the British Government soon found it necessary to recall each of them in turn.

Under the circumstances, the Colony was bound to suffer. Its land settlement policy alone, dependent as it was upon the good will of the Governor provides a good example. Des Barres, before he left the Island, awarded many Licences of Occupation to settlers which were later revoked or ignored by his successors. Thus, the Minutes of Council record a petition by Donald Macaver (MacIvor) of N.W. Arm for land taken from him by Mathews in 1796 and given to John Sunderland.¹ It had been purchased by Macaver from the original owner who had obtained it on a grant from Des Barres. Apparently this grant was not recognized by the President of the Council who had issued a Licence to Mr. Sunderland. Since the Imperial Policy prevented land grants as such during the period in which Mathews, as President of the Council, was responsible for the government of the colony, many who received permission to occupy their land

1. Minutes of Council. P.A.N.S. Vol. 321 81

were dependent upon the good will of a later Governor to confirm them in their possession. In 1796, a grant of permission to occupy made by Mathews to Allan McDonnell contains the phrase "although no lands can now be absolutely granted..."² thus emphasizing the problem of settlement. Land was just one part of the power of patronage which would tempt the Governor to rule the Colony by his own party and thus increase the discord. The civil establishment provided other causes of dissension and from the pages of argument in the Minutes of Council during every Governor's rule, it would seem that not one from Des Barres to Ainslie was strong enough or able enough to avoid entering the petty politics of the colony and thus destroying his effectiveness.

That this political dissension was to be felt in the ordinary everyday life of the colony was only to be expected. Life in a struggling community requires the constructive energies of every inhabitant. When these energies are still, the colony is bound to suffer, but when many of the men most responsible for the forward advance of the settlement waste their time and energy in fruitless quarrels and destructive political quibbling then the advance is not only retarded but sometimes stopped altogether. It was in this direction that the government of Cape Breton seemed to be heading.

Agriculturally, the country was poor. The few settlers

2. Sydney Records, Book B, 198 (in Registrar's Office Cape Breton County Court House, Sydney)

who came were busy supporting themselves and had little or no extra produce for export even to markets as small as Sydney. Throughout the entire period, the Council was continually receiving petitions from the people for permission to import livestock, grain and other necessary products from the United States. The colonial trade was governed by the Navigation Acts and consisted chiefly in an exchange of goods with Britain or other British possessions. The coal industry would have made the colony prosperous but it was hampered by governmental restrictions. The political dissensions rendered a constructive policy of public works almost impossible with the result that the colony lacked roads and efficient means of communication between settlements and markets and the centre of government. Moreover, the settlements themselves were not large and seemed to lack the unity and cohesiveness of established communities, being rather places of habitation whose occupants were working independently of each other.

The small and isolated communities were suggestive of one of the main difficulties which confronted any government on the island. Its population was too small and too scattered to be conducive to effective and efficient administration. Any colonial government conducted upon however small a scale required certain basic expenditures, and created or required certain officials without which it could not exist. These officials, in their turn, by the very nature of their offices demanded salaries which, while they might be smaller than the

same officials in a larger province, were still too large for the inadequate resources of the small Colony of Cape Breton. One has only to check the Civil Establishment under Governor Hepean to realize how top-heavy the political structure of the Government had become. The following table, given by Richard Brown in his History of Cape Breton, indicates just how expensive colonial government, with its proliferation of civil offices could be.

OCCUPANT	OFFICE	TOTAL AMOUNT EMOLUMENT		
		£	us	d
A. C. Dodd	Chief Justice 500l. per annum Deputy-Surveyor of Woods, 12l. per annum in fees	512	0	0
Richard Gibbons	Attorney-General 85l. per annum Solicitor-General no fees	85	0	0
Wm. McKinnon	Provincial Secretary, Registrar, and Clerk of Council, Salary and Fees	240	0	0
James Hill	Clerk of the Crown, 86l. in Fees Clerk of the Pleas, Fees not state ed. Clerk of the Peace, ditto Public Schoolmaster, 45l. per annum	131	0	0
William Cox	Provost Marshal	120	0	0
Richard Stout	Surrogate and Judge of Probate, Fees. Acting Auditor	10	0	0
Wm. Day	Messenger to Council, and Gaoler	52	10	0
Philip Dumaresq	Collector of Customs, Salary and Fees	350	0	0
George Moore	Ditto at Arichat	120	0	0
Ranna Cossit	Comptroller of Customs, Salary and Fees Receiver of Seamen's Duty, Fees 11l. 4s. 6d. Deputy-Treasurer, Greenwich Hospital, nil	151	4	6
C. Hubert	Col. Prov. Revenue, Western Dist., 10 per cent	300	0	0

OCCUPANT	OFFICE	TOTAL AMOUNT EMOLUMENT		
		£	s	d
Samuel Plant	Surveyor and Searcher, Salary and Fees, 141. Collector Prov. Revenue 10 per cent Commission 251. Coroner, Fees 21. 10s. Clerk of Licenses, Fees 21. 10s.	171	0	0
P.H. Clarke	Treasurer of Prov. Revenue Do. Mines Do. (5 per cent commission about 3001. Private Secretary to Governor 911. 5s. per annum	391	5	0
Wm. Twining	Parochial Minister 1441. per annum Garrison Chaplain 451. 12s. 6d.	189	12	6
Thomas Crawley	Surveyor of Lands 1401. per annum Superintendent of Mines, 1001. per annum	240	0	0
J.W. Clarke	Medical officer at Mines	150	0	0
J.C. Ritchie	Agent of Government at Mines 2251. per annum Allowed to supply men with goods 2251. more	450	0	0
George Brown	Harbour Master	50	0	0
Philip Elly	Clerk of Market, Fees	9	0	0
		<u>3475</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>0</u> 3

In addition to the expenditure was the Governor's salary of 800. The Imperial Government paid £2,000 toward the cost of the government and the remainder came from the revenue of the coal mines, incidental fees and a duty on rum. It is little wonder then that the Imperial Government was in a quandary when its legal advisers agreed with the decision of the Cape Breton Court rendering the duty on rum illegal. This decision had been based on a phrase in the fifteenth Article of

Instructions to Parr in 1784 "that nothing be passed or done that should any way tend to affect the life, limb or liberty of the subject, or the imposing of any duties or taxes."⁴ As a result of this decision, some new solution to the difficulties which beset the island had to be found. Despite previous petitions on the part of the inhabitants of Cape Breton for an Assembly of their own, the Imperial Government decided that it would be more effective and more efficient to annex Cape Breton to Nova Scotia. In June, 1820, Governor Kempt arrived in Nova Scotia and informed Captain Stuart, President of the Cape Breton Council, of his Instructions. The Council remained in office until the necessary measures for the transfer of authority could be completed.

Upon receipt of the news of the pending annexation, the residents of Sydney immediately asked that the matter be reconsidered. Their objections to annexation are described by Richard Brown in these words,

...the inhabitants of Sydney immediately addressed a strong remonstrance to Lord Bathurst, in which they expressed their grief and astonishment at the proposed measure of annexation, stating that the island would be swamped by the Legislature of Nova Scotia, that its interests would be neglected, and that the distance of the island from Halifax - the seat of Government - would cause great inconvenience to inhabitants...⁵

The petition of the residents of Cape Breton protesting the illegality of the annexation was referred to the Judicial

4. Brown. op. cit. 434

5. Brown. op. cit. 438

Committee of the Privy Council where a case was argued for the Crown on the legality of annexation. J. L. MacDougall in his History of Inverness County stated that no judgment was given on the petition but the Report of Their Lordships stated,

The Lords of the Committee, in obedience to Your Majesty's said order of reference, have taken the said petition into consideration and have heard Counsel on behalf of the said Petitioners, and have likewise heard Your Majesty's Attorney General on behalf of Your Majesty's Crown, and Your Lordships understanding it to be Your Majesty's pleasure that their Lordship's consideration of the matter referred to them, by your Majesty's said order of reference, should be confined to the question whether the inhabitants of Cape Breton are by law entitled to the Constitution purporting to be granted to them by the Letter Patent of 1784, mentioned in the said Petition do agree humbly to report their opinion to Your Majesty, that the inhabitants of Cape Breton are not so entitled.⁶

Annexation became a reality and on October 16, 1820, it was formally announced by a Proclamation which annexed the island as a county of the Province of Nova Scotia. This provided for a writ of election for two members to the Nova Scotian Assembly, (the right of voting was to be extended to all over twenty-one years of age who held a legal title to property, i.e. holders of tickets of location or crown leases were acceptable in addition to freeholders). The officials whose functions were necessary for the smooth running of government were to remain in office until further notice but the Council was abolished. Governor Kempt, himself, appeared to be extremely interested in Cape Breton and anxious to render the change of government as

6. MacDougall, J.L. History of Inverness County (1922) 15

pleasant as possible. Following a visit to Cape Breton, the Governor arranged a better method of land settlement than had previously been in existence. This new system referred to by R. J. Uniacke Nova Scotia Attorney General in 1826 as a 'land committee'⁷ actually appears to have been merely permission to Captain Crawley, as Surveyor-General, to grant tickets of location for lots of one and two hundred acres on which the holders could settle before receiving confirmation from government officials in Halifax. The second benefit of this land policy was the right to share the cost of fees with up to four others by having all their land included in one grant. Thus annexation was not without its benefits.

Included among these benefits was the right of political representation. Previous to 1820, Cape Breton had had no representation but had depended upon Council and petition to achieve the wishes of the people. Their requests for an Assembly had been refused. When one realizes that by 1820 the population of the island had only reached a total of eight or nine thousand people, (in 1817, it was estimated at between 6,000 - 7,000) many of whom were located far from the centre of government, the reasoning behind the Imperial Government's decision can be seen more clearly. Also the fact that many settlers held their land by ticket of location or lease disqualified them as voters. Freeholders, the only legal voters were few in number. As much as

7. See supra. Chapt. II 41

Cape Bretoners wanted their own Assembly, they would have found it extremely difficult to find eligible members who were free and able to attend its meetings at all times. Annexation provided an established Assembly to which the two Cape Breton representatives could carry the wishes of their people. R. J. Uniacke and Laurence Kavanagh were returned as members in 1820 and the latter was to become the first Roman Catholic to take his seat in the House when he took the ordinary oath on April 2nd, 1823.

It is interesting to note that while Sydney residents were petitioning against annexation, Arichat welcomed the interest shown by Governor Kempt with an address of appreciation and on the western shore in August 1821, William McKeen penned these words to John Young,

...Situate on the N.W., Side of the Island we are free from fogs and early frost, yet we labour under a great many difficulties in the remote part, at a distance of 70 miles from Arishat [sic] and about 200 from Sydney we have remained almost unknown without the privileges of either Roads or Bridges. There never has been any regular System of Culture introduced amongst us, everyone has been ploding on in his own way without any other Stimulus but to acquire the necessaries of life. But Since the reannexation of this Island, a gleam of hope begins to dawn. We now look up to the legislature and central board for assistance and Support, and hope by Loyalty and Gratitude to merit a continuance of their favours...⁸

One wonders if perhaps some, at least, of Sydney's objections to joining Nova Scotia might have stemmed from the desire to remain a centre of government, with patronage and revenue close at hand.

8. Agriculture. Local Societies. Sydney & Cape Breton Co.
1819-1825.

Certainly as Mr. McKeen stated, Nova Scotia could not offer the more remote areas of Cape Breton much less and reannexation seemed likely to provide more cause for hope than for despair.

Annexation brought Cape Breton more than representation in the House of Assembly of Nova Scotia and a larger stage upon which her favourite sons could perform. It brought a stable government and support, encouragement and improvement for local enterprise. Basically, Cape Breton was dependent upon the bounty of nature for the livelihood of its inhabitants. The major occupation was farming, with fishing a prominent second. Both farming and fishing were practised by every rural resident, with fishing forming a secondary occupation for almost every rural farmer. Neither was practised in a very scientific manner and consequently neither was too successful.

Shortly after annexation, Cape Breton followed the example of Nova Scotia as groups of men came together in different areas to form Agricultural Societies. The earliest one appears to have been the Sydney Agricultural Society which was founded November 19, 1820 and had its first correspondence with John Young on December 21st. It was followed by the Mabou Agricultural Society in March 1821 and the Arichat, Gut of Canso and River Inhabitants Agricultural Society also in March 1821. Later in March 1823 Societies also came into existence in Judique and Port Hood.⁹ These Societies worked through John Young

9. Martell, J.S. The achievements of Agricola and the Agricultural Societies, 1818-1825. Bulletin no, 6 P.A.N.S.1940

(Agricola) as a central co-ordinator and secretary of the Provincial Board. Even before the Sydney Society was formed, Agricola seems to have been offering assistance to Cape Breton farmers. On Nov. 10, 1820, Pierce Kennedy, Jr. wrote to him requesting seed and explaining that previous seed from Halifax had failed to grow in the Louisbourg area.¹⁰

These societies were formed to assist the farmers. Premiums were offered as prizes for certain crops. In a letter from the Sydney Society in 1822 the effect of these incentives was described in these words,

...Many premiums remain this year unapportioned... [this] is not to be attributed, either to the inability or disinclination of the farmers to take advantage of the encouragement held out by the Society, but chiefly to the want of general information relative to its objects and even, in many parts of the country, to its existence, in sufficient time at least to comply with the rules of competition...

Farmers are now regulating their cultivation so as to be able to conform to those precepts at the next harvest, while the premiums already given are acting both as excitement to all such enterprising individuals and as a means of disseminating the knowledge of the institution, and of rectifying mistakes concerning it among others who have been as yet little, or not at all informed upon the subject. ¹¹

The Sydney Society also petitioned for land upon which to build a limekiln in order that its members might obtain fertilizer at a more reasonable price.¹² In these ways and by better knowledge acquired by the younger farmers, agriculture gradually improved.

The fishermen however had a different problem with which

10. Agriculture. Local Societies... op. cit.

11. Martell. op. cit. 32

12. Calandar of Cape Breton Land Papers. P.A.N.S.

to contend. For years they had been suffering from the incursion of foreign fishing vessels into their territorial waters. The Convention of 1818 had conceded them certain rights and privileges for dry fish and repairing boats but had expressly reserved the inshore fisheries for the local fishermen, forbidding foreign fishermen to fish within three miles of the headlands. However, this was a difficult rule to enforce. The first problem was the American argument that the three mile limit meant within three miles of the actual coast and not the headlands. Secondly, having the right to land for repairs, they also set their nets in the harbours and so violated the terms of the Convention. In 1837, the fishermen's complaints throughout the Province were sufficiently loud that the Assembly discussed the matter and voted £500 to arm small vessels to be used in protecting the interests of the Nova Scotian fishermen. This industry was to grow in value with each year and by 1872 over thirty-six per cent of the fishermen in the province lived in Cape Breton Island. A great many of these, however, would be people to whom fishing was merely a secondary occupation. The fishing of this period consisted of both off-shore and lakes and streams. Lobsters do not appear to have become as important in the 1820's and 1830's as they were later. Mr. Lomas tells us that fishing formed the principal article of export during these years. In 1826, 41,000 quintals of dry fish, 18,000 barrels of pickled fish and 2,209 barrels of oil were exported from Sydney.¹³

13. Lomas, A.A. The industrial development of Nova Scotia, 1830-1854. Unpub. M.A. Thesis. P.A.N.S. 90

Lumbering another possible source of income for Cape Breton residents does not seem to have been of importance at this time. C. Bruce Fergusson, describing the history of the lumber industry in Nova Scotia, stated that, "Between 1800 and 1808 fir timber was exported from that island Cape Breton in only two years in relatively small amounts."¹⁴ It would appear that most of the timber cut to clear land was consumed locally by buildings, ships or firewood. As mines were opened, there was an increasing demand for timber to be used as pit props.

Mining was the industry which offered the greatest potential during this period and it seemed to be the industry which was ignored the most. Part of the neglect was due to the policy of the British Government which had reserved the mining rights to itself or those authorized by it to exploit them. In 1795, the coal mines of Cape Breton officially yielded 2,894 chaldrons of coal valued at \$571, Halifax Currency.¹⁵ From 1822 to 1826, the Cape Breton coal fields averaged 7,500 tons and by 1872 they were producing 383,343 1/2 tons.¹⁶ Undoubtedly in local areas the residents used coal to furnish their own needs, but as an industry it was carried on only under the auspices of those who had the rights to the deposits, such as the General Mining Company which undertook the mining operations in 1826.

14. Fergusson, C. Bruce "Lumbering in Nova Scotia." in Atlantic Section, the Canadian Institute of Forestry, 2nd Annual Report. (1955) 67

15. Minutes of Council. P.A.N.S. Vol. 320 67

16. Campbell, Duncan. Nova Scotia in its historical, mercantile and industrial relations. (Montreal, John Lovell, 1873)

Other mining on the island, done in much smaller quantities, included gypsum, marble and limestone. Areas most affected by these products included Gut of Canso, St. Ann's Harbour, Aspy Bay, Boularderie Island, Straits of Barra, Whyccocomagh, River Denys and Marble Mountain.

The general trade of the island indicated that fish was the most valuable export with British North America being given as the main destination. This perhaps reflects the use of Halifax as the main free port in the Province before 1828. Goods could be carried there and trans-shipped for other ports and foreign goods could be obtained. In 1828, Cape Breton's exports exceeded her imports by £3,000 an indication that the island's prospects as part of Nova Scotia might prove brighter than those of an independant colony.

Each year was bringing more immigrants to Cape Breton as the tide of emigration from the Old World increased. By far the greatest proportion of Cape Breton arrivals appear to have been Scottish but it is almost impossible to determine the exact numbers. As far as can be ascertained the only direct Scottish immigration from Scotland recorded before 1817 was in 1802 when 299 Scots arrived in Sydney at the end of the summer. A survey of land records, council minutes and land papers indicate, however, that by December 1801 almost 300 Scottish people were resident upon the island. This figure includes mostly the heads of families whose names appeared on grants and petitions since only occasionally was information given in

petitions about the number in the family. Consequently it is quite possible and probably that the actual number of people was considerably higher. The petitioning families seemed to average five beside the head of the house. Of this number over half were to be found on the western shore of the island particularly between the Gut of Canso and Judique, although the bulk of the population was on the eastern side of the island. River Inhabitants, soon to be an area of continuous settlement, had only six residents, while Sydney, the central town of the island accounted for only twenty. Obviously the majority of Scotsmen did not choose to settle in town but preferred to seek the hills and valleys where farming was possible. The western shore offered them the advantage of farming land close to the sea which was to be their main highway. It is a fairly certain assumption, I think, that many of the western shore settlers both before and after 1801 came from Prince Edward Island or Pictou.

When working with the land records and petitions, it is often difficult to determine the exact year of arrival. In many cases, the settlers squatted on the land for a number of years before requesting formal recognition of their right to be there. Thus, the fact that there were only thirty people requesting or obtaining land from 1793 to 1797 does not necessarily indicate a scarcity of settlers. It could indicate a period of settlement by relatively poor settlers who could not afford the necessary fees or by canny settlers who wished to avoid fees and taxes, or possibly a period of inclement weather when

travel was difficult and the settlers were unable to reach Sydney in order to apply for land. Thus the figures do tell that of the 2,513 settlers known to be on the island in 1801 at least three hundred were of Scottish origin.

Between 1802 and 1814, the settlement rate of Scots in Cape Breton averaged one hundred and fifty each year with a total of 1,940 people petitioning for or obtaining land. The year of the greatest settlement was 1811 with two hundred and thirty-eight people while in 1813 only ninety-three received land. We know that two hundred and ninety-nine people arrived in Sydney in 1802 and settled in the country the next spring. Undoubtedly, these people are included among the settlers obtaining land for this period and so we can determine that by 1814 there were 2,200 Scots who were settled in Cape Breton. The total population of the island has been estimated at between four and five thousand people. Thus by the end of 1814, considering the number of known Scottish settlers and the normal increase in the families of the earlier settlers, it can be ascertained that the Scottish element constituted over one-half of the population.

It is also interesting to note that of this Scottish population only about one hundred seem to have settled in Sydney and on the surrounding farms. River Inhabitants had increased from six settlers to one hundred and ninety-three while the western shore and Gut of Canso accounted for the majority. The Scottish settlement appears to have followed

the rivers and lakes in search of easily accessible farmland. In the Bras d'Or Lakes, settlements had been established at the Narrows, Baddeck and on the northern shore of Boularderie, all of which were areas of reasonable farmland with relatively easy approach by boat.

In the years between 1815 and 1838, two sets of figures are available to determine Scottish settlement but both are incomplete. They can however be used to supplement each other and they provide some interesting conclusions on the settlement of Cape Breton. For this reason, they are listed in parallel columns below. The figures for land settlement are compiled from land grants, petitions, council minutes and census records while the immigration figures are a tabulation made from J. S. Martell's "Immigration to and Emigration from Nova Scotia, 1815 to 1838."

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>LAND SETTLEMENT</u>	<u>IMMIGRATION</u>
1815	173	28
1816	321	129
1817	509	382
1818	257	no record
1819	239	no record
1820	333	78
1821	438	350
1822	173	181
1823	111	no record
1824	187	215
1825	211	429
1826	244	342
1827	158	1,070
1829	68	2,413
1830	16	719
1831	8	994
1832	3	765
1833	7	1,091
1834	31	258

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>LAND SETTLEMENT</u>	<u>IMMIGRATION</u>
1835	20	no record
1836	23	331
1837	15	281
1838	<u>none located</u>	<u>578</u>
	3,604	10,789

As can be seen, there is a wide variation in these figures and this is quite understandable. The land settlement figures indicate people who have arrived in the island and are known to have received land. The immigration figures indicate all people who are known to have arrived during a given year. Where land settlement figures are higher, an increase in the previous estimate of population can be made. However where the land settlement figure is lower, no adjustment can be assumed as the land figure frequently only refers to the head of a family rather than to all members of the family recorded in the immigration figures and also the land settlement figure concerns only those persons who settled on, petitioned for or received land. Since crown lands were no longer granted after 1828 in Nova Scotia, although Surveyor-General Crawley managed to delay the enforcement of the regulation in Cape Breton until 1832, the decline in these figures is in part accounted for. Another cause of the great difference in numbers could be the increasing size of the settlements and the greater number of farms which could absorb settlers as employees rather than requiring them to establish upon their own farms immediately.

Also, the financial condition of the immigrant would influence his choice of occupation and as J. S. Martell points

out, "As the rest of the province had by this time largely emerged from the pioneering state, Cape Breton attracted the poorest immigrants."¹⁷ In addition to their original poverty, these later settlers were also harassed by the imposition of an immigrant tax of five shillings Halifax Currency. This tax was used to assist the poor immigrants but since it was also collected from them, it became in many cases a severe hardship. For these reasons many of the immigrants would be forced to work for several years in order to obtain sufficient money to purchase farming land rather than settling on the land immediately and applying for a grant.

Although the main port of entry appears to have been Sydney, immigrants were also landed at Arichat, Gut of Canso, Port Hawksbury, Port Hastings and St. Anne's. Undoubtedly other immigrants arrived, by choice or necessity, at other less settled points along the coast. Land settlement figures indicate a steadily increasing settlement appearing in the interior. Thus, Lake Ainslie, which seems to have received its first settler in 1811, had at least one hundred and seventy settlers by 1837. A few obtained their land each year thus gradually expanding the area of settlement. These years also saw the occurrence of the word road in the petitions for land. This would seem to indicate that the shore lands had been granted and settlement was proceeding along the trails which connected communities and these trails

17. Martell, J.S. op. cit. 13

had perhaps advanced with use to the point of being called roads. Thus we have the River Denys-Judique Road; the River Inhabitants Road (apparently going to the Gut of Canso); and of course the Louisbourg and St. Peter's Roads which were receiving a portion of the settlement. Another area which records an increased settlement during this period is St. Anne's Harbour, reflecting the arrival of Norman McLeod and his followers. An area, for which figures appear to be missing, is the Mira River. This could possibly be due to the escheat of the Mira Grant. This tract of land originally set aside for settlers from the United States, was not finally cleared for regranting until the 1840's.

Communities were also changing in appearance with an increasing number of stores and trade shops and other services which existed to serve a centre of settlement. Specialists were appearing who could earn a living from their trade rather than farming. This change of course came as a result of an increased population. Our figures indicate that between 1758 and 1838 at least 12,989 Scots people settled on the island. This number is definite but very incomplete since it omits the relatives and family members of many of these people. If these were known and added to our total the number of immigrants might perhaps be as much as five times larger. In addition to these people, the natural increase of the early families gave the island a larger population still.

Thus it can be seen that there was a large and steady

stream of Scots coming to the island, especially from 1802 on; and that they formed a large percentage of the total population estimated to be 38,000.¹⁸ It also appears that they reaped the benefits of a stable government under annexation and finally, they had planted their character and way of life firmly on the island and its activities.

18. The census of 1838 was not completed until 1841 and returns from some polling districts in eastern Cape Breton are missing.

CHAPTER VI CONCLUSION

Scotland in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries had a great influence upon many areas in British North America. This was especially true as the tide of emigration swelled. Cape Breton was one area which was greatly affected by Scottish emigration. Through the preceding pages, we have attempted to determine the reasons for this tide and its effect upon the island.

It is apparent that, while emigration had a great many causes, lack of land due to overpopulation, poor soil and enclosures seem to have prompted the Highlander to leave his country. Since he left because he desired and needed land it would seem only natural that he would seek a place where there was some hope of obtaining it. Thus we see the emigration from the Old World to the New World and then we witness the migrations within the bounds of the New World as Highlanders left Pictou and Prince Edward Island for the shores of Cape Breton where land was more readily available and the possibilities of eventually owning this land were greater. We are able, therefore to determine that a desire to own good farming land played an important part in the settling of Cape Breton.

Another cause, which influenced the settlement and character of the island, was a desire to live with others of

their religious faith. Settlers, who might have been happy and content in the neighbourhood of Pictou, moved to the western shore of the Bras d'Or Lakes in order to establish communities of their own religious persuasion so that their Church leaders would find it easier to bring them the services of the Church. Thus, the Church played an important role in the establishment of communities and in attracting to those communities people of similar beliefs. It was in this way that the western shore received its Roman Catholic settlers, the Catalone-Mira area its Presbyterians and St. Ann's gained a population of Normanties who respected and eventually followed Norman McLeod away from the island.

This emphasis upon religion led to an emphasis upon education as the children had to be instructed in the catechism and beliefs of their Church. Thus we find schools appearing which were few in numbers and small in size and which had some connection with the Church or Church organizations. They gradually grew and expanded until their graduates were known far beyond the bounds of Cape Breton. But it is important to notice that this transition from a wilderness to a settled society was not easily nor quickly made. It was a change which involved much labour and hard work and brought many trials and tribulations to the settlers.

While they had been farmers in the Old World, they were almost totally unprepared for the conditions and difficulties which they met in the New. Many encountered the forests

and wilderness of their new country still suffering from the effects of illness brought on by the long miserable voyage with a small and unvaried diet and a plentiful supply of illness and discomfort. Upon landing, they faced problems and difficulties imposed by both nature and man.

Nature's problems were overcome by hard work, increased experience, determination and co-operation. By hard work the forest was subdued, the land ploughed, and the crops planted. Experience was gained and new skills were learned in the process and determination and co-operation overcame the difficulties presented by bad weather, poor crops or unexpected illness. Possession of the land was rendered difficult by governmental change and an uncertain land policy. Governmental restriction also hampered the growth of industries which could have been a means of supplementing the farm and fishing income in difficult years. As one immigrant had pointed out, in reference to settlement in Northern Ontario, employment which provided a cash income helped to ease the burden of later settlers.¹ Annexation came and brought stability by establishing a land policy, promoting industrial growth and by assisting agricultural growth.

The difficulties of the voyage with its overcrowding, illness and death indicate the extreme necessity by which the emigrants were pressed into departing from their native land.

1. Duncan, Mrs. William. Untitled Ms. n.d.

Had the need for change and improvement seemed less urgent to them, many would not have gone and of those who did, some would have waited for improved means of transport. However, the urgency appeared to be too great and settlers came, under conditions, which despite government legislation, were never more than tolerably comfortable and frequently much worse.

The political instability of the early government on the island rendered a large, quick and pleasant settlement impossible. The early settlement gradually laid a foundation upon which the heavier immigration after annexation could build. In this way an established society came into existence. The people brought with them their own traditions and language. They sought communities and people with customs and traditions similar to their own. In the communities these traditions and customs were carried down from one generation to the next, establishing themselves firmly as a part of the island's history and background.

We have seen who these settlers were, why and how they came, now we must examine their choice of location for their new home. It is here that gaps appear in the information which is available to us. The land records appear incomplete and even when they record land settlement, the date available is generally only the date when a settler's occupation of his land was legally authorized. In actual practice, the land might have been settled many years before application for legal title was made. Even accepting the date of legal title, we find a

wide variation between these figures and those of immigration. That the records are incomplete is clearly illustrated by the lack of information about land granted along the Mira River. This omission is due, in part, to the legal complications caused by the Mira escheat.

The escheat, originally begun in 1802, was not completed until 1843. Thus there could be no land grants in this area. Despite this difficulty, people did settle upon the land. The census figures of 1838-41 have not been included in establishing the land grant figures because of the difficulty in separating immigrants from those who were born in Cape Breton and the difficulty in ascertaining an approximate year of arrival. However a comparison of the census figures for the Mira area and Port Hood might assist us in estimating the Scottish immigration to the Mira River. The census of 1838 records at least two hundred and twenty-eight Scottish heads of families along the Mira River. This figure cannot be broken down to indicate the numbers of immigrants and first and second generation Cape Bretoners among them. Since the settlement took place between 1802 and 1838, it is quite possible that there were many of each group included in this number. In Port Hood, the Census of 1838 lists about six hundred Scottish heads of families while the land records indicated that from 1791 to 1838 there were seventy-two heads of families received grants. Other grants, whose location was indefinite, might increase this number to eighty.

Thus with these figures as a guide and considering the earlier beginning of immigration in Port Hood, it would seem likely that of the two hundred and twenty-eight families in Mira at least fifty per cent and possibly more were immigrants, while in Port Hood, the figure would be likely less than one-third. The figures for immigration to Port Hood would likely be higher than the eighty heads of families known to have settled there since records of applications for land may have been lost or the applications might never have been made because of lack of money for fees or a lack of desire to pay taxes.

As a result, the information about land settlement which is available shows the bulk of the Scottish settlement during this period to have taken place along the shores of the River Inhabitants, the Bras d'Or Lakes, the Gut of Canso and St. George's Bay to Margaree. However, it is possible that, in the later period in particular, many immigrants could be resident in either these districts or in Sydney without appearing as landowners. The problem which occurs when the land records alone are used is that they are incomplete both because records have been lost and because not all immigrants were landowners. Thus these figures should only be used with immigration figures or census records unless these latter are non-existent as in the early 1800's. From 1817 to 1838 there is a partial record of immigration while after 1827, with the imperial decision to sell rather than grant Crown Lands, the

record of land grants rapidly declines.

And so we are able to answer several questions about Scottish immigration to Cape Breton. It began early in the latter part of the nineteenth century and continued beyond 1838. The people who came were for the most part Highlanders who were searching for land which they could farm and own. Their settlement followed the easily accessible coastlines and gradually moved inland. As the amount of immigration increased, and land became more difficult to locate and communities became established, the immigrants appear to have remained in the towns and smaller communities working at a trade as employees for others before venturing to search for land. Many, once settled in town, would likely never leave. Thus land settlement declines and the smaller rural communities became established and solidified developing their own traditions and customs. These traditions and this way of life, because it had been brought from Scotland and developed by Scotsmen, retained its Scottish nature. The result was that the island of Cape Breton because of the high percentage of Scottish immigration retained some of its Scottish attributes and characteristics right down to the present day. (The population in 1838 has been estimated at 38,000. By 1838, the land records indicate that at least 12,000 Scottish immigrants had received land. If the normal population increase were one hundred per cent for this period, then there would be 24,000 Scottish people upon the island. Since the original figure of 12,000 consists chiefly of the

head of the family only, it would seem probably that of the 38,000 estimated population in 1838 more than fifty per cent were Scottish in origin.) Without Scottish immigration Cape Breton would have had a smaller population and a larger wilderness for a much longer period of time. The Scottish contribution to the island's history and development has been great, but when one considers the wilderness of forest which faced these settlers perhaps it would also be true to say that the island's contribution to the development and growth of the Scottish immigrants has been equally important to its own evolution.

APPENDIX

EXPLANATION

The following list has been compiled after a search of the Cape Breton Land Records; Land Papers; and the Minutes of Council. Each person listed received a grant of land or permission to occupy land in the place listed under the third column, Place of Settlement. The number appearing after the name indicates the number of people for whom he was responsible.

The year given as the year of arrival represents the earliest date at which the settler was known to be on the island. Square brackets around the year indicate that the date given is definitely not the earliest date, but rather is the only date known. In most cases, the doubtful date appeared on a final land grant and the earliest date of arrival could be from one to ten years earlier.

Square brackets around the number representing the family indicates doubt as to whether these people belong to that particular family. For example, if three MacDonalds arrived and settled in the same place in 1802 and two of them were minors of two and three years of age, they would be included as family members of the third who was of age and brackets used to indicate the assumption of a family connection.

Place of origin is given only when definitely located. Otherwise the decision to include the family was based upon the name with Robert Bain's Clans and Tartans of Scotland providing the checklist of Scottish names. The spelling given is that of the original with a reference (under the accepted name) being made to the apparently incorrect spellings.

The list is incomplete due to lack of information, but it is felt that those whose names appear in it did form a part of the Scottish Immigration to Cape Breton during these years.

ABBREVIATIONS

Alex.	-	Alexander
Arch'd.	-	Archibald
Benj'n.	-	Benjamin
Cath.	-	Catherine
Dan'l.	-	Daniel
Don'd.	-	Donald
Doug'd.	-	Dougald
Dug'd.	-	Dugald
Dunc.	-	Duncan
Edw'd.	-	Edward
Fin'y.	-	Finlay
Geo.	-	George
Hect.	-	Hector
Isb'la.	-	Isabella
Jas.	-	James
Jno.	-	Jonathan
Ken'th.	-	Kenneth
Lac'n.	-	Lachlan
Lauc'n.	-	Lauchan
Laug'n.	-	Laughlin
Malc.	-	Malcolm
Marg't.	-	Margaret
Mich'l.	-	Michael
Murdo.	-	Murdock
Norm.	-	Norman
Pat'k.	-	Patrick
Ran'd.	-	Ranald
Rich'd.	-	Richard
Rob't.	-	Robert
Rod'k.	-	Roderick
Ron'd.	-	Ronald
Sam'l.	-	Samuel
Thos.	-	Thomas
Wm.	-	William

<u>Head of Family</u>	<u>Place of Origin</u>	<u>Place of Settlement</u>	<u>Date of Arrival</u>
A			
ADAMS [2]	N.S.	Mabou	1797
ADAMS, Henry		Point Edward - NS	1788
ANDERSON, Peter		Sydney	1788
ANDERSON, Rob't. (9)	Scotland	NW Baddeck River	1784
ANDERSON, Rob't. (1)	Scotland	Baddeck	1786
ANDERSON, Rob't. A.		Sydney	1788
ANDERSON, Rob't.		Baddeck River	1821
ANDREWS, Thos.		NW Arm, Sydney	1807
ARMSTRONG, Rich'd. E.		East Arm	1814
ARMSTRONG, Rob't.		Gabarus	1810
ARTHUR, John		Matawat, Salmon River	1806
B			
BANNERMAN, Wm. (2)	Scotland	Lennox Passage	1820
BEATON, Alex. (4)	Scotland	Coal Mines, NE Mabou	1806
BEATON, Alex. (6)		Judique	1808
BEATON, Alex. (9)	Scotland	Mabou	1809
BEATON, Alex. (3)	Scotland	Coal Mines	1810
BEATON, Alex. (3)		NE Mabou	1811
BEATON, Alex. (2)	Scotland	Mabou	1816
BEATON, Alex.	Inverness	Broad Cove to Judique	1816
BEATON, Alex. (1)		Broad Cove to Canso	1817
BEATON, Angus	Scotland	Mabou	1805
BEATON, Angus (3)	Scotland	Judique	1806
BEATON, Angus		Little Judique	1808
BEATON, Angus Jr.		Little Judique	1808
BEATON, Angus (4)	Scotland	Mabou	1816
BEATON, Angus (3)	Scotland	Coal Mines	1816
BEATON, Angus (5)	Inverness	Broad Cove to Judique	1817
BEATON, Angus		SW Mabou	1818
BEATON, Angus	P. E. I.	Lake Ainslie	1823
BEATON, Ann (4)	Scotland	SW Mabou	1809
BEATON, Arch'd.	Scotland	SW Mabou	1801
BEATON, Arch'd.		Little Judique	1812
BEATON, Arch'd.		SE Mabou	(1821)
BEATON, Cath.		Coal Mines, Mabou	1816
BEATON, Dan'l. (2)	Scotland	Mabou	1806
BEATON, Dan'l. (1)	Scotland	Mabou	1816
BEATON, Don'd.	Scotland	Coal Mines, NE Mabou	1806
BEATON, Don'd.	Scotland	Coal Mines	1808
BEATON, Don'd.	Inverness	Judique	1816
BEATON, Don'd.	Scotland	SW Mabou	1816
BEATON, Don'd.		SW Mabou	1818
BEATON, Dug'd.	Inverness		1817
BEATON, Findly (3)	Scotland	Coal Mines	1809

<u>Head of Family</u>	<u>Place of Origin</u>	<u>Place of Settlement</u>	<u>Date of Arrival</u>
BEATON, Fin'y. (9)	Scotland	Coal Mines	1808
BEATON, Fin'y. (12)	Scotland	Margaree	1809
BEATON, Fin'y. (9)		Broad Cove, Mabou	1818
BEATON, Fin'y. (7)	Scotland	Portage	1821
BEATON, Fin'y. (7)	Scotland	Boularderie NS	1825
BEATON, John		Sydney River	1804
BEATON, John (6)		Baddeck River	1805
BEATON, John	Scotland	Mabou	1806
BEATON, John		SW Mabou	1808
BEATON, John		SW River Mabou	1808
BEATON, John	Scotland	Coal Mines, Mabou	1809
BEATON, John	Scotland	Mabou	1809
BEATON, John		Point Edward	1816
BEATON, John		Point Edward	1817
BEATON, John		Sydney River	1818
BEATON, John		SW Mabou	1820
BEATON, Neil (8)	Scotland	SS Boularderie	(1823)
BEATON, Philip		Judique	1808
BOYD, Marg't.	Scotland	SE Mabou	(1822)
BROWN, Ann	Scotland	River Inhabitants	1803
BROWN, David		Benscadié	1816
BROWN, George (3)		Low Point, Lingan	1808
BROWN, James (2)	Scotland	Portage	1817
BROWN, John (2)		Sydney River	1812
BROWN, John (2)		Low Point	1814
BROWN, Rich'd.		Sydney River	1804
BROWN, Thomas		Mira Road	1820
BROWNLEY, Rob't.	Scotland	Mabou	1787
BUCHANAN, Don'd.		N Branch, Baddeck	1832
BUCHANON, Dunc.		Grand Anse	1826
BUCHANON, Thos.		Sydney	1791

C

CALDER, Hugh (6)	Scotland	St. George Channel	1817
CALDER, Jas. (2)	Sutherland	St. George Channel	1817
CAMERON SEE ALSO CAMERON			
CAMERON, Alex.		River Inhabitants	1812
CAMERON, Alex. Jr.	Inverness	Middle River	1812
CAMERON, Alex. (9)	Argyleshire	St. George Channel	1813
CAMERON, Alex. (7)	Argyleshire	River Inhabitants	1815
CAMERON, Alex. (6)	Lochaber	River Denys Road	1826
CAMERON, Alex.		NS SW Margaree	1828
CAMERON, Allan		River Inhabitants	1807
CAMERON, Allan		SE Mabou	1826
CAMERON, Allan		Two ponds, St. of Canso	1827

<u>Head of Family</u>	<u>Place of Origin</u>	<u>Place of Settlement</u>	<u>Date of Arrival</u>
CAMERON, Angus		Margaree	1806
CAMERON, Angus		Mabou River	1807
CAMERON, Angus	N.S.	W. Margaree	1816
CAMERON, Angus		SW Margaree	1827
CAMERON, Angus		SE Mabou	1827
CAMERON, Arch'd. (2)	Argyleshire	River Inhabitants	1807
CAMERON, Arch'd. (13)	Scotland	Margaree, SW Branch	1811
CAMERON, Arch'd.		Margaree	1815
CAMERON, Arch'd.	Inverness	Grand River	1818
CAMERON, Colin (4)	Scotland	Western Shore	1816
CAMERON, Colin		River Inhabitants	1818
CAMERON, Colin		River Inhabitants	1820
CAMERON, Don'd.	Scotland	Margaree	1806
CAMERON, Don'd. (2)	Scotland	Western Shore	1808
CAMERON, Don'd. (3)	Scotland	Judique	1808
CAMERON, Don'd.		River Inhabitants	(1809)
CAMERON, Don'd.		River Inhabitants	(1811)
CAMERON, Don'd.	N.S.	W Margaree	1816
CAMERON, Don'd.		River Inhabitants	1818
CAMERON, Don'd.		Little Malagawatch	(1825)
CAMERON, Don'd.		River St. Denys	(1834)
CAMERON, Don'd.		River St. Denys	(1834)
CAMERON, Dunc.	Argyleshire	River Inhabitants	1806
CAMERON, Ewen		River St. Denys	(1833)
CAMERON, Hector (4)	Inverness-shire	Long Point	
		Gut of Canso	1816
CAMERON, Hector (5)	Scotland	Lingan Bay	1820
CAMERON, Hector		Long Point	
		Gut of Canso	(1824)
CAMERON, Hugh (2)	Scotland	Head NW Arm	1817
CAMERON, Hugh (2)	Scotland	Gut of Canso	1818
CAMERON, Hugh (3)	Scotland	River Denys	1833
CAMERON, Jas.	C.B.	Benacadie Brook	(1825)
CAMERON, John		Sydney	1786
CAMERON, John			
Lieut. (2)		Cow Bay	1786
CAMERON, John	Scotland	NW Arm	1799
CAMERON, John (4)	Scotland	Western Shore	1800
CAMERON, John	Scotland	Coal Mines,	
		Indian Cove	1800
CAMERON, John		River Inhabitants	(1803)
CAMERON, John (4)		Margaree River	
		SW Branch	(1804)
CAMERON, John		Broad Cove	1806
CAMERON, John		River Inhabitants	(1806)
CAMERON, John (6)	Scotland	Mabou	1806
CAMERON, John		Lennox Passage	(1807)
CAMERON, John		Washabuck	(1807)
CAMERON, John (6)	Scotland	Mabou SW	1808

<u>Head of Family</u>	<u>Place of Origin</u>	<u>Place of Settlement</u>	<u>Date of Arrival</u>
CAMERON, John		St. George Bay	c1808;
CAMERON, John		River Inhabitants	c1811;
CAMERON, John	Scotland	Fourchu	
		River Inhabitants	c1811;
CAMERON, John	Argyleshire	River Inhabitants	1811
CAMERON, John		River Inhabitants	c1811;
CAMERON, John	Scotland	St. George Channel	1811
CAMERON, John		NW Arm	c1812;
CAMERON, John		Head of St. George Bay	1818
CAMERON, John		Cut of Canso	c1819;
CAMERON, John(6)		Mabou	c1820;
CAMERON, John, 2nd.		Head of St. George Bay	c1827;
CAMERON, John		River Inhabitants	c1833;
CAMERON, Lucy		Cow Bay	c1811;
CAMERON, Malc.(6)		St. Peters	c1816;
CAMERON, Martain	Scotland	Margaree	1806
CAMERON, Mary(9)		Bras D'Or Lake	1817
CAMERON, Rod'k.		River Inhabitants	1806
CAMERON, Rod'k.		Broad Cove	c1821;
CAMERON, Samuel		River St. Denys	1826
CAMERON, Thos. [Davis;		SW Mabou	1806
CAMMAL, Angursh		Matawat, Salmon River	1806
CAMMERON, Angus(1)	Scotland	Mabou	1806
CAMMERON, Angus	Scotland	Mabou	1806
CAMMERON, John(1)	Scotland	Mabou	1806
CAMPBELL, Alex. Sr. (5)	Argyleshire	Boularderie	1812
CAMPBELL, Alex. Jr. (6)	Argyleshire	Boularderie	1812
CAMPBELL, Alex.	Kreigness	East Arm	1814
CAMPBELL, Alex.	Scotland	Lingan Bay	1815
CAMPBELL, Alex.(7)	Scotland	River Inhabitants	1821
CAMPBELL, Allen	Scotland	Whycocosagh	1821
CAMPBELL, Angus		R Judique	June 27, 1789
CAMPBELL, Angus(5)	Scotland	Lewis Cove	1816
CAMPBELL, Ann(6)	Scotland	SE Mabou	1819
CAMPBELL, Arch'd.		Bras D'Or	1812
CAMPBELL, Arch'd.(1)	Scotland	Whycocosagh	1822
CAMPBELL, Colin		NW Arm	c1792;
CAMPBELL, Colin		Boularderie	c1815;
CAMPBELL, Colin(3)	Scotland	St. Andrew's Channel	1817
CAMPBELL, Collin		Point Edward N. Shore	1790
CAMPBELL, Collin	Scotland	Boularderie	1810
CAMPBELL, Collin(3)		Washabuck	1815
CAMPBELL, Daniel(6)	Inverness	Mabou	1809
CAMPBELL, Don'd.(5)	Scotland	Arichat	1809
CAMPBELL, Don'd.	Scotland	Near St. Peters	1811

<u>Head of Family</u>	<u>Place of Origin</u>	<u>Place of Settlement</u>	<u>Date of Arrival</u>
CAMPBELL, Don'd. (5)	Scotland	Mabou	1812
CAMPBELL, Don'd.		Boularderie	(1815)
CAMPBELL, Don'd.	Scotland	SS St. George Channel	1816
CAMPBELL, Don'd.	Inverness	Lewis Cove	1816
CAMPBELL, Don'd. (1)	Scotland	Western Shore	1817
CAMPBELL, Don'd.	Thurso	Arichat	1818
CAMPBELL, Don'd. (4)		Rocky Bay	1818
CAMPBELL, Don'd. (6)	Scotland	Arichat	1819
CAMPBELL, Don'd. Jr.		St. Peters	(1819)
CAMPBELL, Don'd. (3)	Barra	Little Bras D'Or	
		Above Long Island	1819
CAMPBELL, Don'd.		SW Mabou	(1820)
CAMPBELL, Don'd. (3)	Scotland	Whycocomagh	1821
CAMPBELL, Don'd.	Scotland	Whycocomagh	1822
CAMPBELL, Don'd.		Scotch Narrows	
		Bras D'Or Lake	(1827)
CAMPBELL, Don'd. (8)	Scotland	SW Mabou	1827
CAMPBELL, Dunc.		Sydney River NW	(1789)
CAMPBELL, Dunc.		Point Edward N Shore	1792
CAMPBELL, Dunc.		NW Arm N Side	1792
CAMPBELL, Dunc. (5)	Scotland	Red Islands	1811
CAMPBELL, Geo. (1)	Scotland	Washabuck	1814
CAMPBELL, Hector (3)	Scotland	Red Islands	1807
CAMPBELL, Hector (4)	Scotland	Oyster Harbour	1807
CAMPBELL, Hector		NW of Scotch Narrows	(1827)
CAMPBELL, Hugh (3)	Scotland	SS Little Bras D'Or	1825
CAMPBELL, John	Scotland	Mabou River SW	1803
CAMPBELL, John		Mainadieu	1806
CAMPBELL, John (9)	Scotland	Lynch River	1809?
CAMPBELL, John	Scotland	Middle River	1812
CAMPBELL, John (2)	Scotland	Mabou Coal Mines	1816
CAMPBELL, John (5)	Scotland	Western Shore	1817
CAMPBELL, John		Caribou Cove	
		Gut of Canso	1818
CAMPBELL, John		NS St. Andrew's Channel	(1820)
CAMPBELL, John		NS St. Andrew's Channel	(1820)
CAMPBELL, John	Lochaber	Lewis Cove	1818
CAMPBELL, John		Head of Whycocomagh	
		Basin	1824
CAMPBELL, John		Little Malagawatch	(1825)
CAMPBELL, John		SS River St. Denys	(1827)
CAMPBELL, John		Broad Cove	(1828)
CAMPBELL, John		Mabou	(1836)
CAMPBELL, Malc.		NW Scotch Narrows	(1826)
CAMPBELL, Malc.		SW Mabou	(1827)
CAMPBELL, Marg't. (7)		Malagawatch	1823
CAMPBELL, Murdo		Natawat	
		Salmon River	1806

<u>Head of Family</u>	<u>Place of Origin</u>	<u>Place of Settlement</u>	<u>Date of Arrival</u>
CAMPBELL, Neil	Scotland	St. Andrew's Channel	1826
CAMPBELL, Neil(2)		River St. Denys	1827
CAMPBELL, Neil		Baddeck River	1836
CAMPBELL, Pat'k.(6)	Scotland	Middle River	1812
CAMPBELL, Peter	Isles of Scotland	Red Islands	(1824)
CAMPBELL, Rob't.	Scotland	St. George Channel	1820
CAMPBELL, Rod'k.	Scotland	(Middle River)	1817
CAMPBELL, Rod'k.	Scotland	Middle River	1820
CAMPBELL, Sam'l.(8)	Inverness	SW Mabou	1816
CAMPBELL, Sam'l.(2)	Inverness	SE Mabou	1816
CAMPBELL, Hon. W.		Portage	(1802)
CANTLEY SEE ALSO	CANTLYE, KANTLY, KENTLY		
CANTLEY, (KANTLY)			
Alex.		SW Arm, Spanish River	1788
CANTLYE, (KENTLY)			
Geo.(4)	Scotland	(Sydney River)	1803
CARMICHAEL, Dan'l.	Scotland	Washabuck	1809
CARMICHAEL, Dan'l.	Argyleshire	Mabou	1810
CHALMERS, Geo.	Scotland	Ball's Creek	1817
CHISHOLM, Alex.		Judique	1800
CHISHOLM, Alex.(3)	Scotland	Western Shore	1801
CHISHOLM, Alex.(1)			1801
CHISHOLM, Alex.	Scotland	Low Point	1802
CHISHOLM, Alex.		Long Pond	1802
CHISHOLM, Alex.	Scotland	SE Mabou	1802
CHISHOLM, Alex.		Long Pond	1819
CHISHOLM, Alex.		St. George's Bay	1820
CHISHOLM, Alex.	C. B.	Judique	1826
CHISHOLM, Arch'd.	Straglass	River Judique	1802
CHISHOLM, Colin	Scotland	Long Point	1800
CHISHOLM, Colin(3)	Scotland	Western Shore	1801
CHISHOLM, Colin(10)	Scotland	Judique	1802
CHISHOLM, Colin		Long Pond	1806
CHISHOLM, Colin	Scotland	River Inhabitants	1812
CHISHOLM, Colin		Western Shore	1812
CHISHOLM, Colin		Judique	1818
CHISHOLM, Colin		St. George's Bay	1820
CHISHOLM, Colin		Long Point	1825
CHISHOLM, Colin		Port Hood	1827
CHISHOLM, Don'd.	Scotland	Long Point	1801
CHISHOLM, Dunc.		Matawat, Salmon River	1806
CHISHOLM, Helen		St. George's Bay	1810
CHISHOLM, Jas.		St. Patrick's Channel	1815
CHISHOLM, Jas.(2)	Scotland	Gut of Canso	1821
CHISHOLM, John	Scotland	River Inhabitants	1801
CHISHOLM, John(4)	Scotland	Western Shore	1801
CHISHOLM, John(6)	Inverness	Long Point	1802
CHISHOLM, John		Judique	1804

<u>Head of Family</u>	<u>Place of Origin</u>	<u>Place of Settlement</u>	<u>Date of Arrival</u>
CHISHOLM, John		Long Point	1817
CHISHOLM, John		Gut of Canso	1819
CHISHOLM, John		Gut of Canso	1819
CHISHOLM, John		Long Point	1836
CHISHOLM, Kenneth		Whycocomagh Basin	1834
CHISHOLM, Rod'k.		River Denys	1827
CHISHOLM, Wm.	Strjarth-glass Scotland	Gut of Canso	1801
CHISHOLM, Wm. (3)		Western Shore	1801
CHISHOLM, Wm. (8)		Gut of Canso	1802
CHISHOLM, Wm.		Judique	1804
CHISHOLM, Wm.		Long Point	1810
CHISHOLM, Wm.	Scotland	Western Shore	1816
CHISHOLM, Wm. (5)	Scotland	Western Shore	1817
CHISHOLM, Wm.		Long Point	1824
CLARK, Wm.	Scotland	Mabou	1816
CLARKE, Arch'd. (2)	Scotland	West Arm Bras D'Or	1818
CLARKE, Arch'd. (2)	Scotland	River Denys	1821
CLARKE, Bethany		SW Mabou	1811
CLARKE, David		SS (Sydney) Harbour	1827
CLARKE, Jane		Lingan Road	1792
CLARKE, John		Port Hood	1790
CLARKE, Jno.		Sydney and Long Island	1809
CLARKE, Lewis		St. Ann's Harbour	1803
CLARKE, Peter H.		Long Island	1809
CORBETTE, Wm.	Scotland	Grand River near L'Ardoise	1817
CORBITTE, David	Scotland	Grand river L'Ardoise	1817
CURRIE, Don'd. (9)	Scotland	SS Little Bras D'Or	1821
CURRIE, Dunc. (4)	Scotland	St. Andrew's Channel	1814
CURRIE, John (7)	South Uist	Portage Road	1826
CURRY, Arch'd. (3)	Scotland	St. Andrew's Channel	1814
CURRY, Don'd.	Scotland	SS St. Andrew's Channel	1817
CURRY, Lachlan		SS St. Andrew's Channel	1820
CURRY, Lachlan		SS St. Andrew's Channel	1821

D

DAVIDSON, Wm.		Sydney	1786
DAVIS, Benjamin		Baddeck River	1789
DAVIS, Thos.		Low Point	1794
DAVISON		Mabou	1790
DONALDSON, Wm.		River Inhabitants	1809
DOUGLAS, Wm.		Cabarus Bay	1807
DUNCAN, Wm.		NW Arm Bras D'Or Lake	1817

E

ENNIS, Simon		River Mira and Sydney	1807
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<u>Head of Family</u>	<u>Place of Origin</u>	<u>Place of Settlement</u>	<u>Date of Arrival</u>
F			
FERGUSON, Angus	Scotland	Lake Ainslie ES	1820
FERGUSON, Dunc.		Whycoconagh Narrows	(1836)
FERGUSON, John(5)	Scotland	St. Patrick's Channel	1825
FERRIS, John		Gabarus	1806
FERRIS, John		Sydney River	1808
FERRIS, Joseph		WS Louisbourg Road	1789
FINLAYSON, Alex.(2)	Scotland	Middle River	1820
FINLAYSON, Alex.(8)	Scotland	Middle River	1823
FINLAYSON, Alex.Jr.	Scotland	Middle River	1823
FINLAYSON, Alex.		Grand River	1829
FINLAYSON, Finlay		Middle River	1823
FINLAYSON, John	Growarty	Caribou Cove	1816
FINLAYSON, John		Boularderie	1821
FLYN, Jas.(2)	Scotland	Bras D'Or Lake	1817
FRASER SEE ALSO	FRASOUR, FRAZER		
FRASER, Alex.	N.S.	Port Hood	1805
FRASER, Alex.		Matawat Creek	
		Salmon River	1806
FRASER, Chas.		Broad Cove	1819
FRASER, Christian		Sydney	1789
FRASER, Donald	Scotland	Broad Cove	1819
FRASER, Donald		NS Boularderie	1826
FRASER, Hugh		Matawat, Salmon River	1806
FRASER, Hugh(2nd)		Matawat, Salmon River	1806
FRASER, Hugh	N.S.	Port Hood	1822
FRASER, Jas.		Matawat, Salmon River	1806
FRASER, Jas.	Scotland	St. Esprit Harbour	1817
FRASER, Jean (Jane)(5)		Port Hood	(1795)
FRASER, John		Baddeck	1806
FRASER, John		Matawat, Salmon River	1806
FRASER, John		River St. Denys	1827
FRASER, Michael		Spanish River WS	1805
FRASER, Michael		SW Sydney River	1821
FRASER, Michael		NS Boularderie	1825
FRASER, Philip		SS Great Bras D'Or Entrance	1821
FRASER, Rob't.		Port Hood	1808
FRASER, Rob't.		Port Hood	1826
FRASER, Simon		Matawat, Salmon River	1806
FRASER, Thos.		Matawat, Salmon River	1806
FRASER, Thos.	Scotland	Boularderie	1826
FRASER, Wm.		Matawat, Salmon River	1806
FRASER, Wm.(Rev.)(1)		St. Andrew's Channel	1822
FRASER, Rev. Wm.		Lingan Road	1823
FRASOUR, Don'd.		Matawat Creek Salmon River	1806

<u>Head of Family</u>	<u>Place of Origin</u>	<u>Place of Settlement</u>	<u>Date of Arrival</u>
FRASOUR, Wm.		Matawat, Salmon River	1806
FRAZER, Alex.		Point Edward SS	1789
FRAZER, Alex.		NS NW Arm	1790
FULLERTON, Neil	Scotland	Malagawatch	
		St. George Channel	1819
FYFF, Wm. (2)	Scotland	Georges River	1822

G

GAMMELL, Rob't. (5)	Argyleshire	Little Bras D'Or	1813
GAMMELL, Wm. (4)	Ayrshire	Little Bras D'Or	1814
GILLES, Hugh		Judique	1789
GILLES, John		SS Little Judique	1827
GILLES, John		NS Tweednooge	1827
GILLIES, Alex.	Scotland	Western Shore	1802
GILLIES, Alex. (4)		Broad Cove	1805
GILLIES, Alex. M.			
(9)	Scotland	Broad Cove	1805
GILLIES, Alex. (4)	Scotland	Lake Ainslie	1818
GILLIES (GILLIS)			
Alex. Lieut. (3)	Inverness	Mabou	1818
GILLIES, Alex. (1)	Scotland	SW Margaree	1826
GILLIES, Allan		River Denys Road	1829
GILLIES, Allan		Judique	(1829)
GILLIES, Angus	Inverness-		
	shire	East Arm	1802
GILLIES, Angus (8)	Lochnevis;	Judique	1803
GILLIES, Angus		Broad Cove	1803
GILLIES, Angus		Little Judique	1808
GILLIES, Angus (9)		Mabou	1810
GILLIES, Angus	Scotland	St. Andrew's Channel	1817
GILLIES, Angus	P. E. I.	St. Andrew's Channel	1818
GILLIES, Angus		Mabou River	1819
GILLIES, Angus		Little Judique	(1827)
GILLIES, Angus		SS St. Andrew's Channel	(1828)
GILLIES, Angus		SW Margaree	(1828)
GILLIES, Angus		Margaree	(1837)
GILLIES, Arch'd.		Judique	1818
GILLIES, Don'd.			
Sr. (1)	Scotland	Western Shore	1796
GILLIES, Don'd.	Scotland		1800
GILLIES, Don'd.	Scotland	Western Shore	1802
GILLIES, Don'd.	Scotland	St. Andrew's Channel	1802
GILLIES, Don'd.		Little Judique	1808
GILLIES, Don'd.		Narrows	(1811)
GILLIES, Don'd.		River St. Denys Road	1818
GILLIES, Don'd.		Little Judique	(1819)
GILLIES, Don'd.		Mabou River	1819
GILLIES, Don'd. (5)	Scotland	St. George Channel	1820

<u>Head of Family</u>	<u>Place of Origin</u>	<u>Place of Settlement</u>	<u>Date of Arrival</u>
GILLIES, Don'd.(1)	Scotland	St. Andrew's Channel	1822
GILLIES, Don'd.(7)	Scotland	River Denys Road	1826
GILLIES, Don'd.		Salmon River, St. Peters	(1828)
GILLIES, Dunc.(1)	Scotland	Western Shore	1798
GILLIES, Dunc.	Scotland	St. Andrew's Channel	1803
GILLIES, Dunc.		Judique	1811
GILLIES, Dunc.(5)	Scotland	St. Andrew's Channel	
		Red Islands	1817
GILLIES, Dunc.		Mabou River	1819
GILLIES, Dunc.(5)	Scotland	St. Andrew's Channel	1822
GILLIES, Hugh(1)	Scotland	Western Shore	1797
GILLIES, Hugh		Judique	(1806)
GILLIES, Hugh(1)	Scotland	Shenacadie	1822
GILLIES, Hugh		SS Little Bras D'Or	(1826)
GILLIES, John	Scotland	Western Shore	1802
GILLIES, John	Scotland	Western Shore	1805
GILLIES, John		Little Judique	1808
GILLIES, John	Scotland	Western Shore	1811
GILLIES, John	Scotland	St. Andrew's Channel	1816
GILLIES, John	Scotland	St. Andrew's Channel	1817
GILLIES, John	Scotland	River Denys Road	1826
GILLIES, John	Scotland	SW Margaree	1826
GILLIES, John		River St. Denys	(1829)
GILLIES, Lachlan		River St. Denys	(1824)
GILLIES, Mary		Broad Cove	1806
GILLIES, Peter(9)	Scotland	Long Point	1803
GILLIS, Alex.		Judique	1804
GILLIS, Alex.	Scotland	Broad Cove	1806
GILLIS, Allan	Scotland	Judique	1822
GILLIS, Angus	Scotland	Little Judique	1806
GILLIS, Angus		SW Mabou	1808
GILLIS, Angus		NS St. Andrew's Channel	(1814)
GILLIS, Angus		Bras D'Or near	1818
GILLIS, Angus		St. Peters	
GILLIS, Angus	P. E. I.	SS St. Andrew's Channel	1818
GILLIS, Angus(1)	Scotland	Christmas Island	1825
GILLIS, Angus		Christmas Island	(1825)
GILLIS, Angus		Broad Cove	(1834)
GILLIS, Angus		SW Margaree	(1835)
GILLIS, Don'd.	Scotland	SS St. Andrew's Channel	1802
GILLIS, Don'd.(1)		Judique	1804
GILLIS, Don'd.	Scotland	East Bay	1805
GILLIS, Don'd.		Bras D'Or	1806
GILLIS, Don'd.	Scotland	Little Judique	1806
GILLIS, Don'd.	Scotland	Port Hood	1806
GILLIS, Don'd.		NS St. Andrew's Channel	1817
GILLIS, Don'd.(4)		Amelia Point, Sydney	1817
GILLIS, Don'd.	Scotland	Judique	(1819)
GILLIS, (GILLIES) Donald(1)	Scotland	Lake Ainslie	1821

<u>Head of Family</u>	<u>Place of Origin</u>	<u>Place of Settlement</u>	<u>Date of Arrival</u>
GILLIS, Don'd.	Scotland	St. Andrew's Channel	1821
GILLIS, (GILLIES) Don'd. (2)	Scotland	Judique	1825
GILLIS, Dunc.		Judique	1804
GILLIS, Dunc.	Scotland	Mabou	1805
GILLIS, Dunc.		SS St. Andrew's Channel	(1817)
GILLIS, Dunc.	N. S.	Near St. Peters	1818
GILLIS, Hugh		Judique	1789
GILLIS, Hugh (7)	Scotland	St. George Bay	1802
GILLIS, Hugh		Judique	1806
GILLIS, Hugh (9)	Scotland	Christmas Island	1825
GILLIS, John		Judique	1804
GILLIS, John		Bras D'Or	1806
GILLIS, John	Scotland	Little Judique	1806
GILLIS, John	Scotland	Mabou	1810
GILLIS, John (3)	Scotland	Broad Cove	1811
GILLIS, John (6)	Scotland	East Bay	1816
GILLIS, John (6)	Scotland	Broad Cove, Mabou	1816
GILLIS, John	Scotland	SS Little Bras D'Or	1817
GILLIS, John		Mira Lake	(1835)
GILLIS, Jno.		Bras D'Or Lake	(1817)
GILLIS, Malc.		Judique	1804
GILLIS, Mary	Scotland	SW Mabou River	1810
GILLIS, Nancy (6)		SS Bras D'Or	1817
GILLIS, Rod'k.	Scotland	Bras D'Or Lake	1817
GRAHAM, Alex.		Judique	1818
GRAHAM, Francis		Arichat Bay	1811
GRAHAM, Jas.		Sydney River	1787
GRAHAM, John		Judique	n. d.
GRAHAM, John (1)	Scotland	Western Shore	1795
GRAHAM, John		Judique	1804
GRAHAM, Rob't.		Sydney	1786
GRANT, Alex.		River Inhabitants	1804
GRANT, Alex.		River Inhabitants	1806
GRANT, Alex.	C. B.	Ball's Creek	1821
GRANT, Angus	Scotland	Ship Harbour	1800
GRANT, Angus (1)	Scotland	Ship Harbour	1801
GRANT, Angus		Judique	1807
GRANT, Angus		Judique	1807
GRANT, Angus		Long Point	(1808)
GRANT, Angus		River Inhabitants	1809
GRANT, Angus		ES Rvier Inhabitants	1809
GRANT, Angus (1)	Scotland	Ship Harbour	1825
GRANT, Chas.		Sydney	1789
GRANT, Dunc.		River Inhabitants	1806
GRANT, Dunc.		River Inhabitants	(1806)
GRANT, Dunc.		Two Ponds, Cut of Canse	(1829)

<u>Head of Family</u>	<u>Place of Origin</u>	<u>Place of Settlement</u>	<u>Date of Arrival</u>
GRANT, Gregory		Sydney	1788
GRANT, Jame John		River Inhabitants	1804
GRANT, Jas.	Inverness-shire	Gut of Canso	1818
GRANT, Jas.	Inverness-shire	Gut of Canso	1819
GRANT, Jas.		Gut of Canso	1819
GRANT, John Alex.		NS River Inhabitants	1819
GRANT, John		Ship Harbour	1804
GRANT, John		River Inhabitants	1804
GRANT, John		River Inhabitants	1808
GRANT, Mary		River Inhabitants	(1804)
GRANT, Peter	Scotland	NW Baddeck River	1785
GRANT, Peter		Louisbourg Road WS	1788
GRANT, Peter Jr.		NW Arm, Sydney	1806
GRANT, Peter		Ball's Creek	1822
GRANT, Rob't.		Sydney River	1788
GRANT, Rob't.		River Inhabitants	1804
GRANT, Rod'k.		St. Ann's Bay	1833
GRANT, Sussanna Amelia(6)		River Inhabitants	1805
GRAY, Don'd.	Scotland	River Inhabitants	1820

H

HAMILTON, Jas.(4)	Scotland	Lennox Passage	1811
HAMILTON, Jas.		Sydney River	1812
HAMILTON, Sam'l.		Little Bras D'Or Gut	1794
HAMILTON, Wm.		Boularderie	1785
HARVEY, Wm.	Scotland	Ship Harbour	1816
HENLY, Rory(2)	Scotland	Western Shore	1799
HILL, Mathew(2)	Scotland	Black River	
		St. George Channel	1818
HOLMES, Jas.		Aspy Bay	1820
HOLMES, Stitson		Cow Bay	1803
HUNTER		Lingan Road	1789
HUNTER, David	Scotland	Bras D'Or	1818
HUNTER, John(3)		St. George Channel	1818

J

JACKSON, John(7)	Scotland	River Denys	1824
JACKSON, John	Scotland	River Denys	1825
JACKSON, Malc.	Scotland	River Denys	1827
JAMIESON, Godfrey		Broad Cove	(1837)
JOHNSON, Alex.		Red Islands	1806
JOHNSON, Alex.	Scotland	Oyster Harbour	1812
JOHNSON, Alex.(3)	Scotland	Malagawatch	1822
JOHNSON, Angus		Red Islands	1807

<u>Head of Family</u>	<u>Place of Origin</u>	<u>Place of Settlement</u>	<u>Date of Arrival</u>
JOHNSON, Don'd. (3)	Scotland	Red Islands	1807
JOHNSON, Hector	Scotland	Basin River Denys	1823
JOHNSON, John	Scotland	Little Bras D'Or	1826
JOHNSON, John		Little Bras D'Or	1827
JOHNSON, John		Long Island	1827
JOHNSON, Rod'k. (5)	Scotland	Red Islands	1817
JOHNSTON, Alex.		Malagawatch	(1825)
JOHNSTON, Don'd. (6)	Scotland	Malagawatch	1824
JOHNSTON, Hector	Scotland	Malagawatch	1824
JOHNSTON, Hector		Malagawatch Harbour	1825
JOHNSTONE, Don'd.	Scotland	River Inhabitants	1821

K

KEITH, John		St. Mabou	(1819)
KENADY, Michael (2)		Mainadiou	1807
KENEDY, Don'd.	Scotland	Broad Cove	1810
KENEDY, Rod'k.	Scotland	Broad Cove	1810
KENNEDY SEE ALSO	KENADY, KENEDY		
KENNEDY, Alex.		Broad Cove	1827
KENNEDY, Angus (3)	Scotland	Gut of Canso	1821
KENNEDY, Don'd.	N. S.	Broad Cove	1816
KENNEDY, Edward		D'Escousse Road	1821
KENNEDY, John		Broad Cove	1815
KENNEDY, John		Broad Cove	1818
KENNEDY, John	Scotland	WS Lake Ainslie	1821
KENNEDY, Lachlan (2)	Scotland	Grand Anse	1822
KENNEDY, Laughlin (3)	Scotland	Gut of Canso	1821
KENNEDY, Murdo. (1)	Scotland	St. Peters	1817
KENNEDY, Pierce		Louisbourg	(1816)
KENNEDY, Ranald (2)		Broad Cove	1821
KENNEDY, Wm. (8)	Scotland	Gut of Canso	1823
KERR, John		St. Ann's Harbour	(1829)
KING, Alex.		SE Little Bras D'Or	(1806)
KING, Asbery		Gut of Canso	(1806)
KING, Pat'k. (6)		Mira River	1807

L

LANGTON, Jeremiah (1)	Scotland	Entrance, Great Bras D'Or	1823
LESLIE, Wm. (2)	Dundee		
LINDSAY, Jas.		Lingan Bay	1788
LIVINGSTON	Scotland	Judique	1803
LIVINGSTON, John		Low Point	1807
LIVINGSTONE, Angus	Scotland	Ship Harbour	1817
LIVINGSTONE, Angus (9)	Scotland	NS Great Bras D'Or	1819

<u>Head of Family</u>	<u>Place of Origin</u>	<u>Place of Settlement</u>	<u>Date of Arrival</u>
LIVINGSTONE, Arch'd.	Scotland	NS Boularderie	1825
LIVINGSTONE, Dunc.	Scotland	Hawksbury	1817
LIVINGSTONE, Lachlan(2)	Scotland	Grt.Bras D'Or	1820
LIVINGSTONE, John (7)	Scotland	Little Judique	1805
LIVINGSTONE, John		SE Mabou	1829
LIVINGSTONE, Thos.		Sydney	1790
LOGAN, Don'd. (8)	Scotland	Baddeck River	1826
LOUTTET, Magnes	Scotland	Baddeck	1817

M

McACHEN, Hugh	Scotland	Little Mabou	1803
McADAM, Don'd.		SS St. Andrew's Channel	[1814]
McADAM, Dunc.	P. E. I.	St. Andrew's Channel	[1817]
McADAM, Wm.		NS St. Andrew's Channel	[1826]
McALLA, Dan'l. [1]	Scotland	Washabuck	1814
McALLUM, Dunc.		Black Brook	
		Louisbourg Road	[1818]
McARTHUR, Alex.		Broad Cove	[1823]
MacARTHUR, Alex.		River Inhabitants	1824
McARTHUR, Don'd.		River Denys	[1827]
McARTHUR, John		Head of St. George Channel to River Inhabitants	[1824]
McASKELL	SEE ALSO McCASKILL, McASKILL		
McASKEL, John		Judique	1789
McASKILL	SEE ALSO McASKEL, McCASKIL, McCASKILL		
McASKILL, Angus		St. Andrew's Channel SS	[1819]
McASKILL, Don'd.		River Inhabitants	[1819]
McASKILL, Malc.	Scotland	Boularderie	1816
McASKILL, Malc.	Isle of Rum	Gut of Canso	1819
McASKILL, Murdo. (3)	Scotland	SS St. Andrew's Channel	1825
McASKILL, Neil		Gut of Canso	1821
MacAULAY, Angus		Indian River	1807
McAULEY, Alex.		Little Baddeck	1826
MacAULEY, John		St. Ann's Harbour	[1836]
McCAMMIE, Dugal		Mabou Harbour	[1807]
McCARLE, Don'd. (Fiper)(5)	Scotland	Wagamaskook Middle River	1814
McCARTER, Don'd.	Western Isles	Broad Cove, Mabou	1811
McCARTER, Sam'l. [1]	Scotland	Gut of Canso	1798
McCASKIL, Neil		Aspy Bay	[1834]
McCASKILL, Angus		SS St. Andrew's Channel	[1819]
McCASKILL, Don'd. (8)	Scotland	River Inhabitants	1808
McCASKILL, John (7)	Scotland	St. Patrick's Channel	1825

<u>Head of Family</u>	<u>Place of Origin</u>	<u>Place of Settlement</u>	<u>Date of Arrival</u>
McCASKILL, Neil(2)	Scotland	Gut of Canso	1821
McCHARLES, Kenneth	Scotland	Middle River	1810
McCOE, Don'd.		River Denys	c1827;
McCORMACK SEE ALSO	McCORMICK		
McCORMACK, Angus	Scotland	Low Point	c1814;
McCORMACK, Arch'd.		River Inhabitants	c1820;
McCORMACK, Dug'd.		River Inhabitants	1821
McCORMACK, Hugh		River Inhabitants	1821
McCORMICK, Angus	Scotland	Western Shore	1811
McCORMICK, Angus	Scotland	Portage	c1812;
McCORMICK, Angus	Scotland	SS St. Andrew's Channel	1812
McCORMICK, Angus(4)	Scotland	Long Point	1820
McCORMICK, Arch'd.	Scotland	River Inhabitants	c1811;
McCORMICK, Arch'd.	Scotland	East Bay	c1812;
McCORMICK, Arch'd.	Scotland	Gut of Canso	1813
McCORMICK, Arch'd.		East Bay	c1821;
McCORMICK, Don'd.	Scotland	River Inhabitants	1814
McCORMICK, Don'd.			
(2)	Scotland	River Inhabitants WS	1814
McCORMICK, Dug'd.			
(1)		Mabou	1804
McCORMICK, Dug'd.			
(7)	Scotland	River Inhabitants	1813
McCORMICK, Hugh	Scotland	River Inhabitants	1813
McCORMICK, Hugh	Scotland	River Inhabitants WS	1817
McCORMICK, Jas.		NE Margaree	1827
McCORMICK, Neil(8)	Scotland	SW Bras D'Or Lake	1815
McCORMICK, Ranald			
(1)	Scotland	SS St. Andrew's Channel	c1812;
McCOUL, David		Matawat Creek	
		Salmon River	1806
McCOWAN, Alex.		NS Sydney Harbour	c1810;
McCOY, John		Margaree River SW	1806
McCRA, John		River Inhabitants	c1811;
McCRAW or McRAW		River Inhabitants	1812
McCRAW, Pin'y.	Scotland	Boularderie	1831
McCREARY		Little Pond	c1796;
McDANIEL, Allan(3)			1815
McDONALD, Alex. r4;	Scotland	Western Shore	1799
McDONALD, Alex.	Inverness-shire	Washabuck	1800
McDONALD, Alex. r2;	Scotland	Western Shore	1800
McDONALD, Alex.		Cape Mabou	1801
McDONALD, Alex.	Inverness-shire	Margaree	1802
McDONALD, Alex.	Inverness-shire	Port Hood	1802
McDONALD, Alex.	Scotland	Western Shore	1802
McDONALD, Alex.	Scotland	Port Hood	1804

<u>Head of Family</u>	<u>Place of Origin</u>	<u>Place of Settlement</u>	<u>Date of Arrival</u>
McDONALD, Alex. (5)		River Inhabitants	1804
McDONALD, Alex.	Long Island		
	Scotland	Bras D'Or, East Bay	1805
McDONALD, Alex.		Judique	1806
McDONALD, Alex. (1)	Scotland	Mabou	1806
McDONALD, Alex.	Scotland	Mabou	1806
McDONALD, Alex. (3)		SW Mabou	1806
McDONALD, Alex.		Port Hood	(1806)
McDONALD, Alex.		River Inhabitants	1806
MacDONALD, Alex. (2)	Scotland	Broad Cove	1807
MacDONALD, Alex.		Broad Cove	1807
McDONALD, Alex.	Scotland	River Inhabitants	1807
McDONALD, Alex.	Scotland	Broad Cove	1808
MacDONALD, Alex. (11)		Gut of Canso	1808
McDONALD, Alex. (Rev.)		Judique	1808
McDONALD, Alex.		Mabou	1808
McDONALD, Alex.		Port Hood	1808
McDONALD, Alex.	Scotland	Broad Cove	1809
McDONALD, Alex.		St. George's Bay	(1810)
McDONALD, Alex. (2)	Scotland	Western Shore	1811
McDONALD, Alex.		Bras D'Or	1814
McDONALD, Alex.		Bras D'Or near	
		St. Peters	1814
McDONALD, Alex.		Port Hood	(1814)
McDONALD, Alex.		River Inhabitants	(1814)
McDONALD, Alex.	Scotland	Near St. Peters	1815
McDONALD, Alex.		Near St. Peters	(1815)
McDONALD, Alex. (2)	Scotland	Broad Cove to Mabou	1816
McDONALD, Alex. (4)	Inverness-		
	shire	Judique	1816
McDONALD, Alex.	Inverness-		
	shire	Long Point	1816
McDONALD, Alex.	Scotland	Mabou	1816
McDONALD, Alex. (2)	Inverness-		
	shire	Mabou	1816
McDONALD, Alex. (4)	Scotland	Mabou	1816
McDONALD, Alex. (8)	Scotland	Mabou	1816
McDONALD, Alex.		Margaree	1816
McDONALD, Alex. (1)	Scotland	Western Shore	1816
McDONALD, Alex.		Broad Cove, Judique	1817
McDONALD, Alex.	Scotland	Judique	1817
McDONALD, Alex. (2)	Scotland	Mabou	1817
McDONALD, Alex. (5)	Scotland	Boularderie	1818
McDONALD, Alex.		Lennox Passage	1818
McDONALD, Alex.		SW Mabou	1818
McDONALD, Alex.		Broad Cove	(1819)
MacDONALD, Alex.		Aspy River	1821
McDONALD, Alex. (6)	Scotland	Cape North	(1821)

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McDONALD, Alex. (1)	Barra	Boularderie	1822
McDONALD, Alex. (7)	Scotland	Aspy Bay	1824
MacDONALD, Alex.	Barra	Boularderie	1826
McDONALD, Alex.		Long Point	1827
McDONALD, Alex.		SW Mabou	1827
McDONALD, Alex.		River Inhabitants	1828
MacDONALD, Alex.		Gut of Censo	(1830)
MacDONALD, Alex.		Margaree	(1837)
McDONALD, Alex.		SE Mabou	1847
McDONALD, Allan (2)	Scotland	Western Shore	1793
McDONALD, Allan (1)	Scotland	Western Shore	1799
McDONALD, Allan	Scotland	Western Shore	1802
McDONALD, Allan		Judique	1804
McDONALD, Allan	Scotland		1815
McDONALD, Allan		SS St. Andrew's Channel	1815
McDONALD, Allan (5)	Scotland	Broad Cove	1816
McDONALD, Allan (5)	Scotland	Cape Mabou	1816
McDONALD, Allan	Scotland	SW Margaree	1816
McDONALD, Allan (1)		Lennox Passage	1817
McDONALD, Allan		Little River	1817
McDONALD, Allan		SW Margaree	(1817)
MacDONALD, Allan	Scotland	Broad Cove, Judique	1818
McDONALD, Allan		Lennox Passage	1818
McDONALD, Allan		Lewis Cove	(1818)
MacDONALD, Allan (1)	Scotland	Mabou	1818
McDONALD, Allan (8)	Scotland	Near St. Peters	1818
McDONALD, Allan (6)	Scotland	St. Peters	1819
MacDONALD, Allan (7)	Scotland	SW Margaree	1826
McDONALD, Allan		Judique	1829
McDONALD, Allan		Little Judique	1829
McDONALD, Allen		River Judique	1789
McDONALD, Allen		Low Point	
MacDONALD, Allen		St. George's Bay	1807
		Low Point	
		St. George's Bay	1808
McDONALD, Allen		River Inhabitants	1812
McDONALD, Allen (5)	Scotland	Lewis Cove	1817
McDONALD, Allen		SS St. Andrew's Channel	1817
McDONALD, Allen		Broad Cove-Judique	1818
MacDONALD, Allen		Gut of Censo	(1821)
MacDONALD, Allen	Scotland	NS Tweednooge	1823
McDONALD, Andrew	Scotland	Broad Cove	1816
McDONALD, Angus		Judique	1789
McDONALD, Angus (3)		River Judique	1789
McDONALD, Angus	Scotland	Broad Cove	1790
McDONALD, Angus (1)	Scotland	Western Shore	1801
McDONALD, Angus (1)	Scotland	Western Shore	1802
McDONALD, Angus		Judique	1804
McDONALD, Angus (2)	Scotland	River Inhabitants	1805

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MacDONALD, Angus		Bras D'Or Lake	1806
McDONALD, Angus, 2nd		Low Point	
		St. George's Bay	1808
McDONALD, Angus(1)		Port Hood	1808
McDONALD, Angus		River Inhabitants	1810
McDONALD, Angus	Scotland	Portage	1814
McDONALD, Angus	Scotland	St. Patrick's Channel	1815
McDONALD, Angus(4)	Scotland	Broad Cove	1816
McDONALD, Angus	Scotland	Louisbourg	1816
McDONALD, Angus		NS St. Andrew's Channel	1818
MacDONALD, Angus (11)	Scotland	St. Andrew's Channel	1818
McDONALD, Angus(5)	Inverness	Mabou	1819
McDONALD, Angus(5)	Inverness-		
	shire	River Denys	1819
McDONALD, Angus	Scotland	Middle River	1820
McDONALD, Angus(5)	Scotland	Washabuck	1823
McDONALD, Angus		River Denys	1824
MacDONALD, Angus	Scotland	Washabuck	1824
McDONALD, Angus(8)	Barra	SS Boularderie	1826
McDONALD, Angus		Narrows	1826
McDONALD, Angus(2)	Scotland	River Denys Road	1826
MacDONALD, Angus	Scotland	Lake Ainslie	(1828)
MacDONALD, Angus		Mabou River	(1837)
McDONALD, Ann		Little Judique	1809
McDONALD, Ann		Mabou	1811
McDONALD, Anne		SS St. Andrew's Channel	1822
McDONALD, Anthony	Argyleshire	Boularderie	1805
McDONALD, Anthony	Scotland	Boularderie	1817
McDONALD, Arch'd.	Scotland	Judique	1792
McDONALD, Arch'd.	Scotland	Judique	1805
McDONALD, Arch'd.	Scotland	Mabou	1808
McDONALD, Arch'd. (5)	Scotland	Grand Anse	1821
McDONALD, Arch'd.		Judique	1821
McDONALD, Arch'd. (5)	Scotland	SW Mabou	1826
McDONALD, Arch'd.		SE Mabou	1827
McDONALD, Augustin		Lewis Cove	1815
McDONALD, Cath.(5)	Scotland	Red Islands	1821
MacDONALD, Chas.		River Judique	1789
McDONALD, Christina (11)	Scotland	St. Andrew's Channel	1821
McDONALD, Colin	Scotland	Long Point	1801
MacDONALD, Colin(3)	Isle of Egg	St. George's Bay	1802
McDONALD, Colin		Judique	1810
McDONALD, Colin		Long Point	1820
McDONALD, Don'd.		Judique	1789
McDONALD, Don'd.		River Judique	1789

<u>Head of Family</u>	<u>Place of Origin</u>	<u>Place of Settlement</u>	<u>Date of Arrival</u>
McDONALD, Don'd.		River Judique	1789
McDONALD, Don'd.	Scotland	Judique	1791
McDONALD, Don'd. (2)		Judique	1798
McDONALD, Don'd.		River Inhabitants	1801
McDONALD, Don'd.	Scotland	Gut of Canse	1802
McDONALD, Don'd.	Scotland	Judique	1802
McDONALD, Don'd.	Scotland	Port Hood	1802
McDONALD, Don'd. (4)	Inverness	River Inhabitants	1802
McDONALD, Don'd. (1)	Scotland	Western Shore	1802
McDONALD, Don'd.		Broad Cove	1803
McDONALD, Don'd.	Scotland	Western Shore	1803
McDONALD, Don'd.		Judique	1804
McDONALD, Don'd.		Mabou	1804
McDONALD, Don'd.	Scotland	Mabou	1804
McDONALD, Don'd.	Scotland	River Inhabitants	1804
MacDONALD, Don'd. (3)	Scotland	Broad Cove	1805
McDONALD, Don'd. Jr.			1806
McDONALD, Don'd. (1)	Scotland	Margaree	1806
McDONALD, Don'd.		Margaree SW	1806
McDONALD, Don'd.		Matawat, Salmon River	1806
McDONALD, Don'd.		River Inhabitants	(1806)
McDONALD, Don'd.		River Inhabitants	(1806)
McDONALD, Don'd. 2nd.		River Inhabitants	(1806)
McDONALD, Don'd.		River Inhabitants	1807
McDONALD, Don'd.		River Inhabitants	1807
McDONALD, Don'd. Jr.		River Inhabitants	1807
McDONALD, Don'd. (1)		Mabou?	1808
McDONALD, Don'd.		SW Mabou	1808
McDONALD, Don'd.	Scotland	Port Hood	1809
McDONALD, Don'd. Rory (5)	Isle of Egg	Little Judique	1810
McDONALD, Don'd.		Long Point	1810
McDONALD, Don'd.	Inverness- shire	Mabou Entrance	1808
McDONALD, Don'd.	Scotland	River Inhabitants	1810
McDONALD, Don'd.		Judique	1811
McDONALD, Don'd.		River Inhabitants	1811
McDONALD, Don'd.		River Inhabitants	1811
McDONALD, Don'd.		Lewis Cove	1812
McDONALD, Don'd.		SW Margaree	1812
McDONALD, Don'd.		River Inhabitants	1812
McDONALD, Don'd.		Gut of Canse	1814
McDONALD, Don'd.	Long Island Scotland	WS Bras D'Or Lake	1815
McDONALD, Don'd.		Gut of Canse	(1815)
McDONALD, Don'd.		Long Point	1815

<u>Head of Family</u>	<u>Place of Origin</u>	<u>Place of Settlement</u>	<u>Date of Arrival</u>
McDONALD, Don'd.	Scotland	SW Margaree	1815
McDONALD, Don'd.		SS Bras D'Or near St. Peters	1815
McDONALD, Don'd.	P.E.I.	Near St. Peters	1815
McDONALD, Don'd.	Scotland	Near St. Peters	1815
McDONALD, Don'd. (11)	Inverness	River Inhabitants	1815
McDONALD, Don'd.		Bras D'Or	1816
McDONALD, Don'd. Sr. (2)	Scotland	Bras D'Or Lake	1816
McDONALD, Don'd.	Scotland	Broad Cove	1816
McDONALD, Don'd.	Scotland	Cape Mabou Shore	1816
McDONALD, Don'd.		Judique	1816
McDONALD, Don'd.	Scotland	SW Mabou	1816
McDONALD, Don'd.		Port Hood	1816
McDONALD, Don'd.	Scotland	St. Andrew's Channel	1816
McDONALD, Don'd.	Scotland	Broad Cove	1817
McDONALD, Don'd. (10)	Scotland	Long Point	1817
McDONALD, Don'd.		SS St. Andrew's Channel	1817
McDONALD, Don'd.	Scotland	SS St. Andrew's Channel	1817
McDONALD, Don'd.		St. George Channel	1817
MacDONALD, Don'd. (5)	Scotland	NS East Arm	1818
McDONALD, Don'd. (1)	Scotland	Lewis Cove	1818
McDONALD, Don'd.		Long Point	1818
McDONALD, Don'd.	Scotland	St. Andrew's Channel	1818
McDONALD, Don'd.	Scotland	St. Andrew's Channel	1818
MacDONALD, Don'd.		Gut of Canso	(1819)
McDONALD, Don'd. (7)	Scotland	St. Peters Bay	1819
McDONALD, Don'd. (4)	Scotland	Middle River	1820
McDONALD, Don'd.		WS River Inhabitants	1820
McDONALD, Don'd.		Judique	1821
McDONALD, Don'd.		St. George Channel	1821
McDONALD, Don'd.		WS River Inhabitants	1823
McDONALD, Don'd. (6)	Scotland	Boularderie	1824
McDONALD, Don'd.		SE Mabou	1825
McDONALD, Don'd. (1)	Scotland	Washabuck	1825
MacDONALD, Don'd.		Gut of Canso	(1827)
McDONALD, Don'd.		Gut of Canso	(1827)
McDONALD, Don'd. (3)	Scotland	Long Point	1827
McDONALD, Don'd.		Low Point	1827
McDONALD, Don'd.		SE Mabou River	1827
McDONALD, Don'd.		River Inhabitants	1828
McDONALD, Don'd.		Little Judique	1829
McDONALD, Don'd. (7)	Scotland	River Inhabitants	1829
McDONALD, Don'd.		WS River Inhabitants	1829
McDONALD, Don'd.		Lake Ainslie	1831
MacDONALD, Don'd.		Mabou	(1836)

<u>Head of Family</u>	<u>Place of Origin</u>	<u>Place of Settlement</u>	<u>Date of Arrival</u>
MacDONALD, Don'd.		Laggan Brook	
		Lake Ainslie	(1837)
McDONALD, Doug'd.		St. Andrew's Channel	1818
McDONALD, Doug'd.		Portage	1819
McDONALD, Doug'd.		NS St. Andrew's Channel	1820
McDONALD, Dug'd. (8)	Scotland	Low Point	
		Gut of Canso	1802
McDONALD, Dug'd.		SS Bras D'Or	(1815)
McDONALD, Dunc.	Scotland	Western Shore	1799
McDONALD, Func.		River Inhabitants	1806
McDONALD, Dunc.		Long Point	
		St. George's Bay	(1811)
McDONALD, Dunc.		River Inhabitants	(1811)
MacDONALD, Dunc. (3)	Lanterness-shire	SW Margaree	1816
		WS River Inhabitants	1820
McDONALD, Dunc.		Lake Ainslie	1821
McDONALD, Dunc. (4)	Scotland	Little River	
McDONALD, Dunc.	Scotland	Inhabitants Basin	1821
McDONALD, Edmund		D'Escousse	(1790)
McDONALD, Edward		D'Escousse Harbour	(1790)
McDONALD, Farquhar		River Inhabitants	1820
McDONALD, Findley			
(1)	Scotland	Mabou	1806
McDONALD, Findley	Inverness-shire	SW Mabou	1807
McDONALD, Finlay			
(10)	Scotland	Mabou	1808
McDONALD, Finlay		Mabou Harbour	1808
McDONALD, Finlay (7)	Scotland	NW Arm Bras D'Or	1814
McDONALD, Hector (4)	Scotland	NS Boularderie	1823
McDONALD, Hector		Gut of Canso	(1827)
McDONALD, Hugh	Scotland	Western Shore	1802
McDONALD, Hugh		Mabou	1802
McDONALD, Hugh		Broad Cove	1803
McDONALD, Hugh		River Inhabitants	1806
McDONALD, Hugh	Scotland	Broad Cove	1811
McDONALD, Hugh		River Inhabitants	1813
McDONALD, Hugh (3)	Scotland	Broad Cove	1814
McDONALD, Hugh		Mabou Harbour	(1814)
McDONALD, Hugh	Inverness	Lewis Cove	1817
McDONALD, Hugh		SS Bras D'Or Lake	(1818)
McDONALD, Hugh		Lennox Passage	1818
McDONALD, Hugh		Malagawatch Harbour	1820
McDONALD, Hugh (4)	Scotland	Malagawatch Harbour	1821
McDONALD, Hugh		Near St. Peters	1821
McDONALD, Hugh		St. George's Channel	1821
McDONALD, Hugh	Scotland	River Denys Road	1826
McDONALD, Hugh		Long Point	1827

<u>Head of Family</u>	<u>Place of Origin</u>	<u>Place of Settlement</u>	<u>Date of Arrival</u>
McDONALD, Isb'la. (1)	Inverness-shire	SW Mabou	1807
McDONALD, Jas.	Scotland	Judique	1800
McDONALD, Jas.	Scotland	SE Margaree	1808
MacDONALD, Jas.	Scotland	Gut of Canso	1811
McDONALD, Jas.	Scotland	Margaree	1812
McDONALD, Jas.	Scotland		1815
McDONALD, Jas. (7)	Scotland	SS Bras D'Or Lake	1815
McDONALD, Jas.	Scotland	SE Margaree River	1815
McDONALD, Jas.		Low Point	
		St. George's Channel	1816
McDONALD, Jas.		Judique	1819
McDONALD, Jas. (1)	Scotland	Washabuck	1825
McDONALD, Jas. (5)*	Scotland	SW Mabou	1826
MacDONALD, Jas.		Broad Cove	(1834)
MacDONALD, Jas.		Broad Cove	(1837)
McDONALD, John		Sydney	1789
McDONALD, John		Sydney	1789
McDONALD, John	Scotland		1792
McDONALD, John	Isle of Egg	SE Mabou	1799
McDONALD, John (4)	Scotland	Western Shore	1799
McDONALD, John	Scotland	Broad Cove	1801
McDONALD, John	Scotland	Cape Mabou	1801
McDONALD, John (2)	Scotland	Western Shore	1801
McDONALD, John	Scotland	Western Shore	1802
McDONALD, John (1)	Scotland	Long Point	
		St. George's Bay	1803
McDONALD, John	Scotland	Western Shore	1803
McDONALD, John	Inverness-shire		1804
McDONALD, John, Jr.		Grand Anse	1804(?)
McDONALD, John	Scotland	Gut of Canso	1804
McDONALD, John		Judique	1804
McDONALD, John, 2nd.		Judique	1804
McDONALD, John	Scotland	Mabou	1804
McDONALD, John	Scotland	Western Shore	1805
McDONALD, John	Scotland	Broad Cove	1806
McDONALD, John, 2nd.	Scotland	Broad Cove	1806
McDONALD, John	Scotland	Judique	1806
McDONALD, John		Matawat, Salmon River	1806
McDONALD, John	Scotland	Western Shore	1806
McDONALD, (McDONALD) John	Inverness-shire	Broad Cove	1807
McDONALD, John	Scotland	SW Margaree River	1807
McDONALD, John		River Inhabitants	1811
McDONALD, John		Bras D'Or Lake near St. Peters	1812

* [5] are Gillies, wife and three children included in MacDonald's Petition.

<u>Head of Family</u>	<u>Place of Origin</u>	<u>Place of Settlement</u>	<u>Date of Arrival</u>
McDONALD, John		Long Pond	1814
McDONALD, John(6)	Scotland	Port Hood	1814
McDONALD, John(11)	Scotland	Big Bras D'Or	1815
McDONALD, John(8)		SS Bras D'Or	1815
McDONALD, John		SS Bras D'Or	1815
McDONALD, John		SE Mabou	1815
McDONALD, John	Scotland	Coal Mines, NE Mabou	1816
McDONALD, John		Judique	1816
McDONALD, John		Low Point	1816
McDONALD, John		SW Margaree	1816
McDONALD, John	Inverness-shire	SW Margaree	1816
McDONALD, John	Scotland	St. Andrew's Channel	1816
McDONALD, John(4)	Scotland	Western Shore	1816
McDONALD, John(4)	Scotland	Long Point	1817
McDONALD, John		SW Margaree	1817
McDONALD, John(3)	Scotland	River Inhabitants	1817
McDONALD, John(10)	Scotland	St. Andrew's Channel	1817
MacDONALD, John	Scotland	Chimney corner, Margaree	1818
McDONALD, John(1)	Scotland	Lewis Cove	1818
MacDONALD, John		Cape Mabou	1819
McDONALD, John		River Inhabitants	1820
McDONALD, John(11)	Scotland	Benacadie	1821
McDONALD, John		Broad Cove, Cape Mabou	1821
McDONALD, John		Grand Anse	1821
McDONALD, John(7)	Scotland	Grand Anse	1821
McDONALD, John	Scotland	Grand Anse	1821
McDONALD, John		Low Point	1824
McDONALD, John		Boularderie	1825
MacDONALD, John		Gut of Canso	1825
McDONALD, John(5)	Scotland	Lake Ainslie	1825
McDONALD, John(4)	Barra	SS Boularderie	1826
McDONALD, John		SE Mabou	1826
McDONALD, John	Scotland	SW Margaree	1826
McDONALD, John		Shenacadie	1826
McDONALD, John		Boularderie	1827
MacDONALD, John		Gut of Canso	1827
McDONALD, John		Gut of Canso	1827
McDONALD, John		Judique	1827
McDONALD, John		River Inhabitants	1827
McDONALD, John		Broad Cove	1828
McDONALD, John		SW Margaree	1828
McDONALD, John		River Inhabitants	1828
McDONALD, John		NS St. Andrew's Channel	1828
McDONALD, John		Judique	1829
MacDONALD, John(5)	Scotland	SE Mabou	1831
MacDONALD, John		Margaree River	1836

<u>Head of Family</u>	<u>Place of Origin</u>	<u>Place of Settlement</u>	<u>Date of Arrival</u>
McDONALD, Jno.		Long Point	1805
McDONALD, Jno.		Broad Cove	[1815]
McDONALD, Ken'th. (10)	Scotland	W St. Ann's Harbour	1823
McDONALD, Laug'n.	Scotland	Little Judique Harbour	1809
McDONALD, Laug'n.		Judique	1809
McDONALD, Laug'n.	Scotland	Port Hood	1821
McDONALD, Laug'n.		Little Judique	[1823]
McDONALD, Loughn	Scotland	Port Hood	1804
McDONALD, Magnus	Scotland	East Bay	1811
MacDONALD, Malc. (5)		Gut of Canso	1799
McDONALD, Malc. (12)	Scotland	St. Peters	1799
McDONALD, Malc.	Barray	Narrows, Bras D'Or	1804
McDONALD, Malc.	Scotland	Western Shore	1810
MacDONALD, Malc. (12)	Long Island Scotland	Stone Island	1818
McDONALD, Marg't. (8)	Scotland	Lake Ainslie	1821
MacDONALD, Marion		Near St. Peters	1818
McDONALD, Maron (widow)		Narrows Bras D'Or Lake	1805
McDONALD, Mary		Judique	[1808]
McDONALD, Mich'l.		River Judique	1789
McDONALD, Mich'l.		Judique	[1806]
McDONALD, Mich'l. (4)	Scotland	Mabou Harbour	1817
McDONALD, Mich'l.		Shenacadie	1823
McDONALD, Mich'l.		Shenacadie	1824
McDONALD, Murdo. (1)	Scotland	Whyccomagh Basin	1822
McDONALD, Murdo. (5)	Scotland	Boularderie	1825
McDONALD, Murdo.		NS Boularderie	[1826]
McDONALD, Murdo		NS Boularderie	[1830]
McDONALD, Nancy		Judique	1807
McDONALD, Neil		SS St. Andrew's Channel	1817
McDONALD, Neil	Scotland	Grand Anse Bay	1820
McDONALD, Neil		Grand Anse	1821
McDONALD, Neil (2)	Scotland	Gut of Canso	1821
McDONALD, Neil (9)	Scotland	Gut of Canso	1821
McDONALD, Neil (2)	Scotland	Gut of Canso to Lake Ainslie	1821
McDONALD, Neil, Sr. (9)	Scotland	Gut of Canso to Lake Ainslie	1821
McDONALD, Niel	Scotland	East Bay	1802
McDONALD, Norm. (2)	Scotland	Washabuck	1822
McDONALD, Norm.	Scotland	NS Boularderie	1826
McDONALD, Norm.		St. Ann's Harbour	1827
McDONALD, Rachel		Judique	1829
McDONALD, Ranal	Scotland	Port Hood	1798
McDONALD, Ranal	Scotland	Port Hood	1804

<u>Head of Family</u>	<u>Place of Origin</u>	<u>Place of Settlement</u>	<u>Date of Arrival</u>
McDONALD, Ran'd.		River Judique	1789
McDONALD, Ran'd.	Scotland	Long Point	1798
McDONALD, Ran'd.	Scotland	SW Margaree	1798
McDONALD, Ran'd. (2)	Scotland	Western Shore	1800
McDONALD, Ran'd.	Scotland	Port Hood	1804
McDONALD, Ran'd. (5)		River Inhabitants	1807
McDONALD, Ran'd.		Port Hood	1807
McDONALD, Ran'd.		Broad Cove	(1808)
McDONALD, Ran'd.		Judique	1810
McDONALD, Ran'd.		Long Point	1810
McDONALD, Ran'd. (5)	Scotland	Broad Cove	1811
McDONALD, Ran'd.		SS Little Bras D'Or	1813
McDONALD, Ran'd.		Port Hood	1814
McDONALD, Ran'd.	Scotland	Broad Cove	1816
McDONALD, Ran'd.	Scotland	Mabou River	1816
McDONALD, Ran'd.		Lennox Passage	1817
McDONALD, Ran'd. (6)	Scotland	River Inhabitants	1817
McDONALD, Ran'd.		NS St. Andrew's Channel	1817
McDONALD, Ran'd.		Port Hood	1818
McDONALD, Ran'd. (8)	Scotland	SS St. Andrew's Channel	1821
McDONALD, Ran'd. (Capt.)	Scotland	Lake Ainslie	1822
McDONALD, Ran'd. (6)	Inverness-shire	Portage	1826
McDONALD, Ran'd.		St. George's Bay	1827
McDONALD, Ran'd.		SW Margaree	(1828)
McDONALD, Roary		Mabou Harbour	1808
McDONALD, Rod'k.	Inverness-shire	NS Gut of Canse	1802
McDONALD, Rod'k.	Scotland	Low Point	1802
McDONALD, Rod'k. (7)	Scotland	Near Port Hood	1803
McDONALD, Rod'k. (3)		Mabou	1804
McDONALD, Rod'k.	Scotland	Gut of Canse	1805
McDONALD, Rod'k.		Port Hood	1807
McDONALD, Rod'k.		Port Hood	(1814)
McDONALD, Rod'k.		Port Hood	1814
McDONALD, Rod'k.		Low Point	1816
McDONALD, Rod'k.		SW Margaree	1816
McDONALD, Rod'k.		Port Hood	1817
McDONALD, Rod'k.		Gut of Canse	(1819)
McDONALD, Rod'k. (6)	Scotland	Red Islands	1821
McDONALD, Rod'k.		Gut of Canse	(1824)
McDONALD, Rod'k. (1)	Scotland	Washabuck	1825
McDONALD, Rod'k.		Boularderie	(1826)
MacDONALD, Rod'k. 1st.		Boularderie	(1826)
MacDONALD, Rod'k. 2nd.		Boularderie	(1826)
McDONALD, Rod'k. (1)	Scotland	NS Boularderie	1826

<u>Head of Family</u>	<u>Place of Origin</u>	<u>Place of Settlement</u>	<u>Date of Arrival</u>
McDONALD, Ron'd. (2)	Scotland	Long Point	1799
McDONALD, Ron'd.	Scotland	SS Little Bras D'Or Lake	1805
McDONALD, Ron'd.	Scotland	SW Mabou	1807
McDONALD, Ron'd.	Scotland	Port Hood	1807
McDONALD, Ron'd. (10)	Scotland		1811
McDONALD, Ron'd.		Port Hood	(1814)
MacDONALD, Ron'd.		Broad Cove	(1816)
McDONALD, Ron'd. (2)	Scotland	Broad Cove and Mabou	1816
McDONALD, Ron'd.	Scotland	Lewis Cove	1817
McDONALD, Ron'd.		Little Bras D'Or	(1817)
McDONALD, Ron'd.	Inverness	Near St. Peters	1817
McDONALD, Ron'd.		SS St. Andrew's Channel	1817
McDONALD, Ron'd.		Mabou	(1818)
McDONALD, Ron'd.		Port Hood	(1818)
McDONALD, Ron'd. (4)	Scotland	Lake Ainslie	1819
McDONALD, Ron'd.		Mabou	1820
McDONALD, Rorry (4)	Scotland	Western Shore?	1799
McDONALD, Rorry		Lewis Cove?	(1802)
McDONALD, Rorry		Lewis Cove	(1812)
McDONALD, Rorry		Broad Cove	(1817)
MacDONALD, Rorry		Port Hood	1819
McDONALD, Rotheric		River Judique	1789
McDONALD, Sandy		River Inhabitants	1808
McDONALD, Sarah		SW Mabou	(1807)
McDONALD, Sarah		Gut of Canso	1810
McDONALD, Thos.	Scotland	Judique	1804
McDONALD, Thos. (1)	Inverness	River Inhabitants	1804
McDONALD, Thos.	Scotland	Judique	1810
McDONALD, Thos.		Judique	1819
McDONALD, Wm.	Scotland	St. Andrew's Channel	1816
McDONALD, Wm.		Long Point	1821
McDONALD, Wm.		Judique	1826
McDONNAL	Sherven		
	Inverness	Mabou	1806
McDONELL, Alex. (3)	Scotland	Lennox Passage	1817
McDONELL, Alex.	Scotland	Gut of Canso	1822
McDONELL, Angus	Scotland	Mabou	1825
McDONNELL, Mich'l.		Judique	1806
McDONNELL, Alex.			
(Rev.)		Little Judique	1817
McDONNELL, Allan		St. George's Bay	1806
MacDONELL, Allan		Margaree River	(1834)
McDONELL, Dunc. (4)	Scotland	Judique	1822
McDONNELL, Dunc.	Scotland	Long Point	1822
McDONELL, Parquar			
(5)	Scotland	Judique	1822
McDONELL, Parquhar	Scotland	Little River	1820

<u>Head of Family</u>	<u>Place of Origin</u>	<u>Place of Settlement</u>	<u>Date of Arrival</u>
McDONNELL, Ran'd.	Scotland	St. Peters	1816
McDONNELL, Thos.	Inverness-shire	Judique	1802
McDOUGAL SEE ALSO McDUGALL	McDOUGLAD, McDOUGALL, McDOUGLE, McDUGAL,		
McDOUGAL, Angus(12)	Scotland	Lake Ainslie	1819
McDOUGAL, Arch'd.		River Denys	1829
McDOUGAL, Don'd.	Scotland	Goose Pond	
		Little Bras D'Or	1808
McDOUGAL, Don'd.		SS Little Bras D'Or	1821
McDOUGAL, Don'd.		Narrows	1827
McDOUGAL, Don'd.		Narrows	1841
McDOUGAL, Niel(2)	Scotland	Judique	1800
McDOUGAL, Niel		Judique	1804
McDOUGALD, Alex.		Little Judique	1808
McDOUGALD, Alex.		Broad Cove	1812
McDOUGALD, Alex.	Scotland	River Denys Road	1826
McDOUGALD, Alex.		Shenacadie	1826
McDOUGALD, Arch'd.	Scotland	Broad Cove	1812
McDOUGLAD, Arch'd.	Scotland	Western Shore	1816
McDOUGALD, Don'd.	Scotland	Western Shore	1816
McDOUGALD, Don'd.		SS Bras D'Or Lake	1818
McDOUGALD, Don'd. (2)	Scotland	Long Point	1824
McDOUGALD, Don'd.		Long Point, Judique	1824
McDOUGALD, Don'd. (4)	Scotland	Grand Anse	1825
McDOUGALD, Don'd.		River Denys Road	1827
McDOUGALD, Doug'l.			
(6)	Scotland	Middle River	1824
McDOUGALD, Dunc. (3)	Scotland	Broad Cove	1813
McDOUGALD, Hugh		Broad Cove	1806
McDOUGALD, Hugh	Scotland	Western Shore	1816
McDOUGALD, Hugh		Judique	1817
McDOUGALD, Hugh		Gut of Canso	1826
McDOUGALD, Hugh(2)	Scotland	Long Point	1824
McDOUGALD, John	Scotland	Western Shore	1816
McDOUGALD, John		Judique	1817
McDOUGALD, John		Scotland	1819
McDOUGALD, John	Scotland	Long Point	1824
McDOUGALD, John	Scotland	Long Point	1825
McDOUGALD, John		Long Point	1826
McDOUGALD, John(9)	Scotland		
		Margaree	1826
McDOUGALD, Niel		Judique	1804
McDOUGALD, Niel		SS St. Andrew's Channel	1820
McDOUGALL, Don'd.		Lake Ainslie	1819
McDOUGALL, Don'd. (9)	Scotland	Low Point	1824
McDOUGALL, Don'd.		Long Point	1827
McDOUGALL, John		Judique	1827
McDOUGALL, Niel	Scotland	St. Andrew's Channel	1808

<u>Head of Family</u>	<u>Place of Origin</u>	<u>Place of Settlement</u>	<u>Date of Arrival</u>
McDOUGLE, John		Narrows	1803
McDUGAL, Neil	Scotland	East Bay	1800
McDUGALD, Alex.		Margaree, Broad Cove	1806
McDUGALD, Allen		SS St. Andrew's Channel	1815
McDUGALD, Arch'd.		Broad Cove	1795
McDUGALD, Dunc.		Margaree [?]	1796
MacDUGALD, John(6)		Margaree, Broad Cove	1811
McDUGALD, Lauc'n(2)		Broad Cove	1811
McACHRAN, Widow		Judique	1789
McEACHAN, Alex.(10)	Scotland	Judique	1822
McEACHAN, Allen		Mabou	1807
McEACHAN, Don'd.(1)	Scotland	Judique	1824
McEACHARN, Allan		River Inhabitants	1808
McEACHARN, Allan		Gut of Canso	c1824
McEACHARN, Allen		Portage	c1814
McEACHARN, Angus		Portage	c1814
McEACHARN, Angus		East Bay	c1819
McEACHARN, Angus		Gut of Canso	c1819
McEACHARN, Angus		St. Andrew's Channel	1820
McEACHARN, Angus		Lake Ainslie	c1826
McEACHARN, Don'd.		Narrows	c1811
McEACHARN, Don'd.		East Bay	c1815
McEACHARN, Don'd.		Near St. Peters	1815
McEACHARN, Don'd.		Judique	1816
McEACHARN, Don'd.		Little Judique River	c1817
McEACHARN, Don'd.		Judique	1819
McEACHARN, Don'd.		Judique	1821
McEACHARN, Dunc.		Gut of Canso	c1817
McEACHARN, Evan		Gut of Canso	c1818
McEACHARN, Hugh		River Judique	1789
McEACHARN, Hugh		Little Judique River	c1816
McEACHARN, Jane		Gut of Canso	c1819
McEACHARN, Janet		Gut of Canso	1802
McEACHARN, John		East Bay	c1814
McEACHARN, John		Little Judique Brook	c1816
McEACHARN, John(6)	Scotland	Judique	1817
McEACHARN, John		SS St. Andrew's Channel	c1817
McEACHARN, John		Mabou	1819
McEACHARN, John		SS East Bay	c1829
McEACHARN, Malc.		River Inhabitants	c1816
McEACHARN, Neil		SW Mabou	c1815
McEACHARN, Ron'd.		River Inhabitants	c1807
McEACHARN, Ron'd.		River Inhabitants	1809
McEACHARN, Ron'd.		Gut of Canso	c1820
McEACHEN, Angus	Scotland	Western Shore	1804
McEACHEN, Don'd.	Scotland	Western Shore	1802
McEACHEN, Don'd.	Scotland	Western Shore	1804
McEACHEN, John(3)	Scotland	Western Shore	1802
McEACHEN, John	Scotland	Western Shore	1817

<u>Head of Family</u>	<u>Place of Origin</u>	<u>Place of Settlement</u>	<u>Date of Arrival</u>
McEACHERN, John	Scotland	SS St. Andrew's Channel	1817
McEACHERN, Male.	Scotland	Western Shore	1804
McEACHERN, Ran'd.	Inverness	Judique River	1816
McEACHERN, SEE ALSO	McACHERAN, McEACHARN, McEACHERAN		
McEACHERN, Alex.	Scotland	Western Shore	1802
McEACHERN, Alex. (5)	Scotland	River Inhabitants	1806
McEACHERN, Alex. (3)		Mabou	1813
McEACHERN, Alex. (8)	Scotland	St. Andrew's Channel	1818
McEACHERN, Alex.		Judique	(1829)
McEACHERN, Allan	Scotland	Western Shore	1799
McEACHERN, Angus	Scotland	Long Point	1802
McEACHERN, Angus	Scotland	Low Point	1802
McEACHERN, Angus (Rev.)	Maydart, Inverness-shire	Lewis Cove	1818
McEACHERN, Collin (4)	Scotland	Gut of Canso	1817
McEACHERN, Don'd. (11)	Scotland	SS Bras D'Or	1815
McEACHERN, Don'd. (6)		East Bay	1815
McEACHERN, Don'd. (8)	Scotland	St. Andrew's Channel	1817
McEACHERN, Don'd.		Judique	(1829)
McEACHERN, Dunc. (1)	Scotland	Long Pond	1802
McEACHERN, Evan	Scotland	Low Point	
		Gut of Canso	1802
McEACHERN, Hugh	Scotland	Western Shore	1802
McEACHERN, Hugh	Scotland	Western Shore	1802
McEACHERN, Hugh		Judique	1806
McEACHERN, Hugh		Judique River	1806
McEACHERN, Hugh (2)		River Inhabitants	1806
McEACHERN, Jane (5)	Scotland	Long Point	1802
McEACHERN, John (1)	Scotland	Western Shore	1800
McEACHERN, John (7)		Port Hood	1803
McEACHERN, John (8)	Scotland	Long Point	1818
McEACHERN, John		Mabou Harbour	1819
McEACHERN, John		Mabou Harbour	1819
McEACHERN, John (2)	Scotland	Judique	1821
McEACHERN, John (6)	Scotland	Judique	1821
McEACHERN, John (5)	Scotland	Margaree, Bras D'Or	1823
McEACHERN, John		Broad Cove	1827
McEACHERN, John		W Mabou	1829
McEACHERN, Niel		Mabou	1808
McEACHERN, Ran'd.	Scotland	River Inhabitants	(1812)
McEACHERN, Ron'd.	Scotland		1801
McEACHERN, Ron'd.	Scotland	Western Shore	1802
McEACHERN, Ron'd.	Scotland	SWS Lake Ainslie	1819
McEACHIN, John (2)	Scotland	Tweednooge	1821

<u>Head of Family</u>	<u>Place of Origin</u>	<u>Place of Settlement</u>	<u>Date of Arrival</u>
McEACHRAN, Alex.	Scotland	Mabou	1804
McEACHRAN, Alex. (6)	Scotland	Mabou Harbour	1808
McEACHRAN, Alex.		River Inhabitants	(1811)
McEACHRAN, Alex. (2)	Scotland	Mabou	1812
McEACHRAN, Allan	Scotland	Tweednooge	1811
McEACHRAN, Allen		St. Andrew's Channel	1814
McEACHRAN, Angus	Inverness-shire	Judique	1802
McEACHRAN, Angus (5)	Scotland	Tweednooge	1814
McEACHRAN, Angus (Rev.)		Bras D'Or Lake near St. Peters	1816
McEACHRAN,	Scotland	Gut of Canso	1814
McEACHRAN, Don'd.	Scotland	Narrows	1811
McEACHRAN, Don'd.		Tweednooge	1792
McEACHRAN, Don'd.		River Inhabitants	1809
McEACHRAN, Don'd.		River Inhabitants	1810
McEACHRAN, Don'd.		St. Andrew's Channel	1814
McEACHRAN, Don'd. (4)	Scotland	Tweednooge	1816
McEACHRAN, Don'd.	Scotland	Judique	(1821)
McEACHRAN, Dunc.		Low Point	
		Gut of Canso	1798
McEACHRAN, Hugh		River Judique	1789
McEACHRAN, Hugh	Scotland	Mabou	1804
McEACHRAN, Hugh (3)	Inverness-shire	Little Judique Brook	1816
McEACHRAN, John	Inverness-shire		
		Port Hood	1802
McEACHRAN, John		Port Hood	(1808)
McEACHRAN, John		St. Andrew's Channel	1814
McEACHRAN, John		Port Hood	1815
McEACHRAN, Malc.	Scotland	River Inhabitants	1816
McEACHRAN, Niel	Inverness-shire		
		SW Mabou	1803
McEACHRAN, Niel		Mabou	1804
McEACHRAN, Ron'd.		River Inhabitants	1812
McEACHRAN, Dunc.		Gut of Canso	(1803)
McKENNIS, Rob't.		Judique	1789
McKENZIE, Angus (5)	Scotland	Boat Harbour	
		SS Bras D'Or	1827
McKENZIE, Don'd. (10)	Scotland	Shenacadie	1825
McKENZIE, Hect. (2)	Scotland	NS Boularderie	1825
McKENZIE, John	Scotland	NS Boularderie	1825
McKENZIE, John (4)	Scotland	Christmas Island	1825
McKENZIE, Murdo. (5)	Scotland	Boularderie	1824
McEWEN, John	Scotland	SS St. George Channel	1822
McFADEN, Don'd.	Scotland	Malagawatch	1825
McFADGEN, Arch'd.		River Denys Basin	(1827)
McFADGEN, Don'd.		Malagawatch	(1827)
McFARLANE, John		SW Margaree	(1834)

<u>Head of Family</u>	<u>Place of Origin</u>	<u>Place of Settlement</u>	<u>Date of Arrival</u>
McFARLANE, Malc.		Boularderie	c1825j
McFEE, Angus(4)	Scotland	Low Point	
		Sydney Harbour	1824
McFEE, Hugh		Portage	1804
McFEE, Hugh		Portage	c1814j
McFEE, John	Inverness-shire	Whycocosagh	1810
McFEE, John		D'Escousse	c1813j
McFIE, John		Shenacadie	c1827j
McGAHAN, Angus(8)		Great Baddeck River	1805
McGILVEREY, Don'd.		SE Branch	
		Little Bras D'Or	1789
McGILVEREY, Arch'd.		Portage	c1812j
McGILVEREY, Dan'l.		Low Point	
		Sydney Harbour	1805
McGILVEREY, Dan'l.		Gabarus Lake	1812
McGILVEREY, Don'd.		Low Point	1790
McGILVEREY, Don'd.		SS St. Andrew's Channel	c1815j
McGILVEREY, Dunc.		St. Peters Passage	c1818j
McGILVEREY, Ran'd. (3)	Scotland	St. Andrew's Channel	1818
McGILVEREY, Ron'd.		SS St. Andrew's Channel	c1818j
McGILVEREY, Ron'd.		NS St. George Channel	c1818j
McGILVRAY, Arch'd.	Scotland	Portage	1812
McGILVRAY, Don'd.		Low Point	
		Sydney Harbour	c1790j
McGILVRAY, Don'd.		Sydney	c1796j
McGILVRAY, Don'd.	Scotland	Near St. Peters	1815
McGILVREY, Martin		River Judique	1789
McGILVRIE, Don'd.		Low Point	c1805j
McGINNESS, Allen(1)	Scotland	Long Point	1817
McGINNESS, Andrew		SE Mabou	
McGINNESS, John	Scotland	Low Point	
		Gut of Canso	1803
McGINNIS, John		Judique	1789
McGOWAN, Alex.		NW Arm NS	c1809j
McCOWEN, John		Baddeck River	1822
McGRATH, Don'd.		Judique	1789
McGRATH (McRAW), John		River Inhabitants	1807
McGRATH, Mich'l.		Rocky Bay	c1824j
McGRAW (McRAW), Don'd.	Scotland	Middle River	1810
McGRAY, Frederic		Ball's Creek	1811
McGREGGOR, John	Scotland	St. George Channel	1817
McGREGGOR, Alex.		Middle River	1806
McGREGGOR, Alex.		River Inhabitants	c1808j
McGREGGOR, Alex.	Scotland	Malaguatch	1820
McGREGGOR, Don'd.		Sydney	1786

<u>Head of Family</u>	<u>Place of Origin</u>	<u>Place of Settlement</u>	<u>Date of Arrival</u>
McGREGOR, Don'd.		Point Edward SS	c1789]
McGREGOR, Flora		Mabou	1819
McGREGOR, John		NS St. George Channel	c1817]
McGREGOR, John	Scotland	Malagawatch	1820
McGREGOR, John		SS St. George Channel	c1821]
McGREGOR, John		St. Ann's Harbour	c1829]
McGREGOR, John		Lake Ainslie	c1837]
McGREGOR, Murdo.		St. Ann's Harbour	c1828]
McGREGOR, Rod'k.	Scotland	St. Ann's	1822
McGREGOR, Rod'k.		St. Ann's Harbour	c1823]
McGREGOR, Rod'k.		St. Ann's Harbour	c1828]
McGRIGOR, Alex.	Scotland	Petit De Grat	1815
McGRIGOR, Alex.		Lennox Passage	c1818]
McGRIGOR, Gregor(14)	Scotland	River Bourgeois	1817
McGRIGOR, Don'd.		Ball's Creek	1807
McGRIGOR, Flora(1)		Mabou, Broad Cove	1819
McGRIGOR (McGREGOR), James(3)	Scotland	Boularderie	1815
McGRIGOR, John	Scotland	NW Bras D'Or Lake	1817
McGRIGOR, John(3)	Scotland	St. George Channel	1820
McHALAMAN, Ivor(4)	Scotland	Grand River	1822
McINNES, Alex.	Scotland	Western Shore	1802
McINNES, Alex.		Judique	1804
McINNES, Alex.(7)	Scotland	Mabou	1828
McINNES, Allan	Scotland	Western Shore	1816
McINNES, Andrea(3)	Scotland	SE Mabou	1816
McINNES, Angus(1)	Scotland	Mabou	1828
McINNES, Chas.		Judique	1804
McINNES, Don'd.		Judique	1804
McINNES, Don'd.		Judique	1804
r2nd]		Judique	1804
McINNES, Don'd.		Judique	1806
McINNES, Don'd.	Scotland	St. Andrew's Channel	1814
McINNES, Don'd.	Scotland	Washabuck	1822
McINNES, Dunc.	Scotland	Little Malagawatch	1825
McINNES, Hugh	Scotland	Western Shore	1802
McINNES, Hugh	Scotland	Western Shore	1817
McINNES, Hugh	Scotland	Low Point	
		St. George's Bay	1826
McINNES, Johnrly	Scotland	Western Shore	1802
McINNES, John		Judique	1804
McINNES, John		Mabou River SE	1807
McINNES, John	Scotland	Gut of Canso	1809
McINNES, John	Scotland	Judique	1816
McINNES, John		Gut of Canso	c1817]
McINNES, John	Scotland	Long Point	1817
McINNES, John(5)	Scotland	Western Shore	1817
McINNES, John		Gut of Canso	c1818]

<u>Head of Family</u>	<u>Place of Origin</u>	<u>Place of Settlement</u>	<u>Date of Arrival</u>
McINNES, John		Gut of Canso	c1819;
McINNES, John		Gut of Canso	c1827;
McINNES, John	Scotland	Long Point	1827
McINNES, John	Scotland	Mabou	1827
McINNES, John	Scotland	Mabou	1828
McINNES, Mary		Judique	1827
McINNES, Mich'l.		East Bay	1836
McINNES, Murdo.(1)	Scotland	St. George Channel	1819
McINNES, Niel	Scotland	Broad Cove	1803
McINNES, Niel(4)	Scotland	River Inhabitants	1817
McINNES, Niel		River Inhabitants	c1820;
McINNES, Rob't.		Judique	1804
McINNIS SEE ALSO	McENNIS, McGINNIS, McINNES		
McINNIS, Alex.		Gut of Canso	1803
McINNIS, Alex.		River Inhabitants	1805
McINNIS, Alex.		River Inhabitants	c1807;
McINNIS, Alex.		River Inhabitants	1809
McINNIS, Alex.		Judique	c1821;
McINNIS, Andrew(4)	Scotland	Mabou	1815
McINNIS, Angus(1)	Scotland	Judique	1801
McINNIS, Angus	Scotland	Judique	1802
McINNIS, Ann(4)	Scotland	Long Point	1802
McINNIS, Ann		Gut of Canso	1818
McINNIS, Chas.	Scotland	Louisbourg	1817
McINNIS, Don'd. (4)	Scotland	Judique	1800
McINNIS, Don'd.		Gut of Canso	c1803;
McINNIS, Don'd.		River Inhabitants	c1807;
McINNIS, Don'd.		River Inhabitants	1809
McINNIS, Don'd.		NS Tweednooge	c1828;
McINNIS, Dunc.		Malagawatch	c1825;
McINNIS, Hugh	Scotland	Judique	1803
McINNIS, Hugh		Gut of Canso	c1827;
McINNIS, John(1)	Scotland	NE Mabou	1803
McINNIS, John(6)	Scotland	River Inhabitants	1806
McINNIS, John		River Inhabitants	c1807;
McINNIS, John		Gut of Canso	1815
McINNIS, John	Scotland	Western Shore	1817
McINNIS, Neil(3)	Inverness-shire	River Inhabitants	1817
McINTIRE, Angus	Scotland	Mabou	1817
McINTIRE, Jas.		Judique	1789
McINTIRE, Mary		Mabou, Broad Cove	1809
McINTOSH, Don'd.	Scotland	Head NW Arm	1811
McINTOSH, Don'd.		SS St. George Channel	c1814;
McINTOSH, Don'd.		SS St. Andrew's Channel	c1816;
McINTOSH, Don'd.		St. George Channel	1818
McINTOSH, Don'd.		St. Andrew's Channel	1819
McINTOSH, Don'd.		Cheticamp	1828
McINTOSH, Dunc.		Ingonish Bay	1803

<u>Head of Family</u>	<u>Place of Origin</u>	<u>Place of Settlement</u>	<u>Date of Arrival</u>
McINTOSH, Geo.	Scotland	Cape George	1820
McINTOSH, Geo.		Cape George	1821
McINTOSH, John		River Inhabitants	1806
McINTOSH, John		River Inhabitants	(1806)
McINTOSH, John		SS St. Andrew's Channel	(1811)
McINTOSH, John		River Inhabitants	(1812)
McINTOSH, John		River Inhabitants	1815
McINTOSH, Rob't.		Judique	1789
MacINTYRE SEE ALSO	McINTIRE		
MacINTYRE		River St. Denys	(1836)
McINTYRE, Alex. (2)	Scotland	Little Bras D'Or	1825
McINTYRE, Angus (7)	Scotland	Mabou Harbour	1815
McINTYRE, Angus (10)	Scotland	Mabou	(1820)
McINTYRE, Angus		Boularderie	1824
McINTYRE, Angus	Scotland	Boularderie	
		Little Bras D'Or	1827
McINTYRE, Arch'd.			
(8)	Scotland	River Inhabitants	1820
McINTYRE, Arch'd.		SS St. George Channel	(1820)
McINTYRE, Arch'd.		NS St. George Channel	(1821)
McINTYRE, Arch'd.		River Denys	(1825)
McINTYRE, Don'd. (7)	Scotland	Little Bras D'Or	1825
McINTYRE, Don'd.		Gut of Canso	1826
McINTYRE, John	Scotland	Western Shore	1802
McINTYRE, John	Scotland	Broad Cove, Mabou	1804
McINTYRE, John	Scotland	Bras D'Or	1815
McINTYRE, John (9)	Scotland	Broad Cove	1815
McINTYRE, John, Sr.	Scotland	Broad Cove	(1819)
McINTYRE, John (9)	Scotland	Lake Ainslie	1821
McINTYRE, John (7)	Scotland	Shenacadie	1825
McINTYRE, John (3)	Scotland	Leitches Creek	1826
McINTYRE, John		Shenacadie	(1826)
McINTYRE, John, 2nd		SS Boularderie	
(2)	Scotland	Little Bras D'Or	1827
McINTYRE, John (8)	Scotland	SS Boularderie	
		Little Bras D'Or	1827
McINTYRE,	Scotland	SS St. Andrew's Channel	1825
McINTYRE, Rob't.			
(1)	Scotland	Western Shore	1813
McINTYRE, Rob't.		NS Gut of Canso	1822
McINTYRE, Rob't. (3)	Scotland	Port Hood	1822
McINTYRE, Rod'k. (3)	Scotland	SS St. Andrew's Channel	1820
McINTYRE, Rod'k.		SS St. Andrew's Channel	(1821)
McISAAC		Low Point	1811
McISAAC, Alex.	Inverness-shire	Broad Cove	1811
McISAAC, Alex.		Broad Cove	1812
McISAAC, Alex.	Scotland	Broad Cove	1812

<u>Head of Family</u>	<u>Place of Origin</u>	<u>Place of Settlement</u>	<u>Date of Arrival</u>
McISAAC, Alex.		Broad Cove	1817
McISAAC, Alex.	Scotland	SS St. Andrew's Channel	1820
McISAAC, Alex.	Scotland	Judique	1821
McISAAC, Alex.		SS St. Andrew's Channel	1821
McISAAC, Alex.	Scotland	SS St. Andrew's Channel	1821
McISAAC, Alex.		Judique	1829
McISAAC, Allan		Broad Cove	1803
McISAAC, Allan		Broad Cove	1810
McISAAC, Angus		Broad Cove	1802
McISAAC, Angus		Broad Cove	1803
McISAAC, Angus 3	Scotland	Broad Cove	1805
McISAAC, Angus		Broad Cove	1810
McISAAC, Angus (6)		Broad Cove	1810
McISAAC, Angus	Scotland	Broad Cove	1810
McISAAC, Angus (5)		Broad Cove River	1811
McISAAC, Angus, 4th.	Scotland	Broad Cove	1812
McISAAC, Angus, 5th.	Scotland	Broad Cove	1812
McISAAC, Angus	Scotland	Broad Cove	1815
McISAAC, Angus		Broad Cove	1817
McISAAC, Angus		Broad Cove, Cape Mabou	1820
McISAAC, Angus		SS St. Andrew's Channel	1821
McISAAC, Arch'd. (6)	Scotland	Judique	1818
McISAAC, Arch'd.		Judique	1821
McISAAC, Arch'd.		Judique	1829
McISAAC, Chas.		Cape North	1800
McISAAC, Chas.			
		Aspy River, Cape North	1820
McISAAC, Don'd.	Scotland	Bras D'Or Lake	1802
McISAAC, Don'd.	Scotland	Western Shore	1802
McISAAC, Don'd. Sr.		Broad Cove	1803
McISAAC, Don'd.		Judique	1804
McISAAC, Don'd. 2nd.			
(3)	Scotland	Broad Cove	1805
McISAAC, Don'd. 4th.	Scotland	Broad Cove	1808
McISAAC, Don'd.	Scotland		
		Lake Ainslie	1810
McISAAC, Don'd. (1)	Scotland	Broad Cove	1811
McISAAC, Don'd.		East Bay	1812
McISAAC, Don'd. 5th.	Scotland	Broad Cove	1812
McISAAC, Don'd.	Scotland	NS St. Andrew's Channel	1815
McISAAC, Don'd.		Low Point	1816
McISAAC, Don'd.		St. Andrew's Channel	1818
McISAAC, Don'd.		St. Andrew's Channel	1820
McISAAC, Don'd.	Scotland	Judique	1821
McISAAC, Don'd.		Lake Ainslie	1821
McISAAC, Don'd.		Broad Cove	1827
McISAAC, Don'd.		Broad Cove	1835
McISAAC, Don'd.		Broad Cove	1835
McISAAC, Hect.	Scotland	Judique	1802

<u>Head of Family</u>	<u>Place of Origin</u>	<u>Place of Settlement</u>	<u>Date of Arrival</u>
McISAAC, Hect.	Scotland	Western Shore	1802
McISAAC, Hect.		Judique	(1806)
McISAAC, Hugh		SW Margaree	(1827)
McISAAC, John		Low Point, Gut of Canse	1798
McISAAC, John(1)	Scotland	Western Shore	1799
McISAAC, John(2)		Broad Cove	1806
McISAAC, John	Scotland	Cape Mabou	1806
McISAAC, John	Scotland	Broad Cove	1808
McISAAC, John		Low Point Gut of Canse	1808
McISAAC, John		Gut of Canse	(1809)
McISAAC, John		St. George's Bay	1809
McISAAC, John		Gut of Canse	(1811)
McISAAC, John(9)	Scotland	NS Lake Ainslie	1812
McISAAC, John(7)	Scotland	Judique	1821
McISAAC, John		Judique	(1825)
McISAAC, John		Low Point	(1827)
McISAAC, Mary		Broad Cove	(1820)
McISAAC, Mary		Broad Cove	(1820)
McISAAC, Maxwell r1		Western Shore	1801
McISAAC, Murdo.		Broad Cove	1810
McISAAC, Murdo.	Scotland	Broad Cove	1812
McISAAC, Norman(7)	Scotland	Low Point	1801
McISAAC, Norman(1)	Scotland	Long Point	1803
McISAAC, Rod'k. (4)	Scotland	Gut of Canse	1816
McISAAC, Rod'k. (3)	Scotland	Gut of Canse	1817
McISAAC, Rod'k.	Scotland	Western Shore	1817
McISAAC, Rod'k.		Gut of Canse	(1819)
McISAAC, Rod'k. (2)	Scotland	Lewis Cove	1824
McISAAC, Rod'k.		SS St. Andrew's Channel	(1827)
McIVOR, Rod'k.		Indian Brook	(1830)
McKAY, Angus(2)	Scotland	Boularderie	1820
McKAY, Angus(7)	Scotland	Boularderie	1820
McKAY, Angus		River Denys	(1821)
McKAY, Angus	Scotland	Middle River	1825
McKAY, Don'd. (6)		Middle River	1820
McKAY, Don'd. (2)	Argyleshire	Lake Ainslie	1824
McKAY, Don'd. (6)	Scotland	Whyacomeagh	1825
McKAY, Don'd.		Malagawatch	1836
McKAY, Dunc. (5)	Scotland	Boularderie	1820
McKAY, Dunc.	Scotland	Middle River	1820
McKAY, Geo.		Matawat, Salmon River	1806
McKAY, Geo. (2)		Gut of Canse	1817
McKAY, Geo.		St. Esprit	(1817)
McKAY, Geo. (11)	Scotland	Baddeck Bay	1819
McKAY, Hect.	Scotland	Broad Cove	1810

<u>Head of Family</u>	<u>Place of Origin</u>	<u>Place of Settlement</u>	<u>Date of Arrival</u>
McKAY, Hect.		Broad Cove	1820
McKAY, Hugh	Scotland	Gut of Canso	1818
McKAY, Hugh		Gut of Canso	1819
McKAY, Jas. (4)	Scotland	Low Point	1814
McKAY, Jas.		Low Point	1821
McKAY, Jas.		St. Ann's Harbour	(1821)
McKAY, Jas.	Scotland	SS Lake Ainslie	1825
McKAY, Jas.		Point Edward SS	(1826)
McKAY, John		Judique	1796
McKAY, John	Scotland	Broad Cove	1810
McKAY, John		Boularderie Island	(1812)
McKAY, John		Judique	(1816)
McKAY, John	Scotland	Chimney Corner	1819
McKAY, John	Ross shire	Middle River	1819
McKAY, John		St. George Channel	1819
McKAY, John		NS St. George Channel	(1819)
McKAY, John (7)	Scotland	Grand River	1821
McKAY, John		Sydney River	(1822)
McKAY, John		Chimney Corner	1825
McKAY, John		Grand River	1829
McKAY, John		Ardoise to	
		Grand River Road	1843
McKAY, Malc. (7)	Scotland	Whycocomagh	1825
McKAY, Rob't.		Point Edward SS	(1792)
McKAY, Rob't.		Point Edward NS	1794
McKEEN, Sam'l.		SE Mabou	(1821)
McKAY, Sarah (7)		Middle River	1821
McKAY, Wm. (6)	Scotland	SS St. George Channel	1815
McKAY, Wm.	Scotland	Western Shore	1816
McKAY, Wm. (8)	Scotland	Arichat	1821
McKEAN, Wm.		Mabou River	(1818)
McKEEN, Wm.		SE Mabou	(1815)
McKEEN, Wm.		SE Mabou	(1818)
McKELLAR, Dunc.		River Denys.	1829
McKENON, Allin		Narrows	1805
McKENON, Rod'k.		Narrows	1805
McKENZIE, Rod'k.	Scotland	Baddeck	1812
McKENZIE, Alex.		River Inhabitants	(1817)
McKENZIE, Alex.	Scotland	Malagawatch	1820
McKENZIE, Alex.	Scotland	Malagawatch	1820
McKENZIE, Alex. (3)		West Bay	1820
McKENZIE, Alex.		Boularderie	1821
McKENZIE, Alex.	Scotland	Boularderie	
		Man of War Point	1821
McKENZIE, Alex. (1)	Scotland	St. Ann's Harbour	1823
McKENZIE, Alex. (5)	Scotland	St. Ann's	1826
McKENZIE, Alex.		St. Ann's Harbour	(1828)
McKENZIE, Arch'd. (9)	Scotland	Washabuck	1822
McKENZIE, Boyce		St. Esprit	(1818)

<u>Head of Family</u>	<u>Place of Origin</u>	<u>Place of Settlement</u>	<u>Date of Arrival</u>
McKENZIE, Don'd.	Scotland	NW Arm, Bras D'Or	1818
McKENZIE, Don'd.		Lake Ainslie	c1821;
McKENZIE, Don'd.		River Denys	c1824;
McKENZIE, Don'd.		St. Ann's Harbour	c1827;
McKENZIE, Don'd.		SW Margaree	c1830;
McKENZIE, Don'd.		Plaster Harbour	1834
McKENZIE, Dunc.		Margaree SW Branch	1806
McKENZIE, Dunc.		SS St. George Channel	c1820;
McKENZIE, Dunc.		SS West Bay	1820
McKENZIE, Geo.	Scotland	NW Arm, Bras D'Or	1818
McKENZIE, Geo.		NS St. George Channel	c1818;
McKENZIE, Geo.		NS St. George Channel	c1840;
McKENZIE, Hect.	Scotland	Broad Cove	1816
McKENZIE, Hect.		Boularderie	c1821;
McKENZIE, Hect.	Scotland	SS Great Bras D'Or	c1821;
McKENZIE, Hugh		Lake Ainslie	c1827;
McKENZIE, Isobel(3)	Scotland	NS St. George Channel	1817
McKENZIE, Jas.	Inverness-shire	Middle River	c1812;
McKENZIE, John		Matawat, Salmon River	1806
McKENZIE, John(3)	Scotland	Ingonish Bay	1817
McKENZIE, John		Broad Cove	c1818;
McKENZIE, John(3)	Scotland	NW Arm, Bras D'Or	1818
McKENZIE, John		NS St. George Channel	c1818;
McKENZIE, John(2)	Island of Arran	River Inhabitants Basin	1819
McKENZIE, John(5)	Scotland	Malagawatch	1820
McKENZIE, John		Ingonish Bay	c1821;
McKENZIE, John	Scotland	Middle River	1821
McKENZIE, John(1)	Scotland	Head St. Ann's Harbour	1823
McKENZIE, John		NS St. George Channel	c1826;
McKENZIE, John		Plaster Harbour	1827
McKENZIE, John		River St. Denys	c1827;
McKENZIE, John		St. Ann's Harbour	c1828;
McKENZIE, John		River St. Denys	1834
McKENZIE, John		Middle River	1835
McKENZIE, Ken'th. (8)	Scotland	Middle River	1821
McKENZIE, Ken'th. Jr.	Scotland	Middle River	1821
McKENZIE, Ken'th.	Scotland	St. George Channel	1822
McKENZIE, Ken'th.		Lake Ainslie	c1827;
McKENZIE, Murdo.		Margaree, SW Branch	1806
McKENZIE, Murdo.	Scotland	Broad Cove	1816
McKENZIE, Murdo.(7)	Scotland	West Bay	1820
McKENZIE, Murdo.		Margaree River Ent.	c1821;
McKENZIE, Murdo.		NS Great Bras D'Or	1829
McKENZIE, Murdo.		Grand River	1834

<u>Head of Family</u>	<u>Place of Origin</u>	<u>Place of Settlement</u>	<u>Date of Arrival</u>
McKENZIE, Neil	Scotland	Red Islands	1807
McKENZIE, Neil(4)	Scotland	St. Ann's	1824
McKENZIE, Neil		River Denys	c1829;
McKENZIE, Rod'k.		Mabou Harbour	1807
McKENZIE, Rod'k.(10)	Scotland	Middle River	1811
McKENZIE, Rod'k.	Scotland	St. George Channel	1820
McKENZIE, Rory(5)	Scotland	Middle River	1811
McKENZIE, Wm.	Scotland	St. Esprit	1817
McKENZIE, Wm.(4)	Scotland	Malagawatch	1820
MacKICHAN, Dougal (Rev.)		River Denys	1833
McKILLOP, Alex.	Scotland	Port Hood, Margaree	1820
McKILLOP, Alex.		SW Mabou	c1820;
McKILLOP, Don'd.(4)	Scotland	River Inhabitants Rd.	1821
McKILLOP, Dug'd.	Scotland	Boularderie	1814
McKILLOP, Hugh	Scotland	St. George Channel	1820
McKILLOP, John	Scotland	Boularderie	1820
McKINNON, Alex.		Boularderie	1818
McKINNON, Alex.		Boularderie	c1822;
McKINNON, Allen	Scotland	Gut of Canso	1802
McKINNON, Allen	Barra	Straits of Barra	1817
McKINNON, Allen		River Judique	1789
McKINNON, Allen		Narrows	1807
McKINNON, Angus		Judique	1789
McKINNON, Angus	Scotland	Broad Cove	1805
McKINNON, Angus	Scotland	Head of St. George Channel	1819
McKINNON, Chas.	Scotland	Western Shore	1811
McKINNON, Chas.(1)	Scotland	Brooklesby Inlet	1820
McKINNON, Don'd.		Broad Cove	1811
McKINNON, Don'd.		Broad Cove	1811
McKINNON, Don'd.(9)	Scotland	Malagawatch	1820
McKINNON, Don'd.(5)	Scotland	SS St. Patrick's Channel	c1825;
McKINNON, Heet.		Broad Cove	1803
McKINNON, Heet.	Scotland	Broad Cove	1805
McKINNON, Hugh(1)	Scotland	Margaree, Broad Cove	1809
McKINNON, Hugh	Scotland	Broad Cove	1810
McKINNON, Hugh		Island Point SS Boularderie	1812
McKINNON, Hugh		SW Margaree	c1815;
McKINNON, Hugh		Boularderie	
McKINNON, Hugh(1)		Island Point	1818
McKINNON, Hugh, Jr. (6)	Scotland	Broad Cove	1819
McKINNON, Hugh		River Denys	c1820;
McKINNON, Hugh(2)	Scotland	River Denys	1822

<u>Head of Family</u>	<u>Place of Origin</u>	<u>Place of Settlement</u>	<u>Date of Arrival</u>
McKINNON, John		River Judique	1789
McKINNON, John, Jr.	Scotland	Western Shore	1802
McKINNON, John		Gut of Canso	1803
McKINNON, John(4)	Scotland	Oyster Harbour	1807
McKINNON, John		River Inhabitants	1809
McKINNON, John	Scotland	Broad Cove	1810
McKINNON, John, Sr.	Scotland	Western Shore	1811
McKINNON, John		Gut of Canso	1812
McKINNON, John	Scotland	SW Margaree	1815
McKINNON, John(7)	Barra	Strait of Barra	1817
McKINNON, John		Boularderie	1817
McKINNON, John(5)	Scotland	Shenacadie	1818
McKINNON, John		SW Margaree	(1820)
McKINNON, John(4)		Gut of Canso	1821
McKINNON, John		SW Margaree	(1821)
McKINNON, Lieut. John M.		NW Arm NS	(1821)
McKINNON, John(3)	Scotland	Malagawatch	1822
McKINNON, John(6)	Scotland	Strait of Barra	1822
McKINNON, John		SS Little Bras D'Or	(1826)
McKINNON, John		Lake Ainslie	(1829)
McKINNON, Lac'n.		NS East Bay	(1812)
McKINNON, Lac'n.	Scotland	Low Point	1819
McKINNON, Lac'n. (5)	Scotland	Malagawatch	1820
McKINNON, Lac'n. (6)	Rum	Gut of Canso	1826
McKINNON, Lauch	Scotland	Western Shore	1811
McKINNON, Laug'n.		Gut of Canso	1819
McKINNON, Lochlin		River Inhabitants	1821
McKINNON, Malc.	Scotland	Malagawatch	1820
McKINNON, Male. (7)	Scotland	Head of St. George Channel	1821
McKINNON, Mrs. Marg't.		Snip Harbour	1827
McKINNON, Mary		Shenacadie	1827
McKINNON, Murdo. (6)	Scotland	SS St. Andrew's Channel	1821
McKINNON, Murdo.		SS St. Andrew's Channel	(1828)
McKINNON, Neil	Scotland	Broad Cove	1810
McKINNON, Neil	Scotland	Lake Ainslie	1812
McKINNON, Neil	Scotland	Margaree, Broad Cove	1812
McKINNON, Neil		Lake Ainslie	(1821)
McKINNON, Ran'd.	Scotland	Margaree	1806
McKINNON, Rod'k.		Narrows	1807
McKINNON, Rod'k.	Scotland	St. Peters	1822
McKINNON, Rod'k.		Near St. Peters	1823
McKINNON, Ron'd.		SW Margaree	(1809)
McKINNON, Ron'd.		Margaree River	1816
McKINNON, Sarah		Sydney River	(1805)
McKINNON, Sarah		Spanish River WS	1805
McKINNON, Sarah		Oyster Harbour	1828

<u>Head of Family</u>	<u>Place of Origin</u>	<u>Place of Settlement</u>	<u>Date of Arrival</u>
McKINNON, Wm.		ES Bras D'Or	1813
McKINNON, Wm.		Gut of Canso	(1806)
MackINON, Alex.	Isle of Mull	Boularderie	1807
McKINZIE, Alex.		Matawat Creek, Salmon River	1806
McKINZIE, John		Matawat, Salmon River	1806
McKINZIE, Wm.		Matawat, Salmon River	1806
McLACHLAN, Alex.		River Inhabitants	(1829)
McLACHLAN, John(1)	Scotland	River Inhabitants	1837
McLACHLAN, Mary		Sydney River	1792
McLACHLAN, Mary		SS St. George Channel	(1823)
MacCLAIN, Malc.		River Mabou	1808
McLEAN, Alex.		Broad Cove	1803
McLEAN, Alex.		Broad Cove	1817
McLEAN, Alex.	Scotland	River Denys	1821
McLEAN, Alex.(9)	Scotland	Long Island Main	1825
McLEAN, Allan		Gut of Canso	1804
McLEAN, Allan		Broad Cove	1811
McLEAN, Allan		Broad Cove	1815
McLEAN, Allan		Lake Ainslie	(1820)
McLEAN, Allan	Scotland	Gut of Canso	1821
McLEAN, Allan		Gut of Canso	1827
McLEAN, Allen	Scotland	Broad Cove	1812
McLEAN, Allen		Broad Cove	1814
McLEAN, Allen(4)	Scotland	St. Andrew's Channel	1817
McLEAN, Angus(4)	Scotland	Grand Anse	1821
McLEAN, Angus	Argyleshire		1826
MacLEAN, Arch'd.		River Denys	1835
McLEAN, Chas.	(Rum) Island	Broad Cove	1810
McLEAN, Chas.	Scotland	Broad Cove	1812
McLEAN, Chas.(9)	Scotland	Malagawatch	1820
McLEAN, Chas.		Grand Anse	(1830)
McLEAN, Don'd.	Scotland	Western Shore	1804
McLEAN, Don'd.		Judique	1808
McLEAN, Don'd.	Scotland	St. Andrew's Channel	1811
McLEAN, Don'd.	Scotland	Broad Cove	1812
McLEAN, Don'd.		Lewis Cove	1812
McLEAN, Don'd.		Near St. Peters	1814
McLEAN, Don'd.		SS Bras D'Or	(1816)
McLEAN, Don'd.(7)	Scotland	SS East Bay	1816
McLEAN, Don'd.	Scotland	St. George Channel	1816
McLEAN, Don'd.(7)	Scotland	East Arm	1817
McLEAN, Don'd.		SS St. Andrew's Channel	(1817)
McLEAN, Don'd.(4)	Scotland	Gut of Canso	1820
McLEAN, Don'd.		Gut of Canso	1827
McLEAN, Don'd.		Whycocomagh	1828
McLEAN, Don'd.		Long Point	
		Gut of Canso	1830
McLEAN, Hect.	Scotland	Western Shore	1802

<u>Head of Family</u>	<u>Place of Origin</u>	<u>Place of Settlement</u>	<u>Date of Arrival</u>
McLEAN, Hect.		Broad Cove	1803
McLEAN, Hect.	Scotland	Malagawatch	1820
McLEAN, Hect. (5)	Scotland	River Denys	1826
McLEAN, Hect.		Lake Ainslie	(1827)
McLEAN, Hect.		River Denys Basin	(1829)
McLEAN, Hugh (2)	Scotland	Judique	1799
McLEAN, Hugh	Scotland	Broad Cove	1800
McLEAN, Hugh	Scotland	Mabou	1803
McLEAN, Hugh		Judique	1804
McLEAN, Hugh	Scotland	Mabou	1804
McLEAN, Hugh	Scotland	Western Shore	1804
McLEAN, Hugh	Scotland	Judique	1805
McLEAN, Hugh		Judique	(1810)
McLEAN, Hugh (5)	Scotland	Grand Anse	1820
McLEAN, Hugh (5)	Scotland	Lennox Passage to Lake Ainslie	1820
McLEAN, Hugh		NS St. Andrew's Channel	(1821)
McLEAN, Jas.	Scotland	Hawkeabury	1816
McLEAN, Jas. (4)	Scotland	Grand Anse	1820
McLEAN, Jas. (6)	Scotland	River Denys Road	1826
McLEAN, Jas.		River Denys	(1829)
McLEAN, John	Scotland	Western Shore	1802
McLEAN, John	Scotland	Western Shore	1802
McLEAN, John	Scotland	Western Shore	1804
McLEAN, John		Gut of Canse	1805
McLEAN, John	Scotland	Bras D'Or Lake	1810
McLEAN, John		Gut of Canse	(1810)
McLEAN, John	Scotland	Broad Cove	1811
McLEAN, John	Scotland	Broad Cove	1812
McLEAN, John		NS St. Andrew's Channel	(1821)
McLEAN, John (4)	Scotland	Little Baddeck Bay	1826
McLEAN, John		SS Tweednooge	(1828)
MacLEAN, John		Great Bras D'Or	1834
McLEAN, Jno.	Scotland	Gut of Canse	1816
McLEAN, Lac'n. (7)		Little Washabuck	1814
McLEAN, Lac'n.	Scotland	Lennox Passage to Lake Ainslie	1820
McLEAN, Malc.	Scotland	Mabou	1804
McLEAN, Malc.	Scotland	Mabou	1806
McLEAN, Malc. (3)	Scotland	Little Washabuck	1820
McLEAN, Malc. (7)	Scotland	St. Patrick's Channel	1821
McLEAN, Murdo.	Scotland	Broad Cove	1816
MacLEAN, Murdo.		West Bay	1837
McLEAN, Neil	Scotland	Broad Cove	1811
McLEAN, Neil (5)	Scotland	Gut of Canse rear	1820
McLEAN, Niel	Scotland	Broad Cove	1812
McLEAN, Niel (5)	Scotland	Little Washabuck	1817
McLEAN, Niel	Scotland	River Denys	1821
McLEAN, Niel (5)	Scotland	St. Patrick's Channel	1825

<u>Head of Family</u>	<u>Place of Origin</u>	<u>Place of Settlement</u>	<u>Date of Arrival</u>
McLEAN, Niel(6)	Inverness	Mabou	1826
McLEAN, Niel		Lake Ainslie	(1827)
McLEAN, Niel(4)	Scotland	Gut of Canso	1830
McLEAN, Ran'd.(5)	Scotland	Broad Cove	1816
McLEAN, Ran'd.(4)	Scotland	Cape Mabou	1817
McLEAN, Rod'k.		Gut of Canso	1802
McLEAN, Rod'k.(7)		Broad Cove	1811
MacLEAN, Rod'k.	Scotland	Broad Cove	1812
McLEAN, Rod'k.		Gut of Canso	(1814)
McLEAN, Rod'k.(9)	Barra	Long Island Main	1817
McLEAN, Rod'k.	Scotland	Malagawatch	1820
McLEAN, Sam'l.(3)	Ferthshire	Brad D'Or near St. Peters	1816
McLEAN, Sam'l.	Swinton	River Denys	(1827)
McLEAN, Thos.		Narrows	1820
McLEAN, Wm.		Matawat, Salmon River	1806
McLEAN, Wm.		Matawat, Salmon River	1806
McLEAN, Wm.	Scotland	Broad Cove	1810
McLEAN, Wm.	Scotland		1811
McLEAN, Wm.	Scotland	Broad Cove	1812
McLEAN, Wm.	Argyleshire	Lake Ainslie	1815
McLEAN, Wm.		Margaree	1826
McLEAN, Wm.		River Denys	(1829)
McLELLAN SEE ALSO	McLELLON		
McLELLAN, Aen.	Scotland	Broad Cove	1815
McLELLAN, Alex.	Scotland	Broad Cove	1816
McLELLAN, Alex.	Scotland	SW Margaree	1816
McLELLAN, Alex.	Scotland	Broad Cove	1819
McLELLAN, Alex.	Scotland	St. Andrew's Channel	1821
McLELLAN, Alex.		Broad Cove	1827
McLELLAN, Alex.		Broad Cove	1829
McLELLAN, Alex.		SS St. Andrew's Channel	(1830)
McLELLAN, Allen		Broad Cove	1816
McLELLAN, Angus(4)	Scotland	Broad Cove	1817
McLELLAN, Angus	Scotland	SE Margaree	1818
McLELLAN, Angus(7)	Scotland	SS St. Andrew's Channel	1818
McLELLAN, Angus	Scotland	Broad Cove	1819
McLELLAN, Angus		Broad Cove	1827
McLELLAN, Angus		Broad Cove	1828
McLELLAN, Arch'd.	Scotland	SW Margaree	1816
McLELLAN, Arch'd.		Broad Cove	1826
McLELLAN, Arch'd.		Broad Cove	1827
McLELLAN, Don'd.(3)	Scotland	SW Margaree	1816
McLELLAN, Don'd.(4)		Broad Cove	1819
McLELLAN, Don'd.	Scotland	Lake Ainslie	1820
McLELLAN, Don'd.(4)	Scotland	Malagawatch	1820
McLELLAN, Don'd.		Lake Ainslie	(1829)
McLELLAN, Don'd.(8)	Scotland	St. George Channel	1837
McLELLAN, Ewan	Scotland	(Malagawatch)	1820

<u>Head of Family</u>	<u>Place of Origin</u>	<u>Place of Settlement</u>	<u>Date of Arrival</u>
McLELLAN, Fin'y.		River Inhabitants	1812
McLELLAN, Hugh	Scotland	River Denys	1821
MacLELLAN, Hugh		Broad Cove	1834
MacLELLAN, Jas.		Broad Cove	1828
McLELLAN, John(2)	Scotland	Broad Cove	1818
McLELLAN, John		Broad Cove	1819
McLELLAN, John, Jr.		Broad Cove	1821
McLELLAN, John(6)		Broad Cove	1821
McLELLAN, John Sr. (7)		Broad Cove	1821
McLELLAN, John(1)	Scotland	Margaree, Bras D'Or	1823
MacLELLAN, John		Margaree River	1836
McLELLAN, Ken'th. (2)	Scotland	Malagawatch	1820
McLELLAN, Murdo.	Scotland	Boularderie Island	1820
McLELLAN, Neil(2)	Scotland	SW Margaree	1815
McLELLAN, Niel(2)	Scotland	Broad Cove	1815
McLELLAN, Niel	Scotland	Broad Cove	1816
McLELLAN, Niel(3)	Scotland	Malagawatch	1820
McLELLAN, Pat'k.	Scotland	St. Andrew's Channel	1818
McLELLAN, Rod'k.		Broad Cove	1827
McLELLOW, John		River Judique	1789
MacLENNAN, Fin'y.		River Inhabitants	(1811)
McLENNON, Jane		Grand River	(1827)
McLEOD SEE ALSO McLOUD			
McLEOD, Alex.		Big Pond	
		Sydney Mines	1794
McLEOD, Alex.		SW Margaree	1806
McLEOD, Alex.	Scotland	Gut of Canso	1817
McLEOD, Alex.	Sutherland-shire	St. Ann's	1819
McLEOD, Andrew		Gut of Canso	1817
McLEOD, Dan'l. (9)		Broad Cove	1807
McLEOD, Don'd. (1)	Scotland	Mabou	1803
McLEOD, Don'd. (11)	Scotland	Broad Cove	1808
McLEOD, Don'd.		Gut of Canso	(1808)
McLEOD, Don'd.		Narrows	(1809)
McLEOD, Don'd.		Broad Cove	1810
McLEOD, Don'd.		Gut of Canso	1810
McLEOD, Don'd.		Narrows	1810
McLEOD, Don'd.		St. Ann's Harbour	(1821)
McLEOD, Alex.	Scotland	Middle River	1823
McLEOD, Don'd.	Sutherland-shire	St. Ann's	1819
McLEOD, Don'd.		St. Ann's Harbour	1821
McLEOD, Don'd. (1)	Scotland	Near Ingonish	1822
McLEOD, Don'd. (4)	Scotland	St. Ann's	1824
McLEOD, Don'd.		SS Aspy Bay	1825

<u>Head of Family</u>	<u>Place of Origin</u>	<u>Place of Settlement</u>	<u>Date of Arrival</u>
McLEOD, Don'd.		St. Ann's Harbour	c1825
McLEOD, Don'd. (6)	Scotland	Whyccocomagh	1825
McLEOD, Don'd.		Malagawatch	c1827
McLEOD, Dunc.	Scotland	Western Shore	1811
McLEOD, Dunc.		SS St. Ann's	1826
McLEOD, Feney	Scotland	Gut of Canse	1817
McLEOD, John		Big Pond	
		Sydney Mines	1794
McLEOD, John		Broad Cove	1807
McLEOD, John		Margaree	1810
McLEOD, John		Broad Cove	1811
McLEOD, John	Sutherlandshire		
		Middle River	1811
McLEOD, John, Jr.		NW Arm	
(3)	Scotland	Bras D'Or Lake	1812
McLEOD, John	Scotland	Broad Cove	1812
McLEOD, John(7)	Scotland	Tweednooge	1812
McLEOD, John		Portage Lake	1813
McLEOD, John		Sydney River	1813
MacLEOD, John		Tweednooge	1814
McLEOD, John		NS St. George Charnel	c1817
McLEOD, John(2)	Sutherland	NS St. George Channel	1818
McLEOD, John	Sutherlandshire		
		St. Ann's	1819
McLEOD, John	Sutherlandshire		
		St. Ann's	1819
McLEOD, John		St. Ann's Harbour	c1820
McLEOD, John	Scotland	Gut of Canse	1821
McLEOD, John		Middle River	1821
McLEOD, John	Scotland	St. Ann's	1821
McLEOD, John(13)	Scotland	Near Ingonish	1822
McLEOD, John, Jr.			
(1)	Scotland	Near Ingonish	1822
McLEOD, John(4)	Scotland	Broad Cove	1823
McLEOD, John(1)	Scotland	St. Ann's	1824
McLEOD, John(7)	Scotland	St. Ann's	1824
McLEOD, John		SS Aspy Bay	1825
McLEOD, John		Malagawatch	c1827
McLEOD, John		Broad Cove	1832
MacLEOD, John		West Bay	1834
MacLEOD, John		St. Ann's Harbour	1835
McLEOD, John		Ardoise to	
		Grand River Road	1843
McLEOD, Kavanaugh(3)	Scotland	Middle River	1812
McLEOD, Kenneth(4)	Scotland	Middle River	1811
McLEOD, Kenneth(5)	Scotland	Middle River	1811
McLEOD, Kenneth(7)	Scotland	Middle River	1811
McLEOD, Kenneth(6)	Sutherlandshire	Middle River	1811

<u>Head of Family</u>	<u>Place of Origin</u>	<u>Place of Settlement</u>	<u>Date of Arrival</u>
McLEOD, Kenneth, Jr.	Sutherland-shire	Middle River	1811
McLEOD, Kenneth		Middle River	1821
MacLEOD, Malc.		Baddeck River	1832
McLEOD, Murdo. (10)	Lewis	Malagawatch	1826
McLEOD, Murdo.		St. Ann's	1826
McLEOD, Neil		Portage Lake	1816
McLEOD, Neil		St. Ann's Harbour	c1823
McLEOD, Niel		NE Bras D'Or Lake	c1812
McLEOD, Niel		Sydney River	c1815
McLEOD, Niel	Scotland	St. Ann's	1824
McLEOD, Norm.		SS St. George Channel	c1815
McLEOD, Norm.	Scotland	NW Arm, Bras D'Or	1815
MacLEOD, Norm. Rev.		St. Ann's Harbour	1820
McLEOD, Norm. Rev.		St. Ann's	1821
McLEOD, Norm.	Scotland	Middle River	1823
MacLEOD, Norm.		St. Ann's Bay	1835
McLEOD, Rob't.		Cheticamp	1828
McLEOD, Rod'k.	Scotland	St. Ann's	1819
McLEOD, Rod'k.		St. Ann's Harbour	1819
McLEOD, Rod'k.		St. Ann's	1828
McLEOD, Wm. B. Rev.		Narrows	c1824
McLIATERN, Fenly	Scotland	Out of Canso	1811
McLOUD, Alex.		Bras D'Or	1788
McLOUD, Alex.		Sydney Mines	1792
McLOUD, Alex.		SS Aspy Bay	1825
McLOUD, Angus		Cabarus Bay	1807
McMASTER, Angus	Scotland	Judique	1817
McMASTER, Cath.		Judique	c1818
McMASTER, Don'd.	Scotland	Judique	1802
McMASTER, Don'd.	Scotland	Western Shore	1802
McMASTER, Don'd.	Scotland	Western Shore	1802
McMASTER, Don'd. Jr.	Scotland	Western Shore	1802
McMASTER, Don'd.	Scotland	Low Point	1803
McMASTER, Don'd. (5)	Scotland	Judique	1804
McMASTER, Don'd.	Scotland	Judique	1804
McMASTER, Don'd.		Judique	c1809
McMASTER, Don'd.		Judique	c1810
McMASTER, Don'd.	Inverness	Little Judique Brook	1816
McMASTER, Don'd.	Scotland	Western Shore	1816
McMASTER, Don'd.		SS Little Judique Brook	c1817
McMASTER, Don'd.		Out of Canso	1819
McMASTER, Don'd.		Judique	1821
McMASTER, Don'd.		Judique	c1828
McMASTER, Dunc.	Scotland	Western Shore	1802
McMASTER, Evan (3)	Scotland	River Inhabitants	1818
McMASTER, Hugh (1)	Scotland	Judique	1816
McMASTER, Hugh	Scotland	Western Shore	1816

<u>Head of Family</u>	<u>Place of Origin</u>	<u>Place of Settlement</u>	<u>Date of Arrival</u>
McMASTER, Hugh	Scotland	Little Judique	1817
McMASTER, Hugh		Judique	c1818;
McMASTER, Hugh		Long Point	1821
McMASTER, John	Scotland	Western Shore	1802
McMASTER, John		Gut of Canso	1816
McMASTER, John(12)	Scotland	Low Point	1816
McMASTER, John	Scotland		1816
McMASTER, John(2)	Inverness	Judique	1817
McMASTER, John		Gut of Canso	1819
McMASTER, John	Scotland	River Inhabitants	1819
McMASTER, Angus	Scotland	Judique	1802
McMASTER, Angus	Scotland	Western Shore	1802
McMASTER, Angus		Judique	c1810;
McMASTER, Angus		Judique	c1816;
McMILLAN SEE ALSO	McMULLAN, McMULLEN, McMULLIN		
McMILLAN, Alex.		River Denys Basin	c1824;
McMILLAN, Allan(2)	Scotland	Head of Little Judique River	1821
MacMILLAN, Angus		Bras D'Or	1806
McMILLAN, Ann	Scotland		1816
McMILLAN, Arch'd. (2)	Scotland	Low Point	
		Gut of Canso	1821
McMILLAN, Don'd.	Scotland	Long Point	1805
McMILLAN, Don'd.	Scotland	Western Shore	1805
MacMILLAN, Don'd.		Bras D'Or	1806
McMILLAN, Don'd.	Lochaber	Little Judique	1810
McMILLAN, Don'd.		Gut of Canso	c1820;
McMILLAN, Don'd.		Little Judique	c1820;
McMILLAN, Don'd.		St. Ann's Harbour	c1829;
McMILLAN, Don'd.	Scotland	Ship Harbour	1829
McMILLAN, Hugh(9)	Scotland	Hawkesbury	1815
McMILLAN, Hugh(10)	Scotland	ES Lake Ainslie	1815
McMILLAN, Hugh		River Inhabitants Road	c1819;
McMILLAN, Jas.		St. George Cove	c1814;
MacMILLAN, John		Bras D'Or Lake	1806
MacMILLAN, John Ban		Bras D'Or	1806
MacMILLAN, Black John		Bras D'Or	1806
MacMILLAN, John Oag		Bras D'Or	1806
MacMILLAN, John, Sr.		Bras D'Or	1806
McMILLAN, John(4)	Scotland	Low Point	
		Gut of Canso	1821
McMILLAN, John	Scotland	Ship Harbour	1829
McMILLAN, John		Gut of Canso	c1830;
McMILLAN, Niel	Scotland	Western Shore	1805
McMILLAN, Rod'k.	Scotland	SS Little Bras D'Or	1822
McMULLAN, Don'd.		Judique	c1823;
McMULLAN, Malc.		Tweednooge	1818

<u>Head of Family</u>	<u>Place of Origin</u>	<u>Place of Settlement</u>	<u>Date of Arrival</u>
McMULLAN, Neal(4)	Isle of Uist	Judique	1810
McMULLEN SEE ALSO	McMULLAN, McMULLIN		
McMULLEN, Don'd.(9)	Scotland	Little Judique	1810
McMULLEN, Don'd.(3)	Scotland	Portage Road	1825
McMULLEN, Hugh		Ship Harbour	1818
McMULLEN, John(2)	Scotland	Gut of Canso	1813
McMULLEN, John		Red Islands	1819
McMULLEN, John	Scotland	SS St. Andrew's Channel	1819
McMULLEN, Jno.	Scotland	Red Islands	1807
McMULLEN, Laug'n.		E Arm, Bras D'Or	1811
McMULLEN, Laug'n.		NS East Bay	(1814)
McMULLEN, Niel	Scotland	Red Islands	1807
McMULLEN, Niel(5)		Red Islands	1821
McMULLIN, John		Gut of Canso	1818
McNAB, Chas.	Scotland	Lewis Cove	1810
McNAB, Chas.	Scotland	Oyster Harbour	1811
McNAB, Chas.	Perth	Near St. Peters	1814
McNAB, Doug'd.B.	Scotland	Lewis Cove	1810
McNAB, Doug'd.B.	Scotland	River Denys	1810
McNAB, Hugh		SE Arm Bras D'Or	(1812)
McNAB, Hugh(10)	Scotland	NS Portage	1812
McNAB, Rob't.		Lewis Cove	1820
McNAMARA, David(4)		River Inhabitants Basin	1807
MacNAMARA, David(9)		River Inhabitants	1817
MacNAMARA, Jas.		River Inhabitants	(1817)
McNEAL, Alex.	Scotland	Red Islands	1809
McNEAL, Don'd.		East Bay	1808
McNEAL, Don'd. (Lieut.)	Scotland	Scatari Island	1829
McNEAL, John		Judique	1804
McNEAL, John(5)	Scotland	Narrows	(1816)
McNEAL, Mary(7)	Scotland	River Benacadie	1812
McNEAL, Norma.			1808
McNEAL, Peter	Scotland	Shenacadie	1806
McNEEL, Neel		Narrows	1825
McNEIL SEE ALSO	McNEAL, McNEEL, McNEILL, McNIEL,		
McNIELE, McNIELL			
McNEIL, Alex.(3)	Scotland	NS Narrows	1817
McNEIL, Alex.	Scotland	Broad Cove	1819
McNEIL, Alex.(2)	Scotland	Mabou Harbour	1822
McNEIL, Alex.		River Denys Basin	(1827)
McNEIL, Angus		Judique	(1823)
McNEIL, Angus		Benacadie Brook	1826
McNEIL, Angus		SS Little Bras D'Or	(1827)
MacNEIL, Angus		St. Patrick's Channel	1834
McNEIL, Christie(7)	Scotland	Benacadie	1809
McNEIL, Christie		Benacadie Pond	1818
McNEIL, Dan'l.		Washabuck	1817

<u>Head of Family</u>	<u>Place of Origin</u>	<u>Place of Settlement</u>	<u>Date of Arrival</u>
McNEIL, Don'd.		Benacadie	1815
McNEIL, Don'd.		SS Little Bras D'Or	c1826;
McNEIL, Don'd.		SS Little Bras D'Or	c1827;
McNEIL, Ewan	Scotland	Portage	1811
McNEIL, Ewan		Portage Lake	1816
McNEIL, Hect.		Narrows	c1810;
McNEIL, Hect.		Ent. Bras D'Or Lake	1818
McNEIL, Hect.		Benacadie Pond	1827
McNEIL, Jas.		SS Little Bras D'Or	1828
McNEIL, John	Scotland	East Bay	1805
McNEIL, John	Scotland	Western Shore	1809
McNEIL, John(10)	Isle of Barra	Head Benacadie Pond	1812
McNEIL, John(8)	Scotland	Long Point	1818
McNEIL, John	Scotland	Shenacadie	1818
McNEIL, John	Scotland	Benacadie Pond	1819
McNEIL, John		Malagawatch	1819
McNEIL, John(13)	Scotland	Benacadie	1821
McNEIL, John		Shenacadie	c1821;
McNEIL, John		Malagawatch	c1823;
McNEIL, John(4)	Scotland	SS St. Patrick's Channel	1825
McNEIL, John(1)	Scotland	Washabuck	1825
McNEIL, John		Benacadie Pond	1827
McNEIL, John		Low Point	c1827;
McNEIL, John		Piper's Cove	1827
McNEIL, Jno.		Judique	1814
McNEIL, Mich'l.		Oyster Bay	1822
McNEIL, Murdoch(1)	Scotland	Washabuck	1825
McNEIL, Neil(2)	Scotland	Low Point	
		Out of Canse	1810
McNEIL, Pat'k.		Rocky Bay	c1814;
McNEIL, Mrs. Roanette		SS Little Bras D'Or	c1828;
McNEIL, Rod'k.(2)		Benacadie	1806
McNEIL, Rod'k.		Benacadie	1822
McNEIL, Rod'k.	Scotland	St. Patrick's Channel	1825
McNEIL, Rod'k.(12)	Barra	Narrows	1826
McNEILL, Hugh(3)	Scotland	Mabou River	1791
McNEILL, John(7)	Scotland	Sydney River	1822
McNEILL, Lac'n.	Scotland	Spanish River	1811
McNEILL, Neill	Argyleshire	Portage Lake	1811
McNIEL	Scotland	Mabou	1817
McNIEL, Alex.	Scotland	St. Andrew's Channel	1804
McNIEL, Alex.	Scotland	Bras D'Or	1805
McNIEL, Alex.		Judique	1808
McNIEL, Alex.	Scotland	Red Islands	1810
MacNIEL, Alex.	Scotland	Broad Cove	1811
McNIEL, Alex.(3)	Scotland	Broad Cove	1812

<u>Head of Family</u>	<u>Place of Origin</u>	<u>Place of Settlement</u>	<u>Date of Arrival</u>
McNIEL, Alex.	Scotland	Broad Cove, Margaree	1813
McNIEL, Alex.		Red Islands	c1815}
McNIEL, Alex. (3)	Scotland	Shenacadie	1817
McNIEL, Alex. (4)	Scotland	Little Baddeck	1826
McNIEL, Alex. (4)	Scotland	River Denys Basin	1826
McNIEL, Angus	Scotland	Benacadie	1817
McNIEL, Angus (3)	Barra	SS Little Bras D'Or	1824
McNIEL, Angus	Scotland	River Denys	1825
McNIEL, Ann (5)	Scotland	Red Islands	1821
McNIEL, Barra (9)	Isles of Scotland	Narrows	1826
McNIEL, Cath. (5)	Scotland	SS Little Bras D'Or	1824
McNIEL, Don'd. Sr. (8)	Barra	Mabou	1803
McNIEL, Don'd. Jr. (5)	Barra	Mabou	1803
McNIEL, Don'd. Sr. (9)	Barra	Mabou Harbour	1803
McNIEL, Don'd.	Scotland	NE Mabou	1803
McNIEL, Don'd.		Shenacadie	1809
McNIEL, Don'd. Jr.		Shenacadie	1809
McNIEL, Don'd. Jr.		Shenacadie	1809
McNIEL, Don'd. Sr.		Shenacadie	1809
McNIEL, Don'd.	Scotland	Red Islands	1809
McNIEL, Don'd.	Scotland	Mabou	1810
McNIEL, Don'd.		NE Narrows	c1814}
McNIEL, Don'd.		Big Cape	
		Red Island	c1814}
McNIEL, Don'd.		Benacadie Brook	1815
McNIEL, Don'd.		Benacadie	1815
McNIEL, Don'd. (7)	Scotland	Bras D'Or	1817
McNIEL, Don'd.		SE Mabou	1817
McNIEL, Don'd. (Piper) (10)	Scotland	St. Andrew's Channel	1817
McNIEL, Don'd.		SE Mabou	c1820}
McNIEL, Don'd.	Barra	Narrows	1826
McNIEL, Don'd. (4)	Isles of Scotland	Narrows	1826
McNIEL, Don'd.		Benacadie Pond	1827
McNIEL, Don'd.		Oyster Bay	1827
McNIEL, Don'd.			1828
McNIEL, Don'd.		Little Bras D'Or	c1828}
McNIEL, Ewen	Scotland	Portage Lake	1815
McNIEL, Hect.	Scotland	Red Islands	1802
McNIEL, Hect. (6)	Barra	Narrows	1804
McNIEL, Hect.	Scotland	Red Islands	1811
McNIEL, Hect. (5)	Scotland	SW Mabou	1817
McNIEL, Hect.	Scotland	Goose Point	
		Little Bras D'Or	1818

<u>Head of Family</u>	<u>Place of Origin</u>	<u>Place of Settlement</u>	<u>Date of Arrival</u>
McNIEL, Hect.		Port Hood	1819
McNIEL, Hect.		SS Bras D'Or	1821
McNIEL, Hect. (3)	Scotland	Benacadie Pond	1825
McNIEL, Hugh	Scotland	Lower Judique	1807
McNIEL, Hugh		Little Judique	1808
McNIEL, Hugh		NS Mabou Harbour	(1819)
McNIEL, Jas. (9)	Barra	Mabou	1803
McNIEL, Jas.	Scotland	Bras D'Or	1805
McNIEL, Jas.	Scotland	St. Andrew's Channel	1809
McNIEL, Jas.	Scotland	Red Islands	1809
McNIEL, Jas.		Shenacadie	1809
McNIEL, Jas.	Scotland	SS Mabou	1812
McNIEL, Jas.	Scotland	Mabou	1817
McNIEL, Jas.		Shenacadie	1820
McNIEL, John (6)		Shenacadie	(1802)
McNIEL, John		Little Judique	1803
McNIEL, John, Sr. (Black)	Barra	Mabou Harbour	1803
McNIEL, John (Brown) (10)	Barra	NS Mabou Harbour	1803
McNIEL, John, Jr.	Barra	Narrows	1805
McNIEL, John, Jr.	Scotland	Judique	1807
McNIEL, John, Sr.		Judique	1808
McNIEL, John, Jr.		Judique	1808
McNIEL, John, Sr.		Judique	1808
McNIEL, John		Little Judique	(1808)
McNIEL, John		Narrows	1809
McNIEL, John	Scotland	Red Islands	1809
McNIEL, John		Shenacadie	1809
McNIEL, John, Sr. (5)	Barra	Little Judique River	1810
McNIEL, John	Scotland	St. Andrew's Channel	1810
McNIEL, John (5)	Scotland	Narrows	1812
McNIEL, John (6)		Shenacadie	(1812)
McNIEL, John		Red Islands	(1813)
McNIEL, Murdo. (4)	Scotland	Red Islands	1816
McNIEL, John	Scotland	Mabou	1817
McNIEL, John	Scotland	Mabou	1817
McNIEL, John	Scotland	SS Little Mabou Harbour	1817
McNIEL, John (5)	Scotland	Red Islands	1817
McNIEL, John	Scotland	Red Islands	1818
McNIEL, John		Benacadie	1821
McNIEL, John		St. Andrew's Channel	1821
McNIEL, John		SS St. Andrew's Channel	(1821)
McNIEL, John		SS St. Andrew's Channel	(1821)
McNIEL, John	Scotland	Piper's Cove	1822
McNIEL, John (Brown)		Whyoccomagh	1822

<u>Head of Family</u>	<u>Place of Origin</u>	<u>Place of Settlement</u>	<u>Date of Arrival</u>
McNIEL, John	Scotland	Malagawatch	1823
McNIEL, John(5)	Scotland	Benacadie Pond	1825
McNIEL, John		Benacadie Brook	1826
McNIEL, John	Scotland	Shenacadie	1826
McNIEL, John	Scotland	Narrows	1827
McNIEL, John Browne(4)	Scotland	River Tillard	1827
McNIEL, John		Shenacadie	(1829)
McNIEL, John (Brown)		River Tillard	(1842)
McNIEL, Jno.	Scotland	Red Islands	1809
McNIEL, Jno. B.	Scotland	Red Islands	1809
McNIEL, Jno.	Scotland	St. Andrew's Channel	1809
McNIEL, Kate(8)	Scotland	Narrows	1823
McNIEL, Lac'n. (6)	Scotland	Portage	1811
McNIEL, Lac'n.		Sydney River	(1821)
McNIEL, Malc.		Piper's Cove	1826
McNIEL, Malc.		Benacadie	1830
McNIEL, Mary		Benacadie Pond	1816
MacNIEL, Mich'l.		Little Bras D'Or	1837
McNIEL, Murdo.	Scotland	St. Andrew's Channel	1808
McNIEL, Murdo. (3)	Scotland	Red Islands	1817
McNIEL, Niel Bain		Coopers Pond	
		Bras D'Or	1807
			1808
McNIEL, Niel		Red Islands	1809
McNIEL, Niel	Scotland	St. Andrew's Channel	1809
McNIEL, Niel		Shenacadie	1809
McNIEL, Niel	Scotland	Coal Mines	1816
McNIEL, Niel(6)	Scotland	Mabou Harbour	1816
McNIEL, Niel(8)	Scotland	Mabou	1817
McNIEL, Niel(6)	Scotland	Shenacadie	1825
McNIEL, Niel		River Denys	(1827)
McNIEL, Pat'k.	Glasgow	Rocky Bay	1815
McNIEL, Rod'k. (6)	Barra	Narrows	1805
McNIEL, Rod'k. (3)	Scotland	Bras D'Or	1806
McNEIL, Rod'k.		Big Bras D'Or Lake	1809
McNIEL, Rod'k.		Shenacadie	1809
McNIEL, Rod'k. (2)	Scotland	NS Narrows	1812
McNIEL, Rod'k.		NS Bras D'Or Lake	(1816)
McNIEL, Rod'k.		SW Branch	
		Little Bras D'Or	(1817)
McNIEL, Rod'k.	Scotland	SW Branch	
		Little Bras D'Or	1817
McNIEL, Rod'k.		Bras D'Or	1817
McNIEL, Rod'k.		Benacadie	1827
McNIEL, Rod'k.		Narrows	(1827)
McNIEL, Rory	Scotland	Mabou	1802

<u>Head of Family</u>	<u>Place of Origin</u>	<u>Place of Settlement</u>	<u>Date of Arrival</u>
MacNIELE, John	Scotland	Red Islands	1808
McNIELL, Heot. (10)	Scotland	Red Islands	1808
MacNIELL, Niel (3)	Scotland		1812
McNIVEN, Arch'd.	Argyleshire	Gut of Canse	1817
McNEVIN, Arch'd.		Gut of Canse	1817
McPHADDEN, Alex.		Gut of Canse	c1821}
McPHADDEN, Laug'n. (1)	Scotland	Gut of Canse	1821
McPHADEN, Alex.	Scotland	Gut of Canse	1821
McPHADGEN, Don'd.	Scotland	Low Point	1822
McPHAGAN, Arch'd. (5)	Scotland	Whycocomagh	1822
McPHEE SEE ALSO McPHEE, McPHIE			
McPHEE, Alex.		Lingan Road	1825
McPHEE, Angus	Scotland	Boularderie	1811
McPHEE, Angus	Scotland	Low Point	1812
McPHEE, Angus		Low Point	
		Sydney Harbour	c1825}
McPHEE, Don'd. (2)		Low Point	1806
McPHEE, Don'd. (7)	Scotland	Low Point	1807
McPHEE, Don'd.		Low Point	1817
McPHEE, Don'd. (6)	Scotland	River Inhabitants	1817
MacPHEE, Don'd.		Lake Ainslie	1834
McPHEE, Doug'd.		NS St. Andrew's Channel	c1826}
McPHEE, Ewen (9)	Scotland	East Bay	1817
McPHEE, Hugh (11)	Scotland	SS Boularderie	1813
McPHEE, John	Scotland	Low Point	1812
McPHEE, John (2)	Scotland	Sydney River	1813
McPHEE, John		WS Spanish River	1819
McPHERSON		SE Mabou	c1820}
McPHERSON, Adam		River Inhabitants	1792
McPHERSON, Adam		River Inhabitants	1806
McPHERSON, Adam (4)	Edinburgh	River Inhabitants	c1817}
MacPHERSON, Adam		River Inhabitants	c1826}
McPHERSON, Adam (5)	Scotland	River Inhabitants	1829
McPHERSON, Alex.		River Inhabitants	1805
McPHERSON, Alex.		River Inhabitants	1806
McPHERSON, Alex. Jr.		River Inhabitants	1806
McPHERSON, Alex.		River Inhabitants	c1808}
McPHERSON, Alex. (1)	Scotland	St. Peters Passage	1812
McPHERSON, Alex.		Grand Digue	c1815}
McPHERSON, Alex.		River Inhabitants	c1816}
McPHERSON, Angus (3)	Scotland	Lake Ainslie	1819
McPHERSON, Angus		Lake Ainslie	c1820}
McPHERSON, Angus		Cheticamp	1828
McPHERSON, Angus		Little Bras D'Or	c1829}
McPHERSON, Cath. (2)	Scotland	River Denys Road	1826
McPHERSON, David		River Inhabitants	1792

<u>Head of Family</u>	<u>Place of Origin</u>	<u>Place of Settlement</u>	<u>Date of Arrival</u>
McPHERSON, Davide	Scotland	Gut of Canso	1794
McPHERSON, David		River Inhabitants	1798
McPHERSON, David		Gut of Canso	c1817;
McPHERSON, David		Gut of Canso	c1818;
McPHERSON, David	Scotland	Gut of Canso	1819
McPHERSON, David(5)	Scotland	River Inhabitants	1829
McPHERSON, Don'd.	Inverness-shire	Gut of Canso	1792
McPHERSON, Don'd.		Lennox Passage	c1818;
McPHERSON, John	Scotland	Grandique	1814
McPHERSON, John		Grand Anse	c1815;
McPHERSON, John	Scotland	Long Point	1826
MacPHERSON, John		Lake Ainslie	c1835;
McPHERSON, Murdo.	Scotland	Fort Hood, Margaree	1819
McPHERSON, Murdo.		SW Mabou	c1820;
McPHERSON, Norm.(6)	Scotland	ES Lake Ainslie	1821
McPHERSON, Norm.		Cheticamp	c1828;
McPIE, Ewan		St. Andrew's Channel	c1817;
McPIE, John(3)	Scotland	Shenacsdie	1802
McPIE, John		Sydney River	c1817;
McQUARIE, John		Little Mabou	1802
McQUARRIE SEE ALSO	McQUARIE, McQUARRY, McQUARY, McQUARRY		
McQUARRIE, Alan	Scotland	Western Shore	1816
McQUARRIE, Allan(7)	Scotland	Low Point	1822
MacQUARRIE, Allan		Cape Mabou	c1834;
MacQUARRIE, Allen		Mabou Harbour	c1835;
McQUARRIE, Chas.	Argyleshire	Gut of Canso	1817
McQUARRIE, Don'd.	Scotland	Gut of Canso	1810
McQUARRIE, Don'd.	Scotland	Gut of Canso	1811
McQUARRIE, Don'd.	Argyleshire	SW Margaree	1811
McQUARRIE, Don'd.	Argyleshire	Middle River	1814
McQUARRIE, Don'd.		Gut of Canso	1827
McQUARRIE, Hect.(5)	Argyleshire	Gut of Canso	1810
McQUARRIE, Hect.	Argyleshire	SW Margaree	1811
McQUARRIE, Hect.(3)	Scotland	Middle River	1812
McQUARRIE, Hect.(5)	Scotland	Middle River	1813
McQUARRIE, John(2)		Long Point	1827
McQUARRIE, John		Gut of Canso	c1827;
McQUARRIE, Lauo'n.	Scotland	Western Shore	1816
MacQUARRIE, Niel(5)	Scotland	Boularderie	1812
McQUARRIE, Niel(4)	Scotland	Middle River	1812
McQUARRIE, Niel(7)	Scotland	Canso	1813
McQUARRIE, Niel(4)	Argyleshire	River Denys	1815
McQUARRIE, Neil		Gut of Canso	c1819;
McQUARRIE, Sally		Little Mabou	1817
McQUARRIE, Wm.	Scotland	Broad Cove	1827
McQUARRY, Allan	Scotland	Gut of Canso	1817
McQUARRY, Allan		Gut of Canso	c1821;

<u>Head of Family</u>	<u>Place of Origin</u>	<u>Place of Settlement</u>	<u>Date of Arrival</u>
McQUARRY, Allan(3)	Scotland	Strait of Canso	1826
McQUARRY, Don'd.		Gut of Canso	c1812;
McQUARRY, Don'd.	Scotland	Gut of Canso	1821
McQUARRY, Heet.(3)		Gut of Canso	1811
McQUARRY, Heet.(5)	Scotland	Canso, Lake Ainslie	1820
McQUARRY, Laug'n. (8)	Scotland	Low Point, Gut of Canso	1821
McQUARRY, Niel		Lower Mabou	1804
McQUARRY, Niel	Scotland	Little Mabou	1808
McQUARRY, Niel		Mabou	1808
McQUARRY, Ran'd.		St. Patrick's Channel	1815
McQUAY		Boularderie	c1815;
MacQUILLAN, Niel	Scotland	Broad Cove	1815
McQUIN(1)	Scotland	St. Andrew's Channel	1817
McQUOY, John(8)	Scotland	St. George Channel SS	1819
McQUOY, Laug'n.	Scotland	Lower Mabou	1804
McRAE, Alex.(5)	Scotland	St. George Channel	1800
McRAE, Alex.		River Denys	c1821;
McRAE, Collin(4)	Scotland	Grand River	1824
McRAE, Don'd.(10)	Scotland	Middle River	1811
McRAE, Don'd.(4)	Scotland	Malagawatch	1820
McRAE, Don'd.(4)		Middle River	1821
McRAE, Don'd.(1)	Scotland	WS St. Ann's Harbour	1823
McRAE, Don'd.		Great Bras D'Or	c1829;
McRAE, Dunc.	Scotland	Middle River	1812
McRAE, Dunc.	Scotland	St. George Channel	1820
McRAE, Dunc.(6)	Scotland	Head Little Baddeck	1822
McRAE, Dunc.		Little Baddeck	1822
McRAE, Dunc.(2)	Scotland	SS St. George Channel	1823
McRAE, Dunc.(6)	Scotland	SW Margaree	1826
McRAE, Dunc.		SW Margaree	c1830;
McRAE, Dunc.		SS St. George Channel	c1830;
McRAE, Gilchrist		St. Ann's to Plaster Harbour	c1829;
McRAE, Janet		SW Margaree	c1837;
MacRAE, John		Big Pond	1792
McRAE, John		River Inhabitants	1806
McRAE, John		River Inhabitants	c1810;
McRAE, John	Scotland	Middle River	1813
McRAE, John(7)		Middle River	1822
McRAE, John(2)	Scotland	St. George Channel	1822
McRAE, John		St. Ann's to Plaster Cove	(1829)
MacRAE, John		Boularderie	c1835;
McRAE, Mary		SS St. George Channel	c1820;
McRAE, Mary(6)	Ross shire	St. George Channel SS	1820
McRAE, Murdo.		SS St. George Channel	c1820;
McRAE, Murdo.(1)	Scotland	Malagawatch	1822

<u>Head of Family</u>	<u>Place of Origin</u>	<u>Place of Settlement</u>	<u>Date of Arrival</u>
McRAE, Pat'k.		River Inhabitants	c1820;
McREA, Alex.	Scotland	Middle River	1812
McREA, Dan'l. (3)	Scotland	Middle River	1812
McREA, Pin'y.	Scotland	Middle River	1812
McREA, John	Scotland	Middle River	1812
McREA, Maryc8;		St. George Channel	c1820;
McREA, Murdo.		St. George Channel	c1820;
McRITCHIE, John(6)	Scotland	SS St. Patrick's Channell	1827
McRITCHIE, Murdo(2)	Scotland	SS St. Patrick's Channell	1827
McSEIN, Heet.	Scotland	Boularderie	1817
McSEIN, Jas.	Scotland	Boularderie	1817
McSINE, Heet.	Scotland	Narrows	1817
McSINE, Hugh(7)	Scotland	Narrows	1817
McSINE, Hugh(9)	Scotland	Boularderie	1817
McSLINE, Jas.	Scotland	Narrows	1817
McSWAIN, Jas.	Scotland	SW Little Bras D'Or	1817
McSWAYNE, John	Scotland	Little Bras D'Or	1821
McSWAYNE, Ron'd.		Red Islands	c1818;
McSWEAN, Ran'd.	Scotland	Red Islands	1818
McSWEEN SEE ALSO	McSEIN, McSINE,	McSWAIN, McSWAYNE,	McSWEAN
McSWEEN, Angus		River Inhabitants	1807
McSWEEN, Don'd.		River Inhabitants	1807
McSWEEN, John		River Inhabitants	1807
McSWINEY, Edw'd.		River Denys	c1819;
McTIER, John		Ship Harbour	1789
McVARRISH, Don'd.		SW Margaree	c1828;
McVARRISH, Angus(6)	Scotland	Broad Cove	1811
McWATT, Dan'l.(1)	Scotland	Margaree	1788

M

MARCHAL, David		Matawat Creek	
		Salmon River	1806
MARTIN, Rob't. (3)	Scotland	River Inhabitants	
		Basin	1819
MATHESON, Don'd. (3)	Scotland	Lake Ainslie	1820
MATHESON, SEE ALSO			
MATHESON, Colin	Scotland	St. George Channel	1822
MATHESON, Don'd.		Lake Ainslie	c1820;
MATHESON, Alex.	Scotland	Grand River	1822
MATHESON, Allan(4)	Scotland	Boularderie	1822
MATHESON, Don'd. (4)	Scotland	NS Boularderie	1822
MATHESON, Don'd.		Head St. Ann's	
		Harbour	c1829;
MATHESON, Don'd.		Arichat	c1834;
MATHESON, John		Matawat, Salmon River	1806
MATHESON, John(3)	Scotland	Grand River	1817
MATHESON, John		Grand River	c1820;

<u>Head of Family</u>	<u>Place of Origin</u>	<u>Place of Settlement</u>	<u>Date of Arrival</u>
MATHESON, John(6)	Scotland	Arichat	1821
MATHESON, John	Scotland	Whycocomagh Basin	1822
MATHESON, Ken'th.		Grand River	c1829;
MATHESON, Murdo.		Whycocomagh	1834
MATHESON, Rod'k.(3)	Scotland	St. Esprit	1821
MATHESON, Rod'k.		Grand River	c1834;
MATHEWSON, Alex.(1)	Scotland	River Inhabitants	1812
MATHEWSON, Alex.(2)	Scotland	River Inhabitants	1817
MATHEWSON, Don'd.	Scotland	St. Esprit	1821
MATHEWSON, Farqu- har(5)	Scotland	Grand River	1817
MATHEWSON, Hugh	Scotland	River Inhabitants	1817
MATHEWSON, John	Scotland	Grand River	1817
MATHEWSON, Wm.(1)	Skye	Middle River	1814
MATTHESON, Doug'd.		River Denys	c1826;
MATTHESON, Jas.		Matawat, Salmon River	1806
MATTHEWSON, Alex.		River Inhabitants	c1817;
MATTHEWSON, Murdo.	Scotland	Whycocomagh	1825
MATTHEWSON, Wm.	Scotland	Washabuck	1815
MERSHAL, Anderson		Matawat Creek	
		Salmon River	1806
MERSHAL, John		Matawat Creek	
		Salmon River	1806
		River Inhabitants	1758?
MILLER, Hugh		River Inhabitants	1758?
MITCHELL, John(1)	Scotland	Mainadieu	1810
MOFFAT, Jas.		NW Arm NS	c1788;
MOORE, Andrew	Fifehire	SW Mabou	1814
MORISON, John	Scotland	River Inhabitants	1802
MORRISON SEE ALSO	MORISON, MORRISSON		
MORRISON, Allan		NS St. George Channel	c1820;
MORRISON, Allan	Scotland	Mabou	1824
MORRISON, Allan		SW Mabou	c1825;
MORRISON, Allan		River Denys	c1829;
MORRISON, Angus(9)	Lewis	NW Arm	
		Bras D'Or Lake	1816
MORRISON, Angus		SS St. George Channel	c1819;
MORRISON, Angus(11)	Scotland		1819
MORRISON, Dan'l.c3;	Scotland	Mabou	1804
MORRISON, Dan'l.		SW Mabou	c1808;
MORRISON, Don'd.	Scotland	Mabou	1802
MORRISON, Don'd.		Mabou Harbour	1809
MORRISON, Don'd.(11)	Scotland	Mabou Harbour	1828
MORRISON, Dunc.		River St. Denys	c1836;
MORRISON, John		Mabou River	1811
MORRISON, John(2)	Uist	Boularderie	1821
MORRISON, John		Boularderie	c1829;
MORRISON, Lach'n.		River Inhabitants	c1819;
MORRISON, Murdo.(5)	Scotland	NW Arm	1812
MORRISON, Murdo.		SS St. George Channel	c1815;

<u>Head of Family</u>	<u>Place of Origin</u>	<u>Place of Settlement</u>	<u>Date of Arrival</u>
MORRISON, Pat'k.		Mabou, Port Hood	c1819;
MORRISON, Peter	Scotland	SS Little Bras D'Or	1817
MORRISON, Rod'k.		Mabou Harbour	1806
MORRISON, Rod'k.		St. George Channel	c1833;
MORRISON, Rod'k.		St. George Channel	c1834;
MORRISON, Rory	Scotland	Mabou	1802
MORRISON, Alex.(2)	Scotland	SS St. George Channel	1822
MORRISON, Peter	Scotland	French Village	1817
MOWAT, Andrew		Sydney	1786
MOWAT, Don'd.		NE Margaree	c1803;
MOWAT, Don'd.		River Margaree	c1811;
MOWAT, Don'd.		Margaree River	c1834;
MOWATT, David(2)		NE Margaree	1783
MOWATT, John(1)	Scotland	Margaree	1785
MOWET, John		Big Pond	
		Sydney Mines	1792
MOWETT, Dan'l.	Scotland	SE Margaree	1786
MUGGACH, John		Bras D'Or Lake	c1817;
MUGGAN, Jas.		Baddeck	c1821;
MUGGAN, John		ES Sydney River	1787
MUGGAN, John		Baddeck	1821
MUNDELL, Jos.	Scotland	Arichat Harbour	1820
MUNRO, Alex.(2)	Scotland	St. Ann's	1820
MUNRO, Allan		Middle River	1813
MUNRO, Andrew		Matawat, Salmon River	1806
MUNRO, Don'd.		Matawat, Salmon River	1806
MUNRO, Don'd.	Scotland	St. Ann's	1820
MUNRO, John	Sutherlandshire		
		St. Ann's	1819
MUNRO, John	Scotland	St. Ann's	1820
MUNRO, John	Scotland	St. Ann's	1821
MUNRO, John		SS Aspy Bay	c1825;
MUNRO, Ken'th.		NS Boularderie	c1826;
MUNRO, Murdo.		Matawat, Salmon River	1806
MUNRO, Wm.		Matawat, Salmon River	1806
MUNROW, Allenc(1)	Scotland	Washabuck	1814
MURDOCK, Jas.		Little Bras D'Or Lake	c1810;
MURRAY, Alex.		River Inhabitants	1806
MURRAY, Don'd.(7)	Scotland	St. George Channel	1811
MURRAY, Don'd.(6)	Scotland	NW Arm,	
		Bras D'Or Lake	1811
MURRAY, Don'd.		SS St. George Channel	c1819;
MURRAY, Jno.		SW Margaree	c1818;
MURRAY, Jno.		NE Margaree	c1821;

N

NEEL, Elias
NEIL, Henry

NW Harbour 1789
Low Point 1790

<u>Head of Family</u>	<u>Place of Origin</u>	<u>Place of Settlement</u>	<u>Date of Arrival</u>
NICHOLSON, Chas.(4)	Scotland	St. George Channel	1824
NICHOLSON, Chas.		SS St. George Channel	c1830;
NICOLSON, Don'd.	Scotland	Lake Ainslie NS	1818
NICHOLSON, Don'd.		Gut of Canso	c1820;
NICHOLSON, John(6)	Scotland	SS St. George Channel	1802
NICHOLSON, John	Scotland	St. George Channel	1826
NICHOLSON, Mary		Shenacadie	c1829;
NICHOLSON, Peter		Lake Ainslie	c1837;
NICKLESON, Don'd.	Scotland	Gut of Canso	1815
NICOLL, Jas.		SS St. Andrew's Channel	c1821;
NICOLLS, Gustavus		Long Island Main	1809

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O'HANLEY, John	Scotland	Western Shore	1799
O'HENLEY, Angus	Scotland	Tweednooge	1823
O'HENLEY, John		Long Island Main	c1827;
O'HENLEY, Ran'd.(9)	Scotland	Island Point	
		Boularderie	1827
OLIVER, Sam'l.	Scotland	Gut of Canso	1788

P

PATERSON, Neil(5)	Scotland	Great Bras D'Or SS	1820
PATTERSON, Neil(6)	Scotland	Boularderie	1824
PATTESSON, John		Sydney	1788
PEATON, Arch'd.	Scotland	Judique	1812
PRINGLE, Jas.(7)	Scotland	Malagawatch	1817
PRINGLE, Jas.(7)	Scotland	Lake Ainslie SS	1818
PRINGLE, Jas.[2]	Scotland	NW Bay, Bras D'Or	1826

R

RATTRAY, Alex.			1806
RAE, Jas.	Glasgow	NS NW Arm	1783
RANKIN, John	Inverness	Coal Mines, Mabou	1818
RANKIN, John, Sr. (5)	Scotland	SE Mabou	1819
RANKIN, Don'd.	Scotland	SE Mabou	1821
RANKIN, John, Jr.	Scotland	SE Mabou	1829
REA, Jas.		SW Sydney River	1789
RICHARDSON, Rob't.		Sydney	1786
RITCHIE, Don'd.		SS St. George Channel	c1817;
RITCHIE, Don'd.	Scotland	Bras D'Or Lake	1817
RITCHIE, John Corbett		Boularderie	c1807;
ROBERTS, Henry		Sydney	1786
ROBERTSON		Arichat	1788
ROBERTSON, Dunc.	Scotland	Lake Ainslie	1820

<u>Head of Family</u>	<u>Place of Origin</u>	<u>Place of Settlement</u>	<u>Date of Arrival</u>
ROBERTSON, John(3)	Scotland	Cape Mabou	1817
ROBERTSON, Neil		Gut of Canse	c1788;
ROBERTSON, Wm. B.		St. Peters Bay	c1833;
ROSS, Alex.		Louisbourg Road WS	1789
ROSS, Alex.		Matawat, Salmon River	1806
ROSS, Alex. (7)	Sutherlandshire	NW Arm, Bras D'Or	1820
ROSS, Alex.		SS St. George Channel	c1820;
ROSS, Alex.		West Bay	c1836;
ROSS, Andrew		NS Great Bras D'Or	c1827;
ROSS, David		NE Margaree	c1804;
ROSS, David		NE Margaree	c1811;
ROSS, David		Margaree	c1811;
ROSS, David		Margaree	c1813;
ROSS, Don'd.		St. Ann's Harbour	c1837;
ROSS, Edmund		Margaree River	c1834;
ROSS, Edw'd.		NE Margaree	c1804;
ROSS, Edw'd.		NE Margaree	1806
ROSS, George(4)	Scotland	River Denys	1819
ROSS, Jas.		NE Margaree	1772
ROSS, Jas.		NE Margaree	c1803;
ROSS, John		NS NW Arm	1792
ROSS, John		NW Arm	1794
ROSS, John		Ball's Creek	c1814;
ROSS, John	Scotland	St. George Channel	1819
ROSS, John		SS St. George Channel	c1821;
ROSS, Jos.		Margaree River	c1835;
ROSS, Ran'd.		St. Ann's Harbour	1821
ROSS, Rod'k.		SW Margaree	1806
ROSS, Wm.		Margaree	1792
ROSS, Wm.		NE Margaree	c1803;
ROSS, Wm.		NE Margaree	1806
ROSS, Wm.	Scotland	Low Point	1811

S

SAWERS, Geo.	Scotland	Western Shore	1812
SAWYER, Geo. (3)	Scotland	Gut of Canse	1811
SCOBIE, John	Sutherlandshire	St. Esprit	1817
SCOTT, Andrew(3)	Scotland	Near St. Peters	1816
SCOTT, Dan'l. (8)	Scotland	St. Peters	1804
SCOTT, Don'd. (8)	Scotland	St. Peters	1802
SCOTT, John		St. Peters	c1805;
SCOTT, John	Scotland	St. Peters	1814
SCOTT, John	Scotland	Louisbourg	1819
SHAW, Rev. Jas. A.		Grand Anse	c1835;
SINCLAIR, Chas.		NW Arm	1806
SINCLAIR, Rob't. (1)	Pomone Orkney	Mabou	1814

<u>Head of Family</u>	<u>Place of Origin</u>	<u>Place of Settlement</u>	<u>Date of Arrival</u>
SINGLARE, Rob't.	Scotland	Mabou	1814
SKINNER, Hugh	Scotland	Western Shore	1805
SKINNER, Hugh		Gut of Canse	(1806)
SMITH SEE ALSO SMYTH			
SMITH, Alex. (4)	Scotland	Bras D'Or Lake	1815
SMITH, Alex.		NS St. George Channel	(1817)
SMITH, Alex. (5)	Scotland	SS St. George Channel	1820
SMITH, Angus (2)	Scotland	Broad Cove	1807
SMITH, David		Port Hood	(1790)
SMITH, David		SE Mabou	(1819)
SMITH, Dug'd.		River Denys Road	(1826)
SMITH, Jas.	Scotland	Broad Cove	1806
SMITH, Jas.		Mabou Road	1836
SMITH, John	Scotland	St. George Channel	1819
SMITH, John	Scotland	Tweednooge	1823
SMITH, John		St. Ann's Bay	(1835)
SMITH, Murdo. (5)	Scotland	St. Patrick's Channel	1824
SMITH, Murdo. (7)	Scotland	St. Patrick's Channel	1826
SMITH, Rich'd.		Great bras D'Or	(1833)
SMYTH, Peter		Port Hood	(1837)
SMYTH, Peter		SE Mabou	(1843)
SOUTHERLAND, Murdo.		Matswat, Salmon River	1806
SPIITAL, John (4)	Scotland	Bras D'Or Lake	1815
STEEL, Angus (8)	Scotland	Portage	1823
STEEL, John	Scotland	River Inhabitants	1813
STEEL, John	Scotland	Portage	1823
STEEL, Rory		Lewis Cove	1812
STEWART SEE ALSO STUART			
STEWART, Hugh		River Denys	(1829)
STEWART, Jas.		St. Ann's Harbour	(1809)
STEWART, Jas.		Gut of Canse	(1812)
STEWART, Jas. (5)	Scotland	SS Boularderie	1822
STEWART, John	Scotland	NW Arm SS	1786
STEWART, John	Scotland	Lake Ainslie Road	1827
STEWART, Ken'th.	Scotland	Malagawatch	1820
STEWART, Taylor		Schooner Cove	
		Gabarus Bay	1808
STEWART, Wm. (2)	Scotland	Head of	
		St. George Channel	1820
STILL, Rod'k.	Scotland	Lewis Cove	1812
STRACHAN, John (7)	Scotland	Bras D'Or near	
		St. Peters	1817
STUART, Jas.		Boularderie	(1822)
STUART, John		NS NW Arm	1804
SUTHERLAND SEE ALSO SOUTHERLAND			
SUTHERLAND, Alex.		Boularderie	1792
SUTHERLAND, Don'd.	Scotland	Western Shore	1816
SUTHERLAND, Don'd.	Scotland	Gut of Canse	1816

<u>Head of Family</u>	<u>Place of Origin</u>	<u>Place of Settlement</u>	<u>Date of Arrival</u>
SUTHERLAND, Don'd. (4)	Scotland	St. Ann's Cape Smoky	1824 [1788]
SUTHERLAND, Geo.		Sydney River	1807
SUTHERLAND, Geo.		Sydney River	
SUTHERLAND, Heet. (3)	Scotland	St. Ann's	1825
SUTHERLAND, Heet.		St. Ann's Harbour	[1828]
SUTHERLAND, John (4)	Scotland	Lewis Cove	1817
SUTHERLAND, John (3)	Long Island Scotland	Near St. Peters Boularderie	1820 1825
SUTHERLAND, John		River Inhabitants	[1802]
SUTHERLAND, Wm.		River Inhabitants	1806

T

TAYLOR, Geo. Jr.		Arichat	1814
TAYLOR, Geo.	Ayreshire	Arichat	1816
TAYLOR, Peter	Scotland	River Inhabitants Basin	1819
THOMPSON, Wm.		Portage Lake	[1792]
THOMSON, Mathew		SE Mabou	[1826]
TOMPSON, Joseph		NW Arm	1792
TURNBULL, Jas. (2)	Scotland		1819

U

URQUHART, Alex. (4)	Scotland	St. Esprit	1821
URQUHART, Don'd. (3)	Scotland	St. George Channel	1819
URQUHART, Don'd.		St. George Channel	[1834]
URQUHART, Don'd.		SS St. George Channel	[1835]
URQUHART, Wm.		West Bay	[1834]

W

WALKER, Sam'l.	Scotland	Gut of Ganso	1820
WATSON, David		Sydney River	[1789]
WATSON, Dan'l.		Point Edward NS	1792
WATSON, Wm.	Scotland	Baddeck River	1785
WATSON, Wm.		Baddeck	1788
WATSON, Wm.		NW Arm	1804
WATTS, Hugh	Scotland	Judique	1784
WATTS, Hugh		Point Edward NS	1789
WATTS, Wm.		Fort Hood	1786
WATTS, Wm.		Fort Hood	[1807]
WATTS, Wm.		SW Mabou	[1816]
WATTS, Wm.		Mabou, Port Hood	[1817]

<u>Head of Family</u>	<u>Place of Origin</u>	<u>Place of Settlement</u>	<u>Date of Arrival</u>
WERE, John	Scotland		1812
WHITE, Don'd.	Scotland	Lewis Cove	1817
WHYTE, John	Banff	Lingan Road	1822
WRIGHT, Don'd.	Ross shire	Lewis Cove	1817
WILKEY, Jas. (4)	Scotland	Point Edward SS	1816
WILKIE, Jas. (4)	Scotland	Sydney	1815
WILSON, Alex.	Scotland	St. Patrick's Channel	1829
WRIGHT, Geo.		St. Peters	1810
WRIGHT, Jas.		SE Mabou	c1829j
WRIGHT, Wellman		SE Mabou	c1815j

Y

YOUNIE, John(3)	Scotland	Arichat	1815
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P.A.N.S. Vol. 322

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P.A.N.S. Vol. 323

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