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THE SETTLEMENT OF SCOTTISH IMMIGRANTS
IN NOVA SCOTIA, 1770-1830

BY

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Summary

During the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries Nova Scotia became a major destination for Scottish emigrants, to the extent that Scots made a very significant contribution to the peopling of the province, and the present study investigates the establishment of a distinctive Scottish society in Nova Scotia.

Initially, theoretical and methodological considerations pertaining to the general phenomenon of human migration are discussed in terms of several interrelated academic disciplines, and models such as chain migration and cultural pluralism are selected to form the basis of a conceptual framework. Then, in order to supplement the more usual sources with the direct evidence of a wide selection from the immigrant body itself, personal information provided in over 4,000 petitions for land in Nova Scotia is subjected to manipulation by a computer. This aggregation of diverse individual experience is then used throughout to complement other available evidence.

The Scottish background is reviewed in terms of environment, economy and society as a necessary preliminary to the detailed consideration of the Scottish colonization of Nova Scotia. Then the general course of the Scottish emigration movement between 1770 and 1830 is described, followed by a review of circumstances in other prominent destination areas. The bulk of this movement comprised members of the peasant society of small landholders in the Highlands and Islands. This society was subjected to increasing socio-economic pressures during this period, and it is argued that developments such as moor colonization were often spontaneous attempts to maintain valued social norms on the traditional basis of near universal land occupancy. As this became more difficult, overseas migration offered alternative opportunities, and the

strength of this factor is reflected in the prevalence of group migration and settlement fostered by transferred bonds of kinship and locale.

A review of the Nova Scotia background in terms of environment, economy and society reveals a combination of circumstances peculiarly favourable to its development as a field for Scottish colonization during this period of substantial emigration, and a detailed discussion of immigration and settlement documents the diversity of Scottish source areas and socio-economic backgrounds, together with evidence of settlement throughout the province.

The outstanding feature of the movement, though, was the development of large areas of homogeneous Highland settlement as Highland immigrants enjoyed relatively unrestricted access to the large undeveloped tracts of the northern mainland and Cape Breton Island. Although other groups were represented in this area of concentrated settlement, any significant numbers were concentrated in restricted localities and did not seriously impinge on the developing network of Highland communities; and essential elements of the society of origin were preserved as the immigrants arranged themselves in accordance with transferred bonds of kinship and locale. This relatively rapid and successful colonization by Highland groups exerted such a powerful attractive influence that Nova Scotia maintained its great popularity as a destination during this period in the face of growing competition from the developing interior up the St. Lawrence.

This was to prove a particularly successful and durable transplantation of Highland society. Of fundamental importance were physiographic and economic factors which fostered the development of an economy closely akin to that which had sustained the accustomed social order in the homeland. In the New World, then, as in the Old, a peripheral, economically marginal rural area served

to promote cultural retention. However, environmental constraints and economic change had far-reaching effects in the new context also, and, in many ways, the Highland Scots who settled in Nova Scotia only postponed the effects of the general forces of socio-economic change which were disrupting their way of life in Scotland.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

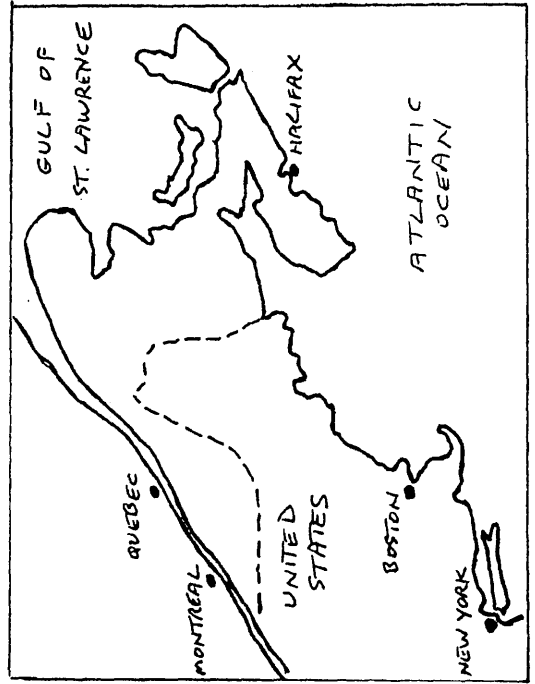
I would like to extend my thanks to the many colleagues and friends in Scotland and Nova Scotia who provided advice, assistance and encouragement during the course of this research. In particular, the contributions of my supervisors, Professor Slaven and former Professor Checkland, and of the former Director of the Nova Scotia Museum, Dr. J. Lynton Martin, made it all possible. I would also like to thank the many Cape Breton Scots who welcomed me into their homes and provided insights which have been of the greatest assistance to me.

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ABBREVIATIONS

CO	COLONIAL OFFICE
IUP	IRISH UNIVERSITIES PRESS
PAC	PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA
PANS	PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF NOVA SCOTIA
PAPEI	PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND
SRO	SCOTTISH RECORD OFFICE



NOVA SCOTIA WITH LOCATIONS OF AREA CODES

Chapter 1

The study of migration

The colonization of much of eastern mainland Nova Scotia and Cape Breton Island by settlers who came from Scotland during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries was a segment of the great series of migratory movements from Europe which populated the North American continent between the seventeenth and twentieth centuries. Consequently, the phenomenon of human migration is necessarily the principal consideration in a study of this nature, and it is a subject which has received the attention of a number of disciplines, due largely to the wide variety of factors which may be involved in the process. Indeed, migration can occur in so many forms that it is very difficult to define and classify, and divisions in terms of factors such as distance, duration or organization tend to be purely arbitrary. The basic distinction between internal and external (or international) migration has been widely accepted and applied, but again there may be little variation in the factors involved.

Since migration consists of population movement it is a concern of demography, which is "the statistical study of population, and as such embraces all aspects of population movement that are capable of numerical measurement".¹ Changes in population may be considered as the result of two separate processes: natural change and mechanical change. Births and deaths constitute natural change, while emigration and immigration constitute mechanical change. The structure of a population is most conveniently considered in terms of age and sex, and, from these, age-specific and sex-specific vital rates can be calculated to illustrate the nature of fertility and

mortality in particular populations. Since the Second World War this kind of demographic analysis has been increasingly applied to past populations, establishing a field of study generally known as historical demography, which investigates "the ebb and flow of the numbers of mankind in time and space by a combination of geography and history using statistics".² Thus, the historical demographer uses surviving sources, documentary and otherwise, not only to estimate population size and structure but also to discover indications of demographic change. A wide range of sources may be used, but the most productive are usually population counts and vital registration data, the latter consisting largely of parish registers of births, marriages and deaths.

Such studies were pioneered by French scholars, notably Fleury and Henry³ who developed the technique of family reconstitution using the data recorded in French parish registers. Family reconstitution involves the reconstruction of complete genealogies for as many families as possible in a particular parish, and from these results various demographic indices can be calculated.

In the United Kingdom this and other techniques have been applied by scholars such as Eversley, Glass, Hollingsworth, Laslett and Wrigley.⁴ Their work has provided correctives to traditional views of the structure and dynamics of population during the pre-industrial era, and of the causes of population changes during the period of growing industrialization in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Laslett has provided us with the concept of pre-industrial England as a network of small, closely-knit rural communities linked with the few larger centres of population.⁵

These small groups of 300 to 500 people constituted the social framework for the majority of the population, and within these groups family sizes were generally quite small, probably averaging four to

five, or roughly similar to those of the present time. There is also some evidence, obtained by studying birth intervals in particular families, that conscious limitation of family size may have been practised. In addition, late marriages seem to have been prevalent. This basic pattern is considered to have been disturbed by rapid industrial growth in the eighteenth century, when large families became more prevalent and migration increased.

The question of the increasing role of migration is, of course, closely related to the larger problem of the population rise which commenced in the eighteenth century. Two seventeenth century English villages, for each of which two closely separated population counts have survived, provide evidence of a substantial turnover of population over a period of 10 to 12 years, which suggests considerable migration even if only over a relatively short distance.⁶ Indeed, the factor of migration represents one of the main problems confronting the historical demographer. Even in general, as opposed to historical, demographic studies the process of mechanical change (migration) is relatively unexplored compared to the natural processes of birth and death. This is largely because reliable data on migration are often unavailable, even for comparatively recent times, and when dealing with past populations, particularly those of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries when large-scale migration was taking place, the problems are considerable.

Obviously, heavy emigration or immigration will tend to affect the figures for natural change, and it may be possible to detect indirect evidence for migration by analysing such figures. For instance, Hollingsworth has pointed out that it is scarcely credible that a population should grow by more than 3% per annum except by heavy immigration, and he indicates that it may be possible to provide an estimate of net migration. On the other hand, net

migration is almost always only a small fraction of the gross, and any pattern of net migration flows may be very far from showing the true levels of actual movement.⁷

Thus, in the field of historical demography, migration is a factor for which the evidence is often only indirect, and its presence frequently combines with other factors to render particular sources unsuitable for detailed demographic analysis. Nevertheless, some of the findings of historical demographic studies may be helpful in analysing some aspects of migration and settlement and, above all, historical demography has revealed the value of local sources which are sometimes little known and often forbiddingly voluminous. This research at a local level helps to reveal the often very diverse local factors which may not even be hinted at in a general or national survey, but nonetheless are integral parts of the whole. Eversley has indicated how this is particularly applicable in considering such factors as "push" and "pull" which are central to many discussions of migration. "Both types were operative, but only the local study can say which was decisive in a particular case. Emigration tended to be so localized in its incidence that the state of cultivation, harvest, systems of tenure, or even the movement of fish shoals seem of the greatest significance."⁸

The mention of "push" and "pull" factors serves to introduce another discipline involved in the study of migration, that of sociology. In the 1880s Ravenstein formulated his "Laws of Migration" in an attempt to provide a theoretical framework for the study of contemporary internal migration in Britain. He postulated a positive relationship between mobility and geographic distance, with industrial centres as the points of attraction. A rapidly growing town would absorb immigrants from the immediate surrounding area which, in turn, would be replenished by remoter areas. He also

observed that: migrants proceeding long distances generally go by preference to one of the great centres of commerce or industry; the natives of towns are less migratory than those of the rural parts of the country; and females are more migratory than males.⁹ Stouffer modified Ravenstein's hypothesis by arguing that the number of migrants is directly proportional to the number of opportunities at the point of reception, inversely proportional to the number of intervening opportunities.¹⁰

Recent sociological treatment of migration has witnessed increasingly complex interpretations with a concentration on motives for emigration and the processes of assimilation, based primarily on socio-economic and socio-psychological factors. The "push-pull" hypothesis represents an attempt to account for the widest possible variety of motivations. It implies that migration is due to socio-economic imbalances between areas of origin and reception. In other words, certain factors tend to expel people from the area of origin while others tend to attract them to the area of reception. The main characteristics of the first group are considered to be that they usually have political or religious causes, while the second group are seen as largely the result of economic needs at the point of reception.¹¹

There have been many attempts to identify the characteristics of a person who emigrates as opposed to one who does not. Among the general hypotheses advanced are the following: during the initial stages of a migratory movement it is highly selective in terms of young, mature adults, and single, divorced or widowed persons; in the initial phases of settlement men outnumber women, but as settlement progresses sex selectivity tends to disappear and may even come to favour women; where migration streams flow between two points there will be great selectivity if one stream is greater than the other,

but little selectivity if both are of equal size; where the "push" factor is predominant there will be only minimum selectivity at the point of origin, but where the "pull" factor is stronger there will be considerable selectivity.¹²

Taylor, in a study of a group of English coal miners facing redundancy, has concentrated on certain psychological aspects of the motive to migrate. He found that migrants, as opposed to non-migrants, exhibited economic and social aspiration and a degree of dislocation from their social group. However, these characteristics were not uniformly distributed among the migrants and they could be subdivided into four groups in which the predominant motive was either aspiration, dislocation, immediate situational factors, or unique personal factors. On the basis of his own and other studies, Taylor has formulated a series of important factors involved in the motive to migrate. These are: a degree of structural conduciveness, or strain; the individual's perception and evaluation of the strain; the presence of a degree of dislocation; the generalized belief that conditions are better elsewhere; the objective feasibility of migration as a project; and the presence of precipitating factors, or a trigger.¹³

In terms of the integration of migrants in a new environment, sociologists have tended to develop the concept of varying goal systems. The concept of assimilation implies the total absorption of immigrants into a host society, while the "melting pot" hypothesis envisages the emergence of a new social system which is not exclusively that of one of the component groups. Yet again, the development of cultural pluralism is seen as a possibility when each group maintains a certain degree of separate identity within a unified whole. A number of sequential models for the process of integration have been suggested, including an ecological sequence and a sequence of generations. The ecological sequence is based on

processes observed in major United States cities where each successive wave of ethnically distinct immigrants occupied the urban core, while their predecessors moved to more affluent and socially integrated suburbs. The sequence of generations assumes that the first generation immigrant will generally resist integration, the second generation will begin to adapt to the new cultural environment, and in the third generation this process will be continued to completion.¹⁴

These are examples of the various classificatory schemes which sociologists have devised in dealing with the phenomenon of migration and indicate the strong emphasis on the construction of typologies, classifications and general models. An example of a typological analysis of migration is provided by Petersen, who divides migration into conservative (to preserve a way of life) and innovative (to change a way of life) types. He also identifies classes of migration such as forced, impelled or free, and differing "migratory forces" such as ecological push, social momentum or aspirations.¹⁵

Apart from the fact that such sociological models are primarily intended to apply to migration in a modern industrial context,¹⁶ it may be doubted whether such general syntheses are practical. Doubts have been expressed by several sociologists who suggest that the various factors can vary so much in incidence that it is virtually impossible to produce a model to which every case will conform. On the other hand, they do not deny that some form of general statement is possible. However, they would regard this as possible only on the basis of a detailed examination of separate instances.¹⁷

Nevertheless, while maintaining a necessary caution with regard to the dangers of generalization, several of the general concepts expressed by some sociologists will probably be found useful in the context of the present study. Lee has devised a very broadly defined theory of migration which avoids many of the complexities to be found

in other syntheses. He defines migration simply as a permanent or semi-permanent change of residence with no qualifications concerning duration, distance or political boundaries. However, movements by groups such as migratory workers and nomads, for whom there is no long-term residence, would be excluded. As defined, every migration involves an origin, a destination and an intervening set of obstacles, and factors which enter into the decision to migrate and the process of migration may be arranged in four groups: factors associated with the area of origin; factors associated with the area of destination; intervening obstacles; and personal factors.¹⁸

Eisenstadt, in his study of immigrant groups in Israel, considered migration as a three-stage process consisting of: the motivation to migrate (or the needs and dispositions which impel people to move from one place to another); the social structure of the migratory process; and the absorption of the immigrants within the social and cultural framework of the new society. The motivation to migrate rarely involves a desire to relinquish every aspect of society at the point of origin, so that the migrant may remain "attached" to his original society and culture in various ways. In the case of the physical process of migration, migration always takes place in relatively small groups which are removed from their total setting. These groups may be either pre-existing ones such as families or bodies of neighbours, or they may be completely new ones formed for the specific purpose of migration, and the composition, values and roles of the groups are closely related to the initial motive for migration. Eisenstadt also considers that a "pluralistic" structure will develop during the process of absorbing a large-scale immigration as a result of the fact that, although there will always be roles to be acquired which are of a "universal" nature in the absorbing society, there will usually be many secondary

roles in which a separate identity can be maintained. Thus, a society may be composed of a network of sub-structures allocated to different immigrant groups.¹⁹

The importance of the maintenance of a distinct identity in a new environment has been emphasized by Fitzpatrick in his consideration of the role of the immigrant community: "... if people are torn too rapidly away from the traditional cultural framework of their lives, and thrown too quickly as strangers into a cultural environment which is unfamiliar the danger of social disorganization is very great. They need the traditional social group in which they are at home, in which they find their psychological satisfaction and security, in order to move with confidence towards interaction with the larger society." He goes on to indicate the important role played by kinship networks in such a situation. The basic links with the larger community will be through occupation, education and political action, and the élite or intellectuals will probably take the lead in establishing a relationship between the immigrant community and the larger community. This probably helps to explain the widely observed tendency of migrants to follow the routes of their predecessors from a particular area and to settle in the same area in the new environment.²⁰

This phenomenon has been studied in the case of European immigrant groups in Australia, and has led to the formulation of a theory of "chain migration" in which the local immigrant community is regarded as the base for developing migration movement from a particular area of origin, based initially on close kinship ties. This approach was adopted largely because it was felt that more general sequences failed to explain important variations between immigrant groups. As Price has observed, although this technique is most relevant to free peasant migration, it can systematically relate various types of settlement groups to various stages of migration and

and settlement, and is transferable to similar situations elsewhere. Moreover, it emphasizes the complexities of assimilation when studied in detail at the local level and seeks to avoid the dangers of all-encompassing typologies and sequences.²¹ Finally, the kind of process described in studies of chain migration would seem to be paralleled very closely in certain historical cases, notably the one under present consideration.

Migration considered as a factor in the spatial distribution of human population is also a concern of geographers. As described by Mitchell: "The choice of a site to settle was sometimes made more, sometimes less, consciously in response to a balancing of needs ... Except when carrying out big schemes of forest clearance or marsh reclamation or establishing model factory villages or 'new' towns, the whole town or village was not laid out at one time with carefully considered ends in view. What is more, the first settlers in a place must often have made false starts and sometimes settled down permanently on a less good site even with a better site near by ... 'Daughter' settlements sometimes grow up in more favoured spots than the parent one ..." These considerations reflect the historical geographer's prime concern with the establishment and development of settlement, both rural and urban.²²

In its treatment of rural settlement, historical geography has emphasized that, once established, a settlement pattern has great stability, which often results in the preservation of many aspects of early settlement despite growth and change. This is seen as a result of a basic unwillingness in man to change his habitation site, so that he will frequently go to considerable lengths to correct the deficiencies of an old site rather than move to a new one. When a move is made a variety of often conflicting factors arise in relation to the new location, and Mitchell has pointed to the settlement of European emigrants overseas as perhaps the best example of the

diverse forces which can be operative: new settlement will involve reactions to the new environment, the immediate preoccupations of the immigrant, and his cultural background. Also, the physical environment, while it will not totally determine the form of the settlement pattern, may exert a fundamental influence. The general contrast between highland Britain with its dispersed settlements reflecting poverty of resources, and lowland Britain with its more nucleated settlements reflecting a relative abundance of resources, is cited as an example.

The growth of towns is seen as a product of economic, administrative, commercial and other needs which cannot be satisfied solely by the development of a network of villages or hamlets. Thus, urban centres are integral parts of a settlement pattern, fulfilling functions distinct from those of villages and other smaller settlement forms. The growth of industry is often closely related to the growth of urban centres, and its location is considered to be largely a function of the abundance and availability of raw materials, the physical conditions required by contemporary expertise, the amount and skill of local labour, and the position of markets. General economic considerations of supply and demand and changing transportation facilities can have profound effects on industry in relation to its location, but conditions of capital and labour produced by successful enterprise create a tendency to stability, and even where an industry is in decline it is liable to be replaced by others which are in a position to exploit the capital and labour base already established.

Again, closely related to all these aspects of settlement is the pattern of communications, both natural and man-made. Physical distance does not change, but changing means of communication can have far-reaching effects on distances in terms of time and cost. The nature of communications will be especially important during the

period of the early settlement of an area. The identity of colonizing groups, their routes, and the location and timing of their settlement are always closely related to transportation opportunities. Then, during the period following initial settlement and preceding the advent of railways, a system of communication usually develops which depends much on complex organization but little on mechanical power.

Another relevant field within the discipline of geography is population geography, which is concerned with the relationships between physical and human environments and population. The population geographer recognizes that physical factors alone will not explain population distribution, and that they must be considered in conjunction with social, demographic, economic, political and historical factors as components of an integrated dynamic process. Nevertheless, he does pay particular attention to the physical environment and his approach, as indicated by Clarke, can be of assistance to students of migration and settlement.

Of the various aspects of the form of the land, the basic distinction between mountains and plains is usually a significant factor in the determination of population distribution. Mountain land is often agriculturally marginal, with the result that economic and demographic change may have profound effects, leading to depopulation. Sharp transitions between mountain and plain are frequently accompanied by sharp changes in population density. Again, piedmont areas, or areas of contact between different environments, are often areas of dense population. The influence of rivers is also generally of great significance, and river valleys tend to be routes of penetration and areas of occupation in mountainous regions. Climate and soil are factors which can be difficult to assess, although their influence is undeniable. An example of this is the fact that the podzols, or leached soils, of temperate zones can

support dense agricultural settlement only after considerable treatment.

In general terms, type and scale of economic activities considerably influence population distribution. Among agricultural societies, population distribution is often closely related to the nature of staple crops, high yield ones encouraging a dense population. By contrast, pastoral economies are usually associated with sparser populations. Other general features that have been observed are that pre-industrial agricultural populations tend to be more evenly distributed than populations with more diverse economic activities, and that subsistence cultivation shows closer links with land quality than does commercial agriculture.

In terms of industrial development, certain mineral and energy resources can exert strong influences on population distribution. Of energy resources, coal has had perhaps the strongest influence on industrial location, largely due to factors such as its great bulk and low value. On the other hand, non-energy minerals, with the exception of iron-ore, have produced less concentration of industry and population.²³

This review of the study of migration as an interdisciplinary subject suggests that the migratory process is of such a variable nature that each individual case must be considered in its own right if any reasonably full understanding is to be achieved. Indeed, the only generalization about migration that has been widely accepted concerns age differentials: that is, a person will be most likely to migrate in young adulthood. In addition, certain points in family life, such as the time of marriage, are often seen as being favourable to migration. However, with the exception of these few factors, generalization should be employed only with extreme wariness since the degree of abstraction involved will tend to discount important unique factors in particular situations.

Conversely, though, a mere cataloguing of data for separate instances would be equally sterile, for the researcher must attempt to order and explain the phenomena observed if he is to get beyond the mere recounting of occurrences.

Thus, while eschewing rigid formal theories, it will probably be found useful in the context of the present historical study to have a flexible conceptual framework based on the findings of the disciplines reviewed above.

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Chapter 2

The approach to the present study:

principal sources and their use

In the context of the discipline of history, migration may be considered as an aspect of social and economic history. Economic history might be considered sufficient as a designation if one agrees with Clapham that, "... as the main concerns of society are and always have been economic, by far the greater part of social history, it may be argued, is simply economic history".¹ This argument gains some cogency from the fact that, as he further points out, economic history is distinguished by a quantitative emphasis, and his comment that, " every economic historian should have acquired what might be called the statistical sense, the habit of asking in relation to any institution, policy, group or movement the questions: how large? how long? how often? how representative?" would seem to be particularly applicable to any historical study of migration.² On the other hand, Clapham also notes that economic history, strictly defined as the study of economic aspects of past societies, can rarely be undertaken profitably when isolated from other aspects of social history, or indeed of general history, and that it is closely related to many aspects of human geography.³

Although economic factors may play an important role in human migration there are non-economic factors in operation in any particular case, and it is probably more appropriate to regard migration as an aspect of social history, with the latter defined as the study of society as an integrated system comprising a number of material and non-material components. In the words of Perkin, "... the (social) historian ... should try to see his society as a structured, functioning, evolving, self-regenerating, self-reacting

whole, set in its geographical and cosmic environment".⁴ This approach implies a treatment of society as an organic whole with many interrelated and interdependent constituents, including the environmental, social, economic, political and psychological aspects manifested in any social grouping. Moreover, although a particular social group is studied in the context of a particular location and time period, it should not be viewed as a static and isolated entity. Rather, it should be recognized that every society is essentially dynamic, exhibiting constant change and adaptation, although this may be on an almost imperceptible scale during a relatively short time span. Also, a social group cannot be treated satisfactorily as an isolated phenomenon, but must be considered in relation to other contemporary social groups with which it is in contact, and to a temporal sequence of which it forms a part. In using this approach the social historian is, in the simplest of terms, attempting to reconstruct as much as possible of the way of life of the society he is studying. In the pursuit of this aim his treatment will tend to be general rather than particular, broadly social rather than personal. His exposition will tend to be an interpretation of social developments rather than the narrative of traditional general history, which very often has what Cochran has referred to as "a misleading emphasis on colourful individuals and exciting events".⁵

Because of the very nature of this approach the sources utilized are necessarily diverse. The standard documentary sources commonly used as the basis for writing general history of a political, administrative or constitutional cast often contain only meagre information relating to matters which are of great concern to the social historian. This again is a reflection of the fact that surviving records often tend to be concerned with the colourful

individuals and exciting events. Consequently, since information of a broadly social nature is usually both scanty and fragmentary, the social historian will consider all possible sources, documentary and non-documentary; in other words, anything that survives from the particular segment of the past in which he is interested. This does not imply an attempt to reconstruct a society in all of its manifestations, or a recounting of everything that happened in a society. Rather, specific problems and areas of interest will be defined, and then treated as the focal points of research within the context of general social developments. In the words of Perkin again: "The social historian must avoid the attempt to be everywhere at once. He must keep firmly in view of his immediate goal, the understanding of the life of men in the past, in its setting of society and institutions".⁶

He goes on to draw a distinction between social history and sociology by stating that social history "does not seek practical knowledge, descriptive laws, governing principles, predictive generalizations". This observation is closely allied to the cautions against generalization mentioned in the previous chapter, but perhaps suggests too rigid a division between history and the social sciences. Carr has indicated a closing of the gap between history and other related disciplines. He states that the goal maintained by both historians and scientists in the nineteenth century was to assemble a comprehensive body of knowledge by the accumulation of well-attested facts, whereas: "nowadays both scientists and historians entertain the more modest hope of advancing progressively from one fragmentary hypothesis to another, isolating their facts through the medium of their interpretations, and testing their interpretations by the facts; and ways in which they go about it do not seem to me essentially different". His further statement that history is a social process in which individuals are engaged as social beings

serves to stress the basic tenets of social history; we are certainly dealing with groups of individuals, but the individual must be considered in his social setting.⁷

A recent example of the use of hitherto neglected documentary sources to throw new light upon an aspect of social history is Erickson's study of the settlement of British immigrants in the United States of America based on unpublished collections of private letters.⁸ While it may be unwise to generalize freely on the basis of the data provided by such a relatively small sample, nevertheless an impressive array of case histories is presented and the author is able to analyse factors relating to motivations for emigration, networks of distribution, settlement, and social and economic adjustment in the new environment.

The subjects of the study were divided into agricultural, industrial, professional and commercial categories according to their occupation in the New World. Agricultural immigrants were found to depend heavily on personal contacts, particularly private letters, for information on the process of migration, and on extended kinship networks of distribution. The development of immigrant communities also emerged as an important factor in social adaptation. Again, the family group was the usual unit involved in agricultural settlement. This was in contrast to the pattern presented by industrial immigrants, who tended to be single. These industrial workers were also involved in a network of distribution, but this was one of working acquaintances and tended to be much less stable than the kinship one. The industrial group tended to be highly mobile in the new environment, whereas the agricultural group was relatively immobile, at least in the first generation. The professional and commercial group exhibited the greatest mobility, both socially and geographically, since it consisted mainly of individuals unattached to any immigrant group. Such evidence is invaluable since it comes

directly from representatives of the anonymous majority who are the prime concern of the social historian.

As has been mentioned, non-documentary sources, such as surviving elements of material culture, can also be of considerable assistance in the study of social history. Recent examples of studies involving this kind of evidence, and ones which are closely related to the subject of the present study, are the investigations of deserted settlements in the Scottish Highlands undertaken by Fairhurst and others.⁹ In particular, Fairhurst's survey and excavation of a settlement in Sutherland, which was abandoned during the clearances of the second decade of the nineteenth century, has provided a valuable supplement to contemporary documentary sources.¹⁰ For instance, apart from general information on the structure of the settlement, his work also provides evidence for an expanding settlement area during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries (presumably due to increasing population), and the presence of imported pottery indicates contact with the developing industrial centres of the south.

Research such as that just described belongs, strictly speaking, to the discipline of archaeology, succinctly defined by Clark as "the systematic study of antiquities as a means of reconstructing the past",¹¹ and reinforces the comment by Clapham that the disciplines of economic history and human geography are closely related. This is a reflection of the fact that social history, as defined here, is of an interdisciplinary nature, constantly drawing upon the findings of related disciplines to further research, and this is particularly so in the case of those aspects of social history encompassed by the study of migration.

Consequently, the present study will attempt to consider the process of settlement by Scottish immigrants in Nova Scotia in its total social and environmental setting. This will include a

consideration of the factors in Scotland which contributed to this movement, since the process of migration and settlement should be viewed as a whole, rather than as a series of distinct stages to be treated quite separately. The latter has frequently been the case in historical studies of migration where such aspects as the causes of emigration or the mechanics of movement are given almost exclusive consideration. In this approach to a unified treatment, the concentration will be upon specific local factors both in the old and new setting whenever possible, since the two geographical terms of reference, Scotland and Nova Scotia, each represent a cluster of smaller areas where factors relating to migration may vary considerably.

The first concern will be the environmental and social background in Scotland between 1770 and 1830, with particular emphasis upon regional and local variations, and the processes of social and economic change taking place during this period. This will be followed by a general review of emigration from Scotland over the same period, concentrating on chronology, the causes and types of emigration, the mechanics of movement, and political attitudes, all within the context of general aspects of contemporary migratory movements. The destination of eighteenth and nineteenth century Scottish emigrants elsewhere in North America will then be reviewed to provide examples of adaptation in disparate circumstances. In this context, particular attention will be paid to Scottish settlement in Prince Edward Island because of its proximity to, and connections with, the main areas of Scottish settlement in Nova Scotia. Having established the general background, attention will be focussed on Nova Scotia.

Initially, the treatment will be similar to that devoted to Scotland, consisting of a survey of the developing economy and society within the environmental setting. Scottish emigration to Nova Scotia

will then be treated in detail, comparing the process with the perceived general pattern and attempting to correlate areas of origin and settlement. Finally, consideration will be given to aspects of adaptation by various groups of Scottish settlers of varying social and economic status and regional cultural background. It is expected that this approach will provide data which may be used to reconstruct the development of Scottish settlement of diverse origin, concentrating primarily upon the hitherto anonymous majority rather than upon the few historically prominent individuals.

The premise on which this approach is based is the same as that stated by a number of historical demographers and sociologists, and already referred to: namely, the processes involved in migration and settlement are so affected by factors at a local level that they must be treated initially as a series of local phenomena, the sum of which produces the general patterns which are more immediately evident.¹² Local studies of this nature cannot of themselves furnish the means to construct generalizations but, in aggregate, a number of them may provide evidence for the recurrence of similarities or dissimilarities, which in turn may indicate general trends of development. Hypotheses may be formulated on the basis of existing data and tested against new data. Thus, while there will be no attempt in the present case to make the data conform to any general theory of migration and settlement, the concepts expressed by Eisenstadt, Fitzpatrick, Lee and others in relation to the form of the migratory process and the development of immigrant settlement will be regarded as an appropriate framework for the present study. At the same time, due attention will be given to Glass's cautions concerning the indiscriminate use of hypotheses: when the evidence provided by the available data is not sufficient to test a hypothesis rigorously, conclusions drawn from that evidence may only be regarded as not unreasonable speculation.¹³

Using Lee's structural format, then, the governing hypotheses will be several which preliminary assessment suggests might be applicable. The concept of chain migration will be adopted as an explanatory model to account for the broad features of the Scottish settlement of Nova Scotia. From this point of view the main driving force of the movement is seen to be strong links between areas of origin and reception, forged and maintained through time by networks of association founded on kinship and local ties. Moreover, the base for this system was formed by the emergence of local immigrant communities which helped to foster the preservation of a distinctive Scottish identity, and this in turn assisted in the evolution of a degree of cultural pluralism in Nova Scotia.

The fact that the main aspect of the movement consisted of what amounted to a mass migration from the Highlands of Scotland suggests that it may not have conformed precisely to some generally observed tendencies. Thus, it is suspected that the composition of the immigrant body may not have been overwhelmingly of young, single or newly married adults, but rather that it represented a much broader cross-section of the population.

On the other hand, the presence of strong elements of a mass movement must not be allowed to mask the influence of specific local circumstances. It is frequently convenient to consider the population of the Scottish Highlands as a cultural unit, and its tendency to emigrate in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as a universal reaction to sudden and occasionally catastrophic social and economic change. However, the Highland population was not completely homogeneous, and different areas reflected varying adaptation to diverse local factors of environment, economy and society. In many of the areas social and economic change had been taking place over a considerable period of time, and in many instances this stimulated movement at a local level in the form of the colonization

of waste lands.

Indeed, the overall impression gained is that of a society which, far from being static, was involved in a series of far-reaching changes, many of which may actually have helped to prepare the people to undertake long-range migration and the pioneering of new settlement areas. Local factors in Scotland may also have had a bearing on aspects of adaptation in the new environment. For instance, much has been made of differing adaptation among Roman Catholic and Presbyterian groups, the implication being that the Presbyterians were generally more enterprising and successful. In investigating the truth of such a hypothesis we may ask whether it might not be a reflection of local conditions in the Highlands, where Roman Catholics tended to be concentrated in remoter areas where general forces of change were less likely to have penetrated. Again, a contrast between a heavily forested Nova Scotia and a widely denuded Scotland has frequently been drawn, but while such a stark contrast was probably the experience of those from the Western Isles, we may question whether it was entirely true of those from the Scottish mainland.

This approach through the medium of local analysis may also be expected to yield evidence that, although the predominant character of Scottish emigration to Nova Scotia was that of a mass movement of Highland peasant stock, the total Scottish immigrant population in Nova Scotia was drawn from a much wider geographic area and represented diverse social and economic backgrounds, corresponding to the kinds of variation identified by Erickson.

The methods employed are analogous to those used by some contemporary archaeologists who have applied the technique of attribute analysis in their study of material remains of the past.¹⁴ This involves the description of any cultural manifestation as a combination of attributes, and in the course of analysis these

attributes form the basis for comparisons. This method was adopted as an alternative to the practice of naming discrete artifact types (that is, generalization), which can lead to attempts to apply broad conclusions drawn from data of an essentially local nature to other local situations where their applicability is an unknown factor. Attribute analysis assists the researcher in obviating this difficulty by presenting the material as a series of attribute combinations. Recurrent clusterings of particular attributes will then provide a more refined basis for comparison. Erickson's study may be seen to reflect aspects of this method, and its fundamental tenets will be applied in the course of the present study, which has objectives very similar to those of Erickson. Thus, a local analysis will be produced which may be incorporated in a corpus of similar studies, which in turn will be an evolving source for the interpretation and evaluation of processes of migration and settlement in a historical context.

As has already been indicated, the anonymous majority of the immigrant settlers will be the necessary concern of this study, and this requirement will be reflected in the sources selected for use. These will be of a wide variety since the writing of social history, as observed above, requires the examination of as much as possible of what has survived from the past. The reconstruction of the Scottish background will be established from the nucleus of the Statistical Accounts, supplemented by a selection of other contemporary sources. In the case of Nova Scotia, unfortunately, we do not have such a complete and systematic survey of social and economic conditions as is found in the Statistical Accounts of Scotland. Instead, we must rely on fragmentary published accounts and the documentary holdings of the Public Archives of Nova Scotia, including personal, church, business, agricultural, shipping, customs, census and general government records. However, the most promising archival

material for present purposes is the extensive collection of documents pertaining to the land granting system in Nova Scotia, also housed at the Public Archives of Nova Scotia. When dealing with the great migratory movements of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the main difficulty has been to acquire data, since much of the movement went unrecorded, particularly during periods of greater activity, and those aspects which were recorded were often done so in the most summary fashion. Consequently, any body of data which can yield additional information about aspects of migration is worthy of close scrutiny.

A brief preliminary survey of the Nova Scotia land records revealed that they did indeed contain such data. The process of land acquisition by grant will be treated in detail later, and, for the moment, a few salient points will suffice to indicate the type of records involved and how they have been exploited. The documents preserved include petitions, survey warrants, surveyor's reports, tickets of location and draft grants.¹⁵ Of these, the petitions are most useful since they furnish personal details about the applicants, including in many cases the fact that they were immigrants. Unfortunately, these records are incomplete since they are not present for every land grant, but the surviving examples constitute a considerable sample. By means of a check through the index files over 4,000 petitioners were identified who indicated that they were immigrants from Scotland between approximately 1750 and 1850.

Apart from the overall incompleteness, these records suffer from a number of drawbacks. For instance, there is the problem of duplication encountered when the commoner Highland surnames are so well represented: it will often be impossible to ascertain exactly how many individuals are represented in a group, say, of Donald McDonalds when the supporting details are imprecise. This difficulty is exacerbated by the fact that Cape Breton Island was administered

as a separate province between 1784 and 1820, so that there is a group of petitions pertaining only to Cape Breton during that period, in addition to the general Nova Scotia file covering the entire period. Again, the petitions vary considerably in form and content, ranging from what amount to concise autobiographies to the barest statements of name and general origins, and they may be individual or communal. Moreover, the fact that it was common for the petition to be actually written by another probably had an effect on the content. The petitions had to be witnessed by a public functionary and, particularly when the petitioner was illiterate, the statement would be recorded by the official. In such cases a certain element of selection and editing was likely to occur, and communication difficulties were also probably a factor when the petitioner was a native Gaelic speaker with a minimum command of English.

We are thus confronted by a seemingly unwieldy mass of material of widely varying content, the reliability of much of which is essentially unknown. However, since any form of detailed information on migration and settlement is so meagre, it is considered that this kind of information must be exploited as fully as possible, always bearing in mind its fundamental limitations. It is obviously possible to select the most interesting and informative petitions to illustrate individual experiences and, in the case of a communal petition by all the settlers in a particular locality, to provide the basis for an analysis of the development of individual settlements. This procedure will be used, but it involves the use of only a small fraction of the total body of data available. In an attempt, therefore, to make the maximum possible use of all available data, a code was devised which would comprehend all general categories of information contained in the petitions, so that they might be more readily treated in aggregate form. This necessitates a somewhat arbitrary and complex structuring of the data in order to

facilitate handling, but it has the great advantage that, once entered into a computer in coded form, the entire data can be reproduced quickly and efficiently in a variety of forms designed to reveal general trends and possible correlations. This is of great value since it would be an extremely difficult and tedious task to produce similar results by a simple inspection of the uncoded data.

The coding involved the definition of the data contained in the various petitions as a series of variables (or "attributes" as discussed above). In all, 110 variables were identified, as listed in Appendix 1, and the appropriate subdivisions (or "values") were assigned numerical values. In the case of discrete variables, such as locations or occupations, the numerical values were assigned arbitrarily; on the other hand, when dealing with continuous variables, such as age, family size or amounts of land, actual numerical values were used. Dates were recorded using the last three digits of each value. The designation of Scottish locations was accomplished in a straightforward manner by employing conventional area, county, island and parish divisions. The subdivision of Nova Scotia beyond the county level presented greater problems since the parish is not such a convenient unit, and it was decided to express it in terms of a series of settlement areas based on a combination of physiographic and historical factors. The classification of occupation was derived mainly from standard nineteenth century listings used in emigration statistics, with a number of modifications and additions to accommodate local factors. Other variables, based on universal phenomena, such as types of emigration, reasons for emigration, personal status, dependants and relationships, were assigned values which reflect generally observed factors connected with Scottish emigration. The remaining variables, concerned specifically with the process of settlement in Nova Scotia, were assigned values on the basis of observed occurrences in the data.

The established variables will not encompass all the information encountered because the unstructured format of the petitions ensures that there will be occasionally occurring and unique details which cannot readily be coded. The latter were provided for by the addition of supplementary notes in appropriate cases. Nevertheless, the coding system does encompass the principal elements of the process of migration and settlement which may be identified in the petitions, and these are grouped into several broad categories: firstly, factors of a broadly demographic nature are listed; secondly, factors relating to the petitioner's Scottish background are listed; thirdly, details of migratory movement are considered; and, fourthly, aspects of the immigrant's settlement in Nova Scotia are dealt with. The format is necessarily as general as possible, expressing an idealized optimum of information which will not be furnished by any individual case. Indeed, a great many cases will each record only a few variables, but the aggregate evidence of over 4,000 cases produces combined scores which can be analysed.

In recording, the system expresses the existence of a variable by means of a number with a maximum of three digits. Where a variable is not represented its value will be zero. Thus, the complete code for each case consists of 110 three-digit units. Standard IBM Fortran coding forms were used initially to record the code for each case, and then the coded data was transferred to eighty-column punch cards, five cards being required for each case. The punch cards were then used to produce a file on magnetic tape, and in this form the data was entered into the IBM 360/370 computer bank operated by NUMAC (Northumbrian Universities Multiple Access Computer) in Newcastle.

The generation of 110 variables, and the consequently elaborate coding procedures, may seem to be unnecessarily extensive. In terms

of the computer operation, however, mutual exclusiveness and a purely numerical notation are most desirable, and elaborate coding procedures do not significantly affect manipulation. The distribution of the variables on the punch cards is indicated in Appendix 2.

The data was entered as two separate sub-files, Nova Scotia General and Cape Breton, so that they could be treated either separately or in combination. Once the data had been entered into the computer, programs for its interpretation were devised using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS). The latter is: "an integrated system of computer programs designed for the analysis of social science data. The system provides a unified and comprehensive package that enables the user to perform many different types of data analysis in a simple and convenient manner."¹⁶ However, a note of caution is voiced in a further observation that, because the available techniques are so powerful, they may be very easily abused by over-use. This is a result of the fact that the various programs are essentially "blind" computational devices which are not of themselves capable of evaluating the data presented. It is, therefore, possible for the researcher to apply a considerable range of sophisticated statistical procedures to his material, resulting in the generation of great quantities of analytical information which may be so much nonsense unless he has made absolutely sure that his material is suitable for such refined treatment.¹⁷

These considerations prompt a careful scrutiny of the present data to determine the applicability of statistical techniques, and it must be admitted at the outset that it is unsuitable for the refined analysis which a historical demographer would wish to apply. This is largely due to the fact that its representativeness cannot be gauged. As indicated above, the total number of land grants is not represented. In addition, we do not know what proportion of

the Scottish immigrants became formally involved in the land granting system and, because of the voluntary character of the information offered, we cannot even be sure of the total number of Scottish immigrants in the sample available. Only those who stated definitely that they had come from Scotland were included, leaving a considerable number who were almost certainly in the same category but did not specifically say so.¹⁸ The voluntary character of the information is also responsible for the great variability in the amount and kind of information available for different cases, and suggests that certain biases may be in operation which would be extremely difficult to assess accurately. The various factors involved in the interpretation of individual aspects of the data will be taken into consideration when a detailed review of the material is undertaken in the next chapter; in the present context, attention will be directed strictly towards general aspects.

Since the relationship of the sample to the total population must remain uncertain, it will not be valid to generalize freely. However, even if it is possible to say only that in this particular selection certain circumstances were observed, the information will be of value in the general context if used judiciously. In a study of this nature the historian is essentially in the same position as the prehistoric archaeologist. The latter, in his interpretation of material remains, has to deal with a sample from a finite population of unknown total quantity, and the representativeness of the sample is a factor which is always in question. Nevertheless, this incomplete evidence is all that is available, and his reconstruction of prehistory depends upon the cautious analysis and comparison of individual manifestations.

Again, in the field of historical demography, the scarcity and unreliability of source materials have greatly hindered research. On the other hand, Eversley has observed:

The arbitrary character of some of the corrections employed should not, however, deter us from attempting to make use of fragmentary material. We may receive the impression, under the influence of the statistically completely satisfactory reconstitutions perfected in France, that nothing less is worth undertaking. But this is not so. If it were, we should have to give up any notion of ever investigating the highly mobile types of community which we find in seventeenth and eighteenth century England, in America, in parts of Scandinavia, the Low Countries, and capital city and port regions everywhere.¹⁹

In similar fashion the present study must deal with collections of fragmentary and otherwise defective data, and the land records material will be included with other available sources so that, separately and in combination, they may all contribute to an understanding of the topic by providing a description of a variety of specific aspects.

Thus, the limited, essentially historical objectives of the study, coupled with the limitations of the evidence, suggest that only the two most elementary procedures available in the SPSS system should be utilized: frequencies and crosstabs. The first generates a series of tables describing the distribution and frequency of the variables in the sample. The second is a device for assessing the possible relationships among the various variables whereby two- or more-way contingency (crosstabulation) tables are computed for two or more variables, and the result is a display of the distribution of cases according to the combination of the selected variables. Any more sophisticated analysis would be unwarranted by the quality of the data, and these two procedures provide sufficient information for the level of interpretation attempted.

Thus, the more sophisticated procedures of quantifying historical data described by several recent authors will not be attempted, but the general precepts will be observed:

"Quantification is not a gimmick designed to solve all problems nor a universal specific. It is merely an ancillary tool, one of several, that can, for certain classes of questions, be of some help." ²⁰

Notes

1. J.H. Clapham, "Economic History as a Discipline", in F. Stern, ed., The Varieties of History (New York, 1972), p. 312.
2. Ibid., p. 309.
3. Ibid., p. 313.
4. H.J. Perkin, "Social History", in Stern, ed., Varieties of History, p. 439.
5. T.C. Cochran, "The Social Sciences and the Problem of Historical Synthesis", in Stern, ed., Varieties of History, p. 351.
6. "Social History", p. 437.
7. E.H. Carr, What is History? (London, 1961), pp. 61 ff.
8. C. Erickson, Invisible Immigrants (Miami, 1972).
9. See, for example, H. Fairhurst, "Scottish Glachans", Scottish Geographical Magazine, LXXVI (1960), 67-76; R.A. Gailey, "Settlement and Population in Kintyre, 1750-1800", *ibid.*, 99-107.
10. "Rosal: a Deserted Township in Strath Naver, Sutherland", Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, C (1967-68).
11. G. Clark, Archaeology and Society (London, 1957), p.17.
12. D.E.C. Eversley, "Population, Economy and Society", in Glass and Eversley, ed., Population in History, pp. 25-26.
13. D.V. Glass, "Introduction", in Glass and Eversley, ed., Population in History, pp. 7-8.
14. A.C. Spaulding, "Statistical Description and Comparison of

Artifact Assemblages", in R.F. Heizer and S.F. Cook, ed., The Application of Quantitative Methods in Archaeology (Chicago, 1960), pp. 60-83.

15. PANS, RS20, Series A2. Abstracts of these documents are given in a cross-indexed card file arranged alphabetically by name. The documents themselves are stored in annual chronological order, rendering the consultation of large numbers of originals a very time-consuming process. However, a survey indicated that the abstracts consistently recorded the essential data in general, and these were used to compile the bulk of the present data base, with reference being made to originals principally in the case of apparent anomalies, ambiguities or deficiencies. This source is supplemented by a separate, smaller group of Cape Breton petitions (Series B5), abstracted in annual alphabetical order in a bound index volume, which was treated in a similar fashion.
16. N.H. Nie et al., Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (New York, 1975), p. 1.
17. Ibid.
18. This is preferable to the procedure of identifying Scots by surname, as followed by E. Kincaid in Scottish Immigration to Cape Breton, 1758-1838 (unpublished M.A. thesis, Dalhousie, 1964).
19. Eversley, "Population, Economy and Society", p. 34. An example of the use of such material is provided by W.G. Hancock, "English Migration to Newfoundland", in J.J. Mannion, ed., The Peopling of Newfoundland (Toronto, 1977), pp. 15-48.
20. W.O. Aydelotte, Quantification in History (Reading, Mass., 1971), p. 34. Comprehensive reviews of quantification and the use of computers are also to be found in R. Floud, An Introduction to Quantitative Methods for Historians (Princeton, 1973); and E. Shorter, The Historian and the Computer, A Practical Guide (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1971).

Chapter 3

Analysis by computer of the Nova
Scotia land records data¹

This chapter will review the results of the manipulation of the land records data by computer in order to establish a series of basic references which may be utilized for comparative purposes at a later stage.² Consideration will be given initially to the various frequency counts, and secondly to the results of crosstabulations.

Frequencies

Age (Variable 001): Table 6 (Appendix 3)

Age is recorded for 1,863 cases, or 43.2% of the total sample, and, disregarding the three cases obviously subject to coding error, the ages range from 15 to 88, with the mode being 21, the mean 34.8, and the median 30.3. It should be remembered that these are ages at the time of petitioning, and that petitioning was often undertaken only after several years of residence in Nova Scotia. Indeed, in some cases petitions were being submitted several decades after emigration, and this tendency may help to explain the numbers of elderly petitioners (4% of those recorded here were over 60). Nevertheless, despite the wide range of ages recorded, 63% were 35 or under, and fully one third were 26 or under. One very interesting aspect of the data is the apparent tendency to round off ages to decennial values, such as 30, 40 or 50, which suggests that many of the ages given were only estimates.

Personal Status (Variables 002-004): Table 7 (Appendix 3)

Interpretation of this group of variables is limited by the

fact that information on personal status is not available for all cases. However, 457 males and 1 female (10.6% of the total sample) stated that they were single, and 1,974 individuals (45.8% of the total sample) indicated that they were heads of families. Of the latter, 1,842 (42.2%) were fathers, 86 (2.0%) were mothers (mostly widows), 35 (0.8%) were eldest sons, and 11 (0.3%) were eldest brothers. It should be noted that some of those included in the last two categories were probably single.

In addition, 245 cases (or 5.7% of the total sample) can be identified as having emigrated as minors, usually as dependent members of a family group. While many of these petitioned on reaching the age of majority and while still single, there were others who did not petition until they themselves were established as heads of families.

Generally, then, the available data may be said to suggest that the family group was the unit most frequently involved in the process of emigration from Scotland to Nova Scotia.

Dependants (Variables 005-014): Table 8 (Appendix 3)

Again it must be emphasized that relevant information is not available for every case. The most frequently recorded variables in this group are 005 and 009 (spouse and children respectively). Thus, 1,429 cases (or 33.1%) reported a dependent spouse, while 1,660 cases, (or 38.5%) reported dependent children under the age of majority. The discrepancy between these two counts is partly accounted for by the occasional occurrence of declared widowers. However, in many cases only children would be listed as dependants, and it may be assumed in these circumstances that an existing wife was sometimes ignored in a petition. This may be a result of the fact that status as a family head and the number of dependent children were the principal determining factors under the post-1807 land regulations.

In addition to these two major categories, a number of other forms of dependency were recorded. These included a single parent (46 cases), both parents (5 cases), adult male offspring (32 cases), adult female offspring (8 cases), non-nuclear relatives (17 cases), orphans (7 cases), and servants (3 cases). Moreover, 14 cases stated that their family did not emigrate as a unit, providing evidence of a two-stage process of emigration by families.

Family Size (Variable 015): Table 9 (Appendix 3)

An indication of family size is given by 2,253 cases (or 52.2% of the total sample). However, 445 of these (10.3% of the total) were single people recorded as a family of one. The nuclear families recorded range in size from 2 to 18, but cluster strongly around the 4 to 6 range. Thus, of those cases recorded here, 27.8% fell within the 2 to 3 range, 30.8% within the 4 to 6 range, 15.8% within the 7 to 8 range, and 10.3% within the 9 to 10 range. All of the values higher than 10 accounted for only 6% of those recorded. Again, in relation to these figures, it should be remembered that in some cases there would be a wife who was not counted.

Relationships (Variables 016-019): Table 10 (Appendix 3)

These four variables deal with the meagre information available on connections between families. Fifty one cases indicated that they had adult offspring who were settling separately. In 12 cases related nuclear families had emigrated with the petitioners. Twenty nine cases had been preceded by related nuclear families, and seven cases expected related nuclear families to follow them. The absolute number of those who mention accompanying, preceding, or following related families is, of course, extremely small, but does provide some indication of the existence of a factor which was probably quite prevalent but not often considered pertinent to the

purpose of a petition for land.

Geographical Origins (Variables 020-023): Tables 11-14 (Appendix 3)

General Areas (Table 11)

The categories devised for this variable are based on designations occurring in the original documents, and reflect the tendency not to be specific concerning origins since the majority of petitioners gave only one of these general designations. The counts recorded here also include those who did specify a county, parish or island of origin, each case being assigned an appropriate area designation, and these latter, more specific designations will be more suitable for detailed consideration.

Counties (Table 12)

The county of origin is known for 952 (22.1%) of the cases, and again those who gave a parish or island of origin have been included in the appropriate county. The range of counties represented is interesting - 28 out of a total of 33. The five counties not represented - Clackmannan, Kinross, West Lothian, Peebles and Selkirk - are all in the eastern section of the central and southern Lowlands, but in general almost every area of Scotland is represented. Nevertheless, there is a very heavy contribution from the northwest. In round figures, and discounting the three cases from Orkney and Shetland, 80% of those giving a county of origin came from the western Highlands and the extreme north, 10% came from the eastern Highlands, and 10% came from the central and southern Lowlands.

Inverness is by far the dominant county in the first group, and overall accounts for 42.0% of all those whose county of origin is known. Sutherland is next within this group with 14.0%, followed by Ross (8.4%), Argyll (6.9%), and Caithness (1.8%). Moreover, 6.2%

consisted of various groups of people who gave combinations of the three counties, Inverness, Ross and Sutherland as their origin.

Within the second group absolute numbers are extremely small compared to those of the first group, but the prominence of Perth, Aberdeen and Banff is noteworthy. These three counties accounted for 3.5%, 2.3% and 2.2% respectively of those recorded under this variable. The four other northeastern counties represented - Angus, Kincardine, Moray and Nairn - each contributed only a very few individuals.

The total count for the third group is almost the same as that for the second, but encompasses 13 counties. Of these, Dumfries (2.8%), Ayr (1.8%), and Lanark (1.1%) were the leading contributors. The other 10 counties in this group (Berwick, Dunbarton, East Lothian, Fife, Kirkcudbright, Wigton, Midlothian, Renfrew, Roxburgh and Stirling) each accounted for 0.1% to 0.9% of the total (or 1 to 9 individuals). Within this group the concentration in western counties is also noteworthy - 7.9% as opposed to 1.9% for the eastern counties.

Western Isles (Table 13)

Eighty cases indicated an origin somewhere in the Western Isles, ranging from Lewis to Bute. Again, although the numbers are very small, the distribution is wide and by no means even. Of the 80 recorded, 59 (73.75%) were from the Outer Hebrides, including 31 (38.75%) from Barra alone. Rum, Eigg and Canna (of the Small Isles parish) accounted for 13 (16.25%), while, of the remaining islands, Skye and Mull provided 2 each, and Islay, Tiree, Arran and Bute provided 1 each.

Parishes (Table 14)

A parish of origin was named by 150 cases, and a total of 40

parishes were recorded. It should be noted that these are all mainland parishes since declared islanders were recorded only according to the particular island. Moreover, the urban areas which actually consisted of several parishes have been treated as though they were each in fact only one parish. Obviously, such detailed information as parish of origin is extremely rare, and the resulting sample constitutes only 3.5% of the total number of cases. Nevertheless, it may be noted that the distribution agrees in general with that of the recorded counties of origin, that is, a wide geographic spread with marked clusterings. The 40 parishes represented may be considered as four area clusterings with several outliers.

The first group consists of six parishes (Craignish, Ardnamurchan, Glenelg, Cairloch, Lochbroom and Assint) located along the northwest coastline from Argyll to Sutherland. Sixty seven of the 150 who declared a parish came from these six parishes.

Included in the second group are four parishes (Kilmalie, Kilmarivaig, Urquhart and Kiltarlity) which lie along the line of the Great Glen. Twenty five (17%) of the 150 cases came from this area.

The third group consists of 10 parishes (Lairg, Dornoch, Cromarty, Contin, Kilmorack, Kirkhill, Inverness, Croy, Forres and Elgin) situated around the Dornoch, Cromarty and Moray Firths. This group accounted for 17 (12%) of the 150 cases.

Fourteen parishes (Ratray, Dundee, Perth, Blackford, Aberfoyle, Tulliallan, Falkirk, Edinburgh, Haddington, Greenock, Cardross, Renfrew, Paisley and Glasgow) form a fourth group, which is located within a broad belt running across the central Lowlands and along the southern edge of the Highland Line. Of the 150 cases, 33 (22%) came from this area.

The outliers are Thurso in the extreme north (1 case), Aberdeen on the east coast (3 cases), and Ballantrae, Annan and Sprouston in the

extreme south (1 case each).

This distribution does not reflect the very strong clustering in the northwest revealed by the county data. However, although only a minority of the parishes represented are located in the northwest, in terms of numbers of petitioners the first two groups account for 62% of the total 150. Within the general area of the northwest, and particularly in the case of Inverness-shire, the occurrence of a number of parishes around the east coast indicates that emigration from this area to Nova Scotia was not exclusively from the west coast, although the sample cannot give an indication of the relative strength of the various localities.

Again, a considerable number of urban parishes are represented in the fourth group, and some of these urban parishes account for a large proportion of certain Lowland county counts. Thus, Dundee accounted for 4 of the 5 recorded for Angus, Edinburgh accounted for 6 of the 9 recorded for Midlothian, Falkirk accounted for 2 of the 6 recorded for Stirling, Glasgow accounted for 8 of the 10 recorded for Lanark, and Greenock, Renfrew and Paisley accounted for 5 of the 7 recorded for Renfrew. In contrast, in the case of counties with highland areas, Aberdeen provided 3 of a total of 22 from Aberdeen-shire, while Perth provided 1 of 33 from Perthshire. Inverness-shire, of course, provides the greatest contrast, with only 1 from the town of Inverness. The latter figure may be an underestimate since "Inverness", as opposed to "Inverness-shire", was commonly used as a county designation. Nevertheless, the almost exclusive contribution of rural areas in the north is only as might be expected.

Occupation in Scotland (Variable 024): Table 15 (Appendix 3)

An occupation in Scotland is recorded for a total of 60 cases, 24 occupations being represented. This variable should be compared with occupations in Nova Scotia (Variable 042). In general, the

distinction is an arbitrary one since it was usual to state only a particular occupation without specifying whether it was followed in Scotland, Nova Scotia, or both. The present designation consists largely of newly arrived immigrants whose stated occupation may be assumed to pertain to residence in Scotland prior to emigration. In dealing with both variables concerned with occupation, categories were devised based on the terminology used in nineteenth century emigration lists, with modifications to conform to local circumstances.

Thirteen of the occupations recorded are crafts - blacksmith, carpenter, cooper, joiner, millwright, shoemaker, shipwright, stonemason, tanner, tailor, weaver, textile worker and watchmaker. With such possible exceptions as the textile workers and the shipwright, these occupations do not suggest industrial backgrounds, and traditional skills such as those of the blacksmith, carpenter, cooper and millwright were among the most important in the context of the pioneer settlement of Nova Scotia.

Two of the occupations - fisherman and sailor - have a marine orientation, and the 16 cases recorded in these categories may be a reflection of the heavy contribution of the northwest coastal area towards the emigration to Nova Scotia.

Agricultural pursuits are represented by a shepherd, an estate manager, and two farmers, the latter being men of declared skill and substance in contrast to the generality of smallholders.

The professions are represented by four physicians, two ministers and a teacher. Again, these were occupations for which there was a considerable demand in the new environment.

The remaining recorded occupations are accounted for by two civil servants, an emigration agent, and a shopkeeper.

Military Service (Variables 025-028): Table 16 (Appendix 3)

Thirty two cases recorded service in the navy, 165 recorded

service in the army, and 59 had served in militia regiments. Moreover, 20 of the cases indicated that they had been discharged in Nova Scotia. These figures cannot be used to determine the frequency of military service among Scottish immigrants, but they do record, in a fragmentary fashion, a factor which seems to have had an important role in the migratory movements between Scotland and Nova Scotia.

Dates of Emigration from Scotland and Immigration to Nova Scotia
(Variables 029-030): Tables 17-24 (Appendix 3)

Data pertaining to these variables were recorded in a variety of ways in the original documents, and this variability is in part the reason for the distinction between emigration and immigration. Where it was stated that emigration to Nova Scotia took place in a particular year that date was recorded under both date of emigration and date of immigration. Again, in the case of recently arrived immigrants the date of immigration was also recorded as the date of emigration. However, in cases where it was simply stated that emigration took place at a particular time and there was no information pertaining directly to the date of immigration to Nova Scotia, only the date of emigration was recorded. Similarly, in cases where it was only indicated that the petitioner had arrived in Nova Scotia in a particular year, only the date of immigration was recorded. In cases where there is information on previous migratory movement, both variables may be recorded, but the dates are likely to be different, reflecting the time lag between departure from Scotland and settlement in Nova Scotia. Thus, although the immigration data supplement the emigration data to a certain extent, they are, in general, complementary and may be expected to reveal similar trends.

In the general listing of frequencies, these two variables are displayed in a condensed format of five year groupings. In addition, a separate listing was made with each year recorded separately. The latter was also run for each of the two sub-files.

A date of emigration was recorded for 2,485 cases (57.69%). The corresponding figure for date of immigration was 1,397 (32.4%). When the sub-files are considered separately it appears that, in the case of the Nova Scotia General, the date of emigration was recorded for approximately two thirds of the cases, while in the case of the Cape Breton only one third of the cases had a similar record. The corresponding proportions for date of immigration are just over a third and a quarter.

The grouped frequencies of the two variables (Tables 17 and 18) reveal marked fluctuations which may be correlated with known historical events. There are indications of some settlement by Scots prior to 1770, but the record really begins in the early 1770s, a period of considerable emigration from Scotland, and one during which the first mass movement from Scotland to Nova Scotia occurred in 1773. Later in the 1770s, although still small, the figures for emigration show an increase, and are double those for immigration during the same period.

The emigration figures for the early 1780s show a continuing increase, but, in contrast, the immigration figures show an even greater increase, being about 25% more than the corresponding emigration figures. These differences are probably a reflection of a number of factors connected with the American Revolution to be considered below.

The figures in both tables indicate a continuation of the movement in the late 1780s, but at a slightly reduced rate. Then, in the early 1790s, there is evidence of a marked increase in emigration from Scotland to Nova Scotia, and this complements other

available evidence for a relatively large influx at this time. The numbers recorded for the remaining years of the 1790s are, however, very small. This period was, of course, the first phase of the French Revolutionary Wars and was, in general, one of greatly reduced emigration. On the other hand, the following period of 1800-04 coincided with the brief period of peace associated with the Treaty of Amiens, during which there was a vigorous renewal of emigration from Scotland. Available documentary evidence indicates that Nova Scotia was one of the principal destinations of this movement, and the numbers recorded for this period strongly suggest that this was indeed a period of large-scale Scottish emigration to Nova Scotia.

The two periods which encompass the following decade coincided with the Napoleonic Wars, and the recorded frequencies exhibit a marked decrease. Nevertheless, the numbers are considerably greater than those recorded for any of the periods prior to 1800. Therefore, they suggest that, although a state of war once again exerted a restrictive influence, there was a fairly strong continuation of the movement from Scotland to Nova Scotia. The years immediately following the cessation of hostilities in 1815 witnessed yet another resurgence of emigration from Scotland, and again the numbers recorded for the 1815-19 period may be considered a reflection of this development since they slightly surpass those for the 1800-04 period.

The figures for the early 1820s suggest that this trend continued, although at a reduced rate. After 1825 the data seem to be quite unrepresentative since they suggest that Scottish emigration to Nova Scotia ceased almost completely by the mid-1820s. There is sufficient other evidence to indicate that this was not the case, and the drastic decline of the numbers of emigrants recorded in the present data is very probably closely related to the substitution of land sales for the system of free land grants, a process which commenced in the late 1820s.

An inspection of the year by year count (Tables 19 and 20) provides a more refined view of the general trends observed in the grouped listing. The numbers recorded for the early 1770s are clustered around 1773 in both tables, most noticeably in the case of the immigration data. The emigration data for the 1775-79 period reveal that the figures relate predominantly to the year 1775, while both tables indicate that, in the 1780-84 period, the records relate overwhelmingly to the years 1783 and 1784, and particularly the latter. Although the figures in both tables are very small, they suggest a progressive decline during the 1785-89 period.

The individual counts for the 1790-94 period reveal a very strong clustering around the year 1791, and again, as in the early 1770s, this clustering is most marked in the immigration data. In both instances one reason for the dispersion around a particular year may be that in some cases the exact date was not remembered correctly, particularly when the petition was made at a date much later than the date of emigration. In addition, as in the case of 1773, there is independent evidence of a large influx in 1791.

The year of the outbreak of hostilities, 1793, is the first of a succession of single figure counts which extends to 1800. The great influx of the 1800-04 period is seen to be concentrated in the years 1801 to 1803, with progressively increasing numbers in the emigration table. Indeed, the 1803 figure is the highest total of all in the yearly emigration count. This was also the year in which hostilities commenced again, and the count for 1804 is the first of another series of diminished numbers lasting until 1814, although, as noted above, the flow does not seem to have been stemmed as effectively as in the 1790s.

The increased activity in the post-war period is immediately reflected in the figures for 1815, and the data suggest a steady

continuation of the movement into the early 1820s, with intermediate peaks in the years 1817 and 1820. A steady decline after 1820 is indicated by both tables but again, certainly by the mid-1820s, this decline is to be attributed principally to changes in the system of land distribution which would make it less likely that later immigrants would petition for grants of land.

There is very little useful information to be gleaned from a comparison of the figures for the separate sub-files (Tables 21-24) bearing in mind the much smaller size of the Cape Breton sub-file and the fact that the Nova Scotia sub-file includes Cape Breton data. However, it is interesting to note the relative strength of the period around 1820 in the Cape Breton data. This is as might be expected considering the generally later dates for the development of most of the Cape Breton settlements, and the fact that the island was annexed to Nova Scotia in 1820.

Types of Emigration and Reasons for Emigration (Variables 031-032): Tables 25 and 26 (Appendix 3)

These two variables were devised and coded to deal with the kind of information which would prove invaluable in a study of this nature. Unfortunately, such information was rarely given. Under variable 031 we have evidence from only three cases, one of which was unassisted, and two of which received assistance from a private organizer. Scottish emigration to Nova Scotia certainly did take a variety of forms, however, and other available evidence bearing on this question will be examined at a later stage. Under variable 032 we have the slightly more substantial, but still meagre, count of 34. One of these cases gave debt as the reason while the other 33 all cited clearance. These 33 were evicted tenants from Sutherland who arrived in Nova Scotia in 1815.

Previous Migration (Variables 033-036): Table 27 (Appendix 3)

A variety of sources indicate that the movement from Scotland to Nova Scotia was not always direct, and this section structures the pertinent information which can be extracted from the present data base.

Internal migration was an important factor in the general process of migration, and a hint of this is provided by three cases. Two of these had migrated within Scotland prior to crossing the Atlantic, while the other had moved within the British Isles.

Considerably more information is available concerning external migration prior to settlement in Nova Scotia. In all, 107 cases indicated an initial overseas move to a destination other than Nova Scotia. These destinations were as follows: Prince Edward Island (88 cases), other areas of British North America (9 cases), the United States (9 cases), and the West Indies (1 case). The predominance of Prince Edward Island is probably a reflection of its geographical position in relation to the major areas of Scottish settlement in Nova Scotia, and the fact that it was also an early destination for many Scottish emigrants.

Evidence of movement within Nova Scotia is provided by 98 cases, most of whom moved from the mainland to Cape Breton Island. To a great extent this too can be accounted for by the relatively later date of the settlement process in Cape Breton.

Dates of Documents (Variables 037-041): Tables 28-32 (Appendix 3)

The following data on the dates of various processes involved in the land acquisition system, again arranged in five year groups, serve to introduce the second broad division of the data, which pertains to the petitioners' circumstances in Nova Scotia. The important variables in this section are the dates of petition (4,301

cases - Table 28), warrant to survey (1,647 cases - Table 31), and grant (1,160 cases - Table 32). The licence was issued principally during the period when the regular land granting system was suspended and is mentioned in only four cases (Table 30). The ticket (121 cases - Table 29) was a device introduced in 1820, and intended as an interim document specifically for newly arrived immigrants. Its occurrence in the present data is therefore confined almost exclusively to the 1820-24 period.

The distribution of the petitions through time is marked by a pronounced clustering between 1805 and 1829, with a peak in the 1815-19 period. The very small frequencies prior to 1805 can probably be accounted for by the fact that land granting was suspended between 1790 and 1807, and also by the fact that, prior to 1800, immigration was apparently relatively slight. The greatly increased frequencies, 1805-14, may be largely the result of petitioning by arrivals of the previous two decades, once the land granting system was resumed in 1808. The even greater figures for the 1815-19 period may be explained by a continuation of this trend supplemented by petitions submitted by those involved in the heavy wave of post-war emigration.

The numbers petitioning in the 1820s almost equalled those of the previous decade, although a gradual decline from the 1815-19 peak is indicated. Again, the effects of the initial reorganization of the land distribution system in the late 1820s may be seen. In the 1830s the number of petitions was greatly reduced, and the following decade produced only 11 petitions. Other sources indicate substantial further immigration from Scotland in the late 1820s to early 1830s and again in the late 1830s. However, with the institution of a system of land distribution by sale, petitioners for grants after the late 1820s were almost exclusively immigrants who had resided in the province for some time, and who were usually

seeking confirmation of title.

The dates of warrants and grants may be considered together since the former was a necessary preliminary to the issuing of the latter. As in the case of the petitions, the distributions correspond closely to the policy changes relating to land distribution. However, in both instances the peaks occur slightly later in time, compared to the distribution of dates observed for the petitions, which is as might be expected. Both variables have, in fact, two discernible peaks: the periods 1815-19 and 1825-29. In each instance the 1825-29 period has the highest total of all. Again, the earlier peak may be viewed as a result of the response to the re-introduction of land grants reinforced by pressure from the increased flow of immigration. The second peak may be explained by increased activity during the period when the old system of land grants was being phased out.

Occupation in Nova Scotia (Variable 042): Table 33 (Appendix 3)

General considerations pertaining to this variable have already been discussed in connection with occupation in Scotland. An occupation in Nova Scotia was recorded for a total of 189 cases, with 36 occupations being represented. It should be noted that pioneering, the basic occupation of the great majority of immigrants, was not included.

Of particular interest is the large group of 36 who described themselves as merchants. Although some specified commodities such as lumber or fish, most used only the general designation. Four shopkeepers are also listed. Much of this commercial activity by immigrant Scots was based in Halifax, and several of the other recorded occupations reflect this trend, most notably those of baker, brewer, confectioner, and civil servant. The six occurrences of

stonemason and two of quarryman may also be considered in the urban context since stone working in the early nineteenth century was largely directed towards the construction of public buildings in Halifax.

The professions are represented by physicians, ministers and teachers, and the two latter vocations were of particular importance in the context of newly settled areas. Crafts such as that of the blacksmith, carpenter, miller, millwright, shoemaker and tailor, also key occupations in a pioneering milieu, are well represented in the sample.

The remainder of the list consists mostly of one or two occurrences each of a variety of diverse occupations. However, seven declared themselves to be fishermen, probably continuing an occupation previously pursued in Scotland; and another seven were involved in the organization of the emigrant trade. The two recorded instances of farmers represent individuals possessing agricultural expertise and resources. The single instance of lumberman is of interest since lumbering was apparently a predominantly part-time occupation, pursued in conjunction with agriculture.

Status of Petitioner in Nova Scotia (Variables 043-054):

Table 34 (Appendix 3)

The four cases recorded under variable 043, who stated that they had recently come of age, provide a very meagre sample of what must have been a fairly frequent occurrence when the emigration of family groups was apparently so common. The figures recorded for variable 004 (minor immigrants now of age) are a further manifestation of this phenomenon, and no doubt many of those could also be classified under the present variable, but only four specifically stated that they had just come of age.

The next three variables (044-046) suggest that, in some cases,

land acquisition was a secondary stage in the process of settlement. Accordingly, 11 employed and 7 unemployed labourers or craftsmen are listed under variable 044. The 38 urban residents recorded under variable 045 consist largely of Halifax-based individuals engaged in commerce or government administration, and it is likely that in many of these cases land was considered as an additional asset rather than as an opportunity for pioneer settlement. The occurrence of 40 tenants, as recorded under variable 046, indicates that some immigrants occupied land initially by this means before attempting to acquire land in their own right.

The various kinds of occupancy recorded are listed in the table for variable 047. It should be noted that data relating to this variable are only available for approximately 43% of the total sample. This is mainly due to the fact that it is frequently difficult to determine precise occupancy status from the wording of the petition. However, of those recorded, the great majority were settled in some way, only 105 (5.7%) having definitely declared themselves to be landless. A considerable proportion (47.4%) of those who were settled furnished no further details, and the largest group (26.2%) of those who did give more information stated that they were settled on land officially assigned to them. The remainder consisted of those who were settled on purchased land (10.5%), on land claimed by others (6.2%), on land belonging to a relative (2.7%), on unassigned crown land (1.0%), or on land abandoned by others (0.3%). The diversity of occupancy revealed by these figures indicates the complexity of the process of immigration and settlement.

This complexity is further illustrated by the data recorded under variables 048-054. The cases involved in these instances are ones in which property other than that requested is mentioned. Forty two cases indicated that they had abandoned other property, 23 that they had sold other property, 22 that they had purchased

other property, 20 that they occupied other property, 10 that they had been deprived of other property by official action, 1 that other property had already been granted, and 1 that other property had been given to an offspring.

Types of Petitions (Variables 055-059): Table 35 (Appendix 3)

The petitions fall into two broad categories - individual and communal - with the latter category exhibiting a variety of combinations. Since only 1,769 (41%) of the cases petitioned individually, the majority acted in cooperation with one or more others. Of these group petitioners, 114 petitioned with relatives who, in turn, have been subdivided into 42 offspring and 72 others. In terms of geographic connections, 927 cases petitioned with others from the same settlement, while another 291 acted with others from the same area. Connection by geographic origin is strikingly illustrated by the fact that 1,788 (or 41.5% of all cases) petitioned with fellow Scottish immigrants, including 27 instances where the others were from the same parish, 185 where they were from the same county, and 91 where they were from the same area (that is, the Highlands or Lowlands, etc.). In addition, 88 cases petitioned with representatives of other immigrant nationalities, while there were 471 instances of acting with a group having miscellaneous characteristics.

When considering these figures it should again be remembered that they cannot be accepted as complete since they only take account of those cases in which explicit details were provided, and the total sample doubtless contains other examples of the various group combinations. Nevertheless, the counts and distributions described suggest that it was commoner to act together than to act individually. They further indicate that, when acting together, there was a tendency to join with those from the same settlement or immediate

area, in particular with fellow Scots. These two tendencies are only as might be expected in a pioneer context, but they do provide valuable evidence concerning the development of communities of Scottish settlers.

Purpose of Petition (Variables 060-077): Tables 36-39 (Appendix 3)

The 18 variables in this section describe the general forms of request encountered, and the petitions may be grouped into five broad categories: those seeking land, those seeking confirmation of land already occupied, those seeking additional land, those seeking a new location, and those seeking the resolution of a dispute.

Of those simply seeking land (Table 36), 16 stated that they were attempting an initial settlement, 3 that they desired land as an additional asset, and 2 that they sought compensation, in the form of land, for the settlement of others. These last five cases are probably representatives of the groups involved in commerce and the emigrant trade, already identified. Eleven cases specified that they required land for farming purposes. Since, however, farming was the intended principal occupation of nearly all the applicants and was rarely specified, these few exceptions seem to suggest a group equipped to exercise specialized agricultural skills. Of equal interest are those who sought land for non-farming purposes. A total of 13 declared that they intended to erect a mill, 3 of them specifying a grist mill. Another 13 sought suitable locations to pursue the fishery. The remainder consisted of 3 who proposed commercial establishments, 4 seeking to pursue a trade or craft, and 1 who intended to undertake lumbering.

More substantial information is available on the designation of locations by applicants, by applicants, and the recorded figures reveal that it was usual for the petitioner to be quite specific in this respect: while 664 did not specify a desired location, 1,495

indicated a particular settlement, 100 indicated a district, and 82 indicated a county of their choice. Moreover, the data reveal that 239 of those seeking land requested lots abandoned by others.

In the second category, 1,475 specifically requested confirmation of land already occupied (Table 37). As noted above, it is often very difficult to determine from the wording of the petition whether or not the petitioner was actually occupying the land requested; the count, therefore, is incomplete, and with fuller information could be supplemented by cases recorded in the first category. However, of the 1,475 recorded, most (1,466) were acting alone, 8 were acting in association with relatives, and 1 case consisted of a group of heirs seeking confirmation of the paternal holding.

The information concerning those who sought additional land is structured similarly to that for those seeking land (Table 38). A variety of reasons were given for requesting additional land. Eleven cases cited an increase in family size, 4 cases wished to provide for adult offspring, and 21 claimed that the resources of their present holding were inadequate. Some cases also indicated a specific use intended for the additional land: one planned to undertake more extensive farming operations, while lumbering, fishing, and mill construction were each proposed by two cases. In addition, quarrying, commerce, and a trade or craft were each cited by one case. The location variable pertaining to additional land was recorded for 214 cases, and the distribution is very similar to that observed for those seeking land. While 38 did not specify a location, 158 specified a particular settlement, 16 specified a district, and 2 specified a county. In 5 cases the land requested was a lot abandoned by others. In this category, the high proportion specifying a settlement is as might be expected, since it would be usual to request a location in proximity to the land already held.

In the category involving those who were seeking a new location, 50 cases gave a reason for the request (Table 39). Of these, 45 considered that the resources of their original holding were inadequate, 3 wished to be settled in closer proximity to relatives or friends, and 2 desired a less isolated location. There were no instances recorded of a projected specific use for the new location. In terms of requested location, the majority again specified a particular settlement (55 out of 67 cases recorded). The remainder consisted of 3 who specified a county, 1 who specified a district, and 8 who did not specify a location. In 5 instances, the new location requested had been abandoned by others. In addition, 14 cases gave information concerning their present or previous holding: in 6 cases land had been relinquished to government in some way, in 4 cases land had been abandoned, in 2 cases land was still occupied, and in 1 case each land had been sold and given to an offspring.

Only two cases are recorded in the fifth category concerning those who were seeking the resolution of a dispute. However, these were cases in which this was the sole purpose of the petition. Disputes are mentioned in many other cases, but in the context of a request directed towards some form of land acquisition. In both cases listed here, the dispute had arisen as a result of an attempted division of family property.

Additional Information (Variables 078-096): Table 40 (Appendix 3)

As has already been stated, the diversity of information contained in the petitions necessitated a rather complicated coding format, and these 19 variables deal with the various forms of additional information and supporting data encountered.

The first three variables in this group are concerned with the availability of personal resources: 15 cases claimed agricultural expertise, while only 1 case indicated possession of adequate

equipment; in addition, 61 cases stated that they did not have financial resources, while only 3 stated that they did have financial resources.

The next five variables provide details relating to a variety of problems encountered during the process of settlement: 5 cases were tenants seeking land of their own because their leases had expired, and another 24 had been unable to find land which had not been already allocated. In addition, of those already settled, 2 cases were dissatisfied with their general location, 5 complained of the situation of their particular lot, and 46 indicated that the quality of their land was unsatisfactory.

The improvement of land allocated was a prerequisite for obtaining a grant, and the 10 variables, 086-095, record those cases which mention some aspect of this process. A total of 125 cases stated that they had undertaken improvements in general. Of those who gave more precise information, 61 declared that they had cleared land, 64 that they had built on their land, 10 that they had raised crops, and 3 that they had established stock. There were also a few instances of proposed improvement. These consisted of two who proposed general improvement, one who proposed building, and another who proposed the establishment of stock.

Finally, there were 17 who indicated that they were combining farming with some other occupation. Of these, 13 were involved in the operation of a mill: 5 were operating a grist mill, 5 were operating a saw mill, 1 was operating a combined saw and grist mill, and 2 did not specify a particular function. The remaining four cases were accounted for by two instances each of quarrying and commerce. As previously noted, the predominance of milling may be seen as a reflection of the key role it played in the pioneer context.

Result of Petition (Variable 097): Table 41 (Appendix 3)

This variable concerns the type of result achieved by the petitions, and the record is complete except for five cases which have been subject to coding errors. As is obvious from the coding format, the response to a petition could vary very widely, ranging from outright rejection to a regular progression through the stages leading to a grant. The existence of the appropriate documents in the records was the basis for the recording of cases under categories 6 and 7. The other categories were determined primarily on the basis of comments noted on the petitions.

In general, it may be observed that 75% of the petitions resulted in some form of approval or an actual grant, while only 25% were refused, postponed or ignored. Moreover, those who recieved a grant constituted the largest single group (26.8%). On the other hand, rejected petitions formed the smallest group (2.5%). Falling between these two extremes were those who received warrants to survey (14.2%), those whose application received approval (19.8%), those whose application was recommended for approval (14.0%), those whose application was set aside for further consideration (3.4%), and those for whom no response is recorded (19.1%).

Location in Nova Scotia (Variables 098-104): Tables 42-48 (Appendix 3)

The available information concerning the petitioners' locations in Nova Scotia is described by these seven variables, and the same coding was used for each variable. Categories 1 to 23 indicate large area units conforming to conventional political boundaries, and were used principally in those cases which provided only imprecise information, although in some instances a general designation such as a county might be employed by the petitioner. Similarly, official documents also used general designations, particularly when referring to a group of petitioners from the same general area.

In connection with these larger areas it should also be noted that the division of Nova Scotia into counties was a process which lasted from the mid-eighteenth to the mid-nineteenth centuries, involving additions, subdivisions and changing boundaries. For instance, the present Antigonish and Guysborough were originally united as Sydney County. Guysborough was established as a separate county in 1836 and the remaining portion of Sydney County was renamed Antigonish in 1863. In similar fashion, Pictou and Colchester, which were made counties in 1835, were originally districts of Halifax County. The use of these general area categories was determined by the wording of the petition: if Pictou District was specified, for example, then that designation (category 23) would be used; on the other hand, if the information was such that an area within the boundaries of Pictou County was indicated then the location would be recorded as category 16.

Numbers higher than 23 designate arbitrarily defined settlement areas. This was found to be the most convenient means of dealing with geographical terminology which was often very difficult to relate precisely to modern nomenclature. These arbitrarily defined areas vary in size and each incorporates a varying number of modern communities. However, in terms of the physiographic features, particularly river valleys and coastal areas, which formed the principal basis for their definition, they conform quite closely to the pattern of dispersed communities so common in rural Nova Scotia.

The seven variables record location at the time of petitioning and the location of land occupied, purchased, sold, requested, approved, and granted. Of these, locations requested and approved are the most frequently recorded, there being 4,203 valid cases (97.5%) for the former and 3,221 valid cases (74.7%) for the latter. The 1,156 cases for which locations of grants are recorded are also entered under the variable pertaining to locations approved, so that

variables 102 and 103 will be the most useful for a general analysis.

In particular, variable 102 (location requested - Table 46) provides an indication of the inclinations of individual immigrants, and, of those recorded, 70% specified a settlement area. Moreover, while every designated settlement area is represented among the requests, the clustering revealed by the table clearly indicates the major concentrations of Scottish settlement, together with a few, smaller outlying ones. In northern mainland Nova Scotia there is a concentration in the counties of Antigonish, Pictou and Colchester, with the largest clusters occurring on the East, West and Middle Rivers of Pictou (categories 35-39) and the Gulf Shore of Antigonish (category 44), the count being 265 and 123 cases respectively.

For the rest of mainland Nova Scotia numbers recorded for individual categories are generally very small, but several minor clusters are evident. The largest of these, comprising 60 cases, is along the St. Mary's River system (categories 56-58), followed in order of magnitude by the area of central Hants County formerly known as Douglas (category 75) with 29 cases, by the Musquodoboit Valley (category 60) with 22 cases, by the Digby area (category 72) with 18 cases, and by the Shelburne area (category 69) with 10 cases. Explanations for the occurrence of these outlying minor clusters may be found in the changing course of settlement policy after 1783 (to be reviewed below). However, the overwhelming impression gained from the portion of the table pertaining to the mainland is that of the predominance of the traditional area of Scottish settlement along the north shore.

With the exception of category 101 (Pictou Island) and category 103 (other than Nova Scotia), categories 82 to 104 refer to locations on Cape Breton Island. The frequency of relatively high counts reflects the strength of the movement of Scottish immigrants to the island during the early nineteenth century, and suggests the

widespread nature of Scottish settlement. However, there are indications of particularly dense concentrations along the west coast (493 cases are recorded under categories 83 to 86), and around the shores of the Bras d'Or Lakes (470 cases are recorded under categories 88, 94, 98 and 104).

Although the distribution of cases does cluster strongly around the traditional centres of Scottish settlement in the eastern mainland and on Cape Breton Island, the number of categories involved even in those regions is considerable. Therefore, for the purposes of comparison and more detailed analysis, it will probably prove advantageous to combine categories into area groupings. Consequently, 51 categories have been formed into 19 larger areas which will be used to condense crosstabulations into a more readily understandable format (Table 55, Appendix 4).

The table for variable 103 (location of land approved - Table 47) reveals a distribution very similar to that of variable 102, although counts generally tend to be smaller; this is largely a result of the existence of unsuccessful petitions. However, in some instances there is a very marked difference between the number requesting land and the number receiving approval - for example, in the case of category 36 (Middle River of Pictou) - indicating, perhaps, localized adverse circumstances.

The tables for variables 098 and 099 (location at time of petitioning and location of land occupied - Tables 42 and 43) also produce distributions which have trends similar to those apparent in the case of variable 102. However, the valid cases recorded for these two variables are only 2,008 (46.5%) and 1,669 (38.7%) respectively. As noted previously, it is frequently uncertain whether or not the land referred to in a petition was actually occupied by the petitioner, and similar difficulties were encountered in connection with the closely related matter of the petitioner's location. These

factors are mainly responsible for the consistently lower counts, particularly noticeable among the Cape Breton categories.

One hundred and ninety nine cases (variable 100) mentioned that land had been purchased by the petitioner (Table 44). The distribution is quite widespread and, since only a small number of cases is involved, it consists mainly of single digit counts. The only exceptions, apart from one of the general categories, are categories 41 and 44 (Merigomish and the Gulf Shore of Antigonish) which had 11 cases and 15 cases respectively. There is no pronounced clustering to be observed among the individual counts. However, if they are grouped together very broadly, they reveal a concentration in the traditional areas of Scottish settlement: of the 169 cases in which a settlement area was specified, 66 pertained to Cape Breton, 76 to the north shore of the mainland, and 27 to other areas of mainland Nova Scotia.

The figures available for land sold (variable 101 - Table 45) are even more meagre, there being only 18 cases recorded. Of these, 7 referred only to general locations, 4 referred to Cape Breton, 3 to the north shore, and 4 to other areas of mainland Nova Scotia.

The table for variable 104 (location of land granted - Table 48) yields evidence of 1,156 cases (27%) having received a grant. However, this does not preclude the possibility of cases with incomplete processes actually having received a grant for which no ancillary documents have survived. It should be observed that in 45.8% of the cases recorded under this variable reference was made only to a general location. This is largely explained by the fact that, particularly in communal grants, it was more common to designate a county or district in the general description since the grantees were not necessarily all of the same settlement.

Nevertheless, although the count is considerably less than that for location requested or approved, the same general clustering

tendencies are apparent, with principal concentrations along the north shore of the mainland and on Cape Breton Island. Indeed, category 23 (Pictou District) accounted for 20.5% of the cases recorded and, when added to the counts for individual settlement areas in Pictou County (categories 30-43), reveals that 32.8% of the grants were located in that county alone. The particularly low counts for Cape Breton settlement areas are probably a reflection of the scarcity of grants on that island prior to its annexation to Nova Scotia in 1820.

Amounts of Land (Variables 105-110): Tables 49-54 (Appendix 3)

Variables 105-110 deal with amounts of land, and the structuring is almost identical to that used for the variety of information on locations just considered. Thus, the six variables record amount of land occupied, purchased, sold, requested, approved and granted. Of these, variable 109 (amount approved) has by far the highest count, with 2,141 valid cases (or 49.6% of the total sample); again, as in the previous group of variables, this number includes the 1,107 cases which have a record of the amount of land granted (variable 110).

Identical categories, consisting of 50 acre ranges, were used for each of the variables. This incorporated all occurring values in a manageable form, although round figures (for example 100, 200, 250 acres) are most frequently encountered. The apportioning of land will be considered in detail below. However, for the purposes of a preliminary assessment of the present data, it may be noted that during the 1807-27 period the normal allowable maximum allocation was 500 acres to any individual, with 100 acres being the standard allowance for an individual, to be supplemented by 50 acres for each resident child. As the system developed, however, the standard allocations became 100 acres for a single person and 200 acres for a married person.

Amounts of land approved ranged from less than 50 acres to 1,000 acres and over (Table 53). However, very small and very large amounts were rare, and 97.5% of the recorded cases fell within the 100 to 500 acre ranges, with the 200-49 acre range being the most frequently occurring value (43.0%), followed by the 100-49 acre range (21.1%). The 150-99 acre range accounted for 6.1%, the 250-99 acre range for 6.9%, and the 300-49 acre range for 7.5%. The ranges higher than 349 acres had considerably reduced counts, with the notable exception of the 500-49 acre range, which accounted for 5.8%. When considered separately, the available figures for amounts granted (Table 54) produce an almost identical distribution: the 100-49 acre range accounts for 16.5% of the recorded cases, the 200-49 acre range for 45.1%, and the 500-49 acre range for 6.4%.

Only 412 valid cases, or 9.6% of the total sample, were recorded under variable 108 (amount requested - Table 52). This very low count is largely due to the common practice of not specifying an exact amount of land in a petition which, in turn, was probably very often a result of uncertainty as to amounts involved. Nevertheless, the distribution produced by the available figures provides an interesting comparison with that for amounts approved. Again, very high and very low amounts were rare, but the distribution within the 100 to 500 acre ranges, while exhibiting the same general peaks, has quite different proportions for individual categories. While the 200-49 acre range was again the most frequently occurring value, it accounted for only 30.3% of the recorded cases, and was followed by the 500-49 acre range with 15.0%, by the 300-49 acre range with 11.4%, and by the 100-49 acre range with 10.7%. These variations from the pattern of amounts approved can perhaps be explained by a tendency to seek an amount in proportion to family size (as provided for in the Instructions of 1807) whereas, in terms of approval, the basic units of 100 and 200 acres were favoured.

Variable 105 (amount occupied - Table 49) has only 343 valid cases (or 8.0% of the total sample), a scarcity which further reflects the kind of problems encountered in dealing with the related variable in connection with location. Again, however, a generally familiar distribution is revealed, with the 100-49 and 200-49 acre ranges occurring most frequently; the former accounts for 30.0% of the recorded cases and the latter for 24.5%. These were followed by the 300-49 acre range with 8.2%, the 500-49 acre range with 7.6%, and by the 250-99 acre range with 7.0%. Each of the other categories accounted for less than 5%, with very high and very low values having the smallest counts.

The information available on amounts bought and sold (variables 106 and 107 - Tables 50 and 51) is very sparse, the former having 51 valid cases, and the latter 11. Of the cases recorded under variable 106, the amounts in 38 cases were less than 350 acres, with 12 in the 100-49 acre range, 9 in the 200-49 acre range, 5 in the 300-49 acre range, 4 in the 250-99 acre range, 3 each in the 150-99 and 50-99 acre ranges, and 2 in the 1-49 acre range. Of the 13 cases who purchased more than 350 acres, no less than 8 were in the 500-49 acre range, while the remaining 5 were distributed singly among categories ranging from 400 to 1,000 or more acres. The 11 cases recorded under variable 107 (land sales) consisted of 4 in the 1-49 acre range, 4 in the 300-49 acre range, and 1 each in the 100-49, 250-99 and 500-49 acre ranges.

Crosstabulations

The following crosstabulations (relating principally to dates, areas of origin and areas of settlement) involve relatively high proportions of the total sample and may be expected to provide valuable supplementary information relating to the respective variables.

When dealing with locations in Nova Scotia, those requested have been selected for analysis since they consistently involve the highest proportion of cases in each context, while the respective data concerning locations approved yield similar distributions relating to lesser counts. In addition, the data relating to Nova Scotia locations has been divided into four areas (Pictou County, Antigonish County, other mainland, and Cape Breton) for general comparative purposes, particularly when widely distributed large counts are involved. With respect to this division it should be noted that category 12 (Sydney County) has been treated as though it were synonymous with Antigonish County, although some of the cases involved may in fact have referred to the section of Sydney County which later became Guysborough County. However, it is probably a fair assumption that most of these Scottish petitioners referred to the areas of concentrated Scottish settlement within the Antigonish County area.

County in Scotland and Location Requested in Nova Scotia:

Table 56 (Appendix 4)

The distribution by county of the 919 cases involved in this crosstabulation is almost identical to that revealed by the frequency count for the counties. The counties in the western and northern Highland group are by far the most frequently occurring, with 385 cases (41.9%) from Inverness, 130 (14.1%) from Sutherland, 76 (8.3%) from Ross, 61 (6.6%) from Argyll, and 17 (1.8%) from Caithness.

Within this group the Inverness cases have the most general distribution within Nova Scotia, which might be expected from the very large count. However, they are concentrated within the principal areas of Scottish settlement, with 31.0% requesting locations in Cape Breton, 28.3% requesting locations in Antigonish County, and 22.2% requesting locations in Pictou County. A location

was not specified by 16.9%, and only 1.6% specified other mainland locations.

The Sutherland examples suggest a more marked concentration within the area of Pictou County, which accounted for 43.9% of the recorded cases. Moreover, while a much higher proportion (39.2%) were not specific, it should be noted that there were no occurrences for the Antigonish County area, and Cape Breton locations received only 12.2% of the requests. Other mainland locations received the remaining 4.7%. The Ross cases are distributed very similarly to the Sutherland ones, although a lesser proportion (1.1%) were not specific, and a higher proportion (9.4%) requested other mainland locations: 51.3% indicated Pictou County locations, 14.3% indicated Cape Breton locations, and 3.9% indicated Antigonish County locations.

The Argyll evidence suggests yet another pattern since 57.5% of those from this county requested locations in Cape Breton, while Antigonish County and Pictou County accounted for 19.7% and 11.3% respectively. In addition, 1.7% requested other mainland locations, and 9.8% were not specific. The Caithness sample is very small but it is interesting to note that it does not include any requests for Pictou County locations. Of the 17 cases involved, 6 indicated Antigonish County locations, 5 indicated other mainland locations, 1 indicated a Cape Breton location, and 5 were not specific.

The seven counties in the eastern Highlands group have very small counts compared to most of those in the first group, there being a total of only 92 cases for the entire group. This total count consists of 28 who requested other mainland locations, 24 who requested Pictou County locations, 5 who requested Antigonish County locations, another 5 who requested Cape Breton locations, and 29 who were not specific. Consequently, the general impression gained is that Pictou County was the only area of traditional Scottish settlement particularly favoured by those from these counties.

This comprehensive view may be supplemented by individual consideration of the three eastern Highlands counties with the largest counts (Perth, Aberdeen and Banff). Out of respective totals of 32 and 22, Perth and Aberdeen both have high proportions of non-specific cases (11 and 13 respectively), but otherwise the former reveals a concentration in Pictou County (12 cases), with the Antigonish County, other mainland, and Cape Breton categories each mentioned in 3 cases. Aberdeen has 7 cases referring to other mainland locations, with Pictou County and Antigonish County being specified by 1 case each. Only 2 of the 20 Banff cases were non-specific. Of the remainder, 9 specified other mainland locations, 7 specified Pictou County locations, while Antigonish County and Cape Breton locations were specified by 1 case each.

Representing the contribution of the central and southern Lowlands, 13 counties provide evidence which corresponds fairly closely to that of the second group. Again, the total count for the group is relatively small (93), and it is distributed in a rather similar fashion: 29 specified other mainland locations, 28 specified Pictou County locations, 12 specified Cape Breton locations, 1 specified an Antigonish County location, and 23 were not specific. However, a detailed consideration of the three counties with the largest counts (Dumfries, Ayr and Lanark) indicates a certain amount of variation within the group: for example, in the case of Dumfries, 13 out of a total of 26 cases requested locations in Pictou County; the remaining 13 comprised 5 who requested other mainland locations and 8 who were not specific. In addition, of the 5 requests for other mainland locations, 4 referred to north shore locations to the west of Pictou County, while the fifth referred to southern Colchester County. Consequently, the Dumfries cases seem to have clustered very closely in and around Pictou County.

On the other hand, of the 17 Ayr cases, 6 specified Pictou

County locations, 4 specified other mainland locations, another 4 specified Cape Breton locations, and 3 were not specific. Moreover, in this instance the other mainland locations are fairly widely scattered. The 10 Lanark cases exhibit a similar trend, with even less of a concentration in Pictou County since only 1 case requested a Pictou County location, while 4 requested other mainland locations, 3 requested Cape Breton locations, and 2 were not specific. It may also be noted in connection with the Ayr and Lanark cases that, of the 6 Cape Breton occurrences, 3 referred to Isle Madame and 1 to Sydney, neither of which was an area of heavy Scottish settlement.

The three island counties - Bute, Orkney and Shetland - accounted for only five cases, two of which requested Cape Breton locations, and one each of which requested Pictou County, Antigonish County, and other mainland locations. Finally, the various combinations of Inverness, Ross and Sutherland refer almost exclusively to Pictou County locations, which accords well with the evidence of the individual Ross and Sutherland counts.

Island in Scotland and Location Requested in Nova Scotia:

Table 57 (Appendix 4)

Of the 79 cases recorded by this crosstabulation, 59 were from the Outer Hebrides, 13 were from the Small Isles parish, and the remaining 7 were from six other of the Western Isles ranging from Skye to Bute. Within the large group from the Outer Hebrides, 31 were from Barra, 19 were from Lewis and Harris, and 5 were from the Uists.

Considered together, the island cases yielded 49 requests for Cape Breton locations, 14 requests for Pictou County locations, 4 requests for Antigonish County locations, 3 requests for other mainland locations, and 9 requests were non-specific. However, separate consideration of Lewis and Harris (the northern Outer Hebrides), the

Uists and Barra (the southern Outer Hebrides), and the Small Isles reveals marked variations.

For example, of the 19 cases from Lewis and Harris, 11 specified Pictou County locations, 3 specified Cape Breton locations, 2 specified other mainland locations, 1 specified an Antigonish County location, and 2 were not specific. Moreover, the other mainland locations were on the north shore just to the west of Pictou County. In contrast, of the 36 cases from the uists and Barra, 30 referred to Cape Breton locations, 3 referred to Antigonish County locations, only 1 referred to a Pictou County location, and 2 were not specific. Of the 28 Cape Breton requests referring to specific settlement areas, 21 related to the central region and 7 related to the western region.

The distribution of the cases from the Small Isles (7 requested Cape Breton locations, 1 requested a Pictou County location, and 4 did not specify a location) is broadly similar to that of the group from the southern Outer Hebrides. However, the 6 specific Cape Breton locations cited are confined exclusively to the western region. The seven cases representing the remaining six islands have a fairly wide distribution with no marked clustering.

Parish in Scotland and Location Requested in Nova Scotia:

Table 58 (Appendix 4)

It is probably most useful to examine the data pertaining to the 148 relevant cases within the framework of the parish groupings employed in the discussion of their frequency distribution.

In the present context, the six northwest coast parishes of the first group provide an interesting contrast between the three southernmost and the three northernmost. For instance, Caignish, Ardnamurchan and Glenelg yielded 38 requests for Antigonish County locations, 7 requests for Cape Breton locations, and 3 requests which were non-specific. Ardnamurchan alone accounted for 42 of

of these 48 cases, and 29 of the 42 referred to the Gulf Shore of Antigonish, while 8 referred to other Antigonish County locations, and 5 to locations in western and southwestern Cape Breton. However, in the case of Gairloch, Lochbroom and Assynt, all the requests referred to Pictou County locations, with the exception of a non-specific example. Gairloch, with 16 cases, had by far the largest count; and, of these, 10 specified the Middle River of Pictou.

The four Great Glen parishes included in the second group reveal a similar division since the 4 cases from Kilmalie and Kilmanivaig all specified Antigonish County locations, while 7 of those from Kiltarlity and Urquhart referred to Pictou County locations.

The 10 northeastern parishes of the third group do not exhibit any marked clustering, although it should be noted that only two of the parishes have a count of more than one case. Out of a total of 16 cases, 6 requested Pictou County locations, 4 requested Antigonish County locations, a Cape Breton and another mainland location were requested by 1 each, and 4 were non-specific. However, it is perhaps noteworthy that 5 of the 6 Pictou County references were made by cases from the four parishes clustered at the head of the Moray Firth (Kilmorack, Kirkhill, Inverness and Croy), which are in close proximity to Kiltarlity and Urquhart parishes of the second group.

The 32 cases from the 14 Lowland parishes in the fourth group also reveal a fairly widespread distribution with no pronounced clustering, but again individual counts are mostly very small. The total comprises 11 who referred to other mainland locations, 7 who referred to Pictou County locations, 6 who referred to Cape Breton locations, 1 who referred to an Antigonish County location, and 7 who were not specific. The highest individual count is that for Glasgow, and it exhibits a diversity of locations which reinforces the general impression: 4 requested other mainland

locations, 2 requested Cape Breton locations, 1 requested a Pictou County location, and 1 was non-specific. Edinburgh and Dundee, the only other examples in this group with a count of more than 2 cases, have similarly wide distributions. Thus, the 4 specific Edinburgh requests referred to Cumberland County, Pictou County and Cape Breton locations, while the 3 specific Dundee requests referred to Pictou County, other mainland and Cape Breton locations.

Five of the eight cases from the five parishes in outlying areas did not specify a location. The remaining three specified other mainland and Cape Breton locations.

Date of Emigration and County in Scotland: Table 59 (Appendix 4)

The distribution of Scottish counties in terms of emigration date has been arranged to correspond to the broad geographic grouping which has been found convenient in other contexts. Inverness has, of course, the largest count (289 out of 704 cases), and has a continuous distribution from the early 1770s to the late 1820s, with marked peaks in the key periods already identified during consideration of the frequency distribution. The 1800-04 period has the highest single count, and indeed more than half of the Inverness cases recorded emigrated before 1805.

No other county has such an extensively continuous distribution of dates and, among the other counties of the western Highlands and extreme north, Ross alone has a distribution which bears some similarity to that of Inverness. For Ross, the range is actually slightly greater, extending from the early 1770s to the early 1830s, but there is a gap between the late 1770s and 1800. Again, the 1800-04 has the highest single count, but the majority of cases emigrated after 1804, although the 1815-19 period did not produce a peak as did the Inverness data. In fact, the 1805-09 and 1820-24 periods, with 11 cases each, ranked next to the 1800-04 period in

magnitude. Sutherland has a much more restricted distribution, ranging from the 1800-04 period to the 1820-24 period; the 1815-19 period has the highest single count, with the great majority of the cases having emigrated between 1815 and 1824. It is interesting to note that the lowest count recorded for Sutherland is that for the 1800-04 period, a circumstance which also occurs in the case of Argyll. The count for Argyll, although much smaller, has a range similar to that of Sutherland, and again the majority emigrated after 1815, with the 1820-24 period having the highest single count. Caithness has the smallest count in this group and also the most restricted distribution; with the exception of one emigrant in the 1820-24 period, all of the recorded cases emigrated during the 1815-19 period.

In the eastern Highlands group, Perth has the highest total count and the most extended range of dates, ranging continuously from 1800 to the late 1820s, with one additional case occurring in the 1790-94 period. The highest single count occurs in the 1800-04 period and the 1815-19 period has the next highest. The other six counties in this group - Aberdeen, Banff, Angus, Kincardine, Moray and Nairn - all have more restricted distributions. Indeed, out of a total of 50 cases recorded for these counties, 27 fell within the 1815-19 period and 17 within the 1810-14 period. The exceptions are one case in the 1780-84 period, two in the 1805-09 period, and three in the 1820-24 period.

In the third group, encompassing the central and southern Lowlands, 11 of the 13 counties yielded cases with reported dates of emigration, the exceptions being Dunbarton and East Lothian, and the distribution is rather similar to that observed for the eastern Highlands group. There is a pronounced clustering around the 1815-19 period, which has the highest single count (23 cases), followed in order of magnitude by the 1820-24 period (20 cases), and the 1810-14

period (13 cases). Only 5 and 3 cases respectively were recorded for the 1805-09 and 1800-04 periods. Of the 4 cases which emigrated prior to 1800, 1 fell within the 1790-94 period, 2 within the 1770s, and 1 within the 1750-54 period. Dumfries has the highest count in this group, and the distribution of its cases serves to emphasize the importance of the post-1815 era since 14 of 24 emigrated during the 1820-24 period, followed by 6 in the preceding 1815-19 period, with 1 each in the 1800-04 and 1775-79 periods.

Date of Emigration and Island in Scotland: Table 60 (Appendix 4)

Forty five cases are recorded for which both an island of origin and a date of emigration are known and, although the total count is very small, some marked variations are noticeable. Among the islands of the Outer Hebrides, 15 cases are recorded for Lewis and Harris (12 of which emigrated before 1815) while 17 cases were recorded for Barra and the Uists (14 of which emigrated after 1814). In the latter instance, the highest single count is that for the 1825-29 period, which is also the only period after 1814 in which cases from Lewis and Harris occur. Of the 8 cases from the Small Isles, 4 emigrated during the 1810-14 period, and 1 each emigrated during the 1780-84, 1790-94, 1805-09 and 1825-29 periods. Finally, one case each was recorded for Skye, Mull, Tiree and Arran, and all of these emigrated during the 1815-19 period.

Date of Emigration and Parish in Scotland: Table 61 (Appendix 4)

A total of 108 cases gave information on parish of origin and date of emigration. These were distributed among 29 of the 40 parishes recorded in the present data.

Fifty eight cases came from the northwest coast group of parishes, and, of these, 46 emigrated before 1805 (30 falling within the 1790-94 period and 16 within the 1800-04 period). These were

These were followed by 8 in the 1805-09 period, 3 in the 1815-19 period, and 1 in the 1820-24 period. These figures are, of course, weighted by the 35 cases from Ardnamurchan (29 of which emigrated during the 1790-94 period, 4 during the 1800-04 period, and 2 during the 1805-09 period.

The Great Glen group of parishes yielded 16 cases, 10 of which occurred within the first decade of the nineteenth century. Of the remainder, 2 emigrated during the 1775-79 period and 4 during the 1815-19 period. Although the numbers are very small, the impression gained is again that of relatively early emigration, with 9 falling within the 1800-04 period.

Only 11 cases were recorded for the third group of parishes located around the Dornoch, Moray and Cromarty Firths, and the distribution by date is quite scattered, ranging from 1775-79 to 1815-19. Although meagre, the evidence does nevertheless suggest relatively early emigration since 8 of the 11 emigrated before 1805, including 5 who emigrated in the 1770s and 1780s. The remaining 3 emigrated during the second decade of the nineteenth century.

The Lowland parishes of the fourth group, with a total of 19 cases, also produced a fairly scattered distribution, but one which suggests relatively late emigration since 14 of the 19 cases emigrated after 1804, with the 1815-19 period having the highest single count (7 cases). The earlier emigrants in this group fell within the 1800-04 period (4 cases) and the 1790-94 period (1 case).

Date of Emigration and Location Requested in Nova Scotia:

Table 62 (Appendix 4)

A total of 2,409 cases were involved in this crosstabulation. The distribution by date of emigration produces counts which are almost identical to those recorded for the frequency distribution of emigration dates, since nearly all the cases which recorded a date of

emigration are represented here.

The counts for the periods prior to 1790 are all small, and they yield very similar distributions. For instance, Pictou County is prominent throughout (69 out of a total of 140 cases), while other mainland locations were the next most common occurrences among those who were specific (27 cases). There were only 9 requests for Cape Breton locations and 4 for Antigonish County locations.

The relatively large count for the 1790-94 period (114 cases) produced a quite different distribution: 41.3% requested locations in Antigonish County, 33.4% requested Cape Breton, 12.4% requested Pictou County, 6.2% requested other mainland locations, and 7.0% were non-specific. The count for the succeeding 1795-99 period is very small (22 cases), with 9 cases referring to Cape Breton locations, 3 each to Pictou County and Antigonish County locations, and 5 being non-specific.

The first substantial count (596 cases) occurs for the 1800-04 period, and the distribution provides a contrast to that for the 1790-94 period. Locations in Pictou County are by far the most frequently occurring since they account for 58.0% of the total (Cape Breton locations account for 14.7%, Antigonish County locations for 7.7%, other mainland locations for 5.5%, and unspecified locations for 14.1%). In addition, it should be noted that the Cape Breton requests are concentrated in the western districts, in contrast to those relating to the 1790-94 period which were more evenly distributed.

The following period, 1805-09, has a considerably reduced count (259 cases), but the distribution is quite similar to that just discussed (39.5% requested locations in Pictou County, 26.9% requested Cape Breton, 11.6% requested Antigonish County, 9.1% requested other mainland locations, and 13.5% were non-specific. Pictou County

locations continued to dominate, but proportions for the other general areas all increased. Cape Breton registered the largest increase, and the western districts of the island continued to be most favoured.

The count for the 1810-14 period (213 cases), although approximating the preceding one, produced a rather different distribution. The main variation is that 35.2% did not specify a location, while 26.1% referred to Cape Breton locations, 23.8% to other mainland locations, 11.8% to Pictou County locations, and 3.3% to Antigonish County locations. Consequently, it would seem that increasing attention continued to be paid to Cape Breton, and the detailed counts reveal that the western districts continued to be most frequently requested. However, the most remarkable aspect of the distribution for this period is the greatly increased proportion requesting other mainland locations.

The 1815-19 period has the highest single count (622 cases) and a relatively even distribution. Once more a high proportion (35.9%) were non-specific, while 19.0% requested Cape Breton locations, 16.2% requested Pictou County, another 16.2% requested Antigonish County, and 13.0% requested other mainland locations. Again, the Cape Breton requests related primarily to the western districts and, among the other mainland locations, it should be noted that the northern Colchester County settlements (immediately west of Pictou County) begin to come into prominence.

In the 1820-24 period, out of a total of 376 cases, Cape Breton again received the highest proportion of specific requests (26.3%), while 18.9% referred to Pictou County, 15.1% to other mainland locations, 14.0% to Antigonish County, and 26.1% were non-specific. Among the Cape Breton locations, it should be observed that the emphasis shifts from the western to the central districts; among the other mainland locations it is noteworthy that northern Colchester

County locations are in the majority.

The 1825-29 period yields a greatly reduced count (59 cases) which reveals a predominance of requests for Cape Breton locations. The latter accounted for 62.9% of the total, with a fairly even distribution throughout the island, while Antigonish County locations accounted for 15.3%, other mainland locations for 8.2%, Pictou County locations for 3.4%, and 10.2% were non-specific. This trend is further emphasized by 8 cases relating to the 1830-34 period: 5 referred to Cape Breton locations, 1 to a northern Colchester County location and 1 was non-specific.

In the case of particular Pictou County settlement areas, the figures suggest a preponderance of relatively early dates: pronounced peaks consistently occur in the 1800-04 period, and a considerable number fall within the pre-1800 phase. Among Antigonish County examples, the Gulf Shore has a similar distribution, with a very marked peak in the 1790-94 period. However, other Antigonish County examples have distributions which suggest relatively later dates, with the majority of cases in each instance having emigrated after 1814. This trend is even more pronounced in the case of northern Colchester-Cumberland.

Of the remaining other mainland locations listed, both the St. Mary's and Musquodoboit river valleys have extended distributions with later dates being more dominant; the Digby cases cluster strongly between 1805 and 1814; and the Douglas cases have four distinct foci, each corresponding to a known period of heavy Scottish emigration.

The Cape Breton examples have, generally, extended distributions and one, in particular, has a peak in the 1800-04 period. However, there are relatively few early dates recorded, compared to the groups just discussed and the Pictou County groups, and the figures recorded for the 1815-19 and later periods are proportionately much more

substantial than the figures for other areas (with the exception of the Antigonish County and northern Colchester-Cumberland examples already mentioned).

Date of Petition and County, Island and Parish in Scotland:

Tables 63-65 (Appendix 4)

Table 63 has been laid out to correspond with Table 59 (date of emigration and home county). The number of cases included is larger (936), and the range of dates is more restricted since all but 13 of these petitions were dated after 1804. However, the figures tend to complement those recorded in Table 59, with the respective peaks generally occurring at later dates in the present instance. The one noticeable exception is Argyll, but there is a very wide discrepancy between the figures for date of emigration and date of petition pertaining to it. Nevertheless, it does suggest that a considerable number of the Argyll emigrants who did not give a date of emigration did, in fact, form part of the earlier emigration movements.

Essentially similar observations may be made concerning Table 64, which deals with island of origin. The evidence is generally compatible with that displayed in Table 60, although again there is something of a discrepancy in one column: while the figures in Table 64 support the assumption of a relatively late focus for the emigration from Barra, the occurrence of 11 petitions before 1815 (5 of them before 1805) suggests rather more strongly that emigration extended over a lengthy time period in this case.

The distributions relating to Scottish parishes (Table 65) also tend to concur with the evidence of the corresponding table for date of emigration (61). In the present context, the strong clustering exhibited by the three Highland parishes with the highest counts (Ardnamurchan, Gairloch and Urquhart) may again be contrasted with

the dispersed distribution exhibited by the figures for Glasgow, the Lowland parish with the highest count.

Date of Petition and Location Requested in Nova Scotia:

Table 66 (Appendix 4)

The data provided by this crosstabulation serve as a useful supplement to that provided by date of emigration and location requested (Table 62). The record includes almost the entire sample (4,190 cases), and again the date distribution is rather different due to the effects of official policy on the timing of petitions.

Counts for the periods prior to 1805 are, therefore, very low. However, the predominance of Pictou County locations is again evident since they account for 43 out of a total of 74 requests. Of the remainder, 13 requested Cape Breton locations (predominantly in the western districts), 7 requested other mainland locations, and 11 were non-specific. It is noteworthy that there were no requests for Antigonish County locations.

The 515 petitions of the 1805-09 period also included a high proportion of requests for Pictou County locations (63.4%), followed by Antigonish County locations (15.9%), other mainland locations (11.2%), Cape Breton locations (5.0%), and non-specific locations (4.9%). This first appearance of Antigonish County requests related overwhelmingly to the Gulf Shore, while the relatively few Cape Breton requests were quite evenly distributed. The 558 petitions of the following period (1810-14) were differently distributed. A much higher proportion (22.4%) were non-specific, while 34.8% referred to Cape Breton locations, 24.7% referred to Pictou County locations, 12.3% referred to other mainland locations, and 6.5% referred to Antigonish County locations. Although many more cases were non-specific, the evidence strongly suggests a marked proportional decrease in requests for Pictou County locations

together with a corresponding increase in requests for Cape Breton locations. In this instance, the Cape Breton figures suggest a slight balance in favour of the western districts, while Antigonish County requests refer principally to settlements other than the Gulf Shore.

The count for the 1815-19 period (1,159 cases) is the highest of all, and more than double that for each of the two preceding periods. The observed distribution may be seen as a continuation of the trend identified for the immediately preceding period: 41.4% referred to Cape Breton locations, 12.5% referred to Pictou County locations, 10.3% referred to Antigonish County locations, 8.8% referred to other mainland locations, and 26.9% were non-specific. Again, the Antigonish County requests referred mainly to settlements other than the Gulf Shore, but the Cape Breton requests were almost evenly divided between the western and other districts.

The count for the 1820-24 period (914 cases) is next in order of magnitude and has a very similar distribution (46.5% requested locations in Cape Breton, 13.3% requested Antigonish County locations, 8.8% requested Pictou County locations, 10.6% requested other mainland locations, and 20.4% were non-specific). However, there are some variations in detail, for example, the occurrence for the first time of a considerable number of requests for northern Colchester County locations, which accounts for almost a quarter of the other mainland requests. Moreover, the Cape Breton requests were now more directed towards the central and eastern districts.

The 1825-29 period (687 cases) has a distribution which, in some respects, differs markedly from that of the preceding period. Although Cape Breton requests account for approximately the same proportion (47.7%), the Antigonish County and non-specific requests are considerably reduced (7.1% and 6.7% respectively), while the Pictou County and other mainland requests are increased, the former

very markedly (24.5%) and the latter moderately (13.5%). Although widely distributed, the Pictou County requests are concentrated on the East River and in the settlements to the east of it. Among the other mainland locations, the prominence of the northern Colchester County settlements should be noted since they account for nearly half of the occurrences in this group. The Cape Breton figures again suggest a primary concern with the central and eastern districts, as opposed to the formerly dominant western districts.

For the 1830-34 period the count is greatly reduced (168 cases), and it reveals a very high proportion of Cape Breton requests (88.3%); other mainland, Antigonish County and Pictou County locations account for only 4.8%, 3.0% and 1.2% respectively, while 3.0% did not specify a location.

The remaining three periods - 1835-39, 1840-44 and 1845-49 - can be considered collectively since, out of a total of 115 cases, all but two referred to Cape Breton. Of the two exceptions, one referred to the St. Mary's River and the other was non-specific. Moreover, among the Cape Breton requests after 1830, there is a continuation of the apparent trend towards the central and eastern districts. Therefore, in total, the present data provide evidence of an emphasis which moved through time from an initial focus around Pictou County to a final focus centred on Cape Breton Island.

Among the mainland settlements, in particular those of Pictou County, there is a fairly consistent dominance of relatively early dates. However, there are notable exceptions, for example northern Colchester-Cumberland, which have a majority of relatively late dates. Again, the Cape Breton requests are quite widely distributed through time, but the trend is towards consistently later dates as compared to most of the mainland settlements.

Date of Grant and Location of Grant: Table 67 (Appendix 4)

This crosstabulation (1,152 relevant cases) concurs quite closely with the evidence relating to petition dates just discussed. The earliest grants recorded are two for land at Digby, issued during the 1800-04 period. Immediately thereafter, the 1805-09 period yielded only 10 grants (6 related to Pictou County locations, 3 to other mainland locations, and 1 to an Antigonish County location).

The 1810-14 period yielded a greatly increased count of 139 grants, reflecting the effects of the reintroduction of the land granting system during the preceding period. Of this total, 46.1% related to Antigonish County locations, 29.5% related to Pictou County locations, 23.6% related to other mainland locations, and 0.7% were non-specific. Both the Pictou County and other mainland cases were quite widely and evenly distributed, but the Antigonish County cases were concentrated in the Gulf Shore settlement.

Of the 218 cases pertaining to the 1815-19 period, 43.7% referred to Pictou County locations, 41.1% to other mainland locations, 14.3% to Antigonish County locations, and 1.4% were non-specific. Again, in general, occurrences were relatively evenly distributed. However, in the case of Pictou County, the East River had about twice as many grants as any other settlement; and, in the case of Antigonish County, the Gulf Shore and Antigonish Harbour occupied a similar position.

The 1820-24 period has a much smaller count (95 grants), but is distinguished by the first appearance of Cape Breton cases (a reflection of the alteration of the island's political status in 1820). The Cape Breton grants accounted for 24.3% of the total and related predominantly to the western districts. In regard to mainland areas, Pictou County accounted for 30.7%, other mainland

locations for 28.7%, and Antigonish County for 16.9%. The majority of both the Pictou County and Antigonish County instances were non-specific concerning individual settlements.

The 1825-29 period (comprising 392 grants) has the highest count of all: the majority related to Pictou County (51.9%), followed by other mainland locations (22.6%), Cape Breton locations (13.8%), and Antigonish County locations (12.1%). In the case of both Pictou County and Cape Breton locations, specified settlements were in the minority. Just over half the Antigonish County grants were specific, and, once more, the Gulf Shore and Antigonish Harbour accounted for the majority. Among the other mainland locations, the prominence of the northern Colchester County settlements is noteworthy.

The 172 grants recorded for the 1830-34 period related overwhelmingly to Cape Breton locations, accounting for 87.1% of the total (Antigonish County received 7.0%, other mainland locations received 4.1%, and Pictou County received 1.8%). The Cape Breton grants which were specific regarding settlement reveal a widespread distribution, with the majority referring to the central and eastern districts. The 1835-39, 1840-44 and 1845-49 periods yielded a combined total of 124 grants, of which all but three related to Cape Breton locations. The exceptions (all of which fell within the 1835-39 period) were one each at River John, Truro and St. Mary's River.

Amount of Land Approved and Location Approved: Table 68 (Appendix 4)

This crosstabulation involved 2,128 cases. Firstly should be noted the fact that the 200-49 acre range accounted for 43.0%, the 100-49 acre range for 21.1%, the 300-49 acre range for 7.5%, the 250-99 acre range for 7.0%, the 150-99 acre range for 6.2%, and the 500-49 acre range for 5.7%.

Only 11 cases fell within the 1-49 acre range (of these, 6 concerned Pictou County locations, and 5 concerned Cape Breton locations). Thirty five cases fell within the 50-99 acre range (17 referred to Pictou County locations, 12 to Cape Breton locations, 4 to Antigonish County locations, and 2 to other mainland locations). While 25.4% of the 449 cases within the 100-49 acre range were non-specific regarding location, 30.9% referred to Pictou County locations, 17.2% to other mainland locations, 13.1% to Cape Breton locations, and 12.6% to Antigonish County locations. A much smaller proportion (11.5%) of the 131 cases within the 150-99 acre range were non-specific, while 48.9% requested Cape Breton locations, 20.0% requested Pictou County locations, 10.0% requested other mainland locations, and 9.3% requested Antigonish County locations. The 914 cases within the 200-49 acre range have a distribution very similar to that of the preceding range (46.0% referred to Cape Breton locations, 20.1% to Pictou County locations, 13.5% to other mainland locations, 9.1% to Antigonish County locations, and 11.2% were non-specific).

A rather different distribution is revealed by the 148 cases within the 250-99 acre range: other mainland locations accounted for the highest proportion (28.7%), followed by Pictou County locations with 25.7%, Antigonish County locations with 15.5%, and Cape Breton locations with 10.2%. The remaining 20.3% were non-specific. In the case of the 159 cases within the 300-49 acre range, Pictou County locations accounted for the highest proportion (31.6%), followed by other mainland locations with 23.4%, Cape Breton locations with 18.6%, and Antigonish County locations with 8.8%, while 17.6% were non-specific.

Although the next three ranges have greatly reduced counts, the first (350-99 acres) has a distribution very similar to the preceding one in that 34.5% of the 55 cases involved referred to

Pictou County locations, 29.0% to other mainland locations, 16.3% to Cape Breton locations, and 14.5% to Antigonish County locations, while 5.5% were non-specific. A higher proportion (13.5%) of the 67 cases within the 400-49 acre range were non-specific; while 37.5% concerned Pictou County locations, other mainland and Cape Breton locations each accounted for 18.0%, and Antigonish County locations accounted for 12.0%. Only 26 cases were included in the 450-99 acre range and, of these, 10 referred to Pictou County locations, 8 to Cape Breton locations, 5 to other mainland locations, 1 to an Antigonish County location, and 2 were non-specific.

The 500-49 acre range (122 cases) represents the only sizable count above the 349 acre point, and its distribution bears some resemblance to that of the 250-99 acre range. Other mainland locations accounted for the highest proportion (35.8%), followed by Pictou County locations with 24.4%, Antigonish County locations with 13.8%, and Cape Breton locations with 12.1%. The remaining 13.1% were non-specific. A total of only 11 cases were recorded for the ranges higher than 500-49 acres (5 of these related to other mainland locations, 3 to Cape Breton locations, 1 to a Pictou County location, and 2 were non-specific). The 3 Cape Breton instances all involved amounts of 1,000 acres or more.

In comparing these various distributions it is advantageous to remember the area distributions of locations approved as recorded by the frequency distribution for that variable. For instance, 43.0% of the locations approved were in Cape Breton, 21.8% were in Pictou County, 13.3% were in other mainland locations, 9.4% were in Antigonish County, and 12.2% were non-specific. Consequently, among the distributions outlined above, the 150-99 and 200-49 acre ranges correspond very closely to the overall distribution of locations approved. However, in the higher ranges the proportions of Cape Breton locations tend to be relatively small, while the proportions

of Pictou County and other mainland locations tend to be relatively large. Indeed, except in the two instances noted above in which other mainland locations were dominant, Pictou County was usually the dominant area. In addition, it will be noted that the 100-49 acre range exhibits similar trends.

Occupation in Nova Scotia and Amount of Land Approved:

Table 69 (Appendix 4)

A further aspect of amounts of land approved is the relationship to declared occupations in Nova Scotia (simple pioneering excluded), and Table 69 displays the distribution of the 112 cases included in this crosstabulation. In this context, it is interesting to note that the 200-49 and 500-49 acre ranges (comprising 32 cases each) have by far the highest counts, and that the relatively high proportion of the 500-49 acre range principally involves commercial and professional occupations.

The most frequently occurring occupation is that of merchant (23 cases). Eleven were included in the 500-49 acre range, while another four received approval for amounts between 249 and 500 acres. There were only two instances of the rather closely related occupation of shopkeeper (one of these also fell within the 500-49 acre range, while the other received approval for an amount within the 250-99 acre range). The small group of emigration agents can also be considered within the commercial classification. There were a total of six (two were included within the 500-49 acre range, while another fell within the 1,000 or more acre range).

The 13 occurrences of minister constitute the largest professional group, and no less than 11 of these received approval within the 500-49 acre range. Similarly, 3 of the 5 physicians recorded fell within the 500-49 acre range, while another received approval within the 400-49 acre range. However, only 1 of the 6

teachers recorded received approval within the 500-49 acre range, and 3 of the other 5 were within the 200-49 acre range. The designation "civil servant" encompassed a variety of occupations, and this seems to be reflected in the range of amounts recorded for the 10 cases involved: from 100 to 549 acres. However, 7 of these did receive approval for amounts greater than 249 acres.

In contrast to the occupations just discussed, the various crafts listed tend to have a rather different distribution, although many of them have very small counts. Carpenters are the most frequently occurring, accounting for 12 cases (8 were within the 200-49 acre range, with only 3 receiving approval for amounts greater than 249 acres). Blacksmiths and millwrights accounted for 4 cases each (2 received approval within the 200-49 acre range, 1 within the 100-49 acre range, 1 within the 250-99 acre range, while the 100-49, 150-99, 200-49 and 300-49 acre ranges accounted for 1 each).

Previous Migration and Location Requested in Nova Scotia:

Table 70 (Appendix 4)

As was revealed by the frequency distribution, evidence for previous migration is rather scanty. However, the crosstabulation of this data with locations requested does provide useful information concerning those who came from Prince Edward Island. They accounted for 85 (or 81.7%) of the 104 cases included, and their requests related overwhelmingly to Cape Breton locations. It is interesting to note also that these Cape Breton requests refer predominantly to central and eastern locations as opposed to west coast locations, since the latter are geographically closer to Prince Edward Island. The remaining cases from external sources do not provide very useful information concerning distribution within Nova Scotia since they are relatively few in number, and half of them were non-specific.

Single Males and Date of Petition: Table 71 (Appendix 4)

The distribution of the 457 cases involved in this crosstabulation may be compared with the distribution of the total number of dates of petitioning recorded. Among the former 13.7% occurred before 1815, while among the latter 27.0% belonged to the same period. The relative proportions for the 1815-19 period were quite similar (28.7% and 27.5% respectively). However, the count for this period was the highest of all in the case of the general data, whereas the highest count among the data pertaining to single males (39.2%) occurred in the 1820-24 period. By contrast, the proportion of the general data which fell within this period was only 21.9%. The proportions for the 1825-29 period were almost identical (16.4% and 16.8% respectively), but the respective proportions for the combined periods after 1829 were 1.9% and 6.7%. Consequently, in comparison with all other petitioners, it would appear that single males tended to petition at later points in time. This seems to be a reflection of the numbers of minor immigrants coming of age and attempting to establish themselves independently.

Notes

1. Due to the extent of the printed material generated by the computer operations, the data have been restructured in order that they can be displayed more concisely in Appendices 3 and 4. Indeed, the very extensive nature of the crosstabulation print-outs rendered such a procedure necessary to make the material readily understandable. A magnetic tape housing all the raw data, the program cards used to manipulate the data, and the print-outs produced will be donated to the Public Archives of Nova Scotia.
2. Detailed consideration of other pertinent sources cited throughout this chapter will also be found in subsequent chapters.

Chapter 4

The Scottish environment

Physiography

Although the entire area of Scotland (78,772 km²) falls within the larger area designated the highland zone of Britain, it has long been conventional to recognize three separate physiographic regions demarcated by two geological fault lines.

To the north of the Highland boundary fault (running from Helensburgh to Stonehaven) lie the Highlands (including the Western Isles) underlain by hard, resistant rocks of Precambrian and Paleozoic age. As a result of repeated uplift and folding these rock structures have formed a mountainous terrain in which most of the land, with the exception of some coastal areas, is over 200 m with many areas over 700 m. Although there are sharp variations in relief, much of the region is in the form of a plateau. On the mainland the region is subdivided by a fault line which runs along the course of the Great Glen.

To the south of the southern boundary fault (running from Girvan to Dunbar) lie the Southern Uplands, underlain by another series of resistant rocks of Ordovician and Silurian age. As a result of processes similar to those which affected the Highlands, a rolling plateau area has been produced which generally reaches altitudes of 500 m to 600 m, although at some points an altitude of about 900 m is attained. The only low-lying areas of any extent in this region lie in the Solway and Tweed basins, the latter underlain by an area of Carboniferous rock.

The central Lowlands region lies between the two principal fault lines and is underlain by much less resistant Old Red Sandstone and coal-bearing Carboniferous rocks which have eroded more rapidly

than those of the two other regions, and produced a generally less elevated terrain. Despite the designation, however, much of the region is over 130 m, and igneous intrusions form points of higher altitude. It should also be noted that a northeastern extension of this lowland region extends up the east coast of Scotland, adding an east-west dimension to the traditional north-south division between Highlands and Lowlands.

These are the basic geological elements involved in the Scottish environment, and the landscape which the human occupants of this environment have encountered is largely the result of the massive eroding effects of glaciation on these elements during the Quaternary period. In both regions of higher ground the peaks were given their characteristic rounded forms, while valleys were deepened. This produced such distinctive features as the Great Glen, and the western coastline with its deeply indented form. In the central Lowlands the ice caused even greater erosion, creating wide valleys and accentuating the contrast between the general area and areas of more resistant volcanic intrusions. Of course, such large-scale erosion also redistributed much material in the form of glacial till. Moreover, the processes of glaciation and deglaciation were accompanied by changes in sea level which resulted in the formation of raised beaches in various coastal areas.

Climate

In the context of a prevailing westerly air flow, climatic conditions in Scotland, and indeed in the entire British Isles, are profoundly affected by the Atlantic ocean to the west and the proximity of the Gulf Stream; together they exert a warming influence, particularly during the winter months. Considering the relatively high latitude occupied by the British Isles (between 50°N and 61°N), the climate is quite equable, with relatively small temperature

variations throughout the year compared to areas at similar latitudes; for example, North America to the west and Europe to the east are both subject to predominantly continental climatic influences. This is accounted for by the fact that, as well as exerting a considerable warming influence in winter, the ocean has a slight cooling effect in summer. Thus, while the air over Britain in winter is 16.6°C warmer than the world average for the latitude, it is 1.1°C cooler in summer. Consequently, the mean annual temperature for the British Isles (10°C) is the same as that for areas 5° to the south, on a world average basis.

The ocean's effect is most marked in the west. Eastern areas (with some continental influences) tend to experience greater temperature variations, although still extremely moderate considering the latitude. As a result, while January temperatures in the Western Isles average 5.5°C , those in eastern coastal areas average 3.3°C . On the other hand, in summer average temperatures range only from 12.7°C to 14.4°C in the northwest, while along the east coast they range from 14.4°C to 15.5°C .

Consequently, while the west experiences relatively milder winters, in comparison to the east, its summers tend to be markedly cooler. In addition, altitude has a considerable influence on temperature, with the result that the high interior areas of the Highland massif record generally lower temperatures: while the frost-free period in the western Highlands generally lasts for seven months, and for six months in the east, in the area of the central massif it may be as short as 90 days.

In summary, the effects of temperature variation on human settlement may be best illustrated by the length of the growing season: seven to eight months is the normal duration in the central and northeastern Lowlands and many of the islands. In most of the Highland area, however, it is reduced to five or six months, while in

the high central Highlands it has a duration of only four months.

The prevalent westerly flow from the Atlantic, involving a number of different air masses, also ensures relatively high levels of precipitation. However, amounts vary from area to area much more dramatically than in the case of temperature fluctuations. This is mainly a consequence of the fact that moisture-bearing air masses tend to release precipitation while passing over the high ground of the west. The general effect of this phenomenon is that the west is markedly wetter than the east, with the wettest conditions occurring in the mountainous areas of the northwest. As a result, large areas of Argyllshire and Inverness-shire receive 2,540 mm of precipitation per year. On the other hand, the less elevated areas of southwest Scotland receive from 1,270 mm to 1,525 mm per year, while eastern coastal areas record as little as 640 mm per year.

Because of the relatively mild prevailing temperatures, precipitation falls mainly as rain in most areas. However, the considerably more severe climate of the central Highlands is indicated by the fact that a snow cover may be recorded on 30 to over 100 mornings in the year. These figures also apply to areas of the Southern Uplands. In the Lowlands and all coastal districts, however, the corresponding figures are 10 to 30, with less than 10 applying to the coastal southwest. Throughout Scotland, precipitation is quite evenly distributed over the year with no marked divisions between wet and dry seasons. In the northwest, however, autumn and winter produce slightly more than spring and summer, while the reverse is true of the south and east.

These general climatic conditions pertain to contemporary Scotland and there have been successive changes since the end of the last glaciation. In particular, within the last 1,000 years, a number of long-term fluctuations have been identified which assume importance in the context of human settlement in areas such as the

Highlands where changes in the length of the growing season may be critical. In this respect, it should be noted that the period between approximately the mid-sixteenth and mid-eighteenth centuries is considered to have had drier, snowier winters, and cooler, wetter summers. However, the period since 1850 has witnessed a trend towards milder winters. Nevertheless, despite the the existence of such long-term trends, an ever-present and important aspect of the Scottish climate is its short-term variability.

Soils and Vegetation

Soil types occurring in Scotland are a product of a number of interrelated factors including parent materials, climate, vegetation, and human activity. The three main types found are the leached podsoles and blanket bog peats of the upland areas, and the Acid Brown Forest soils of the Lowlands. The latter have been subject to a degree of podsolization, but are generally more suited to agriculture than the soils of the uplands. In addition, raised beaches along the coasts have produced restricted areas of light, sandy soil.

Climatic-climax vegetation cover in Scotland consisted, broadly speaking, of coniferous forest in the Highlands and deciduous forest in the Lowlands, with some areas under grass (the raised beaches for example), and others under ling (the blanket bogs). In common with the experience of other areas of the British Isles, the climatic-climax forest cover of Scotland was replaced by a biotic climax grass cover as a result of intensive human exploitation in the pursuit of wood resources and pastoral farming. Because of remoteness and inaccessibility, much of the Highland forested areas survived much longer. They were still extensive in the late Middle Ages, and some survived in substantial form until the late eighteenth century, only to be finally eradicated by the demands of industrial-

ization and the widespread extension of sheep farming.

Land Use

The general facts of the Scottish physical environment as outlined above have certain broad implications in the context of human exploitation. At a very basic level, the pattern of relief renders some areas more accessible than others; however, due to the highly indented nature of the coastline, few places are more than 65 km from the sea. The mountainous terrain of the northwest forms the most inaccessible area in Scotland, and one in which the development of land communication was necessarily difficult. The Lowlands, on the other hand, although by no means presenting a completely unobstructed terrain, provide much better opportunities for colonization and communication. Moreover, coal-bearing rock formations are confined to the Lowlands, a fact which was to assume great importance during industrialization. However, for the purposes of the present study, agricultural potential is the factor of prime interest.

The combination of location in relatively high latitudes, a cool, moist climate, and a large proportion of high ground militates against the large-scale development of arable farming. Only in the eastern Lowlands, with a drier, sunnier climate and more easily worked soils, are there areas which encourage extensive crop cultivation. At the other extreme are the western Highlands, having a mountainous terrain, a very wet climate, and generally poor soils. In this region, reasonable opportunities for arable farming are generally restricted to low-lying coastal areas (most notably raised beaches) and alluvial deposits along valley floors. Otherwise, climate and topography combine to make grass more feasible than grain crops, and, in consequence, render the land more favourable to stock-rearing.

Indeed, with the exception of the eastern Lowlands noted above, much of the remainder of the Scottish terrain is similarly more suited to the pursuit of various forms of pastoralism; although throughout southern Scotland, and even in parts of the eastern Highlands, areas of more easily cultivated soil are to be found which are conducive to the pursuit of a mixed farming economy. Nevertheless, in terms of non-industrial human settlement, it may be said that much of Scotland (particularly the mountainous northwest) presents severe environmental limitations.

These environmental limitations place certain constraints upon the human exploitation of such an area. Mountainous regions in the temperate zone, such as the Alps of western Europe, have been described as encouraging a particular form of non-industrial economy and society. Since areas with arable potential tend to be small and few in number, the human population also tends to be sparse in total numbers, but is quite densely concentrated on the scattered patches of better soil. Stock-rearing develops as the mainstay of the agricultural economy, often including the practice of transhumance, and the accompanying settlement form consists of a series of small, loosely organized, and sometimes unstable, hamlets, in contrast to the larger, more stable villages which are found in areas favourable to extensive arable farming.

As has been shown, the geography of much of Scotland (in particular the Highlands) might be expected to foster this kind of relatively sparse human occupation, with only the southeastern Lowlands providing conditions favourable to the emergence of nucleated villages. However, while a relatively unchanging environment may foster such general adaptations, the relationship between a human population and its environment is constantly subject to adjustment in accordance with economic and cultural change; for example, in the context of western Europe during the eighteenth and nineteenth

centuries, the primary influences were steadily increasing population levels and the development of an industrialized economy.

Under these circumstances specialization and greater efficiency in agriculture will be encouraged, and in agriculturally marginal areas a number of responses are possible. Basically, the type and degree of participation by such areas in a developing economy will depend largely upon ease of access to emerging markets. In addition, there is the question of exploitable resources of advantage to the changing economy. For example, the presence of an extensive coastline may lead to the commercial exploitation of fish resources, and an expanding market for raw materials may encourage the development of lumbering and the extraction of economic minerals. In addition, the frequent availability of potential sources of water power in upland areas may attract industrial activity, but usually only if locations can be found which are economically advantageous in terms of market accessibility.

Such developments are likely to have profound effects on human settlement: they may serve to maintain existing population levels, although perhaps distributed rather differently; or they may even result in considerable population growth. However, the exploitation of such resources may not be of significant benefit to the indigenous population since, for example, large-scale fishing can be pursued from a distant base. It may be, in areas of restricted natural resources, that the most promising economic opportunities are offered by the extension and reorganization of an already existing pastoral economy, and, since improved stock rearing may be incompatible with locally dense population levels, a trend towards depopulation may be induced, complemented by the attraction of opportunities in more favourable areas. In the face of general economic change, therefore, populations in marginal areas are liable to be subjected to pressures which will tend to promote redistribution

and changes in levels. Nevertheless, in spite of the powerful controlling effects of the environment, man's relationship with it is rarely simple and direct:

A given association may ... reflect a complicated relationship between people and their surroundings. The connection of sheep grazing and sparse population with certain upland districts, for instance, is by no means as simple as it looks at first sight. Even when they seem self-explanatory, existing distributions are usually the result of centuries of development. It is, moreover, impossible to say exactly how the environment produces an effect on the people. Men do not migrate from upland districts simply because the land is high, any more than they settle on coalfields simply because coal is found there. The influence of the environment works at several removes.²

Notes

1. The material in this chapter has largely been drawn from G.H. Dury, The British Isles (London, 1961); and H. Carter et al., An Advanced Geography of the British Isles (London, 1972).
2. Dury, British Isles, pp. 8-9.

Chapter 5

Scotland before 1770

Scotland at the beginning of the eighteenth century

By the beginning of the eighteenth century,¹ Scotland had a population which has been estimated at about one million. Towns were generally small - Glasgow had a population of about 5,000 at that time - and 80% to 90% of the population were rural dwellers, involved in the practice of some form of agriculture. Although there were regional variations in the agricultural economy, destined to become more pronounced in later times, there was a basic uniformity of agricultural exploitation throughout all of Scotland. Again, many of the features of this fairly uniform system may be seen as adaptations to the particular kinds of constraining environmental influences outlined above. For instance, except in the southeastern Lowlands, the emphasis tended to be on stock-rearing, particularly of black cattle, while arable farming consisted of a limited production of the two staples (oats and barley) on a scale which in many areas was usually inadequate for subsistence, or, even if usually adequate, was vulnerable to periodic crop failures.

This predominantly pastoral economy was pursued communally by small groups occupying hamlets, each one commonly representing an individual farm (or "farm-toun") usually in comparative isolation because of poor communication facilities. In each instance, intensive cultivation was restricted to a relatively small area of reasonably fertile soil in the immediate vicinity of the hamlet. This was the only area to be systematically fertilized, and was sown year after year without rotation. Beyond this area of intensive cultivation (generally known as the "infield") was the "outfield", an area of less fertile soil where periodic cultivation and grazing were combined. The organization of the arable land took the form

of some variation of the run-rin system, whereby individual units of land were allocated to the various members of the communal farm. Originally, these units were periodically reallocated in some form of rotation, however, in some areas it was becoming more common to make permanent allocations. Nevertheless, the units were not physically divided; indeed, the only man-made physical barrier commonly encountered was a dyke separating the infield from the outfield.

Normally, the hamlet and its surrounding arable land were situated on low-lying ground along the coast or in a river valley where better soils were to be found. The bulk of the area comprising each farm consisted of high ground where grass was the only feasible crop, and it was here that the community raised its cattle, sheep, goats, and horses. This extensive grazing area was also used communally, with each member by custom being allowed to keep certain numbers of stock, based upon the amount of arable he cultivated. These small, traditional farming communities achieved varying degrees of self-sufficiency with a meagre and unsophisticated material culture: a variety of basic skills were practised domestically to produce shelter, clothing, food, and implements, all of a standard which frequently drew disapproving and derogatory comments from observers.²

None of the occupants of these hamlets was a landowner. The principal members of the community were tenants (normally at will and without leases), usually numbering anywhere from 4 to 16. Other, lesser, members consisted of subtenants of the tenants and cottars, the latter having little more than a garden to cultivate while they worked for others. These groups of various strata of tenants formed the economic base for a social system which, again with varying emphasis regionally, displayed a basic uniformity throughout the country.

This system was essentially an amalgam of kinship and

feudalism, involving about 100 noble families and 5,000 landowners, or lairds, grouped in allegiance around a number of great families in the Lowlands, and in alignment with the clan system of kinship ties in the Highlands. The political instability resulting from the ineffectiveness of royal control in the later Middle Ages resulted in extensive local control by factions, and the constant threat of clashes between rival factions.

Consequently, Scottish society came to assume a particularly martial aspect, with the tenantry of the communal farms providing economic support and the manpower for local military forces. The economic support came largely from rents in kind, and personal services in the form of labour on the landowner's behalf; circumstances dictated partly by the largely subsistence nature of the economy, and partly by the requirement of ready supplies of food products for bands of retainers. The strength of kinship ties gave this society a peculiarly patriarchal aspect, and tended to blur social distinctions; while a member of a group, be it clan or not, was ready to give due respect to his group superiors, he was apt to consider himself at least the equal of any member of another group, whatever the relative social standing.

This system became most highly developed in the Highlands, where, indeed, the tacksman emerged as an intermediary, receiving control over a certain area from the landowner (usually a close relative of his) for a particular rent, in return for which he ensured that the landowner received the required economic and military support. He, in turn, collected rent from the tenantry sufficient to satisfy the demands of his superior and to provide a surplus for his own subsistence; in many instances, however, the tacksman would also farm on his own account. It was this society, as described by Duncan Forbes in 1745, which prompted Pittott's statement that the Early Iron Age had perhaps its longest survival

in Scotland.³ Extended accounts of Highland life in the early eighteenth century by other contemporaries, such as Burt,⁴ certainly lend credence to the notion that here was a lingering anachronism: a model of cultural lag in an isolated upland area, surviving in a general European context of mounting economic and social change.

Indeed, many aspects of the Scottish situation conspired to retard economic and social change. Apart from the general environmental constraints, the very nature of society and economy discouraged change. The communal organization of the agricultural economy was one fostered by tradition, and was indeed dependent upon it in order to function at all smoothly. Moreover, the general social milieu of instability and insecurity militated against change and improvement; in fact, it may be regarded as an important contributor to the predominance of pastoralism, since eminently movable property was the most desirable under the circumstances. Conversely, vulnerable, immovable property, typified by standing crops, was less desirable, and the prevalence of relatively flimsy, impermanent dwelling structures may also be a function of social insecurity.⁵

As previously noted, this insecurity was largely a result of the lack of strong central political control, particularly in the remoter and less accessible areas, and a progressively weaker influence away from the centres of control also holds true for the church, for commerce (as represented by the royal burghs), and for education in the form of the parish school system. As a result, in the extensive parishes of the most inaccessible parts of the Highlands, the general lack of religious and educational facilities was reflected in widespread illiteracy and the survival of instances of unabashed paganism, in addition to the existence of substantial Roman Catholic enclaves where the Reformation had failed to penetrate effectively.⁶

While this concept of a basically subsistence peasant economy

pursued by a thinly scattered population, concentrated locally in the restricted areas of arable potential and isolated by terrain and the lack of a developed road system, is generally applicable to Scotland at the beginning of the eighteenth century, it was by no means immune to external influences and processes of change promoted both internally and externally. Although urban centres were small and there was little development of a market economy, internal and external trade did exist. Despite the underlying uniformity of the agricultural economy, there was a developing regional specialization: the Highlands produced primarily black cattle, while the southeastern Lowlands concentrated on grain production. Surplus cattle provided the means for the Highlands to acquire necessary imports by trade; although the economy was fundamentally self-sufficient, the weakness of the arable sector frequently resulted in grain shortages, and other necessities such as metal had to be acquired outside the Highlands.

Moreover, domestic industries in various areas produced goods (most notably linen) which formed a basis for external trade.⁷ Similarly, natural resources such as fish were exploited - in the seventeenth century Glasgow carried on a trade with France and the Baltic based on the export of salmon and herring.⁸ However, external contacts were severely hampered by the fact that, prior to 1707, Scotland was largely excluded from the increasing commercial opportunities experienced by England, particularly in the Americas, although the existence of a desire to achieve fuller participation was expressed in ventures such as the Darien fiasco. By 1707, the Scottish economic and social structure was responding to the stimuli of general commercial expansion experienced more fully in England, and the Union of that year was to herald the integration of the Scottish economy in a general British one, with increasing exposure to influences which had long been stifled.

The fact that sectors of the Scottish economy were responding to commercial opportunities before 1707 is indicative that change was already well under way. Indeed, the characterization of an insecure, factional society no longer applied to the Lowlands, where order and stability had already been established, serving to further differentiate that region from the Highlands. Social distinctions between these two regions had been accumulating since the Middle Ages, principally a result of the inaccessibility of the Highlands. By the early years of the eighteenth century, Highlanders were distinguished by language, dress, and the continuation of the closely-knit, paternalistic clan system which had a peculiarly tribal cast.⁹ On the other hand, however, aspects of their society (for example, cattle droving and the tradition of mercenary soldiering in foreign parts) ensured that the Highlands were not in complete isolation.

Although the Union of 1707 did not immediately result in a sweeping transformation of the Scottish social and economic structure, it did open up new opportunities, and was quickly followed by the final pacification of the Highlands with the suppression of the risings of 1715 and 1745. The establishment of law and order following the failure of those two rebellions was not the direct cause of change in the Highlands, but rather it allowed pre-existing influences to have a much fuller effect (to be reviewed below). Initially, it will be apposite to review the relevant forces of change which came increasingly to bear as the eighteenth century progressed, and their broad implications in terms of the prevailing social and economic circumstances in Scotland.

These change-inducing pressures were produced by two separate but interacting factors. Firstly, there was the underlying factor of long-term demographic change in the form of a steadily increasing population, and, secondly, gradual integration into an increasingly commercialized economy which was experiencing industrial growth.

The population of approximately one million at the end of the seventeenth century grew to just over one and a quarter million in 1755 (according to Webster's estimate), and, when the first official census was taken in 1801, the figure had risen to over one and a half million. Greater increases were to be recorded in the nineteenth century, so that population had passed the two million mark by the time of the 1821 census, and the four million mark before the end of the century.¹⁰ In comparison, then, the increases of the eighteenth century are quite unspectacular, but of considerable significance in the context of a predominantly subsistence agricultural economy in which there was a constant pressure on limited natural resources.

This rise in Scottish population figures is merely one aspect of a phenomenon which had a general European application, and which has proved very difficult to explain adequately since so many demographic, social, and economic variables are involved.¹¹ However, in the strictly Scottish context the main factors were probably a generally improving social milieu (including the decline of large-scale cyclical epidemics) and encouragements to growth which were concomitants of social and economic innovation. For example, the eighteenth century did not witness the devastating effects of the plague typified by the outbreaks of the seventeenth century, and the increasing practice of inoculation helped to curb the ravages of smallpox. In addition, the prevalence of stable and secure social conditions interacting with economic incentives and means of subsistence augmented, for example, by the introduction of the potato, were further encouragements to population growth.¹²

However, although an augmented subsistence base might support higher population levels, in areas of marginal cultivation such as the Highlands it is not likely that very large increases could be sustained without severely straining available resources and the

social fabric. It is also noteworthy that, during the earlier part of the eighteenth century, the Scottish population was fairly evenly distributed, so that less favourable environmental locations did not have markedly lower levels of population than the more favourable. In fact, as late as 1750, 50% of the population still lived to the north of the Tay.¹³ Consequently, with a population steadily increasing from a base which was relatively evenly spread through favourable and unfavourable locations, it might be expected that a process of redistribution would develop.

Questions of population and its distribution are implicit in any consideration of the social and economic stimuli which had a cumulative effect on Scotland in the eighteenth century. Very broadly, these stimuli resulted from a growing involvement in a commercialized British economy in which industrial production was gaining greater prominence. The implication for the agricultural sector was a transition from essentially subsistence farming to the production of surpluses to supply the needs of a specialized economy. This, in turn, implied improved methods of stock management and crop production, and the encouragement of specialization determined largely by regional environmental opportunities. However, such agricultural innovations proved to be incompatible with most aspects of the traditional husbandry which prevailed throughout Scotland at the beginning of the eighteenth century, and their introduction was likely to involve far-reaching social reorganization, and probably dislocation.

In terms of the commercial and industrial sectors, the main implication was an expansion of the relatively small existing base, combined with an increasing concentration in areas convenient to markets and resources. The growth of diversified economic activity might also be expected to lead to the exploitation of natural resources which had hitherto mainly served only local subsistence

requirements. In this context, the Highlands in particular offered resources such as fish, kelp, and wood. It has already been noted that the interaction of these various factors might be expected to have wide-ranging effects on population distribution and social organization; while some of these trends would tend to encourage population concentration and growth, others would have quite the opposite tendency.

However, the attitudes and reactions of the population itself are very relevant variables in these circumstances: while the general influences of economy and environment may suggest the direction of change, the population involved will usually have available a number of alternative strategies to cope with changing circumstances. The scope of such choice would also be a function of the individual's or group's standing within the social hierarchy previously described. In the context of the traditional non-urban social organization, the landowner would be in the best position to exploit opportunities for economic advancement, and the responses available to the tenantry would be largely conditioned by the response the landowner chose to make. In the case of growing commercial and industrial centres, opportunities would arise for involvement in a way of life divorced from essential aspects of traditional rural society and economy.

The Lowlands, 1707-1770

During the period between 1707 and 1780 the Lowlands witnessed a general stimulation of the economy due to the access that was gained to the expanding English economy and its overseas trade, particularly to the American colonies. Initially, growth and change were slow, and the more spectacular advances did not occur until after mid-century. However, by the 1770s the growing trend had had significant repercussions on society.

Both the industrial and agricultural sectors responded to

these stimuli during the first three quarters of the eighteenth century, but the most impressive aspect of the Lowland economy was the development of commerce, particularly in the lower Clyde region around Glasgow. This was based principally on the tobacco trade with North America. Successful participation in this newly available field after 1707 was neither immediate nor easy, and it was not until nearer mid-century that Glasgow's North American trade began to flourish. However, once firmly established, it experienced remarkable growth, and was accompanied by the establishment of commercial outlets along the eastern seaboard of North America by Glasgow interests. Thus, by 1762, tobacco accounted for 40% of Scottish imports and 50% of overseas exports.¹⁴ The latter figure indicates the importance of the re-export of tobacco and tobacco products (mainly to continental Europe) which served to further extend and strengthen Glasgow's commercial ties.

In conjunction with these activities, the necessary concomitant development of port and shipping facilities, together with the reprocessing of tobacco into snuff for example, stimulated local industrial activity. It was formerly considered that the tobacco trade was relatively self-contained and had little effect on other aspects of the Scottish economy. Recently, however, it has been argued that the trade did, in fact, contribute significantly to the development of the general economy, particularly in the western area of the central Lowlands.¹⁵

The tobacco trade involved the export of manufactured goods to the colonies, and a variety of industrial enterprises in and around Glasgow increasingly contributed to this after about 1750. Moreover, it has been shown that the tobacco merchants were closely involved in these industrial developments. Indeed, their growing wealth and business expertise were among the essential factors

contributing to general economic development. It was their resources which provided investment capital, insurance, and credit facilities. With respect to the latter, it is noteworthy that merchants financed the first three banks in Glasgow (established in the 1750s and 1760s), thus providing a more secure financial basis for commercial and industrial development.¹⁶

The ramifications of this quickening economic activity were by no means restricted to Glasgow alone, and this is revealed by the concurrent development of neighbouring towns such as Greenock and Paisley, especially after 1750.¹⁷ Greenock began to emerge as a major shipping centre, while Paisley experienced a growth of manufacturing activity. In addition, hitherto essentially rural areas in the vicinity were beginning to respond to the growing incentives to participate in industrial activity. This is well demonstrated by the parish of Nielston, bordering on the boundaries of Glasgow and Paisley, where textile manufacture began to intensify in the late 1760s.¹⁸

This process of economic growth was accompanied by population growth and concentration in the centres of activity. According to Webster's estimate, in 1755 the populations of Glasgow, Greenock and Paisley were respectively 23,546, 3,858, and 4,290.¹⁹ While these figures may be considered moderate, they do suggest striking increases since the beginning of the eighteenth century. As noted above, Glasgow had probably a population of only 5,000 at that time, therefore Webster's figures indicate a probable four-fold increase during the first half of the century. Similarly, the figure for Paisley is impressive considering that it consisted of only one principal street at the beginning of the century.²⁰ Again, during approximately the same period, Gorbals parish increased from a few thatched houses to a thriving settlement of several thousand people.²¹

While the Glasgow area provides the most remarkable example of

economic expansion, it was not unique. To the south, in the Dumfries area for instance, similar developments were taking place, although on a more modest scale.²² The town of Dumfries became established in the North American tobacco trade with similar repercussions on the regional economy: manufacturing activity expanded with the growth of commerce, and extended its influence into the surrounding countryside.

The industries stimulated by the expansion of the commercial sector were varied. Those directed mainly towards the export trade included tanning and the production of leather goods, potteries, breweries, snuff manufacture, and sugar refining.²³ Moreover, other concerns such as coal mining began to expand to meet increased demand from a growing domestic economy, both in the general British context and in local foci of development such as those just described. However, the most significant industrial advance of the period was in the field of textile manufacture, in particular that of linen. This had long been a staple Scottish product, but from the 1720s to the 1770s there was a steady and considerable expansion of output, as is evident from available production statistics.²⁴ The prominent role which this industry played in the growth of the lower Clyde region suggests that part of its success was due to a linkage with other contemporary developments in that area. However, that it flourished on a much wider basis than the local stimulation of the tobacco trade is shown by its increasing importance in other areas, most notably in the eastern counties of Fife, Forfar and Perth.

Although this remarkable achievement of the linen industry was generally related to the increased demands of the national economy and overseas commercial opportunities, an important contribution was made by government in the form of direct encouragements to development. With the establishment by Act of Parliament in 1727 of a Board of Trustees "for Improveing Fisherys and Manufactures", there

began conscious and direct official efforts to assist economic development in Scotland. As will be seen, the Board's efforts in both fields of fishing and manufacture were to be of little avail in the Highlands. However, its persistent promotion of linen manufacture in the form of subsidies and encouragement of flax cultivation combined with the general economic stimuli to produce a thriving industry in the Lowlands.²⁵

The response of the agricultural sector in this period bore a similarity to that of commerce and industry in that the most significant changes only became apparent after the mid-point of the century, and it is evident that its development was linked in many respects to that of the commercial and industrial sectors, just as they were in many respects linked to each other.

Until about 1750, Lowland husbandry in general seems to have differed little from the standard traditional forms and practices which had been followed throughout Scotland for centuries. An account of Ayrshire written in the early 1790s referred to the agricultural state of a mere 40 years before as one of "barbarous mismanagement", in which the practices of the old system of communal farming continued unabated with a consequent prevalence of poor quality livestock and precarious crops.²⁶ Since this was a county which was to become one of the leading models of agricultural improvement, it is not surprising that similar descriptions are to be found for other Lowland areas during this period. Shortly after 1750, however, there is evidence of agricultural innovation throughout the Lowlands.²⁷

Such changes did not signify a uniform and steady advance: they were frequently of essentially local incidence, and initial attempts were often tentative and only partially successful. Nevertheless, by 1770 the basis for later and more substantial developments had been laid throughout most of the Lowlands, and the results of initial

improvement were already drawing favourable comments. These advances were the result of the interaction of several factors: there was the example of English achievements in the field; there was the opportunity to supply the needs of the growing urban centres of both Scotland and England; and there was the incentive to landowners to profit from rising economic opportunities by promoting agricultural efficiency, and hence productivity, on their estates.

The extent of the effect of direct landlord involvement in agricultural operations, long considered to be the key factor in improvement, has recently been questioned.²⁸ However limited in scope the agricultural activities of the landlord may have been, the essential factor was the basic decision to promote change and improvement, and that was a decision for which the landlord ultimately held sole responsibility. Certainly, fundamental change would have been scarcely possible on any sustained basis if there had not been available a corps of tenantry capable of and willing to embark upon a course of change. In this respect, it may be of the greatest significance that a virtually universal literacy seems to have been achieved among the Lowland peasantry by the middle of the eighteenth century, a circumstance which might reasonably be expected to make innovation both more accessible and acceptable.²⁹

Such innovation commonly involved a fundamental reorganization of the agricultural economy in that the first step was usually the abolition of the practice of communal farming in favour of enclosed and unified farms on which a greater variety of crops, properly rotated, could be raised, or improved stock bred, or both depending on local circumstances. Consequently, after 1750 there were improvements in crop production in the Lothians and Berwickshire, the one area where climate and physiography rendered large-scale, specialized arable farming feasible.³⁰ This example was soon

followed in other areas, such as Ayrshire, which possessed a certain degree of arable potential, but which also became involved in live-stock improvement to provide the basis for a more diversified farming economy. Yet other areas, notably Galloway, where specialized pastoralism was the most feasible pursuit, became involved in intensified stock-rearing, principally of the traditional staple, black cattle.³¹

Thus, regional specialization progressed as the agricultural sector came to participate increasingly in the general economic expansion of the country, and the extent of the response by 1770 is indicated by the export links established in the extreme southwest: grain, dairy products and cattle were being channelled to both the English market to the south and to the growing commercial and industrial centres on the Clyde to the north.³² These first steps towards integration into the process of economic advance also promoted the improvement of land communications, yet another necessary foundation for further improvement. In addition, the phenomenon of rising rents was proving to be a near universal accompaniment to the measures which were producing increasing efficiency and productivity.

By 1770, every sector of the Lowland economy was being influenced by forces of change, and a trend towards a predominantly urbanized and industrialized society had been set. However, the most far-reaching changes were yet to come: the urban/rural balance had as yet been scarcely altered; rural areas were only just beginning to feel the effects of agricultural reorganization; and industrial activity was still largely on a domestic and partly rural basis (large-scale, concentrated undertakings such as the Carron iron works were still the exception rather than the rule).³³ Nevertheless, in terms of population distribution and mobility, even this initial phase had produced significant trends which were to

become more pronounced in later phases of development.

In the context of traditional rural society, the coincidence of generally rising population levels with the kind of economic restructuring outlined above would certainly produce social dislocation, varying in degree according to local circumstances. Enclosure and consolidation generally meant that direct occupancy of land was available to fewer individuals than previously. There was, therefore, likely to be widespread displacement of certain elements of the rural population, and even those who remained relatively secure would become subject to the pressure of rising rent levels. Alternative opportunities would vary according to locality. In the southeast the emergence of large-scale arable farming led to the development of agricultural wage labour, and it has been argued that in this area population movement consisted almost exclusively of internal redistribution rather than external migration.³⁴ In other areas, however, this kind of opportunity would occur on only a very limited scale, and the growing centres of commerce and industry must have attracted many.

Despite the general trend towards a growing population, the extent of the increase of urban populations in the lower Clyde region indicates the presence of factors other than natural increase. This is supported by the observation of the writer of the first Paisley Statistical Account, concerning a slightly later period but probably equally applicable in this earlier phase: "... when trade is brisk, great numbers of tradesfolk will naturally flock to it by reason of the encouragement they expect to meet with, and it is contrary to the interest of its manufacturers to be very scrupulous in admitting them".³⁵ As has been seen, smaller centres of population in the vicinity also experienced growth, and even in areas remote from the great centres this was a period when village growth was noted. The accompanying tendency to rising industrial wage levels,

particularly in the west central region, would have served as an additional incentive.

Moreover, in addition to attracting population within their own limits, urban centres of commerce and industry profoundly influenced the surrounding rural areas. One example is the development (after 1750) of the silk gauze industry in Paisley, which also provided employment in the surrounding countryside to a distance of 20 miles. This serves as a further reminder of the rural basis of much of the industrial activity to this point.³⁶ The influence of growing urban markets on the strictly agricultural aspects of the rural economy has already been noted, and this, together with the other factors discussed, indicates the complexities involved in the interlinking of various sectors of the total economy, a process which was also succinctly described by the writer of the first Paisley Statistical Account:

These valuable manufactures have had a most beneficial influence over all the neighbouring country. By the increase of population and wealth which they have occasioned, the farmer can dispose of every article of his produce to the greatest advantage. This stimulates his industry, agriculture flourishes apace, and the value of the land is amazingly increased. The spirit of manufacture is the secret spring which puts all in motion; and the weaver upon his loom, while he provides a comfortable subsistence for himself and his family, may be considered as ministering to the ease and to the elegance even of the gentleman who lives upon his country estate ...³⁷

Of course, the development of such intricate interrelationships meant that any reverses suffered in the course of this process of economic change and expansion would be likely to have wide-ranging

repercussions, exacerbating factors of social dislocation in the general context of a society in which a growing population was experiencing a variety of social and economic pressures. These pressures tended, on the one hand, to discourage relatively dense rural settlement, and, on the other hand, to encourage denser concentrations of urban population.

The Highlands, 1707-1770

The Highlands, of course, were also influenced by the general economic trends which produced such profound changes in the Lowlands during the course of the eighteenth century, and, as previously noted, this influence was given a freer rein by the final pacification of the area after the suppression of the 1745 rebellion. The elimination of endemic insecurity encouraged fuller participation in the expanding general British economy. However, government action in a number of spheres provided additional incentives which, in some cases, had the direct intention of promoting the integration of the Highlands into a general British economy and society.³⁸

The establishment of the Board of Trustees in 1727 had a general Scottish frame of reference in its efforts to develop the linen industry and foster a large-scale, home-based commercial fishery. There was a long-standing tradition of linen production in Scotland, and the assistance which the Board provided aided the emergence of a thriving industry in several areas of the Lowlands. The fishery, on the other hand, proved to be a rather more difficult problem since intensive commercial exploitation of the resources of Scottish coastal waters was almost exclusively in the hands of foreigners, principally the Dutch, and the premiums offered by the Board brought little success. An Act of 1749 instituted a system of bounties and was specifically designed to promote the herring fishery. After 1770, this bounty system was to be expanded and

linked with other incentives.

Other government activities were more directly linked with conditions in the Highlands before and immediately after 1745. The military road system, begun by Wade in the 1720s and expanded after 1745, provided a communications network in the central and southern Highlands, but did little to lessen the isolation of the northwest beyond the Great Glen. Measures such as the abolition of heritable jurisdictions undermined the foundations of the old clan/feudal system of social organization, however the most pervasive economic influence was produced by the activities of the Forfeited Estates Commissioners whose areas of control extended throughout the Highlands. They actively promoted agricultural improvement by undertaking enclosure and consolidation, and encouraged better farming techniques. Moreover, they tried to establish manufacturing industries in various areas of the Highlands.³⁹

In 1753 the Board began to provide subsidies for the development of linen production at various centres. These ventures did not prove to be self-supporting, however, since they tended to collapse once the subsidy was withdrawn; and, by 1766, the Board sought to be relieved of its obligations in this respect.⁴⁰ Similar undertakings by the Commissioners met with a similar fate, revealing some of the serious disadvantages encountered in the Highlands. Remoteness from markets and difficulties of communication militated against the large-scale production of finished goods, particularly in the more inaccessible western areas, and, in spite of official assistance, the Highlands did not experience a flourishing of manufacturing centres corresponding to contemporary developments in the south. Indeed, the variety of official measures outlined above seems to have had little direct and permanent effect on the Highlands, with the exception of the agricultural innovations on the

Forfeited Estates, and the fact that more settled conditions enabled the SPCK to extend its activities into Highland areas, with a consequent raising of the standards of religious and educational facilities.

Otherwise, the benefits experienced appear to have been minimal.⁴¹ For instance, lack of capital and skills effectively excluded the population of the western seaboard from any extensive participation in the commercial fishery, although some small-scale seasonal benefits were derived from the sale of fish to visiting fishing fleets. In addition, some aspects of this government-sponsored activity were not governed by economic considerations at all. For example, the road network was designed primarily for the efficient movement of troops, and was quite unnecessary as far as cattle droving (the main form of commercial movement in the Highlands)⁴² was concerned. Nevertheless, economic exploitation of the Highlands was already under way, pursued by diverse private interests without direct government participation; and the sectors of the economy which were developed illustrate the principal role that the Highlands were to play in the greater economy - that of supplier of staples to the industrialized areas.⁴³

There were also instances of private attempts to set up, for example, textile manufactures, however the essentially geographic limitations were to determine that the main thrust would be towards the increasing utilization of available natural resources. Non-agricultural activity related mainly to opportunities provided by the remaining forest resources in the Highlands, and these attracted the attention of outside commercial exploiters, such as the York Buildings Company which started an ambitious lumbering venture on the Spey in 1728.⁴⁴ Another use for surviving wood, particularly along the west coast, was as a source of charcoal for iron smelting. Consequently, the Lorn Furnace Company was established on the

Argyllshire coast in 1730, and iron ore was imported by sea to be smelted there.⁴⁵

However, while such incursions by external commercial operators did occur, they could only do so with the assent and co-operation of the local landowners, and, as in the Lowlands, co-operation, and even active encouragement, was a result of the landowners' increasing attention to opportunities in the new economic climate. With the demise of the essential factors supporting the traditional economic and social system, landowners were free to consider economic possibilities rather than strategic necessities. Not that this was completely new since estate management in Argyllshire, for instance, was being reorganized in the 1730s. However, the stability of the post-1745 period rendered such courses of action generally feasible and more practical.⁴⁶ Changing economic attitudes and the elimination of the legal and strategic justification for the old social order produced wide repercussions throughout Highland society. In terms of economic strategy, however, we will limit consideration initially to the position of the landowner.

The latter no longer required a private military force, and, consequently, the economic resources at his command were no longer required for its maintenance. Concurrently, increasing access to the larger society of the United Kingdom provided opportunities for assuming the general aristocratic way of life from which much of the Highland elite had hitherto been excluded. This, of course, required financial resources, a further incentive to economic reorganization in addition to the disappearance of former requirements, coupled with a growing demand for Highland products which was accompanied by rising prices in the second half of the eighteenth century.⁴⁷ In this new economic climate, Highland landlords were subject to strong incentives to rid themselves of bands of retainers, to promote more efficient use of the agricultural resources under

their control, to derive a money income from those resources by commuting the now obsolete rents in kind and personal services, and to exploit any other resource at their command. Further, in some areas changes of ownership under the aegis of the Forfeited Estates Commissioners resulted in the replacement of conservative-minded owners by those more inclined to participate in the new processes of change.

In terms of arable farming, this involved the usual procedures of enclosure, consolidation of farms, and the introduction of improved implements, crops, and rotational systems. As in other areas of Scotland, this generally implied lower population densities locally, and was liable to prove ineffective unless it was accompanied by more satisfactory leases. Such processes were in progress throughout the Highlands from the early eighteenth century but, because of severely limited arable potential, substantial progress was restricted to the relatively few areas of better soil. Moreover, in a region where grain shortages were usual, such innovations were only likely to lessen the deficiencies. In some instances a fair degree of self-sufficiency might even be achieved, particularly with the rapid spread of potato cultivation, but the physical environment ensured that the Highland region would not become a net exporter of arable products.

Attention was instead focused upon the potential of pastoralism, the traditional mainstay of the Highland agricultural economy. The existing export of black cattle was stimulated by the increased security of property and the opening up of the English market. Although the commercial production of cattle benefited from economies of scale, it was also closely associated with the traditional way of life in the Highlands and was not completely incompatible with its continuation. Indeed, the rising trend of cattle prices became one of the principal supports of traditional aspects of Highland

society in the second half of the eighteenth century.⁴⁸

However, the great expanses of high ground in the Highlands were particularly suitable for another form of commercial pastoralism, that of sheep-rearing. Sheep played a role in the traditional Highland economy. However, the small native breed was kept only in fairly small numbers, and generally satisfied only local subsistence requirements. A successful commercial exploitation implied improved breeds maintained in very large flocks requiring extensive grazing areas. This kind of commercialized sheep farming was not compatible with the traditional social and economic organization of the Highlands, and its introduction implied social dislocation. Its economic potential was high, however, and large-scale sheep farming began in the southern and eastern Highlands in the early 1760s.⁴⁹

The main non-agricultural, land-based resource available for exploitation was wood. By the eighteenth century the natural forest cover of the Highlands had been severely depleted by man's activity, although significant pockets of timber did survive in several areas. In some cases they survived because their extreme inaccessibility rendered them valueless except perhaps for local subsistence use (as noted by Burt).⁵⁰ Stands located near water could be exploited commercially, however, and we have already seen how coastal wood resources were attracting iron smelters, and an attempt had been made to extract timber along the Spey. Although the latter venture was abandoned, it was the prelude to the development of quite substantial lumbering operations.⁵¹

In coastal areas some income could be derived from fishing but, as previously noted, the major operations of this time were not Highland-based, and the fishery pursued by native Highlanders was very largely on a subsistence basis. However, there did exist in the coastal areas of the western Highlands and Islands a resource

which was to yield the one commodity which the Highlands were able to contribute towards the industrial expansion of the south. This was seaweed which could be processed into kelp, an alkaline substance used in a number of manufacturing processes, most notably the production of glass and soap.

Production of kelp was stimulated by the rising demand from the south and by import restrictions on foreign substitutes. In 1735 workers were brought from Ireland to train the people of North Uist, but production did not really get under way until after 1750, and by the 1770s approximately 2,000 tons were being produced annually in the Outer Hebrides, in some of the smaller islands, and at several mainland coastal locations.⁵² The undertaking seemed particularly suited to local circumstances since the resource was convenient to existing settlements, the operation was labour intensive, but required only the simplest of tools, and the finished product could be cheaply transported by sea.

All of these developments in the Highlands were further manifestations of the propensity of Scottish landowners, already observed in the case of the Lowlands, to participate in the benefits of general economic expansion, and here too the trend was accompanied by rising rents as trade increased and prices rose.⁵³ Again, this economic reorganization was conducive to profound social change, and in the Highlands the longer survival of the feudal/kinship social structure meant that change was likely to be even further reaching than that experienced in the Lowlands. Since the *raison d'être* for so many fundamental aspects of the system no longer existed after 1745, it is not surprising that a rapid transformation developed; one, in fact, which might have been expected in some form anyway, although growing economic opportunities certainly helped to give it impetus and direction.

Now that the old martial preoccupations had passed away, for

instance, the essential role of the tacksman became redundant, particularly so when landowners were becoming more interested in extracting as great a money rent as possible from their estates - why share the profits with a middleman whose functions had become largely irrelevant? Consequently, the second half of the eighteenth century witnessed the beginning of the elimination of the tacksman from Highland estate management, and those affected were usually faced with the choice of remaining as ordinary tenants, or of seeking opportunities elsewhere if they were not content to accept a reduced social and economic status.⁵⁴

The common tenantry and other lesser members of the old social order similarly had to cope with changing roles: no longer were they expected to act as a para-military force, and rents in kind were no longer a necessity; instead, they had to adjust to new circumstances in which economic considerations were paramount. At the same time, rising population levels were being experienced, exerting even greater pressure on resources which were already strained to support existing levels. Relatively high population levels pressing on the edge of subsistence had had some advantages under the old system, since a numerous tenantry was a source of power and prestige, but in the changing social and economic climate of the later eighteenth century the maintenance of high population levels and their further expansion was unlikely to be countenanced by changed economic circumstances.

The most immediate effects of the general agrarian reorganization were produced by the lower levels of occupancy which resulted from the same kinds of procedures already seen to be operating in the Lowlands. As a result, an increasing population found itself having to cope with a generally decreasing availability of arable land for traditional forms of occupancy; many were unable to procure regular tenancies, even though most of the large-scale

"clearances", mainly to accommodate sheep, did not occur until well after 1770.

In the period under discussion at present, however, some aspects of agricultural innovation actually contributed to the maintenance of high population levels. For instance, the problem of grain shortages was somewhat alleviated by the fact that cattle prices rose faster than meal prices in the second half of the eighteenth century.⁵⁵ In addition, general agricultural improvement, including the introduction of white oats, helped to increase local supplies.⁵⁶ Nevertheless, references to the continuation of meal importation are widespread, and it was the introduction of potato cultivation which provided an enlarged subsistence base for the Highland population.⁵⁷ In the earlier eighteenth century Burt indicated that it had not yet been introduced, but by the 1770s observers were commenting on its widespread use.⁵⁸ The potato was indeed well suited to the Highland context since it was easily grown and quite tolerant of adverse climatic conditions and poor soils, so that relatively small patches of indifferent arable could produce substantial food stocks. Most significant of all, though, was the fact that this facility of potato cultivation encouraged the emergence of two adaptive strategies which became increasingly prevalent. These were the subdivision of holdings, usually to accommodate adult offspring, and the spread of cultivation into areas such as moors where it had formerly not been attempted.

The extension of cultivation was a practice often encouraged by improving landlords, but in many instances in the Highlands it seems to have been a spontaneous reaction to population pressure.⁵⁹ Consequently, settlements were able to accommodate denser populations, extend their area, and even develop offshoots. This trend towards the colonization of waste land was also manifested in more formal ways by the invitations offered by certain landowners who wished to

develop hitherto unproductive land. The most prominent example of this was the colonization of Blair Drummond Moss by displaced Highlanders, begun in the 1760s under the auspices of Lord Kames.⁶⁰

Such developments may be seen as having been precipitated largely by the lack of alternative opportunities of coping with population surpluses. There was certainly some movement to the few larger population centres in the Highlands, but the lack of rapidly developing urban industrial centres meant that few Highland communities were at all close to centres of population attraction. Similarly, only limited opportunities for wage labour were afforded by new agricultural methods. Of course, long-standing practices which tended to relieve population pressure or provide additional income continued and in some cases expanded - seafaring, military service, and seasonal migration to the Lowlands, particularly to participate in harvest work. The latter course was also beginning to assume more permanent forms as the powerful attractive influences of Lowland industrial centres began to be exerted in those Highland areas possessing ease of access to the south. But in the remoter areas, notably the northwest, such attractions had as yet had little effect.

On the other hand, the prevalence of subdivision and the colonization of waste land may be seen as adaptations designed to minimize social dislocation by preserving communities as intact as possible. The traditional social and economic order had fostered conservatism, and as the forces of change advanced through the Highlands it would not be unreasonable to expect the ordinary Highlander to seek adjustments which would disturb as little as possible the accustomed social milieu. Indeed, a strong and abiding attachment to kin and locale was a characteristic noted particularly of Highlanders,⁶¹ and this may be the basis for the rather contradictory impressions gained from contemporary accounts. While visitors

such as Johnson, who had come to the Highlands specifically to observe traditional customs and manners, were quick to point out that many aspects of the old way of life were fast disappearing if not actually extinct, yet there are abundant references to what superficially appeared to be a society changing only very slowly if at all, still living in very primitive dwellings and engaging in traditional pursuits with the aid of a minimal, unspecialized technology.⁶²

To a certain extent, obviously, this was a function of isolation and the consequently slow penetration of forces of change. But it may well be asked whether this was not also a reflection of conscious attempts to preserve essential aspects of a social system, and to maintain a foothold on the land (the occupation of even quite small plots being a vital aspect of the peasant society to which the bulk of the Highland population belonged). In addition, the pressures which were producing these various adaptations continued to mount, and in the search for further opportunities to maintain that foothold and the bonds of local society it became necessary to look further afield. Blair Drummond was one example, but when considering the growth of emigration it should be asked to what extent that recourse also offered means of retaining social and economic norms, especially if it came to be no longer considered as a form of exile.

As will be discussed later, emigration was, of course, usually the result of the interaction of a number of factors which were sometimes of quite local significance. However, the broad underlying themes were those outlined above: basically, an increasing population was striving to cope with the effects of dependence upon severely limited natural resources and with elements of fundamental social and economic change which gained impetus as the eighteenth century progressed. Within this general context, the physical isolation of the Highlands and the meagreness of natural resources

meant that the possibilities of adjustment were more limited than in the Lowlands. In the era before extensive change had commenced, Burt commented pessimistically on the likely effects of impending change: agricultural improvement would do little more for the general populace than serve to raise their rents, and inaccessibility would prevent the development of manufacturing industries.⁶³ By 1770, the comments of later observers seemed to bear witness to the fulfilment of his prophecies. The rapacity of landlords was being deprecated, and the disintegration of the traditional social system (typified by the dismissal of tacksmen) was being viewed with misgivings, while the plight of the tenantry was seen to be precipitating widespread social dislocation.⁶⁴

Notes

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2. For example, E. Burt, Letters from a Gentleman in the North of Scotland (5th. ed., 2 vols., London, 1876), I, 74-78, 115; T. Pennant, A Tour in Scotland MDCCCLXIX (London, 1790), pp. 97, 132. Much later Sir John Sinclair was wholehearted in his condemnation of former practices in his Analysis of the Statistical Account of Scotland (2 vols., London, 1825), I, 174, 229.
3. S. Pigott, Ancient Europe (Edinburgh, 1965), p. 229.
4. Burt, Letters.
5. R.A. Gailey, "The Peasant Houses of the South west Highlands", Gwernin, III (1962).
6. E.C. Curwen, "The Hebrides: a cultural backwater", Antiquity, XII (1938), 288.
7. Smout, Scottish People, p. 119.
8. D.J. Withrington and I.R. Grant, ed., The Statistical Account

- of Scotland 1791-99 (Wakefield, 1973), VII, 291-95.
9. Smout, Scottish People, p. 311.
 10. Ibid., pp. 240-42.
 11. Glass, "Introduction", pp. 13-19.
 12. Smout, Scottish People, pp. 240-60; P. Gaskell, Morvern Transformed: A Highland Parish in the Nineteenth Century (Cambridge, 1968), pp. 6-7; A. Slaven, The Development of the West of Scotland, 1750-1960 (London, 1975), pp. 136-40.
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 14. T.M. Devine, "Colonial Commerce and the Scottish Economy, c. 1730-1815", in L.M. Cullen and T.C. Smout, ed., Comparative Aspects of Scottish and Irish Economic and Social History, 1600-1900 (Edinburgh, 1977), p. 177.
 15. Ibid., p. 179.
 16. Ibid., pp. 180-81.
 17. Withrington and Grant, ed., Statistical Account, VII, 693 ff., 824 ff.
 18. Ibid., VII, 799-823.
 19. Ibid., VII, xxxiv.
 20. Ibid., VII, 824-25.
 21. Ibid., VII, 336.
 22. T. Pennant, A Tour in Scotland MDCCLXXII (2 vols., London, 1790), I, 115.
 23. Withrington and Grant, ed., Statistical Account, VII, 295-99.
 24. A.J. Durie, "The Scottish Linen Industry in the Eighteenth Century, Some Aspects of Expansion", in Cullen and Smout, ed., Comparative Aspects, p. 88.
 25. Ibid., p. 97; H. Hamilton, An Economic History of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century (Oxford, 1963), pp. 112, 134-37.
 26. W. Fullarton, General View of the Agriculture of the County of

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27. Sir John Sinclair, General Report of the Agricultural State and Political Circumstances of Scotland (2 vols., Edinburgh, 1814), I, 132.
 28. Smout, Scottish People, pp. 271-81; R.H. Campbell, "The Scottish Improvers and the course of Agrarian Change in the Eighteenth Century", in Cullen and Smout, ed., Comparative Aspects, pp. 204-15.
 29. Smout, Scottish People, pp. 427, 432.
 30. Sinclair, Analysis, I, 234-35.
 31. Pennant, Tour MDCCLXXII, I, 115.
 32. See Appendix 5 below.
 33. Smout, Scottish People, p. 229.
 34. H. Hamilton, Economic History, p. 82; M. Gray, "Scottish Emigration: The Social Impact of Agrarian Change in the Rural Lowlands, 1775-1875", in D. Fleming and B. Bailyn, ed., Dislocation and Emigration: The Social Background of American Immigration (Cambridge, Mass., 1974), pp. 95-174.
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 36. Ibid., VII, 826-28.
 37. Ibid.
 38. H. Hamilton, Economic History, pp. 111-48; M. Gray, The Highland Economy, 1750-1850 (Edinburgh, 1957), pp. 109-10.
 39. H. Hamilton, Economic History, pp. 78-84, 229-32; A.J. Youngson, After the Forty-Five (Edinburgh, 1973), pp. 25-37.
 40. H. Hamilton, Economic History, pp. 146-48.
 41. Youngson, After the Forty-Five, pp. 25-37: 80% of the Highland linen output in the third quarter of the eighteenth century came from Perthshire, much of it from Lowland areas.
 42. H. Hamilton, Economic History, pp. 229-32.
 43. E. Cregeen, "The Changing Role of the House of Argyll in the

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44. D. Murray, The York Buildings Company (2nd. ed., Edinburgh, 1973), pp. 57-62.
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60. Statistical Account, XXI, 151 ff.
61. Pennant, Tour MDCCLXIX, p. 229; Walker, Economical History.

62. Pennant, Tour MDCCLXIX, pp. 97, 123, 161; *idem*, Tour MDCCLXXII, I, 246, 262, 312, 318; Johnson, Journey, passim; J. Boswell, The Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides (Oxford University Press ed., Oxford, 1924), passim.
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Chapter 6

Society and economy in Scotland, 1770-1830

The above general review of Scottish economy and society to 1770 has established the principal emerging factors which were conducive to social dislocation and consequent migratory movement. The period between 1770 and 1830 was one during which the various processes of change greatly accelerated, and it has been cited as a crucial one in which economy and society were fundamentally changed so that by 1830 the basis of a modern industrial economy had been established.¹

In terms of migratory movement, it is convenient to divide the period into three sub-periods - 1770-1793, 1794-1814, and 1815-1830 - using the period of war at the turn of the century as the determining factor since it had considerable repercussions on the economies of both Scotland and Nova Scotia, and exercised a consequent regulatory influence on external migration.

1770-1793

This first phase, in which the beginning was marked by a large-scale emigration from Scotland and the end coincided with the beginning of a period of greatly reduced emigration, was punctuated by several crises. Of longest duration was the American Revolution (1776-83) which disrupted overseas commerce. Of shorter duration were the economic crisis and harvest failure of the early 1770s and the two periods of bad harvests in the early 1780s and early 1790s, all of which caused widespread distress. Nevertheless, it was during this period that the developing changes in the agricultural and industrial sectors began to have profound effects in Scotland. Indeed, the period of war, although it did disrupt international

trade, helped to stimulate both industrial and agricultural aspects of the economy. Coincidentally, the general British economy reached the "take-off" point by about 1780, and was marked by rising demand and prices for industrial and agricultural products.²

In the Lowlands, the most significant factor in terms of commerce and industry was the establishment and development of a thriving cotton industry, and again the effects of industrial expansion were most marked in the lower Clyde region. The area suffered temporarily from the effects of the war on the tobacco trade, but alternative channels were soon exploited. A reviving commerce was accompanied by a growing concentration on the production of cotton goods as shifts in demand and raw material prices combined to make it more attractive than the former staple, linen. The flourishing status of the latter greatly assisted the development of the new industry by providing investment capital and existing ancillary industrial facilities such as those of bleaching and printing, and it remained dominant in the east. However, while it continued to be pursued in the west, it was eclipsed in importance by the emerging cotton industry, which was to be the dominant factor in Scottish industrial development for nearly half a century after 1780.³

The production of cotton also led to the development of a variety of supporting industrial concerns, so that there was a steady demand for workers accompanied by rising wage levels.⁴ Consequently, there are further indications of remarkable expansion among urban populations. By 1793 the population of Glasgow was estimated to be 66, 578, while the corresponding figures for Paisley and Greenock were 13,800 and 15,000 respectively.⁵ Although these figures are probably far from accurate, there can be no doubt that the increases were indeed very substantial, and in the case of Greenock they indicate the extent to which trade had recovered from the setbacks

of the late 1770s and early 1780s.

As in the previous phase, this industrial activity had widespread effects in the surrounding countryside, not least because it still maintained a rural base to a considerable extent. The parish of Neilston, which was of limited agricultural potential, became increasingly involved in the textile industry from the late 1760s. Indeed, the writer of the first Neilston Statistical Account felt obliged to comment rather disapprovingly of the willingness of landowners throughout the west of Scotland "to give every possible encouragement to all kinds of manufacturers", and this opinion was probably prompted by the fact that five cotton spinning mills were established in his parish between 1780 and 1792.⁶ In some cases such developments represented a replacement of agricultural enterprise, and the agricultural sector was apparently also beginning to feel the influence of the competition of industry for available labour supplies. In fact, by the 1790s agriculture and industry, which had formerly enjoyed a reasonably balanced relationship, were experiencing tensions resulting from the greatly augmented opportunities offered by industry.⁷

The quickening pace of industrial activity was by no means confined to the lower Clyde, and throughout the Lowlands local bases of industry, both in cotton and other goods, expanded in smaller urban centres and villages. All of this industrial growth is a reflection of the relative strength which the general economy had achieved during the course of the eighteenth century, as commercial and industrial expertise and resources grew and the necessary support of a formal credit structure, in the form of a banking system, was erected. Periodic crises such as that of the early 1770s, typified by the collapse of the Ayr bank, resulted in temporary reverses, but the economy was already strong enough to weather both that and the adverse effects of the war which immediately followed.⁸

This period also witnessed accelerated change in the agricultural sector as it responded to the ever more powerful incentives coming to bear. In the immediate vicinity of the major urban industrial centres even areas of relatively poor agricultural land responded vigorously to the growing demand of those centres for food supplies, which was one of the major factors contributing to a steady increase in the price of agricultural products. This trend was also reflected in increased rents, as local landowners reaped the benefits of the new economic climate, sometimes, as has been noted, by promoting industrial development at the expense of agriculture.

However, while agriculture in close proximity to the urban centres might prosper without any great structural or organizational changes, there were pronounced changes in rather more distant areas, and particularly those with reasonable agricultural potential. Indeed, in many areas it was this period between 1770 and the 1790s which produced really significant advances in agricultural improvement with the intensification of enclosure and the widespread introduction of improved crop- and stock-raising practices, together with the adoption of various aspects of a more efficient technology which were just becoming available. In this process the burgeoning economic institutions which were aiding the development of the industrial sector were of considerable assistance. For example, the banks were able to provide credit to landowners (and sometimes to groups of tenants) undertaking improvement. Progress was still neither uniform nor smooth, and the amount of property which changed hands as a consequence of the financial crisis of the early 1770s indicates that new courses were not without perils for the landowner. Despite occasional setbacks, however, this was a period of sustained improvement in an area such as Ayrshire, where such improvement also stimulated other measures, notably the development of an adequate

road system.⁹

In general, then, agricultural advances in the Lowlands were beginning to proceed in step with those of the industrial sector, and were, in fact, to serve as a very necessary adjunct to the latter. In terms of social consequences, the most relevant factors were the prevalence of increasing rentals in conjunction with structural reorganization to promote efficiency, the latter commonly involving the substitution of large-scale, unified farming operations by a single substantial tenant in place of the traditional small-scale operations often conducted communally by groups of tenants with meagre resources. The incidence of such pressures varied greatly from locality to locality, as did also the timing of their introduction. Consequently, repercussions on society had particular local aspects as population mobility became an important factor in the Lowlands during the last 30 years of the eighteenth century.

In the Highlands, as in the Lowlands, this period was one of accelerated change promoted by the rapid expansion of the general economy. However, the serious disadvantages of the region were to continue to inhibit the acquisition of any substantial and permanent benefits from economic development.

The principal non-agricultural aspects of the Highland economy continued to develop with varying success as the exploitation of accessible wood resources greatly intensified: the combination of charcoal production and iron smelting, principally along the west coast, was greatly extended so that 31 such operations are known to have existed in the counties of Inverness and Ross by the end of this period; and general lumbering activity increased, giving rise to considerable undertakings, mainly along major river systems such as the Spey and the Dee, but apparently extending to any locality where lumber could be moved, since there are frequent references to cut-over areas. While much of this latter activity provided timber

for a variety of structural purposes, a good deal of it was involved in the supply of oak bark to the growing tanning industry of the Lowlands. This extensive commercial exploitation combined with more extensive grazing activities to deplete further the already meagre resource. As a result many landowners began to embark upon ambitious programs of reforestation, yet another instance of their reaction to commercial opportunities.¹⁰

Some landowners also tried to take advantage of the boom in textile manufacture by fostering the local development of a textile industry, but in most cases this was to no avail: some limited successes were possible in areas of the eastern Highlands, but in the most inaccessible areas, particularly north and west of the Great Glen, isolation and poor communications effectively stifled development. As previously noted, official aid in this respect had already yielded only disappointing results, and by 1789 the Board of Trustees observed that, without continued subsidies, such ventures tended to collapse.¹¹

However, while there was disillusionment over such projects, the fishing industry continued to receive official encouragement. In the 1780s, the bounty system was revised to include small-scale operations and the selling of fish to the large commercial fishing fleets was legalized. The British Fisheries Society (designed to promote a locally based industry) was also founded at this time, and was responsible for the development of the specialized establishments at Ullapool and Tobermory.¹²

The fishing industry certainly continued to be of importance along the west coast during this period, but the major benefits were still reaped by fleets operating from a distant base. Contemporary accounts attest to the intensity of activity at such localities as Loch Houran, but it is obvious that the local population benefited only marginally since lack of resources severely limited the extent

of their participation, and such rewards as they achieved were often subject to increased exactions by the landlord. Moreover, while the employment opportunities attracted workers from considerable distances, operations were, of course, seasonal.¹³

On the other hand, the non-agricultural activity in the Highlands which experienced the most remarkable growth was one which was not dependent on direct government aid. This was the kelp industry of the west coast and islands which had already grown considerably by the early 1770s, when nearly 2,000 tons were being produced annually, mainly in the Outer Hebrides and certain mainland coastal locations such as Ardnamurchan. Demand continued to rise and was further stimulated by the American War which curtailed supplies of foreign substitutes. This was accompanied by a steadily rising price, already tripled by the early 1770s. Consequently, production rose to at least 5,000 tons annually by 1790. This increased output was largely achieved by an intensification of activity within the already established areas of production, and, since one of the distinguishing features of the industry was that it was labour intensive, it implied a further encouragement to relatively dense population levels.¹⁴

In the agricultural sector, the advances being achieved in the Lowlands were echoed in varying degrees in the Highlands. The move towards the improvement of arable practices was continued under the auspices of the Forfeited Estates Commissioners, and increasing private endeavour resulted in the formation of the Highland Agricultural Society in 1784. This organization originally had quite wide-ranging objectives extending into various sectors of the economy, but it eventually came to concentrate almost exclusively on agricultural improvement. Therefore, there were instances throughout the region of improving landlords who personally conducted improved arable practices, and who encouraged similar activities

among their tenantry by enclosure and the formation of larger, more efficient arable units.¹⁵

However, the very small proportion of good arable land available in the Highlands continued to mean that substantial success must be extremely localized. There certainly seems to have been a lessened dependence on imported meal, but it still remained necessary in many areas, and could be required universally on a large scale on the occasion of widespread crop failure. Indeed, the only considerable arable success was potato cultivation, which in a remarkably short time had become almost universal throughout the Highland region.¹⁶ However, its success was not related to its potential as a commercial crop, but rather to its utility as an additional food resource for the poorer elements of the indigenous peasant society. In this respect it had very little to do with agricultural improvement as commonly understood, since its cultivation could be pursued successfully on relatively infertile and unimproved ground using the limited traditional technology.

As in the past, then, it was the greater potential for stock-rearing which was to provide commercial opportunities in the agricultural sector. The general trend towards steadily rising prices in this period helped to sustain the export of Highland cattle to the south. Contemporary references make it clear that cattle-rearing continued to be one of the principal mainstays of the Highland economy, usually conducted by a traditional social and economic organization, but sometimes involving large-scale, unified commercial operations.¹⁷ As previously observed, the latter was really the only feasible means of pursuing commercial sheep-rearing, which was becoming increasingly attractive in this period as demands for its products also rose, and which brought fundamental social and economic reorganization to various localities as its introduction spread north and west from the initial base established

in the 1760s. The advance was gradual and its incidence was by no means universal; however, by the early 1790s there were instances of its introduction throughout the mainland area of the Highlands.¹⁸

The social consequences of these various economic developments (as in the Lowlands) occurred within the context of an increasing population, and the fact that observers were generally agreed on the overall population increase, but considered that its incidence varied from area to area, indicates that redistribution was also a factor.¹⁹ A universal phenomenon at the local level was the influence of change in the agricultural economy, although such change was far from uniform since more isolated areas tended to remain relatively uninfluenced. However, the contrasts of unequal development tended to occur on a local rather than an area scale within the region. It is evident from the first Statistical Account that, even within a single parish, there could be marked differences in society and material culture between low-lying areas and less accessible mountainous areas, the latter tending to retain former modes, while the former, only a few miles distant, exhibited features of social and economic change.²⁰

Closely correlated with these developments was the emergence of a variant of the old social system, which was increasingly subjected to the disruptive forces already discussed. The result was that instead of the old hierarchical structure based on kinship with the chieftain as the patriarchal head, there was coming into existence what was essentially a two-tier tenant structure consisting of, on the one hand, a small number of substantial tenants, and on the other, a large number of very small tenants.²¹ Wherever there was enclosure and extensive arable improvement it was the former who were principally involved, and it was they who benefited from any improved form of lease. Among the latter, however, leases tended to remain very short or non-existent and traditional practices,

including communal farming, continued to prevail. In addition, as population pressure rose and as the area available for traditional practices diminished in consequence of enclosure for improved arable or commercial grazing, the small tenants became more dependent on poorer land.

Thus, the phenomenon of colonization of waste land proceeded apace in this period, greatly facilitated by the universal adoption of potato cultivation, which was eminently suitable for such enterprise. The Blair Drummond experiment continued, and its success probably encouraged other landowners. Certainly, it became not uncommon for landowners to promote the extension of cultivation into waste ground, usually by small tenants or subtenants who had lost opportunities elsewhere. On the other hand, this also appears to have continued to be largely a spontaneous movement on the part of the participants themselves, closely allied to the continued subdivision of holdings to accommodate adult offspring upon marriage.²²

It is in all of these factors that the explanation is to be sought for the fact that this period seems to have been the one of greatest expansion for small Highland communal settlements (or "clachans"), the success of which was determined by a number of interrelated factors.²³ Where commercial sheep farming was prevalent there was relatively little opportunity for an expansion of the traditional economy. Indeed, one of its principal effects is considered to have been a reduction of the area available for traditional pursuits. Although the premise that the extent of such an effect must necessarily be drastic has been disputed both then and later, it would certainly not be conducive to any extensive colonization of even the most marginal land.²⁴ Again, the increased commercial importance of wood and the consequent depletion of the resource probably seriously decreased its availability for

local consumption, and it has been suggested that this was one of the principal reasons for the widespread resort to stone as a basic domestic structural material in the eighteenth century.²⁵ Similarly, there are frequent references to a growing scarcity of the basic heating fuel, peat - another instance of increased pressure on limited resources.²⁶

All of the above are aspects of the adaptation of a generally increasing rural population to circumstances which, as in the Lowlands, were tending to discourage relatively dense rural population levels. However, for most of the Highland region the corresponding attraction of expanding urban centres was not readily available, and as a result social dislocation was likely to be much more dramatic and obtrusive. Nevertheless, the extent, incidence and timing of such dislocation were very largely a function of the economic policies of particular local landowners, which in turn were usually a function of the latter's desire to increase the income from their land for the general reasons already discussed. In some cases this was achieved by radical economic reorganization - commercial sheep operations, for example, frequently involved the introduction of outside personnel. However, where more traditional aspects of the economy were still viable, their continuation was likely to be countenanced by the landowner. In this context, "viable" denotes the ability to supply what was considered by the landowner to be an adequate income, and the pressure of this demand was felt by all levels of his tenantry. To the more substantial tenants this was often an added irritant. They were commonly designated tacksmen, although the traditional role and status formerly connected with that title no longer existed in most areas.

But those of them who had fulfilled the original function now found themselves subject to increased economic exactions in addition to a reduced social status, since they were different only in degree

from other tenants.

Significantly, the most commonly voiced complaints in the early 1770s and throughout much of this period concerned rising rents, and the effects on all levels of tenantry are illustrated by examples quoted by contemporaries. These reveal the precarious state to which traditional forms of the Highland economy had been reduced. Thus, in many areas where the export of cattle remained the principal provider of a surplus, rent levels resulted in only a narrow margin being available once rents and the cost of imported meal had been paid, even though cattle prices were also rising, and at a rate even greater than that of meal prices.²⁷ A further difficulty in many Highland areas was the scarcity of cash, particularly critical in the face of the growing trend towards commutation.

This developing trend had a general incidence, but economic aspiration did not necessarily induce a landlord to embark on a course which would involve either the direct expulsion of at least some of his tenantry, or the imposition of rent levels which were difficult to meet and, consequently, increased the threat of dislocation. For example, he might still be imbued with much of the spirit of the old order, perhaps still finding satisfaction in having a large body of dependants, or perhaps just being unwilling to impose drastic change upon a faithful following.²⁸ Moreover, the new economic trends were making the west coast and many of the islands more favourable to relatively dense population concentrations, compared to interior areas, because of the additional labour intensive occupations and subsistence supplements which those locations could provide with their maritime orientation.

The potential encouragement to dense populations inherent in both the fishing and kelp industries has already been noted, but it was the positive encouragement to sustained and even increased

population levels, apparent in all the main kelping areas, which became most obtrusive during this period. This was a result of the landowners choosing to organize the gathering operation in such a way that a great many workers were each allocated a very small working area. In this way the short kelping season could be exploited to the full, at least to the benefit of the landowner, although the relatively small participation of each individual worker meant that his personal benefit was minimal.²⁹ Nevertheless, the small additional income was a vital contribution to the payment of rent in a context in which many aspects of the traditional social order could be allowed to continue, and in which there were not likely to be any attempts to restrict population densities, although even by the 1770s there was discontent caused by the raising of rents in kelping areas.³⁰

But even in this context, social strains developed which indicated that the fundamental problem of Highland society which emerged in the eighteenth century was the excessive pressure on limited resources exerted by an increasing population, since even those areas which revealed some aspects of population attraction continued to rely heavily upon a traditional support base. The situation was exacerbated in many areas by economic strategies which were inimical to dense populations, but these only served to render the problems more immediate, and, to some extent, by promoting redistribution, to transfer the crisis to other areas. Again, contemporary accounts indicate the prevalence of very dense local population concentrations pressing hard on the edge of subsistence, and sometimes under pressure from economic policies which were eroding the traditional means of subsistence.³¹

That this social tension led to widespread dislocation is revealed by the variety of adaptive strategies which began to appear, even before 1770, and which increasingly involved recourse to

emigration. One of the basic problems was that, for the most part, the various non-agricultural economic activities discussed above did little to provide for the adequate support of the existing population. The increased opportunities made available by the developing kelp, fishing and lumbering industries, apart from the fact that they were strictly localized, were essentially seasonal, and did not provide permanent employment for large numbers.

The nature and extent of the problem were discussed extensively by contemporaries, and there was no lack of proposed solutions designed to produce economic adjustments which would adequately accommodate the growing population within the limits of the region as a whole, or within particular areas. The benefits of arable improvement were of course extolled, although it was already obvious to some, Sir John Sinclair for instance, that there could only be substantial success in the pastoral sector. In this respect, some observers merely suggested resistance to the spread of sheep farming, but others sought alternative means of supporting population surpluses.³² The colonization of waste land was perhaps the easiest since it required little or no prompting from the landowner, and the fact that many of the latter did actively promote it indicates that it was viewed as a viable means of improvement. However, the special circumstances of the Blair Drummond experiment were far from typical, and in general it signified only a very precarious extension of the existing system.

A more positive reaction was to attempt to introduce new occupations. The possibilities of manufacturing industries, as displayed in the Lowlands, continued to beckon, and, despite the lack of any notable success, this recourse, particularly in the field of textiles, was repeatedly taken on a local basis. However, the main thrust of opinion and activity was directed towards the more efficient exploitation of the west coast fishery, which could

provide both a valuable subsistence base and a source of income for a large work force. Since the indigenous population had hitherto derived only marginal benefits, the obvious goal was to foster a strong locally-based industry, and it was largely in pursuit of this that the official measures outlined above were undertaken in the 1780s, just as Knox was citing the apparently spectacular success of the settlement of Loyalist refugees at coastal locations in Nova Scotia as an appropriate model to emulate.³³

However, the mere establishment of facilities did not guarantee the growth of a healthy industry, as was very quickly proved in Nova Scotia. The general lack of sufficient resources to enable the populace to participate effectively in the fishery was a much more fundamental problem, and one which was much more difficult to solve. Knox graphically described the difficulties of a domestic-based fishing venture at Loch Inver, where both proprietors and fishermen were severely hampered by the duty on salt, and the latter were only able to survive in their current density by becoming heavily indebted to the former, who in turn were threatened with imminent failure.³⁴ This did not bode well for future development except along radically different lines, but, as will be seen, it was a course which was increasingly resorted to by private as well as official interests in the Highlands.

In a sense, then, all of these measures only served to postpone to varying degrees the crisis of a population which was outgrowing the limited resources of an economically marginal region, and suggest that the adaptations of the landowners posed severe threats to their own as well as their tenants' status. Those who chose to shield their tenantry from the most severe effects of social and economic change could usually only do so at the cost of increasing personal indebtedness. But those who profited from the exploitation of a variety of Highland resources were to prove equally

vulnerable.

What became of great importance in the period after 1770 was the fact that many of the economic successes achieved in the Highlands rested upon very precarious foundations. The kelp boom, for instance, stimulated by rapidly rising prices, could prove exceedingly vulnerable if cheaper sources gained access to the British market. Similarly, if the cattle trade did not continue to prosper, the temptations to turn to sheep farming would be even stronger. In either case the social consequences were likely to be very disruptive, not least for the landowner who all too often was content to exact the maximum profit from what was likely to prove only a temporary economic advantage.

Although the most severe repercussions were to come later, they were foreshadowed by a tendency by some to live beyond their means.³⁵ Consequently, the Highland landlord of this period has been criticized for a lack of foresight and a mistaken faith in the continued prosperity of aspects of the Highland economy which, being subject to the vagaries of demand in the general economy, were in fact not immune to severe adverse effects. This criticism has also extended to his general failure to invest productively in the local economy such profits as could be made.³⁶ There were some exceptions, but it may be questioned whether any concerted efforts could have been successful without the kind of great upheaval which was to come.

Thus, the Highlands retained the essential disadvantages already described, and for the bulk of the population the prospects for any long-term local benefits from national economic expansion were indeed dim. The isolation of the region was scarcely diminished, with the result that the population remained largely distinguished from their countrymen to the south in technology, customs, manners, language, and educational attainments. This isolation was also recognized at the time for the crucial factor it was, and gave rise

to pleas for improved communications.³⁷ These were long in coming, however, and, with the failure to maintain the military road system, improvements were limited to occasional private efforts, sometimes assisted by the Forfeited Estates Commissioners.³⁸

1794-1814

The long period of war, punctuated midway by a very brief interlude of peace, had very profound effects on the entire Scottish economy. While in the Lowlands its effects contributed to the development of strong industrial and agricultural sectors, in the Highlands its effects were to produce merely a postponement of the worst consequences of the social and economic trends already established in that region. Moreover, although many factors acted as powerful deterrents to emigration, the latter was not eliminated nearly so effectively as during the previous war period, and indeed produced another brief period of greatly intensified activity.

In the industrial centres of the Lowlands textile manufacture experienced substantial growth. This was a widespread phenomenon, and was marked in the east by the emergence of large-scale linen production involving power processes at such centres as Aberdeen and Dundee. Nevertheless, the most substantial advances were made by the cotton industry in the lower Clyde district, centred on Glasgow which had 40 mills in operation by 1819. Such impressive developments reflected the growing prosperity and enterprise of commercial and industrial entrepreneurial groups who were now numerous and strong enough to exploit effectively the opportunities presented by war-stimulated demand increments.³⁹

These factors also had considerable implications for the industrial labour force in terms of increased employment opportunities accompanied by steadily rising wage levels, opportunities which were becoming more concentrated in the urban centres. Certain aspects

of textile production, particularly weaving which was slow to be mechanized, continued to maintain a substantial rural base, but spinning was becoming more of a factory-based urban occupation involving the use of mules, which incidentally required adult male operatives rather than the females and juveniles who formed the principal labour supply for rural water-frame operations.⁴⁰

Consequently, the urban centres continued to exhibit very remarkable population growth as they came to account for an ever greater portion of the total population - it has been estimated that urban population rose from about one eighth to about one third of the total between 1750 and 1820. This growth was further evidence of the extent of the population redistribution which was occurring, since, while the trend towards general population growth was maintained, it alone could not account for the dramatic urban increases.⁴¹

The greatly enlarged urban industrial labour force which was the basis for this growth meant that a large sector of the population was now becoming susceptible to distress and dislocation caused by circumstances peculiar to the new economic structure: cyclical trade depression was now likely to result in cyclical unemployment affecting large local concentrations with little immediate alternative means of support. However, while there must have been considerable temporary hardship during this period, caused for instance by the food shortages of 1799-1800, sustained employment and wage increments seem to have averted any serious disruption of the circumstances which were maintaining the towns as centres of powerful population attraction,⁴² an attraction which was also acting in this period on an ever increasing potential supply.

Early census statistics indicate that the rate of population growth quickened in the first decade of the nineteenth century, and was followed in the decade after 1811 by a rate which was never again

achieved in Scotland.⁴³ It has already been seen how the rural Lowlands and the more accessible Highland areas contributed to initial urban growth. This trend continued and was supplemented by Irish immigration, which had also become a significant factor by this period.⁴⁴ In the context of the present review, the fact that urban-based industry was offering such abundant opportunities was of crucial importance for many of the Lowland rural population, since the agricultural sector in the region was responding as vigorously as the industrial sector to the demands of the war economy.

Indeed, while agricultural change proceeded apace in the Lowlands from the beginning of the last quarter of the eighteenth century, it has been argued that the really significant advances did not come until the effects of a sharply increased demand for a wide range of agricultural products were felt during this period of war and heightened industrial activity, and technological innovations became generally available.⁴⁵

Thus it was during these years that the essential transformation of Lowland agriculture really got under way. This was accomplished generally by an intensification of the enclosure movement, with all its ramifications. The results were most spectacular in the specialized arable districts of the southeast, where the large, enclosed single tenant farm, with its new, substantial and well-furnished buildings, was becoming prominent (as witnessed by Sinclair's review which appeared at the end of the period).⁴⁶ Change may not have been quite so radical in other, more diversified areas, but there can be no mistaking the general incidence of the trend towards larger and more efficient unitary farm holdings, whether for pastoral or arable purposes, and despite the survival of aspects of the traditional system in many areas due to varying rates of local progress.⁴⁷

The main implication for the general rural populace was that

the restriction of direct occupancy to fewer individuals, already seen to have been a factor in the preceding period, became even more prevalent, and must have been reinforced in its effects by accelerated population growth. The nature of the adaptation to the resultant dislocation would again be dependent on local circumstances. In the southeast there was a developing potential for wage labour, and this enabled numbers of former small tenants and subtenants to remain on the land in their own area as landless labourers employed by the new class of very substantial tenant farmers. In other areas, however, where farm units tended to be smaller and basically family operated, such opportunities were much more limited, and there must have been increasing resort to opportunities beyond the local agricultural economy, most notably those provided by industrial expansion both in the large regional centres and in the smaller local village centres.

Thus, in the Lowlands during this period of general economic stimulation, the growing intricacy of interrelationships among the various sectors of the economy helped to effect a large-scale population redistribution in close accord with the respective requirements of those sectors - a relatively denser urban population complemented by a relatively sparser rural population. This rural-urban transfer by no means accounted for all Lowland population movement at this time, but it was certainly the dominant theme.

Some of the potential economic perils threatening this new urban industrial labour force have been noted, and these were accompanied by social problems resulting from population density, some of the more prominent of which were already becoming apparent, for instance deteriorating health and educational standards.⁴⁸

Consequently, the threat of acute social distress was inherent in the restructured economy of the Lowlands, but extreme manifestations of this were not to occur until later, and in the meantime at least

it may be said that reorganization and redistribution were in accord with the contemporary development of the general British economy, and along lines which were to ensure sustained economic success, which is more than can be said for what was happening in the Highlands at the same time.

The effect of raised demand was also of great significance for the Highland economy, but it produced only an intensification of activity in the established resource industries, and failed yet again to establish any viable manufacturing industry. Economic buoyancy, therefore, only served to accentuate the disadvantages of this region, although the boom in traditional staple products brought a certain measure of relative prosperity to various areas and social groups.

Of these staples, kelp produced the most remarkable example of growth stimulated by wartime demands as the price rose from £10 per ton in 1800 to £20 per ton in 1810. Production reached the level of 7,000 tons annually by the latter date, and was again marked by an intensification of activity in the already established areas of production rather than by a geographical extension of operations. However, 1810 proved to be the peak of the kelp boom, and the price fell quite rapidly to its 1800 level immediately thereafter, revealing the precariousness of the success of a venture which was promoted largely by the exclusion of alternative resources.⁴⁹

The other Highland staples did not experience such a spectacular stimulation, but all were influenced by price increases. The other coastal resource, fish, was also exploited more fully during this period, and the British Fisheries Society continued to extend its operations in conjunction with the growing practice among landowners of encouraging coastal settlement to benefit from the fishery. However, deficiencies in skills, equipment and capital continued to

be serious inhibitors to effective large-scale exploitation by local populations.⁵⁰

Among the land-based pursuits, lumbering assumed the proportions of a thriving industry as techniques of extraction and water transportation were refined and resources along the main river systems were worked intensively. On the other hand, though, this remained essentially a localized phenomenon and, despite ambitious programs of reforestation, intensified exploitation threatened a disastrous depletion of the resource.⁵¹ Yet another threat to remnant forest resources was posed by the increased profitability of stock-rearing.

The latter not only helped to maintain the importance of cattle, but also provided added incentives to the promotion of commercial sheep farming. Indeed, the spread of sheep farming on the mainland received much attention at this time.⁵² The areas of first introduction in the south and east were occupied more fully, and the geographical range of activity was extended to encompass the entire mainland. Beyond the areas of intensive development its incidence was local, but the greater area affected made more noticeable the social repercussions involved, particularly in the case of Sutherland, the last mainland county to be affected.⁵³ The main social implication was a disruption of the traditional system of land occupancy, and, while sheep farming might provide the most drastic example of this, there is evidence for this period which suggests that it was then that the most determined assault on run-rie and the associated communal farming system began in many Highland areas for a variety of agricultural purposes, paralleling contemporary developments in the south.⁵⁴

In terms of population deployment, the main lines of economic development in the Highlands involved extensive redistribution both at the local and the regional level, and this was the formative

period for what was to become the standard Highland settlement pattern in the nineteenth century. At the regional level the general growth of population was drawing increasing attention, but equally evident were the marked area differentials which accompanied that growth: many inland areas were seen to be recording only moderate increases or even decreases, while the west coast and the islands were experiencing very rapid growth, despite the fact that they were the principal contributors to military recruitment and overseas emigration. The reasons for this were perceived to be fundamental agricultural reorganization, most notably in the form of commercial sheep farming. This was coupled with a lack of alternative local opportunities in the inland areas, complemented by more abundant subsistence resources and employment possibilities afforded by the flourishing kelp and fishing industries on the west coast and in the islands.⁵⁵ While a fair degree of local variability continued, this was a reasonable assessment of the general situation.

In those mainland areas without direct access to coastal resources, the accelerated trend towards larger unitary holdings for either pastoral or agrarian purposes produced a population displacement similar in nature to that occurring in the Lowlands, but the consequent adjustments yielded quite different results along the lines of trends already established. Locally, with the exception of some areas along the Highland Line, there was very little availability of industrial wage labour as attempts to encourage the development of textile manufacture continued to meet with failure. Sheep farming was most definitely not labour intensive, and arable improvement was not of sufficient extent to offer anything but extremely localized and frequently only temporary wage labour. Movement to the Lowlands continued to be an important factor in less remote areas, and the relative stability of population levels in many inland areas suggests that outmigration, in general, was a very

prevalent form of adjustment.⁵⁶

Nevertheless, the fact that this period probably represented the peak development of the "clachan" phenomenon (as suggested by modern archaeological research and supported by contemporary accounts) does indicate that many resorted to an adjustment which would maintain local residence.⁵⁷ What this amounted to was an intensification of, and to a certain degree an institutionalization of, the practices of subdivision and colonization of waste land which served to preserve many aspects of the traditional socio-economic order in the face of mounting economic and demographic pressure. This was a trend which produced small settlement clusters, often at a fairly high elevation (noted by Wordsworth in 1803)⁵⁸ and which usually represented the survival of some form of the communal farm, even though the process of subdivision induced by population pressure was severely straining the traditional structure.

It has already been argued that this adaptation, because it maintained occupancy, satisfied one of the basic tenets of the peasantry, and it has also been shown how the process was countenanced and even encouraged by landowners. Its continued viability in this period was sustained, on the one hand, mainly by the universal success of potato cultivation and high cattle prices, and, on the other hand, by the survival among landowners of a general unwillingness to precipitate a wholesale migration from their sphere of influence. In some cases, the latter attitude no doubt still reflected a lingering sympathy with the former glories of a numerous tenantry, but there were also much more practical and cogent considerations.

For example, the Highland tenantry formed a valuable military reserve, albeit now of a public rather than private significance. Moreover, whatever the extent and nature of reorganization in any area, it did not encompass all available land; there was usually a

reserve of marginal land, a prevalent attitude towards which was that any use that could be made of it must constitute "improvement" - even small potato patches signified a notable advance which could only tend to add value to the estate. Of great value, too, were the profits to be derived from cattle, which remained the principal concern of the peasant mass, so that the burden of increased rent demands could be borne more readily.

However, this retention of modified aspects of the traditional system was not accompanied by any significant material benefits to the bulk of the population. Direct occupancy of the land may have been maintained by many, but it was only on the basis of relatively diminutive individual holdings as the interacting effects of population pressure, environmental limitations, economic policies, and social predilections exacted their inexorable toll. The poverty of the arable base being increasingly resorted to was reflected in the apparently universal poverty of the small tenant farms as the old problem of inadequate subsistence, only partially alleviated by the potato, continued unabated.

These developments also indicate a considerable intensification of that restructuring of society into two tiers already noted as an emerging factor in the previous period, and the differences in the scale of operations were reflected in varying ability to profit from the new economic climate. The substantial tenants, tending more and more to consist of a new breed of commercial farmer rather than elements of the old minor Highland gentry, were best able to utilize improved agricultural methods. The small tenants, being reduced more and more to a uniform level of small-scale marginal subsistence by economic and demographic pressures, were generally unable to seize such opportunities.⁵⁹

The Strathnaver district of Sutherland provides a good example of the circumstances of the smaller tenantry during this period, well

documented by contemporary observation and recent archaeological investigation.⁶⁰ There were a great many small "townships" of traditional form, engaged mainly in unimproved run-rig cultivation, and often dependent on a high proportion of moorland of marginal arable potential. The number of settlements probably represented a substantial increase since the middle of the eighteenth century, and the process of expansion, in terms of the establishment of new settlements and the growth of existing ones, was still in progress.

Individual family resources were probably not great, since population densities implied only a few acres of arable and small stocks of cattle, sheep and horses for each family unit. Subsistence requirements, therefore, could not be met on a regular basis by local resources, and the recurrent necessity of meal importation depleted what little profit could be made from the thriving market for live-stock. It is not surprising then to learn that, in 1810, the people of this district were complaining of high rents, uncertain harvests, and "increased population in consequence of the sheep farming".⁶¹

Sutherland was, of course, beginning to be intensively exploited for the latter purpose, and came to be the most infamous example of resulting social dislocation. Nevertheless, the complaint illustrates one of the most far-reaching effects of dislocation: that is, heightened pressure on those remaining areas available for relatively dense occupation.

In the inland districts resource limitations were an inhibiting factor, but coastal locations were becoming increasingly attractive. To the small tenant, they offered a broader subsistence base and the possibility of participating in the commercial fishery at a time when it was particularly prosperous. To the landlords, they seemed to provide a means of solving the problems of population pressure and economic reorganization without resorting to outright expulsion.

The establishment of fishing villages from the 1780s was, of course, an example of putting such a policy into practice; and it was in this period that such redeployment came to be pursued on a large-scale basis, most notably in the case of the Sutherland estate. It was being suggested by 1812 that maximum improvement of the Sutherland lands could be achieved by promoting three classes of tenant: sheep and grain farmers paying rentals of £200 to £600; a middling group who could have rentals as low as £30; and a body of small tenants who could be allowed sufficient grazing for a horse and a few cattle, "with new ground to improve and to trust to labour and fishing for their support ... This last description of people should have the most liberal terms and every reasonable indulgence, they are a useful race or will be so. The ground in general they occupy is worth nothing, they will make of it some value and they will I expect acquire habits of industry".⁶² The retention of the smaller tenantry was therefore seen to be desirable, and the implication was that the place for it was on the coast.

This policy was indeed pursued vigorously on the Sutherland estate during these years, and resulted in the movement of considerable numbers from inland population clusters, such as Strathnaver, to coastal locations.⁶³ One notable aspect of this move was that the new holdings tended to be on an individual basis rather than in the form of the communal farm. This was really just an extension of the general principle of enclosure and was regarded as an element of "improvement". To a great extent, however, it was also a formalization of the practices of subdivision and moor colonization. However, it did not remove any of the basic disadvantages of the process: a continued inadequacy of resources militated against material improvement, and continued population pressure seemed likely to promote only further fragmentation of holdings.

So it was that the croft began to emerge as the typical Highland form of smallholding. Although it provided the most remarkable instance, the Sutherland experience was by no means unique as the pattern was reproduced along the northwest coastline.⁶⁴ While various hinterland areas were converted to commercial grazing, the actual coastline became the seat of particularly dense population concentrations, fostered by the prevailing demographic trend and relocation, the latter often promoted by local landowners. However, these concentrations did not produce a specialized local fishing industry. Mere access to the resource was insufficient if capital, equipment and skills remained inadequate, and subsistence farming continued to be the base of operations.

This period of greater profitability was of marginal benefit to both fishermen and landlords, but the fundamental problems observed in the 1770s and 1780s had been in no way alleviated. Some west coast areas of the mainland were also affected by the wartime kelp boom, but it was in the Western Isles, the other area of noted population increase, that its influence was most widely felt. The effects of its labour intensive nature, and the consequent encouragement to dense population concentrations, reached a peak in this period as landlords grasped at the inflated profits to be made.⁶⁵

The islands remained relatively unaffected by commercial grazing and large-scale arable enclosure as the eminent suitability of the traditional order for efficient exploitation of the most profitable resource became even more apparent. This industry also had an advantage over fishing in that it required neither capital, special skill, nor sophisticated equipment on the part of the workers; rather, it was their availability in large numbers which was the key factor. Consequently, in the islands there was a notable lack of policies inimical to population growth and concentration. Instead, encouragement was the order of the day as

landlords enthusiastically promoted further subdivision among their tenants.⁶⁶

The communal farm was still the dominant settlement form in the islands, but this period witnessed an initial resort to the creation of small individual holdings, or crofts, to accommodate a population growth which was regarded as beneficial to the local economy.⁶⁷ However, this only revealed a basic weakness the kelp industry had in common with the fishery - namely, that it was based on the continued support of subsistence farming in circumstances which were adding further strain to an already tenuous resource. This situation was exacerbated by the fact that kelping and farming were, to a large extent, incompatible in that the former required concentrated efforts during the summer months so important in the agricultural work cycle, a factor which also had relevance in the case of the fishery.⁶⁸

Economic developments in the Highlands, therefore, while fostering population redistribution and concentration, were not producing large groups devoted exclusively to wage labour. Rather, instead of a replacement of peasant society, there was appearing a new kind of peasant society based on the occupation of minute portions of land, and the small-scale exploitation of one or more of a limited range of staples.⁶⁹

It has recently been argued that an essential feature of the developing crofting system was a deliberate policy on the part of landlords of forcing their tenants into circumstances in which they could only survive by participating, virtually as wage labourers, in the fishery and kelping, a procedure which aroused widespread discontent and resistance among the tenantry.⁷⁰ However, while land holdings did become less and less adequate, a foothold was maintained, and for some the system must have represented opportunities similar

to those involved in the moor colonization movement already under way.

1815-1830

After 1815, all sections of Scottish society had to adjust to the deflationary aspects of the post-war economy. However, while the general course of economic development in the Lowlands did not experience any permanent setbacks, the Highland economy was severely disrupted by a decreased profitability affecting its staple industries. In these years, too, the emigration movement gained momentum, and it was accompanied by marked shifts in attitudes and policies towards it. Indeed, the end of this period coincided approximately with fundamental changes in the course of the emigration movement from Scotland.

With the availability of decennial census returns from 1801, we are now well into the era of fairly reliable and continuous demographic statistics, and it may be appropriate to consider some general trends. The scale of the national population increase in the first two decades of the nineteenth century has already been commented upon, and it should be noted that the decennial increases recorded for 1801-31 (12.3%, 15.1% and 13.0%) represented an unprecedented rate of growth and one which was never again to be equalled. At the same time, regional differentials were further accentuated. Thus, the percentage of the population in the Highland counties declined from 14.4% to 13.1% between 1811 and 1831, while the percentage in the central western Lowlands increased from 22.8% to 26.6% during the same period.⁷¹

Concurrently, the trend towards urbanization continued as the urbanized proportion of the total population (in communities of 5,000+) rose from 24.2% to 31.2% over the same two decades, but again with marked regional variations: while the relevant proportion of the population of the Highland counties remained relatively static at

around 4.0%, that of the western Lowlands increased from 43.4% to 51.9%.⁷²

This growing concentration in the industrial west is further emphasized by the fact that (using Webster's figures as a base) the population of the central western Lowlands had tripled by 1831, while the total national population took another decade to double itself from the same base, a trend which was reflected in decennial growth rates of around 20% achieved in the western industrial areas during the first three decades of the century.⁷³ After 1830 the growth of the Scottish population was increasingly concentrated in the central Lowlands. On the other hand, the population of areas such as the Highlands and the extreme southwest peaked within a decade or two of that date.⁷⁴

These demographic trends are a reflection of the continuation of economic development in the Lowlands along the lines already outlined, and in particular of the sustained growth of urban industrial centres such as Glasgow (where the population had reached the 200,000 level by 1831). This was a concomitant of the increasing concentration of industrial activity in urban factories, so that by 1830 urban industrialism was the dominant feature of the western central Lowlands. Moreover, similar developments were proceeding apace in other Lowland areas such as Fife and Forfar in the east.⁷⁵

Until about 1830 textile production, of cotton in the west and linen in the east, remained the pre-eminent industrial pursuit, but the end of this period coincided with the initial development of large-scale coal and iron production in the west, prompted by technological innovations in iron processing. Lowland industrial development now entered a second phase, building upon the foundations laid by the first, largely textile oriented phase.⁷⁶

However, while the overall theme was one of growth, the

post-war economy experienced temporary reverses in the form of periodic recessions. Mercantile and industrial interests had certainly prospered during the war and the financial structure had been further strengthened. But the inflationary war economy was succeeded by a period of general deflation involving credit contraction accompanied by a lowering of interest rates and profit levels, and marked by trade depression in the few years immediately following 1815 and again in the mid-1820s.⁷⁷

Nevertheless, by 1830 the basis of a modern industrial economy had been firmly established, and was accompanied by the rapid expansion of improved means of communication both on land and water.⁷⁸ Improved communications assisted the greater integration of different sectors of the economy and, in particular, made an important contribution to the further development of the Lowland agricultural sector.

Agriculture, like industry, had to contend with post-war price fluctuations, but again setbacks were generally only temporary. The mixed nature of the agricultural economy in much of the Lowlands was indeed an advantage since it was grain, in particular wheat, which was most affected by deflation. Consequently, in many areas there was an increasing emphasis on pastoralism as livestock came to be more fully exploited in response to the ever growing urban demand for foodstuffs.⁷⁹

The more exclusively arable areas of the southeast also weathered the temporary fluctuations of the economic climate, and by 1830 the large farms of that district were being described as outdoor factories.⁸⁰

Indeed, by the end of this period, Lowland agriculture had been fundamentally transformed and had emerged as an efficient and able companion to the industrial sector. The course of improvement was not uniform. In general, however, each area had adopted those

elements of the new organization and technology which best fitted the local context. The large unitary commercial farm was now the norm, and the agricultural landscape had assumed the general form which it was to retain for the remainder of the century.⁸¹

The social implications of post-1815 economic development in the Lowlands were largely governed by the demographic trends reviewed above, which underline the strength of the attractive power exerted by the urban centres. The remarkable population growth of urban centres has been explained as being partly a function of birth rates which were higher than the national average, but such rapid expansion indicates continued large-scale immigration throughout this period, to the extent that by 1850 fully 30% of the population of Glasgow was not native born.⁸²

Employment opportunity was obviously the principal attraction, but the influx was so great that supply outstripped demand despite the general expansionary trend of the industrial economy, and in the years immediately after 1815 the potential labour force was further augmented by demobilized soldiers. Moreover, the cyclical depressions of the post-war era resulted in unemployment for many of those already established in the work force, and general deflationary pressures together with the oversupply of labour served to depress wage levels, most notably in the case of handloom weavers who were being sharply reduced from the level of comparative prosperity they had enjoyed towards the end of the eighteenth century.⁸³

As a result, widespread distress among the urban industrial work force became evident during this period, aggravated by the lack of social amenities as more and more people were crowded into unsatisfactory housing, and medical, educational and religious facilities were unable to cope adequately. At the same time, emigration from the urban centres was beginning to be the goal of

many of the distressed.⁸⁴

These urban immigrants were, of course, predominantly of rural origins, and as the nineteenth century progressed ever greater numbers came from outside the Lowland region. Highlanders were still prominent, but, considering the scale of the migratory movement from the Highlands, their numbers were relatively small in the lower Clyde area where the largest immigrant group was formed by the Irish.⁸⁵

Rural Lowlanders also continued to be involved in the transfer to urban-based industrial employment, but the process was not so patent as in the case of the other groups. For example, the move need not be to one of the large centres but only to one of the many smaller local centres which were expanding at this time, perhaps even within the same parish.

Certainly, the prevailing tendency among the strictly rural population was towards stability or even decline. This again was largely a function of continued social dislocation resulting from the extensive reorganization of the agricultural economy. The triumph of commercial farming produced a situation closely paralleling that of urban industry: the new order was founded on larger farm units operated by men of substance who employed wage labour.⁸⁶

It has recently been suggested that, despite the great social disruption involved, the new system provided abundant employment opportunities as it expanded operations to meet urban demands, proved by the generally sustained level of agricultural wage rates. Consequently, migration from Lowland rural areas (according to this hypothesis) may be viewed as being due more to "pull" from other spheres of attraction than to "push" from local circumstances, and agricultural wage rates may indicate attempts to retain a labour force.⁸⁷ On the other hand, it may be suggested that the question of land occupancy was an important factor contributing to migratory

movement, much as it was in the Highlands. In other words, there were probably those who were unwilling to remain on the land as landless labourers when they had been accustomed to the occupancy of even a minute portion of land.

This was a period, too, when many more were finding it difficult or impossible to achieve or maintain the status of tenant as demobilization added to normal population pressure, and deflation created economic problems for many who had incurred indebtedness during the boom years of the war.⁸⁸ Thus, for many the push may have been just as important as the pull. However, whatever the particular combination of influences, migratory movement in the rural Lowlands certainly seems to have maintained a much more satisfactory balance than in the case of the Highlands where congestion was becoming ever more serious.

As noted at the beginning of this section, the post-war economy had much more serious implications for the Highlands than for the Lowlands as the profitability of most of the region's staple products declined drastically. The most dramatic reverse was suffered by the kelp industry. Even before the end of the war, victory in the Iberian peninsula had led to renewed imports of barilla and potash. Then, soon after 1815, the duties on those imported substitutes were reduced and the salt tax was eliminated, thus encouraging the development of domestic salt-based alkali production.

In the face of such vigorous competition the price of the Highland product tumbled. The £10 per ton level was maintained until the early 1820s, but a steady decline began thereafter and by the mid-1830s the level was £3 per ton. As a result of this trend it was no longer profitable for Highland landlords to organize the production and marketing of kelp in a situation where it was not possible to reduce costs effectively: nowhere were the earnings of

the labour force beyond subsistence level once rents had been deducted, and shipping costs were not controlled by the local entrepreneurs. Kelping rapidly ceased to be a viable economic activity in the Highlands, though production did not cease completely for reasons which will be considered below.⁸⁹

In the case of the other major maritime resource, the commercial fishery, the situation was rather more complicated but yielded a similar result in that the locally-based participation along the northwest coast was virtually eliminated. Migratory herring shoals were the principal goal of the industry on the west coast. These had always been unpredictable, but in the first few decades of the nineteenth century they became scarcer and scarcer in inshore areas, and periodically were completely absent from some localities. Consequently, the land-based fishermen of the northwest were unable to exploit the resource effectively for commercial purposes.

Henceforth the industry on the west coast was to be dominated by large fleets operating at long range from bases on the Clyde and Loch Fyne, as the Dutch were eliminated after 1815. Yet another disadvantage for the west at this time was the fact that, while West Indian markets were declining, new opportunities were appearing in continental Europe, more convenient to the already thriving specialized east coast fishery.

All these factors removed most of the marginal benefits derived from the fishery by the economy of the northwest. Another result was the general failure of the fishing villages promoted by the British Fisheries Society and others. Exceptions such as Tobermory and Wick achieved a degree of success and prosperity, but for reasons unconnected with the fishery.⁹⁰

In these two instances industrial ventures did prosper, but such occurrences were very rare in the Highlands and the establishment of any substantial manufacturing industries continued to be

doomed to failure. Indeed, the centralizing tendency now prevalent in the textile industries contributed to the diminution of related activities in the Highlands as the demand for part-time spinning and weaving slackened and all aspects of linen production became concentrated in industrial centres.⁹¹

Yet another source of income for many Highland smallholders was removed in the 1820s with the reduction of duty on spirits and the institution of a licensing system for larger stills. From that time, there was a steady development of legal commercial distilleries and little opportunity for the small operator.⁹²

Some extractive industries did continue to flourish, but the most important resource in this sector, wood, was also adversely affected by post-war economic adjustments. Timber prices fell and the volume of activity declined steadily in the major centres. But perhaps more ominous was the unabated depletion of the resource, since by this time there were even instances of plantations being clear-cut and never replaced.⁹³

Thus, the Highlands emerged from the long period of war with a still almost exclusively rural agricultural economy and society. As in the Lowlands, the general theme was an accelerating trend towards commercial farming as the eradication of the old communal organization proceeded apace, together with the continued elimination of subtenure.

Pastoralism remained the mainstay of the economy, but again changing economic circumstances led to a more exclusive concentration on one species - sheep - since the new economic climate was no more propitious for the Highland cattle trade than for the various other activities which had been pursued so assiduously under the stimulus of a war economy, but which now languished. As with other commodities there was a sharp and quite rapid price reduction, with the level of the mid-1820s being only half that of the first few post-war

years. Coupled with this were the effects of increased Lowland competition as stock-rearing expanded in that region and, with the widespread transformation of land-use patterns, there was no longer the same freedom of movement for drovers.⁹⁴

So the last major economic support of the traditional socio-economic system was fatally weakened. In Morvern, for instance, continued profitability allowed elements of the traditional cattle industry to coexist with new commercial sheep farms until about 1820, but thereafter sheep farming was pursued to the exclusion of any significant commercial exploitation of cattle.⁹⁵ Because of the far-reaching social consequences, the justification for the triumph of sheep husbandry in the Highlands has long been a contentious issue, but for present purposes the crucial factor is that landowners did resort to this strategy throughout the entire region, although in the Outer Hebrides it was really only coming into play effectively towards the end of the period.⁹⁶

However, even this widespread resort to the seemingly last possible profitable pursuit did not provide unassailable economic security for the Highland elite. For this group, sheep certainly offered the most promising prospects, but even this commodity was not to be so profitable as it had been, and social disruption threatened landowner as well as smallholder.⁹⁷

But before turning to a consideration of the social consequences of these various developments there is one final economic factor of relevance, namely the government road and canal program which had been initiated in the previous period and was specifically designed to further economic growth and integration in the Highlands. However, in the context of the general collapse of the Highland economy such efforts proved fruitless.

As projected, the Caledonian Canal was to satisfy both strategic and economic considerations by providing a more secure and

faster means of communication between the east and west coasts, and at the same time open up an avenue for commerce through the centre of the Highlands. But the strategic considerations vanished with the end of the war, and the future of maritime trade and communication lay with the rapid development of steam navigation, for which the canal was basically unsuited. On the other hand, the new technology was particularly advantageous for coastal trade along the western seaboard, which continued to be the most exploited route, rather than an east-west exchange.⁹⁸

The work of the road commissioners, 1803-21, had similar economic objectives and proved to be similarly ineffective, despite the construction of nearly 900 miles of new road and the improvement of about 300 miles of existing road. The volume and direction of traffic was relatively unaffected as water remained the principal means of moving goods, particularly with the increasing use of steam power. The period certainly witnessed the greater use of wheeled vehicles in the Highlands, but this was probably more a consequence of local private enterprise in the field of communications than of the more ambitious public program.⁹⁹

The crucial factor was that neither the canal nor the roads fostered any new self-sustaining economic activity in the Highlands.¹⁰⁰ Moreover, even in terms of communications, facilities in many of the most depressed areas of the northwest were still inadequate. There was, of course, the stimulus of employment in the public works, although the extent of its availability to locals has been debated. In any case, it was only temporary and it has been suggested that, in the absence of any permanent economic benefits, such remuneration served only to finance further migratory movement rather than to check it.¹⁰¹

Thus, this last great official effort to shore up and stimulate the Highland economy was unsuccessful, and the painful social

readjustments necessitated by the post-war economic climate extended their influence throughout all levels of Highland society. At the apex of the social pyramid, landowners who had relied heavily upon the windfall profits accruing to the exploitation of various Highland staples during the war years found themselves in serious financial difficulties as the profitability of key resources was wiped out. This was particularly true in the case of those who had benefited most from the kelp boom along the northwest coast and in the Hebrides, at the height of which some principal landlords were receiving more revenue from kelp than from all their land rents combined.¹⁰²

The more rapid extension of commercial sheep farming in the post-war period was one consequence as alternative means of sustaining income levels were sought. However, even the sheep industry was to experience declining prices, and in many cases the burdens of indebtedness incurred during the time of apparent prosperity proved too much in the straitened economic circumstances of the new era. Nearly all of the estates of the northwest and the islands changed hands between 1815 and 1850 as outright sale became the last resort of the old families, and by the middle of the century substantial survivors, such as the houses of Argyll and Sutherland, were very much exceptions in the Highlands.¹⁰³

These extensive ownership changes were accompanied by the acceleration of a similar process at the level of the large tenant farmer who was the key figure in the new commercially-oriented agricultural order. More and more he tended to be an outsider with no links to the old socio-economic order, and those of the former tacksman class who survived in the new system did so as members of the new commercial order and not as the middlemen of the traditional social order.

Consequently, during this period there remained very few in the

upper levels of Highland society who were likely to have much inclination to maintain the large peasant body which had been an integral part of the old social system, at a time too when that body had increased greatly in numbers since the middle of the previous century. In addition, as traditional social relationships were being disrupted, the overriding consideration was the simple fact that the mass of smallholders no longer represented an economic resource.

We have seen how the labour-intensive nature of the kelp industry actually led landowners to encourage population growth and expansion. Even in areas where kelp was not important, high cattle prices, for example, allowed elements of the traditional economy to survive in locations which might have been expected to have been given over to sheep.¹⁰⁴ Admittedly, the benefits to the smallholders had been marginal in that higher prices were accompanied by higher rents, but land had often been made available to accommodate an expanding population, which in itself was partly a function of land availability and of more secure food supplies. Even small cash surpluses financed imported foodstuffs which, together with the success of the potato, meant there was less pressure on local land resources, and with the general improvement in the subsistence base there came a trend towards earlier marriage.

However, the disappearance of the economic advantage of such pursuits posed a serious threat to the precarious hold on the land of the vast majority of the population. Immediately, it meant that it became increasingly difficult to meet rent demands as landowners strove to maintain their income levels. One result of this was the survival of kelp production in a most unfavourable economic climate since, in many of the islands, it had come to be the only means of exacting rent. In a way, this was a reversion to payment in kind since the producers received no remuneration and the landlord's

return was solely what he could get for the commodity in a depressed market.¹⁰⁵

In such circumstances, then, the trend towards radical economic reorganization flourished in the forms noted above, and for the peasant mass this implied a sharply decreased availability of land and a final assault on remnants of the old communal farming system as the croft became the universal standard smallholding unit. Moreover, with the extension of large commercial units, areas available for crofting became much more restricted, and were to be found mainly along the coastline.

This necessarily involved a heightened degree of social dislocation as former policies of accommodation were reversed, and attempts were made to restrict early marriage and put a halt to the progress of subdivision.¹⁰⁶ But this occurred at a time when marriage and fertility rates were probably increased by the return of demobilized soldiers, so that there was little likelihood of alleviating the situation by such means alone. In addition, the general decline of income associated with the collapse of so many sectors of the Highland economy threatened the subsistence of the smallholder since a shortage of foodstuffs, experienced in the immediate post-war years, was only one of a series of recurring subsistence crises culminating in the potato blight of the 1840s.¹⁰⁷

Until the latter period the potato did continue to provide sustenance, but the demands of an increased population upon reduced resources led to widespread hardship, and relief in the form of subsidised food imports was occasionally necessary. In 1817, for instance, such assistance came from government sources. However, the financial responsibility was placed squarely upon the shoulders of the landowners, and represented yet another economic burden which was unlikely to be relieved by contributions from the reduced incomes of the subsidy recipients.¹⁰⁸

Under these circumstances, then, there was yet another cogent reason to curb the growth of the smallholding class and to seek ways of solving the problems it faced in the course of post-war readjustment, policies pursued by traditional landowner as well as newcomer. This period was therefore one of sharply augmented adversity for the small Highland tenant on several fronts, and represented the peak of settlement expansion. Thereafter, the trend was towards fewer and more concentrated settlements as the quickening pace of economic and social reorganization eradicated many of the products of the colonizing process which had flourished during the transitory period of relative prosperity.¹⁰⁹

In many ways this process was similar to that occurring in the rural Lowlands, but in the Highlands it did not result in the creation of a force of landless labourers. Rather, the society of peasant smallholders was perpetuated, although increasingly in the form of clusters of individual holdings rather than communal farms. This trend was further fostered by the continued lack of opportunity for wage labour in the Highland agricultural economy, coupled with the decline of the staples which had formerly afforded a measure of cash income and the general failure to establish any viable manufacturing industries or urban centres. Thus the smallholding community became even more strongly oriented towards a subsistence economy, but an extremely precarious one marginal to the developing national economy and threatened by the perennial deficiencies of capital, skills and equipment amidst severe environmental limitations.

The seriousness of the adverse pressures coming to bear upon the Highland population is also reflected in the available demographic statistics. The decline of the Highland population as a proportion of the national total has already been noted. Moreover, while it did continue to increase during the first three decades of the nineteenth century, it did so at a rate considerably less than the

national average, and one which was probably less than the rate of natural increase. Then, by the middle decades of the century, negative growth rates were recorded for the Highland region as a whole. Consequently, the end of the present period coincided approximately with the peak population levels achieved in the region.¹¹⁰

In broad terms, this demographic trend may be viewed as consistent with the already observed tendency towards concentration in urban industrial areas. For example, Highlanders certainly contributed in large numbers to the spectacular expansion of the lower Clyde but, as already noted, the significance of this in terms of relieving Highland social problems is debatable.

The extent of social and economic disruption gave rise to ever increasing migratory movement but, throughout this period and later, many Highland areas continued to provide evidence of a congested population pressing on the edge of subsistence.¹¹¹ The pull of economic opportunity in the expanding industrial economy probably did not exert so great an influence in the Highlands as it did in much of the rural Lowlands, and there was a growing resort to overseas migration.

Notes

1. Smout, Scottish People, pp. 195-98, 230, 484-86.
2. Ibid., pp. 224-29. However, this has been criticized as a generalization from the particular example of the cotton industry: B. Lerman, An Economic History of Modern Scotland, 1660-1976 (Hamden, Ct., 1977), p. 121.
3. Smout, Scottish People, pp. 230-37; J. Butt, "The Scottish Cotton Industry during the Industrial Revolution, 1780-1840", in Cullen and Smout, ed., Comparative Aspects, pp. 116-28.
4. Butt, "Cotton Industry", pp. 116-17; Durie, "Linen Industry", p. 97.

5. Withrington and Grant, ed., Statistical Account, VII, xxxiv.
6. Ibid., 799 ff.
7. Durie, "Linen Industry", p. 97.
8. Smout, Scottish People, pp. 230-31; S.G. Checkland, Scottish Banking: A History, 1695-1973 (Glasgow, 1975), p. 134;
Appendix 5 below.
9. Fullarton, General View, pp. 14-23; R.H. Campbell, "Scottish Improvers", p. 212; Checkland, Scottish Banking, pp. 215-16; Smout, Scottish People, pp. 278-81; Appendix 5 below.
10. M.L. Anderson, Scottish Forestry, I, 428-515.
11. H. Hamilton, Economic History, pp. 146-48.
12. Ibid., pp. 115-21; Youngson, After the Forty-Five, pp. 121-23.
13. Pennant, Tour MDCCCLXXII, I, 385, 396; J. Knox, A Tour through the Highlands and the Hebride Isles in 1786 (London, 1787), p. 101; D. Turnock, Patterns of Highland Development (London, 1970), pp. 39-44.
14. Statistical Account: X, 342 ff.; XIII, 292 ff., 300 ff. Gray, Highland Economy, pp. 124-26; Appendix 5 below.
15. Statistical Account: XVII, 541 ff.; XX, 297 ff. H. Hamilton, Economic History, p. 68; Smout, Scottish People, p. 324; Youngson, After the Forty-Five, pp. 25-37; Appendix 5 below.
16. R. Heron, General View of the ... Hebrides (Edinburgh, 1794); Walker, Economical History; H. Hamilton, Economic History, pp. 375-78; Smout, Scottish People, pp. 325-27. For food shortages and imports see T.C. Smout, "Famine and famine-relief in Scotland", in Cullen and Smout, ed., Comparative Aspects, pp. 21-31; Sinclair, Analysis, II, Appendix, 45; Appendix 5 below.
17. Heron, General View; Pennant, Tour MDCCCLXXII, I, 363, 391; Smout, Scottish People, p. 323; Youngson, After the Forty-Five, p. 119; Appendix 5 below.
18. Knox, Tour, p. lxxxix; R.H. Campbell, Scotland since 1707,

- pp. 175-76; Gaskell, Morvern Transformed, pp. 16-18; D.F. MacDonald, Scotland's Shifting Population, p. 36.
19. Sinclair, Analysis, I, 167-69; Walker, Economical History; Appendix 5 below.
 20. For example, Ardnamurchan parish - see Appendix 5 below.
 21. Heron, General View; Gregeen, "House of Argyll", pp. 12-14; Smout, Scottish People, p. 325.
 22. Statistical Account: VIII, 1 ff.; XIII, 236 ff., 507 ff.; XVI, 163 ff. Sir John Sinclair, General View of the Agriculture of the Northern Counties and Islands of Scotland (London, 1795), p. 108; idem, Analysis, I, 167-69; Handley, Scottish Farming, pp. 252-60; Smout, Scottish People, pp. 326-27; Appendix 5 below.
 23. Fairhurst, "Clachans".
 24. R.H. Campbell, Scotland since 1707, pp. 175-76; Gray, Highland Economy, pp. 98-100.
 25. Gailey, "Peasant Houses".
 26. D.F. MacDonald, Scotland's Shifting Population, pp. 20-22; Appendix 5 below.
 27. Johnson, Journey, pp. 32-33; Pennant, Tour MDCCLXIX, pp. 229-30; Appendix 5 below.
 28. Statistical Account, XVII, 272 ff.; Smout, Scottish People, p. 326; Youngson, After the Forty-Five, pp. 177-78; Appendix 5 below.
 29. Statistical Account, X, 342 ff.
 30. Johnson, Journey, p. 73.
 31. Statistical Account: III, 89 ff.; X, 461 ff. Knox, Tour, pp. 243-48; Pennant, Tour MDCCLXXII, I, 262, 312, 318, 328, 366; Appendix 5 below.
 32. Statistical Account: X, 342 ff.; XI, 569 ff.; XXI, 233 ff., 258 ff. Knox, Tour, p. cx; Sinclair, General View, pp. 264-65.
 33. Tour, p. cx.

34. *Ibid.*, pp. 243-48.
35. Gaskell, Morvern Transformed, p. 24; Smout, Scottish People, pp. 280-81; Youngson, After the Forty-Five, pp. 175-76.
36. R.H. Campbell, Scotland since 1707, pp. 173-74; Smout, Scottish People, pp. 335-37.
37. Statistical Account: XI, 569 ff.; XXI, 233 ff.
38. Gray, Highland Economy, pp. 170-76; H. Hamilton, Economic History, pp. 229-32; Youngson, After the Forty-Five, pp. 25-37.
39. L.M. Cullen and T.C. Smout, "Economic Growth in Scotland and Ireland", in Cullen and Smout, ed., Comparative Aspects, pp. 7-8; Butt, "Cotton Industry", pp. 116-28; Checkland, Scottish Banking, p. 242; Devine, "Colonial Commerce", pp. 180-81; D. MacMillan, Scotland and Australia (Oxford, 1967), pp. 4-7; Slaven, West of Scotland, pp. 7-8; Smout, Scottish People, pp. 230-35.
40. Smout, Scottish People, pp. 373-92.
41. *Ibid.*, pp. 240-42; Slaven, West of Scotland, p. 145.
42. Smout, Scottish People, pp. 371-77.
43. *Ibid.*, pp. 240-42.
44. Slaven, West of Scotland, p. 144.
45. R.H. Campbell, "Scottish Improvers", p. 212.
46. Sinclair, General Report, I, 132.
47. *Ibid.*, I, 126, 132, 215; Cullen and Smout, "Economic Growth", pp. 9-10; Handley, Scottish Farming, pp. 268, 284; Appendix 5 below.
48. Slaven, West of Scotland, p. 8.
49. Gray, Highland Economy, pp. 124-26; Handley, Scottish Farming, pp. 252-60; Youngson, After the Forty-Five, p. 137.
50. Turnock, Highland Development, pp. 39-44; Youngson, After the Forty-Five, pp. 121-34.
51. M.L. Anderson, Scottish Forestry, II, 55, 82-83, 101-08.
52. Statistical Account: VIII, 407 ff.; X, 461 ff.; XVI, 265 ff.; XVII, 541 ff. Rev. Sinners, "On the Introduction of Sheep

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53. Gaskell, Morvern Transformed, pp. 14-18; Lenman, Modern Scotland, pp. 140-45.
 54. H. Fairhurst and G. Petrie, "Scottish Glachans II: Lix and Rosal", Scottish Geographical Magazine, LXXX (1964), pp. 150-63; Lenman, Modern Scotland, pp. 140-42.
 55. Walker, Economical History.
 56. Ibid.
 57. New Statistical Account of Scotland, XIV, 115 ff., 182 ff.; R.J. Adam, ed., Papers on Sutherland Estate Management, 1802-1816 (2 vols., Glasgow, 1972), I, 32; Fairhurst, "Rosal".
 58. D. Wordsworth, Recollections of a tour made in Scotland, A.D. 1803 (2nd. ed., London, 1874), p. 212.
 59. Cregeen, "House of Argyll", pp. 12-14; Smout, Scottish People, pp. 325-27.
 60. R.J. Adam, Sutherland Estate; Fairhurst, "Rosal".
 61. R.J. Adam, Sutherland Estate, I, 32.
 62. Ibid., II, 166 (William Young to Earl Gower, April 11, 1812).
 63. Ibid., II, 183 (William Young to George Cranstoun, February 28, 1813).
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 65. Lenman, Modern Scotland, pp. 142-43; Youngson, After the Forty-Five, pp. 137-38.
 66. Statistical Account: X, 342 ff.; XIII, 300 ff., 326 ff. New Statistical Account, XIV, 159 ff., 198 ff.
 67. New Statistical Account, XIV, 159 ff.; Cregeen, "House of Argyll", p. 14; Hunter, Crofting Community, pp. 15-22.
 68. New Statistical Account, XIV, 198 ff.
 69. Smout, Scottish People, p. 325.

70. Hunter, Crofting Community, pp. 18-21.
71. M.W. Flinn et al., Scottish Population History (Cambridge, 1977), pp. 302, 306.
72. Ibid., pp. 313-15.
73. Slaven, West of Scotland, pp. 8, 135.
74. Flinn et al., Scottish Population History, p. 307; Lenman, Modern Scotland, pp. 104-05; Youngson, After the Forty-Five, pp. 161-63.
75. Slaven, West of Scotland, pp. 8-10.
76. Ibid.
77. Checkland, Scottish Banking, pp. 281, 435.
78. Slaven, West of Scotland, pp. 8-9.
79. R.H. Campbell, Scotland since 1707, pp. 152-55.
80. Lenman, Modern Scotland, p. 140.
81. Gray, "Scottish Emigration", pp. 122-27; Appendix 5 below.
82. Slaven, West of Scotland, pp. 136-45.
83. Smout, Scottish People, pp. 371-402.
84. As revealed by petitions for assistance to emigrate in the mid-1820s: IUP, Emigration: I, 356-57; II, 500-08. See also M.A. Jones, "The Background to Emigration from Great Britain in the Nineteenth Century", in Fleming and Bailyn, ed., Dislocation and Emigration, pp. 88-90; Slaven, West of Scotland, ch. 6; Smout, Scottish People, pp. 371-77.
85. Slaven, West of Scotland, pp. 142-45.
86. Smout, Scottish People, p. 272.
87. Gray, "Scottish Emigration", pp. 148-58.
88. D. MacMillan, Scotland and Australia, pp. 16-17, 79-80.
89. Gray, Highland Economy, pp. 155-58; Hunter, Crofting Community, pp. 35-37; Youngson, After the Forty-Five, pp. 137-39.
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91. Lenman, Modern Scotland, p. 143; Youngson, After the Forty-Five, p. 141.
92. Turnock, Highland Development, pp. 150-51.
93. M.L. Anderson, Scottish Forestry, II, 101-09, 131.
94. Gaskell, Morvern Transformed, p. 26; Gray, Highland Economy, pp. 155-58; Lenman, Modern Scotland, p. 143; Smout, Scottish People, p. 327.
95. Gaskell, Morvern Transformed, pp. 116-17.
96. Hunter, Crofting Community, pp. 45-47; Turnock, Highland Development, pp. 29-31; Appendix 5 below.
97. Gaskell, Morvern Transformed, p. 26; Lenman, Modern Scotland, pp. 145-46.
98. Gray, Highland Economy, pp. 170-76; Turnock, Highland Development, pp. 123-25; Youngson, After the Forty-Five, pp. 152-53.
99. Gray, Highland Economy, pp. 170-76; Lenman, Modern Scotland, p. 153; Turnock, Highland Development, pp. 123-25; Youngson, After the Forty-Five, pp. 157-60.
100. Youngson, After the Forty-Five, pp. 152-53.
101. Turnock, Highland Development, p. 63.
102. Youngson, After the Forty-Five, p. 137.
103. Gaskell, Morvern Transformed, p. 23; Hunter, Crofting Community, p. 38; Lenman, Modern Scotland, p. 145; Youngson, After the Forty-Five, pp. 139, 175-76.
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105. New Statistical Account, XIV, 182 ff.; Gray, Highland Economy, pp. 155-58; Hunter, Crofting Community, pp. 35-37.
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107. Flinn, "Malthus, Emigration and Potatoes", pp. 54-56; Smout,

- "Farline", p. 26; Appendix 5 below.
108. Hunter, Crofting Community, p. 52; Youngson, After the Forty-Five, pp. 177-78.
109. Fairhurst and Petrie, "Glachans II"; Gaskell, Morvern Transformed, pp. 10, 49-51.
110. Flinn et al., Scottish Population History, pp. 301-09; Youngson, After the Forty-Five, pp. 161-63.
111. As revealed in the New Statistical Account (see Appendix 5 below).

Chapter 7

Scottish Emigration, 1770-93

The above review indicates the prevalence of factors promoting social dislocation and various forms of migratory movement throughout Scotland in the quarter century after 1770, and the most spectacular result was the emergence of emigration, in the sense of overseas migration, as a major solution. This was certainly not a completely new phenomenon, but the numbers involved and the geographical extent of its influence provoked such a degree of attention and alarm among contemporary observers that it is clear that they considered it to have taken on a quite new form and significance.¹ However, the fact that the term "emigration" was often applied quite loosely to a number of activities serves to emphasize that overseas movement was only one aspect, albeit the most dramatic one, of a many-faceted process of population redistribution. Consequently, it may be appropriate to recapitulate the other forms of movement which were prevalent during this period, and which operated at various levels.

At the local level, we have seen that the extension of settlement into marginal land was particularly evident in the Highlands. Closely related to this was the practice of subdividing holdings. Indeed, the former was often a further development of the latter. Another local phenomenon was the growth of villages and urban centres, although this was more common in the Lowlands than in the Highlands.

This expansion of non-rural settlement also fostered movement on a regional scale, again particularly in the Lowlands where the attractive influences of the large industrial centres were becoming ever more powerful. In the Highlands, intra-regional movement beyond the strictly local level was not quite so prominent due to

the absence of large manufacturing centres. However, the trend did exist, most notably in the case of the west coast fishery which was already attracting large numbers of seasonal workers as well as encouraging permanent local population concentrations. The flourishing kelp industry was also having the latter effect, and involved a certain amount of seasonal migration.

Inter-regional movement was also a factor, and this could be either seasonal or permanent. In a seasonal form, movement from the Highlands was directed mainly to Northern Ireland and the Lowlands where there were opportunities for temporary employment in agriculture. In a permanent form, it was promoted by the opportunities for wage labour in the developing industrial economy of the Lowlands. That many of the immigrants to the growing urban centres were drawn from fairly far afield is shown by the fact that, of the 3,387 heads of families recorded in the two Greenock parishes in 1792, no less than 1,825 were from the Highlands, since "most of the labourers, boatmen, sailors, etc., in Greenock are from the Highlands".² However, most of these were stated to be from Argyllshire, a Highland area in reasonably close proximity - an illustration of how inter-regional movement between the Highlands and Lowlands was largely a function of accessibility, so that areas along the Highland Line provided the largest contribution. From the Lowlands, similar movements were directed towards England where similar opportunities for seasonal and permanent employment were available, supplementing the possibilities of developing industrialization in the Lowlands themselves.

Finally, there were two forms of movement affecting the male population which frequently involved overseas migration, and which, while they normally involved an eventual return to a home base, could result in a permanent move. These were participation in the developing international commerce of the country and recruitment in

the armed forces. The former was more prevalent in the Lowlands, while the latter was particularly evident in the Highlands, which developed as a fruitful source of recruits for the regular forces.

This population mobility was largely a consequence of social pressures produced by the concurrent changes in the general social and economic climate, manifested in the fundamental reorganization and growth under way in agriculture, industry and commerce, and the more obtrusive aspects of those pressures were reflected in the reasons which contemporaries commonly adduced to account for emigration. These reasons tended to be based on the circumstances of the rural economy, more specifically that of the Highlands, so that the most popular explanations revolved around the raising of rents (often coupled with generalized denunciations of grasping and tyrannical landlords), the consolidation of agricultural holdings, and the introduction of commercial sheep farming.³ But, while these were certainly factors influencing population movement, they do not adequately explain why emigration in particular should be resorted to rather than the other possible domestic adaptations already discussed.

To attain an adequate explanation, then, consideration must first be given to what was becoming the most pressing problem in many areas - rising population levels. In addition to the general review of this factor already undertaken, it should be noted that, while exact statistics for the eighteenth century are non-existent, it is clear that significant advances were made in the second half of the century from an earlier base which had probably been somewhat reduced by the extended famine conditions of the 1690s, and that by the 1770s the strain of population pressure on limited local resources had a widespread incidence, particularly in the Highlands. Indeed, this factor seems to have been partly the explanation for some occurrences which it was usual to attribute to strictly

economic reasons. Thus, while economic aspiration stimulated by an expanding economy was undoubtedly a principal factor in the upward trend of rentals, increased competition for available land by a growing number of potential tenants was probably also an important factor.⁴

Another important potential effect of population pressure was that it served to narrow the limits of the effectiveness of many alternatives to emigration. In this respect, the various forms of seasonal movement could only afford temporary alleviation, and this was also generally true of military service. Moreover, in the case of local adjustments (such as subdivision and the colonization of waste land) it might be expected that a steadily increasing pressure on very limited resources could not be sustained for any great length of time without heightening the crisis.

Yet again, while an alternative might be available, it might not be particularly attractive. Although the remoter areas of the Highlands were poorly situated to take advantage of it, there are sufficient references to indicate that the lure of industrial employment in the Lowlands was beginning to have a widespread in that region.⁵ However, cultural and linguistic distinctiveness seem to have provided a barrier to successful participation in the industrial economy of the south for many Highlanders, since such a venture was quite likely to be only temporary, and to be followed by a return to the home location. One aspect of this phenomenon was that the Highlander was often considered a most unsatisfactory recruit by industrial employers, but it is equally evident that such a radical change of occupation and social milieu was often unacceptable to the Highlander himself.⁶ It was also noted that Highlanders did not necessarily welcome the prospects offered by centralized fishing establishments on the west coast since these also involved a considerable disruption of traditional folkways.⁷ Thus, the

scope of alternatives to emigration were limited, and the nature of the adaptation probably proved sufficiently undesirable to render emigration more attractive.

Another factor related to population growth was that, despite increased agricultural efficiency, the strained resources of more marginal areas remained peculiarly vulnerable to periodic crises, most notably crop failures. Thus, the recurrence of famine continued to threaten. However, vulnerability to occasional reverses was not solely confined to the rural sector of the economy, and its applicability throughout economy and society is an important clue as to why the emigration movement was to touch so many areas and so many social groups.

This general vulnerability is partly a reflection of the fact that the process of change began to accelerate and become more all-pervasive during the last third of the century. Already by 1770 all sectors of the economy were becoming more closely interlinked in an intricate network of relationships, so that difficulties experienced in one sphere were likely to have widespread effects. In this context, the growing numbers dependent on industrial wage labour could prove just as vulnerable as the rural peasant on marginal land. Consequently, with a growing potential for extreme social stress, the significance of both local and general temporary crises as triggers for greatly increased population movement was enhanced.

Nevertheless, there yet remained factors essential to the development of emigration on a large scale. These were the existence of sufficiently strong forces of attraction to external destinations, and readily available means of effecting the move. It is significant, then, that by 1770 many of the prerequisites were being satisfied by developments in the North American colonies. For instance, the precedent had already been established in that,

from the 1730s, colonies of Highlanders had developed in such areas as Georgia, North Carolina and New York. In addition, there was the extensive network of Lowland commercial ventures along the eastern seaboard, and both of these were supplemented by the long-standing tradition of indentured service by both Lowlanders and Highlanders.⁸

Also of importance was the fact that, with the return of peace in 1763, economic activity quickened in the North American colonies, with a concurrent boom in land speculation and development.⁹ The latter implied a demand for new supplies of settlers, and active recruitment in Europe was to become a prominent feature of this kind of enterprise. Moreover, initially, the peace of 1763 provided an immediate access of new settlers in the form of military units which were disbanded in the colonies, including a number of Highland regiments.

Finally, the fact that the crucial requirement of reasonable facility of large-scale overseas movement was beginning to be met is shown by the course of events in the early 1770s when the scale of the movement to North America caught public attention. This period of sustained emigration is usually considered to have extended from 1768 to 1775, with a preceding phase of lesser import extending back to 1763. Estimates have varied as to the total numbers involved, but a round figure of 20,000 has been generally accepted for the 1768-75 period, with increasing activity after 1770, and 1773 probably representing the peak year. A further 5,000 have been estimated for the period between 1763 and 1768.¹⁰

The principal destinations were Georgia, North Carolina, New York and Nova Scotia, with North Carolina apparently being the most popular. The main areas of origin were the Western Isles, areas of the west coast from Argyll to Sutherland, and the glens of central Inverness-shire, with the first considered to be the most important.

However, almost every other area of Scotland was represented to some extent, and there was a notable contribution from the central Lowlands, including the rising industrial centres, and from Dumfries and Galloway in the extreme southwest.¹¹

Such an extensive movement, and its concentration into a relatively brief time span, suggests the intervention of especially critical factors. Consequently, it is significant that in the early 1770s the economy did indeed experience the effects of two adverse occurrences - effects which dealt a severe blow in many sectors, and which were felt throughout the country. One was more strictly economic, relating mainly to the industrial and commercial sectors, while the other, rooted primarily in environmental factors, was manifested by crop and livestock failures in the agricultural sector. The first was an economic recession resulting from the financial crisis of the early 1770s, precipitated by a speculative boom and signalled by the collapse of the Ayr Bank. This shock to the credit structure had immediate repercussions in the emerging industrial and commercial centres of the Lowlands, producing a sudden check to the process of sustained growth. Its effects were shortly to be reinforced by the outbreak of the American Revolution, which effectively terminated the highly lucrative trade with the American colonies which had been the foundation for the prosperity of the Glasgow area, and had contributed to economic growth in other areas.¹²

In consequence, we find contemporary references to a stagnation of trade at such formerly thriving commercial centres as Glasgow, Greenock and Dumfries.¹³ The implication of this recession for the enlarged industrial work force were again aptly summarized by the writer of the first Paisley Statistical Account, who observed of those who were being absorbed into the industrial sector in such numbers: "Many of these, when trade becomes dull ... will necessarily

be reduced to circumstances of penury and want".¹⁴ Moreover, the adverse effects of these reverses extended into the surrounding rural areas as a result of the increasing economic interdependence fostered by the still largely rural basis of industrial production. Such circumstances exerted considerable strain on the prevalent informal system of poor relief, which was very largely dependent on church door collections, and which encouraged begging.¹⁵

Thus, the aspect of the new economic order which acted as the principal focus of domestic population attraction suffered its first severe setback, revealing how precarious was the prosperity of those who had responded to that stimulus, and how limited were the possibilities of relief while the crisis lasted and unemployment was widespread. That emigration was to be one of the solutions sought during such crises is indicated by the presence of Glasgow and Paisley weavers among those embarking for the colonies at this time, and that this was also a factor in the extreme southwest is suggested by the numbers leaving from that area who declared non-agricultural occupations, and who, like those from the Clyde, offered destitution and want of employment as reasons for their leaving.¹⁶

However, the evidence available for the latter area shows that the agricultural sector in the Lowlands was also involved in the movement, as indicated by the occurrence of "farmers", "tenants", and labourers".¹⁷ While there is little direct evidence as to the status of this group, it is most likely that the bulk of them were drawn from the ranks of the smaller tenants and subtenants - in other words, the very people who were under most pressure from the extensive agrarian reorganization getting under way in the area, which was resulting in increased rents and a rapid diminution of the number of tenancies available. This trend, just beginning to gather pace, was no doubt reinforced in its effects by repercussions from the general recession, again as a result of growing economic

interdependence, and by the simultaneous adverse environmental factors.

In explaining the direction of these Lowland movements it may be observed that, in the case of the industrial centres, if migration was being considered there was little alternative opportunity. In addition, skilled industrial workers were much in demand in the strengthening economy of the North American colonies, and transatlantic opportunities were not lacking. The details of just how the matching of supply and demand were achieved in this situation are little known, but North American circumstances certainly had a powerful positive influence in directing and organizing sections of the movement from the extreme southwest. Some were attracted by the direct encouragement of land developers, and, while their move was probably sometimes facilitated by the activities of local agents for the land promoters, they themselves began to resort to local associations to promote their own emigration.¹⁸ It may also be noted in relation to the apparent prominence of this area in the movement that, although it was part of the Lowlands, it was relatively far-removed from the main centres of population attraction. In this respect it bore a certain similarity to the Highlands, the emigration from which was by far the most important numerically, and which certainly attracted nearly all of the aroused contemporary attention.

One of the most remarkable aspects of this early phase of Highland emigration, and consequently the one which attracted most attention, was that it involved some of the most substantial tenants - the tacksmen. This had indeed been a prominent feature of the preliminary phases of movement prior to 1770, and there was a tendency to interpret the growing phenomenon as a reaction to policies which were eliminating the traditional status of this group. They were represented as being generally averse to the

prospects of being reduced to the status of an ordinary tenant on a commercial basis, with the result that they turned to emigration as an alternative which offered the means of retaining much of their former status by relocating themselves and as many of their dependents as they could persuade to accompany them.¹⁹ This theory led to the designation, in more recent times, of the entire period of eighteenth century Highland emigration before 1775 as one dominated by the movement of tacksmen and their immediate dependants, often to maintain their former socio-economic relationships in a more favourable situation. As a corollary of this view the primary cause of the move was considered to be the raising of rents, an aspect of the new economic climate which had considerable impact on the position of the tacksmen, and which was the most tangible of the factors attacking their status.²⁰

That tacksmen played an important role in the movement is beyond question, and there were certainly instances of attempts to re-establish the traditional Highland socio-economic order on the other side of the Atlantic. However, in the most popular destination, North Carolina, there is little evidence for the survival of any kind of traditional social hierarchy. During the earlier period of immigration, between 1730 and 1770, while land grants tended to be given to individuals in large blocks, this was apparently not exploited to create a dependent tenantry, and from about 1770 small individual grants became more common, indicating the independent settlement of people of moderate means.²¹

Moreover, the very numbers involved in the post-1770 movement imply that people of considerable means formed only a small, even if significant and influential, minority. Contemporary observations certainly tended to emphasize the wealth of departing emigrants, but it seems likely that they referred only to the leading lights. Again, estimates of cash exports may seem substantial, but are not

quite so impressive if divided by the total number involved, not to mention the probability that the amount was not likely to be evenly distributed.²²

That the bulk of these lesser people were the immediate dependants of the more substantial emigrants, following because of a habit of obedience, may also be questioned. For one thing, this was a period during which traditional allegiances at all levels were being eroded, and certain elements of the lesser tenantry stood to gain from the discomfiture of the tacksmen. Rather, it would be more reasonable to assume that expectations of personal benefits were much more cogent on the part of emigrants of lesser means. Indeed, the emigration to Prince Edward Island managed by Glenaladale was an instance of a man of status and substance taking advantage of opportunities among a tenantry other than his own, and supports the contention that the significant role of the emigrant tacksmen in the early 1770s was that of organizer and intermediary - providing the expertise necessary to arrange the transportation of large numbers.²³

In fact, while the drain of wealth was of great concern, the volume of emigration was creating equal alarm as the prospect of the depopulation of entire districts was contemplated.²⁴ It is therefore necessary to look beyond the plight of the tacksmen to account for the extent of the movement at this time. Again, the ubiquitous complaints of high rents may be cited as affecting a much wider group than the tacksmen, particularly when related factors such as the general failure to improve leases are considered.

The other major adverse factors cited at the time - consolidation of holdings and the introduction of commercial sheep farming - were, of course, closely linked with rents in the general process of attempted economic rationalization. Enclosure and sheep farming were also disrupting the bonds of the old social order, and examples

were cited of the relative stability maintained on estates where the landlord was resisting social and economic change.²⁵ Nevertheless, while enclosure and sheep were sometimes cited as specific causes of some elements of the emigration movement, they were of essentially local significance, and at this early period had least effect in most of the western areas which were contributing most heavily to the exodus. Indeed, in the Western Isles enclosure was an insignificant consideration since local circumstances were rather encouraging even further subdivision, and commercial sheep farming had failed to develop any significant manifestations yet.

In these circumstances, then, demographic pressure was probably the factor of fundamental importance. Adam considered that population increase could not have had any great effect before the last quarter of the eighteenth century.²⁶ However, the extent of growth in the last half of the century, however uncertain in detail, was sufficient to render it probable that pressure on resources was already considerable by the early 1770s. Direct contemporary references to population expansion are meagre and general attention to the problem was not to come until slightly later, but there can be no mistaking the root cause of the dire poverty and precarious subsistence levels which were described for many Highland areas, and particularly for the west coast and islands where there were also incentives to population concentration.²⁷

The principal economic factors produced hardships of varying local incidence, but it was the growing pressure of population on local resources which was critical, and which increased vulnerability to any heightened adversity. Recent developments had increased local food supplies and facilitated the extension of settlement, while general economic stimulation was reflected in rising prices for Highland products. As a result, the adverse effects of new economic enterprise could be somewhat adjusted to and, while raised

rents would be sure to result in rumblings of discontent, improved market opportunities would enable many to meet new demands, if with difficulty.

However, the margin of success was usually very slender indeed, and the Highland economy continued to be prone to suffer severely from temporary adversity. The persistence of marginal subsistence levels meant that crop failures remained a disastrous prospect, while increased involvement in the general economy rendered the region susceptible to the ramifications of recession in the dominant economy of the south. Significantly, both kinds of difficulty were experienced in the Highlands in the early 1770s: a drop in the price of cattle, still the staple Highland export, coincided with widespread crop failures and a cattle disease which depleted stocks.²⁸ It certainly cannot be claimed that this crisis alone caused the emigration, but in exacerbating the many emerging problems it probably provided the added stimulus to transform growing discontent and sporadic tentative adjustments into a positive and widespread reaction involving a large-scale resort to emigration, in a situation in which subsistence resources were proving quite inadequate and one of the principal means of rent payment was curtailed. It is also of interest in this regard that some of the well known accounts of Highland society described conditions at the height of this crisis when the inherent problems must have been particularly obvious.²⁹

The variety of reasons for emigration given by contemporary Highland emigrants support this conclusion: while the general economic causes favoured by most observers were featured, also emphasized were destitution, lack of food, low cattle prices, and stock losses.³⁰ In addition, among the thousands accounted for, it is obvious that very few could have been of very substantial means. Thus, by the early 1770s, a sharp and pervasive socio-

economic crisis heightened the effects of crucial aspects of the current process of fundamental social and economic change and precipitated an increase in population movement, which now came to assume the proportions of a mass peasant migration in the form of coherent local population groups.³¹

In their consideration of why emigration to North America should now have assumed such importance, commentators came much closer to the basic governing factors than they did in their consideration of domestic factors which were tending to expel elements of the population. The main attractions listed were the encouragement of those who had already emigrated, the offers of land developers in North America, and the organizing activities of agents of the latter.³² There already existed in North America by the late 1760s several concentrations of Highland settlement promoted by earlier tacksman-directed ventures, by the strategic requirements of frontier areas, and by the settlement of disbanded Highland military units. It may also be noted again that Highland emigration in the early 1770s was largely directed towards these established centres of kindred population. The very development of these centres and their ability to attract and absorb growing numbers was a reflection of the facility of acquiring land for settlement, frequently through the agency of land speculators. Indeed, such were the attractions of the opportunities presented by the latter that they could entice Highlanders to an area - Nova Scotia - where there was no precedent of group Highland settlement, but where there was abundant vacant land which a variety of interests were eager to see settled.³³

The timing of the increased potential access to North America was thus opportune in the context of the contemporary crisis in the Highlands, and the nature of the main opportunity provided was particularly adapted to Highland inclinations, some of which would

have seemed to have been almost insurmountable barriers to emigration. The most notable of the latter was that strong and abiding attachment to kin and locale which was rightly seen as one of the principal characteristics of the Highlander.³⁴ How emigration might accommodate such an outlook was amply described by Johnson at the height of this early movement:

... the accounts sent by the earliest adventurers, whether true or false, inclined many to follow them; and whole neighbourhoods formed parties for removal; so that departure from their native country is no longer exile. He that goes thus accompanied carries with him all that makes life pleasant. He sits down in a better climate surrounded by his kindred and friends: they carry with them their language, their opinions, their popular songs, and hereditary merriment: they change nothing but the place of their abode; and of that change they perceive the benefit. This is the real effect of emigration, if those that go together settle on the same spot, and preserve their ancient union ...³⁵

Admittedly this was an idealized account, but it does detail precisely the essential elements which were conducive to sustained Highland emigration, the determining factor being the ability to maintain social and cultural bonds in a rural economy based on the personal occupancy of land - as a tenant if necessary, but the great additional attraction of North American settlement was the prospect of independent ownership. It has already been observed that some of the principal domestic alternatives, such as employment in industrial centres, were not very congenial to Highlanders. The latter were, in fact, loathe to forsake the land, in the sense of continuing to occupy a viable portion of it, and the widespread colonization of waste land has already been cited as an adaptation

which was in close accord with this goal: a foothold on the land was maintained, often in proximity to the original home. However, this solution had only limited scope, and the participants were particularly vulnerable to temporary adversity.

The close relationship between emigration and the desire for land is further illustrated by a practice which was later cited by Selkirk: emigration might be promoted by one who had no intention of emigrating himself, but who hoped to benefit from the increased availability of land which would be likely to result from an extensive emigration.³⁶ Moreover, that the Highlander would be willing to countenance overseas removal without undue reluctance is suggested by the writer of the first Strachan and Stralochan Statistical Account, whose comments on the lack of attractiveness of fishing villages have already been noted. Among the drawbacks of these that he cited was the fact that they implied too severe a dislocation, considering the strength of local attachments. He went on to observe that:

If a Highlander is forced or induced to leave the small circle which occupies his first affections, he cares not how far he goes from home. Going to another parish, or to the district of another clan, is to him entire banishment; and when he has resolved to set out, whether from necessity or choice, he would as soon cross the Atlantic as he would cross an arm of the sea.

This is an attitude which has been observed of peasant migrations in general. The concept of distance may not be governed by geography at all, but rather by the perceived benefits of available relocations, whether near or far.³⁸ From this point of view, then, North America, with its abundance of vacant land, could easily outweigh other considerations in the Highlander's mind: the distance to be travelled and the prospect of necessary changes in

material culture would be compensated by the ability to retain certain aspects of traditional society in communities which were extensions of those coming under the influence of mounting disintegrative pressures in the home land.

Another widely observed aspect of peasant migration is that it tends to follow a "chain" pattern, that is, close links are maintained between points of origin and reception, fostered largely by kinship ties which have the effect of channelling migratory flow between those particular points.³⁹ Even in the early 1770s this phenomenon was recognized as being applicable in the Highland context, as illustrated by the quote from Johnson. The known specific links between areas of origin and destination which quickly developed provide further confirmation, and Boswell's observations indicate how the successful establishment of such links could further promote emigration: in one locality, although previous emigration had occasioned much anguish among those left behind, a subsequent emigration produced only the expectation that they would follow soon.⁴⁰

In this context, it is not difficult to understand the use of terms such as "rage" and "epidemic" in connection with the movement.⁴¹ The very prospect of great numbers leaving could not but have a powerful influence on those whose attitude may yet have been equivocal, and Boswell's well known references to the symbolism of the currently popular dance, "America", was probably well founded - success was likely to breed further success.⁴² Although circumstances were ripe both in North America and Scotland for a transfer of population, there remained, however, the problem of effecting that transfer.

The extent of the emigration, though, is in itself an indication that the intervening obstacle of ocean transportation and the arrangements necessary for it were being rapidly overcome. As

noted above, much of the initial success in this direction may be attributed to the efforts of more substantial emigrants such as tacksmen. The kind of self-help approach manifested by some Lowland groups at this time was apparently not so common in the Highlands at this stage, although at least one example is known.⁴³ In general, the bulk of Highland emigrants had neither the expertise nor the contacts necessary. In this respect, though, the tacksmen's contribution was increasingly supplemented by commercial enterprise, in this period mainly in the form of agents acting on behalf of North American land developers.

The activities of such individuals have been scantily documented both at this time and later, so assessments of their contribution must be tentative. However, it is probably reasonable to assume that they were of vital importance.⁴⁴ Such activities were also doubtless fostered by general commercial expansion which, as well as strengthening overseas links, produced increased shipping facilities. The latter also created possibilities for involvement in emigrant transportation as a commercial venture in its own right, with consequent opportunities for agents who need not necessarily be connected with North American development interests. Developments along these lines were indeed to take place, but before the American Revolution the precedent was really only being set as an adjunct to the process of land development. Nevertheless, it was an exceedingly important one, and was responsible for the first group movement to the area of present day Nova Scotia, to be described below.

This flourishing transatlantic migration of the early 1770s came to an abrupt halt in 1775 with the outbreak of the American Revolution. Many circumstances of the war period, 1775-83, certainly acted as deterrents to emigration. The increased manpower requirements of the armed forces provided alternative

outlets to adult males. Again, while the conflict disrupted traditional commercial ties, it also served to stimulate demand for agricultural and industrial products, signified by a renewed intensification of the trend towards higher prices. These factors, together with the passing of the temporary shortage of food supplies, did combine to reduce the pressures acting on segments of the population. However, they do not explain why the cessation of activity was so abrupt.

The rather sudden nature of the halt to emigration was largely due to official intervention to stem the flow. A variety of adverse contemporary comments on the movement have already been noted, and these were quite typical since it received virtually universal condemnation. Although new economic theories were in the air, emigration seems to have been viewed from the standpoint of strictly mercantilist principles, particularly the one which treated population as an essential aspect of a nation's wealth. Thus, while there were concerned comments on the loss of financial resources, the loss of people themselves came to be seen as the paramount threat as the movement gained momentum.⁴⁵ Among the most concerned were landlords whose estates were suffering losses, in some cases apparently amounting to a serious depletion of the existing body of tenantry. This concern may have been prompted by a number of considerations, for example, the former connotations of a numerous tenantry or its new significance as an economic asset in certain areas. However, the adverse reaction was general, and the opinion among this influential group no doubt helped to determine official attitudes.⁴⁶

From the government point of view, also, there were alarming aspects to the movement, most notably the drain from the most fertile recruiting fields, and a drain which was bolstering the

strength of the estranged colonies. The first reaction was an attempt to monitor the movement by ordering customs officers, late in 1773, to gather data on those leaving, including their reasons for emigrating. As a result of this, passenger lists were compiled for several ports during 1774 and 1775, and these lists are the source of the large body of uniquely detailed information which is available for this brief phase. Then, once the political crisis came to a head, the government, in September 1775, issued a ban on all further emigration. This, together with the reduced incentives to emigrate, effectively curtailed the movement until the end of the war in 1783.⁴⁷

However, the brief period of peace from 1783 to 1793 was one of renewed emigration activity. Again, the numbers involved can only be very roughly estimated. Adam counted 4,000 definitely referred to in the first Statistical Account as having emigrated between 1785 and 1793, and estimated a possible total of about 6,000 for this period considering the additional, indefinite references to be found in the same source.⁴⁸ Another modern commentator has suggested doubling the latter figure to obtain a reasonable estimate for the entire inter-war period.⁴⁹ Perhaps, then, an estimate in the range of 10,000 might not be unreasonable.

This renewed movement appears to have come from predominantly rural bases. There was a continued contribution from the extreme southwest, for example, but it was mainly a Highland phenomenon, and one which was manifested most strongly in the areas which had been prominent in the early 1770s - that is, the west coast of the mainland and the Western Isles. Moreover, while there were some new aspects to the process in this period, it was essentially a continuation of the flow which had been interrupted.⁵⁰ The general review above shows that the effects of the basic influential factors in the Highlands remained substantially unaltered, and society

continued to be subject to periodic subsistence crises as population increased and new economic strategies were more fully developed.

Indeed, the end of the war coincided with yet another occurrence of widespread food shortages, one that was apparently more severe than that of a decade earlier and which necessitated a very substantial additional importation of meal to distressed Highland districts.⁵¹ Towards the end of the period, in the early 1790s, severe shortages occurred again in some areas, and was probably the basis for a pessimistic contemporary comment that such reverses seemed to recur at regular ten year intervals.⁵²

The reasons for emigration cited at the time included the principal ones previously advanced, although rather more attention was paid to sheep farming as its adoption spread. However, it was during these years that population pressure began to be directly cited as a major contributory factor, with its influence most obvious on the west coast and in the islands.⁵³

That these pressures continued to be complemented by strong attractive factors in North America is also evident from the frequent references to the influence of communication with those who had already emigrated.⁵⁴ The outcome of the war resulted in a considerable amount of re-channelling of the flow. The colonial Highland settlements had been generally loyal, and defeat led to the relocation of many in the remaining sections of British North America. There was a certain element of reverse flow, but it was more a matter of realignment of Highland settlement than its elimination. There was a resumption of movement to the traditional areas of Highland settlement in the former colonies immediately after 1783, but an unreceptive climate helped to direct the flow, after about 1786, almost exclusively to the British colonies, where the bases in the area of the future Maritime Provinces, for example, were being greatly strengthened.⁵⁵

The crucial nature of the bonds established between old and new communities is amply illustrated by the comments of many of the writers of the first Statistical Account, who gave it as the reason for the comparative success or failure of sustained emigration from their respective parishes, based on the extent of encouragement offered by previous emigrants.⁵⁶ The role of the tacksmen does not seem to have been so prominent in this phase, which has been seen as partly the result of the ordinary Highlanders becoming more accustomed to the procedures of emigration, and, consequently, being better able to organize themselves.⁵⁷

On the other hand, although direct evidence remains scanty, it seems likely that what was of great importance in this respect was the fact that the emigration movement was becoming more subject to specialized commercial exploitation. The activities of emigration agents were to receive much more attention at a slightly later time, but already by the early 1790s it was being claimed that they were the principal reason for some instances of emigration.⁵⁸ Blatant abuses there might be, but they may be said to have been one of the essential instruments in effecting the transatlantic relocation.

In addition, it is evident that the populace in many districts was ripe for exploitation, as is shown by the references to emigration in the accounts of the parishes selected for special scrutiny.⁵⁹ Initially, it is significant that these references are most frequent for those parishes located on the northwest coast or in the Western Isles, and these are the ones which provide substantial evidence of a reasonably sustained emigration movement throughout this period.

The recorded circumstances pertaining to North Uist provide an excellent example of how broad economic and demographic factors continued to be the foundation, while sensitivity to local economic fluctuations provided the triggers to an increased or decreased

flow. Thus, raised rents coupled with encouraging accounts from previous emigrants were seen as the principal causes of the pre-1775 movement, which produced yet further transatlantic encouragement. During the war period, the barriers to emigration were complemented by higher kelp prices, which assisted those who remained to pay higher rents.

Once the war was over, however, discontent fostered by "grasping landlords", the plight of the landless, encouragement from previous emigrants, and the prospect of securing property of one's own reappeared and led to a renewal of the "rage for emigration". A recent further rent increase had intensified that discontent, but proposed emigration had been averted by raised fees for kelp manufacture. Nevertheless, the writer of the first North Uist Account considered that the people were now so unsettled that very trifling circumstances might trigger emigration. Consequently, he went on to advocate longer leases to encourage agricultural improvement, the introduction of manufactures, and the establishment of villages to accommodate displaced elements of the population.⁶⁰

Such recommendations were very common among the writers of the first Statistical Account and other contemporary commentators,⁶¹ and it is significant that the principal potential benefit to be derived from such innovations was seen to be their role as alternatives to emigration. The latter was still generally regarded as a most undesirable recourse, but instead of the almost exclusively negative reactions in the form of the simple advocacy of barriers which prevailed before the American War, there now appeared more positive attitudes in the form of suggestions relating to domestic policies to alleviate the distress which was at the root of the emigration movement. So it was that such policies undertaken or mooted in the Highlands privately and officially in the 1780s, and already reviewed, had as one of their prime considerations the averting of

emigration.

Immediately prior to the outbreak of war in 1793 there is some evidence for a decline in emigration activity, and one contemporary comment attributed this partly to the success of some of these policies. The efforts of David Dale in providing employment for "oppressed Highlanders" were lauded, and the hope was expressed that he would extend his activities into the Highlands. In addition, the projected canal through the Mull of Kintyre was noted for its potential in reducing the isolation of the northwest, and in providing encouragement to the effective development of a locally-based fishery.⁶²

However, some very serious disadvantages of these particular alternatives, from the point of view of the ordinary Highlander, have already been noted, and that even Dale's special efforts might fail was shown by the experience of people from Barra who took advantage of his scheme: the change of diet and occupation was said to have resulted in distress and even death, precipitating a return to the island.⁶³ Similarly, the drastic adjustments involved militated against the successful development of fishing villages. The fact remained that the stable occupation of land was the fundamental and most favoured goal of the bulk of the Highland population, and this is reflected in the final points of the comment cited above. As a further measure of alleviation, the Prince of Wales had offered settlement on waste land in England to a number of Highlanders, and it was observed that: "Were part of the Crown Lands appropriated in a similar manner, all Emigrations would cease, and the Kingdom derive the greatest benefits from an Increase of population, an Increase of capital, and an Increase of Trade".⁶⁴

In other words, the duplication at home of the basic colonial attraction was expected to provide an effective solution. We

have seen how such a course was being followed both spontaneously by the people themselves and sometimes with the active encouragement of landowners. However, by itself, this strategy could only serve to exert further strain on precarious resources, particularly along the west coast and in the islands.

A good example of this strategy was provided, again, by Barra, where those who returned from industrial employment in the south, together with others who had determined not to emigrate, were given land, stock, and implements by the proprietor, with the result that the writer of the first Statistical Account was prompted to state that, "The spirit for emigration is now happily and totally suppressed".⁶⁵ Of course, he was completely wrong. There was certainly considerable benefit to be derived on this island from the fishery and kelp manufacture, not to mention the traditional staple, cattle. Moreover, the outbreak of war in 1793 ushered in another period of large-scale recruitment to the armed forces and aspects of heightened economic stimulation including a further increase in the demand for kelp.

But such factors were likely to afford only temporary alleviation in a situation in which very limited resources were required to support relatively large numbers. The proprietor might seem to be providing a solution satisfactory to all concerned, but he was really only jeopardizing his own as well as his dependants' best interests. So, with the establishment of successful overseas bases and the emergence of more readily available means of effecting transatlantic migration, any further checks to near universal land occupancy might be expected to lead to the recurrence and reinforcement of emigration activity.

Notes

1. For a review of earlier Scottish emigration see I.C.C. Graham, Colonists from Scotland: Emigration to North America, 1707-1783 (Oxford, 1956), pp. 1-25. A detailed contemporary review of the new phenomenon is to be found in Johnson, Journey, pp. 86-87. See also Knox, Tour, p. lxxxix.
2. Withrington and Grant, ed., Statistical Account, VII, 705-06.
3. Statistical Account: X, 62 ff., 342 ff.; XIII, 300 ff.; XIV, 145 ff.; XVI, 265 ff. Halifax Gazette, October 4, 1774; Scots Magazine, XXXIV (1772), 395; Boswell, Journal, pp. 246, 263, 295; Johnson, Journey, pp. 33, 86-87, 90; Knox, Tour, p. lxxxix; Handley, Scottish Farming, pp. 244, 248 ff.; I.C.C. Graham, Colonists from Scotland, pp. 63-64.
4. Flinn, "Malthus, Emigration and Potatoes", pp. 49-51; Smout, Scottish People, pp. 248-51.
5. Statistical Account: II, 551 ff.; VI, 178 ff., 318 ff.; VIII, 108 ff.; X, 31 ff.; XI, 293 ff.; XIII, 326 ff.; XIV, 191 ff.
6. *Ibid.*: VIII, 108 ff.; X, 31 ff.; XIII, 326 ff.; XIV, 191 ff. Smout, Scottish People, pp. 377-84.
7. Statistical Account, IV, 577 ff.
8. This phase is reviewed in greater detail in Chapter 10 below.
9. M.L. Hansen, The Atlantic Migration (New York, 1961), p. 52.
10. M.I. Adam, "The Highland Emigration of 1770", Scottish Historical Review, XVI (1919), 280-93; Flinn *et al.*, Scottish Population History, p. 443; I.C.C. Graham, Colonists from Scotland, pp. 185-89.
11. M.I. Adam, "Highland Emigration of 1770", p. 281; G. Donaldson, The Scots Overseas (London, 1966), pp. 103-04; Flinn *et al.*, Scottish Population History, p. 443; H. Hamilton, Economic History, pp. 15-16.
12. I.C.C. Graham, Colonists from Scotland, pp. 26-27; Smout,

"Famine", p. 26.

13. Pennant, Tour MDCCCLXXII, I, 115; Withrington and Grant, ed., Statistical Account, VII, 291-95, 704.
14. Withrington and Grant, ed., Statistical Account, VII, 830.
15. Smout, Scottish People, p. 376.
16. V.R. Cameron, ed., Emigrants from Scotland to America, 1774-1775 (Baltimore, 1965), pp. 1-5, 28-29, 35-40.
17. Ibid., pp. 28-29, 35-40.
18. Statistical Account, VII, 305 ff.; I.C.C. Graham, Colonists from Scotland, pp. 29-31.
19. Boswell, Journal, p. 295; Johnson, Journey, pp. 78-80, 90; Pennant, Tour MDCCCLXXII, I, 328; Singers, "Sheep Farming"; Walker, Economical History.
20. M.I. Adam, "Highland Emigration of 1770", pp. 285-91; R.H. Campbell, Scotland since 1707, pp. 6-9; Donaldson, Scots Overseas, pp. 50-53, 58-59; I.C.C. Graham, Colonists from Scotland, pp. 31-32, 38, 41-42.
21. I.C.C. Graham, Colonists from Scotland, pp. 77-80; D. Meyer, The Highland Scots of North Carolina (Durham, N.C., 1957), pp. 88-89, 92-96, 120.
22. Scots Magazine, XXXIV, 515; Boswell, Journal, p. 295; Walker, Economical History; M.I. Adam, "Highland Emigration of 1770", pp. 282-83; I.C.C. Graham, Colonists from Scotland, pp. 41-42, 93; Meyer, North Carolina, p. 55.
23. Johnson, Journey, pp. 86-87; H. Hamilton, Economic History, pp. 13-15; A. MacLeod, "The Glenaladale Pioneers", Dalhousie Review, XI (1931-32), 311-24.
24. Scots Magazine, XXXIV, 515; Johnson, Journey, pp. 119-22; Flinn et al., Scottish Population History, pp. 92, 443; I.C.C. Graham, Colonists from Scotland, p. 35.
25. Boswell, Journal, p. 267; Johnson, Journey, p. 90.

26. "Highland Emigration of 1770", pp. 283-84.
27. See, for example, Pennant, Tour MDCCCLXXII, I, 328, 366, 384-85.
28. Flinn, "Malthus, Emigration and Potatoes", p. 51; I.C.C. Graham, Colonists from Scotland, p. 36; Smout, "Famine", p. 26.
29. For example, those of Johnson, Boswell and Pennant.
30. V.R. Cameron, ed., Emigrants, pp. 1-43, 88-92.
31. Johnson, Journey, pp. 86-87, 119-22.
32. Statistical Account: VII, 305 ff.; XIII, 300 ff.; 265 ff.
Johnson, Journey, pp. 86-87; Earl of Selkirk, Observations on the present state of the Highlands of Scotland (London, 1805), pp. 158-76; Handley, Scottish Farming, p. 244.
33. See Chapter 14 below.
34. Statistical Account: IV, 577 ff.; X, 324 ff.; XIV, 191 ff.
Walker, Economical History.
35. Journey, pp. 86-87.
36. Selkirk, Observations, pp. 158 ff.
37. Statistical Account, IV, 577 ff. See also note 7 above.
38. P. Haggett, Locational Analysis in Human Geography (London, 1965), p. 38.
39. Price, "Study of Assimilation".
40. Boswell, Journal, p. 345. For the development of transatlantic links see Selkirk, Observations, pp. 158-76.
41. Statistical Account, XIII, 300 ff.; Boswell, Journal, p. 267;
Johnson, Journey, p. 87; Handley, Scottish Farming, p. 244.
42. Journal, pp. 345-46.
43. Meyer, North Carolina, p. 59.
44. Statistical Account: VI, 145 ff.; VII, 305 ff. Johnson, Journey, p. 86; Singers, "Sheep Farming"; Handley, Scottish Farming, p. 244; I.C.C. Graham, Colonists from Scotland, p. 89;
H. Hamilton, Economic History, p. 15.
45. Halifax Gazette, October 4, 1774; Scots Magazine, XXXIV, 515;

- Johnson, Journey, pp. 87, 119-20; Knox, Tour, p. lxxxix; Flinn et al., Scottish Population History, p. 443; I.C.C. Graham, Colonists from Scotland, pp. 35, 92-93.
46. Scots Magazine, XXXIV, 515; Johnson, Journey, p. 87; R.H. Campbell, Scotland since 1707, pp. 6-9; I.C.C. Graham, Colonists from Scotland, p. 35.
47. Flinn et al., Scottish Population History, pp. 92-93; I.C.C. Graham, Colonists from Scotland, pp. 96-100. The extant lists for 1774-75 are printed in V.R. Cameron, ed., Emigrants.
48. M.I. Adam, "The causes of the Highland Emigrations of 1783-1803", Scottish Historical Review, XVII (1920), 74.
49. D. Wood, "Scottish Migration Overseas", Scottish Geographical Magazine, LXXX (1964), 167.
50. M.I. Adam, "Causes", pp. 73-75; Gray, "Scottish Emigration", pp. 172-74; D.F. MacDonald, Scotland's Shifting Population, pp. 142-43.
51. Sinclair, Analysis, II, Appendix, 45; Smout, "Famine", p. 26.
52. Statistical Account, XVI, 163.
53. Ibid.: I, 488 ff.; IV, 132 ff.; VI, 145 ff., 178 ff.; VII, 161 ff.; X, 324 ff., 461 ff.; XII, 324 ff.; XIV, 128 ff., 145 ff. Knox, Tour, p. lxxxix; Handley, Scottish Farming, p. 244.
54. Statistical Account: V, 32 ff.; VI, 145 ff., 178 ff.; VIII, 390 ff.; XII, 324 ff.; XIII, 300 ff.; XIV, 128 ff.
55. Hansen, Atlantic Migration, pp. 53-54. See also Chapter 10 below.
56. See note 54 above. Of particular interest are the Montrose and Duffus accounts (V, 32 ff. and VIII, 390 ff.) which cite adverse reports as the reason for reduced or diverted emigration.
57. M.I. Adam, "Causes", pp. 73-74; Meyer, North Carolina, pp. 54-59.
58. Statistical Account: VI, 145 ff.; XIII, 326 ff.

59. Appendix 5 below.
60. Statistical Account, XIII, 300 ff.
61. Ibid.: VI, 145 ff.; X, 416 ff. Caledonian Mercury, March 15, 1792; Knox, Tour, p. cx; Sinclair, General View, pp. 264-65.
62. Caledonian Mercury, March 15, 1792.
63. Statistical Account, XIII, 326 ff.
64. Caledonian Mercury, March 15, 1792.
65. Statistical Account, XIII, 326 ff.

Chapter 8

Scottish Emigration, 1794-1814

That this period was one of continued substantial emigration is indicated by a Highland Society report of 1803: "The Highland emigration can no longer ... be contemplated as an immaterial circumstance; far less (as some have thought it) beneficial in the way of draining a surplus population. - It is fast approaching to the point of complete depopulation of a large district of the kingdom ..." ¹

The early war years were apparently not ones of remarkable activity, but there are hints that the closing years of the eighteenth century were marked by a renewal of movement on a significant scale,² and, during the brief period of 1801-03, there was a spectacular outburst of emigration activity on a scale which prompted reactions such as that quoted above. The attention it aroused also resulted in attempts to estimate its incidence and volume. The principal specific information was recorded in a Parliamentary Report of 1803 and a private publication of 1806.³ Since this period was one of crucial importance to the settlement of Nova Scotia, these will now be subjected to a detailed analysis before proceeding with the general review of emigration.

The data from these two sources have been restructured and summarized on an annual basis in Table 1. The two sets of data are closely complementary for the first two years, both being in fact derived from the same original source. The information for 1803 is exclusive to the later account, however, and is generally less detailed. In addition, the figures quoted in the latter, apart from being obviously "rounded", may be regarded with some suspicion on the basis of the repetition of exactly the same figure

Table 1

Emigration data for 1801

POINT OF DEPARTURE	AREA OF ORIGIN	NUM-BERS	SOURCE OF VESSEL	TONNAGE	AGENT	DESTINATION
Loch Broom	Inverness-shire	100	Lossie	72	Geo. Deneon	Pictou
Loch Broom	Inverness-shire	130	Dundee	122		Baltimore
	Ross	(75)				
	Sutherland	(10)				
	Nairn	(2)				
	Moray	(35)				
	Angus	(2)				
		(6)				
Fort William	Aird	219	Aberdeen	185	Geo. Deneon	Pictou
	Strathglass					
	Urquhart					
	Glengarry					
	Knoydart					
	Arisaig					
	Moldart					
	Ross (few)					
Fort William	Rannoch	350	Liverpool	372	Geo. Deneon	Pictou
	Appin					
	Glencoe					
	Renfrewshire					
		799				

Table 1 (continued)

Emigration data for 1802						
POINT OF DEPARTURE	AREA OF ORIGIN	NUM-BERS	SOURCE OF VESSEL	TONN-AGE	AGENT	DESTINATION
Uist	South Uist	300			J. Ure Niell	Pictou
Barra	Barra	600			J. Ure Niell	Pictou
Braccadale	Skye	600	Greenock	600	MacDonald and Elder	Wilmington
Loch Broom	Sutherland	70	Ullapool	75		Pictou
Knoydart	North Morvern Knoydart Glenelg Strathglass Kintail Lochalsh	550	Greenock	600	MacDonald and Elder	Upper Canada
Moidart	Arisaig Moidart Elgg Rum Ross Callander Glasgow	340	The Clyde	300	And. McDonald	Sydney
	(300)					
	(18)					
	(12)					
	(2)					
	(6)					
	(2)					

Table 1 (continued)
Emigration data for 1802 (continued)

POINT OF DEPARTURE	AREA OF ORIGIN	NUM- BERS	SOURCE OF VESSEL	TONN- AGE	AGENT	DESTINATION
Fort William	As for 1801 emigration	136	Saltcoats	107	Arch. McMillan	Upper Canada
Fort William	As for 1801 emigration	166	Saltcoats	156	Arch. McMillan	Upper Canada
Fort William	As for 1801 emigration	171	Irvine	168	Arch. McMillan	Upper Canada
Fort William	As for 1801 emigration	128	Greenock	191	Maj. Simon Fraser	Pictou
Greenock		250				Canada
		3311				

Table 1 (continued)

Emigration data for 1803

POINT OF DEPARTURE	AREA OF ORIGIN	NUM- BERS	SOURCE OF VESSEL	TONN- AGE	AGENT	DESTINATION
Moray Firth	Strathglass	120		120	D. Forbes	Pictou
Moray Firth	Strathglass	120			Mr. Clark	Pictou
Moray Firth	Strathglass	120			Mr. Clark	Pictou
Moray Firth	Strathglass	120			A "club of Strathglass people"	Pictou
Loch Broom	Sutherland	200	Maj. Melville (2 vessels)		D. Roy	Pictou
Lewis?	Lewis	600	R. MacIver, Stornoway J. MacKenzie, Lochhead (3 vessels)			Pictou
Fort William	"Different quarters of the Highlands"		(2 vessels)		Maj. Simon Fraser	Pictou
		1280+				

for the Strathglass groups. However, rounding off must also have been a factor in the first source, and it was admitted that, under the circumstances, the data could be neither complete nor accurate. In examining the evidence, therefore, such serious defects must be borne in mind. However, the dearth of specific information along these lines renders general indications of considerable value.

The total number of emigrants listed for 1801-03 is 5,390, embarked on 24 vessels, giving an average of 225 passengers per vessel. However, since it was believed that the two vessels from Fort William in 1801 carried 700 rather than the declared 569,⁴ and, since no numbers are given in the case of the last two vessels listed for 1803, it is probably reasonable to assume that approximately 6,000 were transported by the 26 vessels accounted for.

Although the average passenger load for 24 of the vessels was 225, there was a wide range, with the largest number recorded being 600 and the smallest being 70. Of the 19 specific figures, however, 13 fall within the range of 70 to 250, and, since the five vessels with grouped figures would seem to have had individual passenger loads within this range, the data suggest that 75% of the 24 vessels carried no more than 250 passengers.

Tonnage is recorded for 13 vessels, giving a total of 3,068 tons and an average of 236 tons. Of the 13, 7 were within the 100 to 200 ton range, 2 were less than 100 tons, 1 was of 300 tons, another was of 372 tons, and 2 were of 600 tons. Moreover, there seems to be a fairly close correlation between tonnage and number of passengers, the two tending to be approximately equal. On this basis, of the 11 vessels without recorded tonnage but with numbers of passengers recorded, 8 would seem to have been within the 100 to 200 ton range, with 2 in the 300 ton range, and 1 in the 600 ton range. Although the passenger figures included varying proportions of children, the overwhelming impression is one of uniformly

crowded conditions. Moreover, many of the figures are obviously rough estimates, and likely to be understatements if the alleged circumstances of the two vessels from Fort William in 1801 are at all typical.

Although a wide area of the mainland is represented among the recorded areas of origin, the great bulk of references are to the west coast north of Morvern and to areas along the Great Glen. The suggested prominence of the Western Isles in the movement is supported by the fact that 1,500 were specifically stated to have come from the Outer Hebrides, 600 from Skye, and 30 from the Small Isles parish - a total of 2,130, or 40% of the 5,240 whose origins were given.

Departure seems to have been from several convenient centres of collection along the west coast and in the islands. However, the strength of the movement from the northeastern end of the Great Glen probably promoted the departures from the Moray Firth in 1803, indicating that there was a significant eastern orientation involved in the pattern of source areas. Only one departure from Greenock is noted, but another source mentions six emigrant vessels leaving that port during the late summer of 1803, which suggests that a fair amount of Highland emigration must have occurred from the Clyde.⁵

In terms of destination, of the 5,390 accounted for, 3,387 (63%) were going to Nova Scotia (including 340 to Cape Breton), 1,273 (24%) were going to Upper Canada, and 730 (13%) were going to the United States. Moreover, the Nova Scotia figure and the grand total do not take into account the two vessels from Fort William in 1803 for which no numbers are given. The apparent importance of Nova Scotia is further indicated by the fact that it is recorded as a destination for all three years, while Canada was restricted to 1802, and the United States to 1801 and 1802. However, it should be remembered that the emigration to Prince Edward Island promoted

by Lord Selkirk is not taken into account,⁶ and that five of the six vessels already referred to as having left Greenock in 1803 were bound for New York. Nevertheless, it is evident that Nova Scotia was a destination of major importance.

While there is some indication of independent initiative by emigrants (the Strathglass "club"), the available data suggest that agents played a key role in the movement, since 20 of the vessels were chartered by eight individuals and a partnership. The diverse recorded sources of vessels suggest that the agents were not directly involved in shipping themselves, but chartered the required vessels from shipping centres, or locally if the opportunity arose. However, it is possible that the three vessels which left Lewis in 1803 were directly employed by their local merchant owners since no agent is mentioned.

That local mercantile interests were involved as agents is indicated by the fact that MacDonald and Elder, the partnership, were said to be merchants based at Sleat in Skye. One other agent (Arch. McMillan) is known to have been from the same general area of origin as the emigrants he organized.

On the other hand, another agent (D. Roy) was said to be "from America", indicating that some operated from a transatlantic base. Additional evidence from Nova Scotia (to be considered later) will show that this was indeed the case, and also that in some cases operations seem to have been conducted from bases on both sides of the Atlantic. These indications support the contemporary contention that agents were a prominent feature of the movement.⁷ Certainly, such an occupation obviously provided abundant scope for entrepreneurial skills, since it was stated that S. Fraser had "made a trade of the business since 1790".⁸ Finally, it should be noted that there was apparently some specialization involved in terms of destinations, since these lists show MacDonald and Elder sending

people to Upper Canada and the United states only; McMillan to Upper Canada only; and the others to Nova Scotia only.

As noted above, these lists were recognized to be very incomplete, and other more general contemporary estimates of the gross numbers involved during these three years placed the total as high as 20,000 to 25,000, or about four times the number accounted for.⁹ More recent speculation has regarded a figure of about 10,000 as feasible.¹⁰

After 1803, the remainder of this period did not produce instances of emigration on such a scale, and it was noted that the "rage" or "epidemic" had abated. Nevertheless, it is clear from a variety of sources that the movement had by no means completely subsided. Details are for the most part exceedingly sketchy, however, and it seems likely that several thousand more left before 1815.¹¹

One notable aspect of this war-time emigration is that it was almost exclusively a Highland phenomenon. There was certainly a continuing Lowland contribution, mainly from the rural southwest and northeast, but this was never of a sustained volume sufficient to arouse contemporary comment or concern.¹² However, there was no lack of the latter in connection with the movement from the Highlands, and the main causes mentioned were those already raised in discussions of previous phases, although with differing emphasis.

Thus, the long-standing factors of rising rents, consolidation of holdings, and commercial sheep farming were prominent, particularly the latter in this period of increasing reaction to growing incentives on the part of the landowners. Such aspects of radically changing estate management practices were seen to be producing widespread social dislocation which all too often resulted in emigration. However, as was also recognized by some at the time, the link between sheep farming and emigration was not necessarily

either direct or inevitable.¹³

As we have seen, in some cases settlement provisions were available locally, and there were schemes for the resettlement of the displaced further afield, usually at coastal locations. To the extent that the latter recourse contributed to ever denser population concentrations, it might be claimed that deliberate local displacement was a causal factor at one remove. However, as was pointed out, large-scale emigration was taking place from coastal districts which were relatively unaffected by the consequences of consolidation and commercial sheep farming.¹⁴ This was even more true of the Western Isles where greater population densities were being most actively encouraged, and yet emigration persisted.

Walker's examination of these circumstances led him to the conclusion that population pressure must be the most important factor on the west coast and in the islands, and others too, while most impressed by the more obtrusive examples of estate reorganization, were not unaware of the problems created by heightened demographic pressure on local resources.¹⁵ The fact was that now the basic factors of demographic and economic change were interacting with one another, and with a number of others, to produce a highly complex situation which contemporaries found difficult to explain in simple cause and effect terms. This dilemma is well illustrated by the comments written late in 1802 by William Porter, British Fisheries Society agent at Lochbay:

... I contend that the non-residence of proprietors, the consolidation of farms, and sheep-grazing, must be considered as the prime movers of the emigration, but that now the excitements are various, contradictory and inexplicable; we may however look back to that time when first the butter was scraped off the tenant's bannock to grease the chariot wheels of the proprietor for the dawn

of disaffection, - we must now cast our eyes in a thousand directions to discover the agents of universal discontent; these are partly external, as high rents at home, the promise of better holdings abroad, invitations from those who have emigrated, or forgeries purporting to be such, the instigations of the restless who are easily led, and the insinuations of transport jobbers; - the internal disposition is much affected by universal fashion and example, and particularly by the delusion entertained in the hour of revelry ... with this general and particular temper of mind it cannot be wondered that accidents daily occur which induce the Highlander to say "let us go" ... ¹⁶

Perhaps the most significant aspect of this discussion, apart from the specific points raised, is the impression it gives of a broadly-based popular movement. This feature is also emphasized by other contemporary writers, and they further suggest that the participants were almost exclusively small tenants.¹⁷ Observers such as Brown might quibble and claim that subtenants (that is, of tacksmen) rather than direct tenants of the landowners were prominent.¹⁸ However, whether a tenant or a subtenant, it is clear that what was meant was an occupier of a formally recognized small unit of land - in other words, a representative of that emerging class of very small landholders discussed above.

Not only was this seen as a serious drain on the fundamental population base in the Highlands, but the form it was taking was also arousing expressions of concern: while various forms of movement such as seasonal migration and military service principally involved only individuals, emigration involved family units, usually in coherent local groups.¹⁹ Such features were certainly not new, but they had now assumed the proportions of a mass peasant

migration, mostly quite independent of the prompting and direction of social superiors who were also resorting to emigration.

Essentially, the lesser tenantry was in the same predicament whatever the particular economic policy being pursued locally, either favourable to or inimical to relatively dense populations. The combination of demographic pressure, economic policy, and limited natural resources was leading to the concentration of the bulk of the population into clusters consisting of very small individual holdings, which, if anything, only led to a further deterioration of circumstances pertaining to local subsistence bases. Moreover, while there were some benefits to be derived from the increased demand for the main Highland staples, these were often offset by the concurrent rising trend of rent demands, all within the context of a general insecurity of tenure due to the prevalent practice of granting adequate leases to only the most substantial tenants.

It has already been observed that the spontaneous resort to subdivision and colonization of waste land by the small tenants themselves may be regarded as a manifestation of a general desire to maintain a foothold on the land. However, these strategies increasingly involved the creation of a group who were dependent on such minute portions of marginal arable land that they could really only be considered nominal landholders, and contemporary observers, who recognized the relationship between migration and the local availability of land for settlement, tended to believe that local adaptation was the resort of the poorest, while those with means of any substance at all emigrated.²⁰

However, to the extent that it implies two distinct groups, this view is rather misleading. For instance, there are examples of planned emigration being averted by additional land being made available for settlement locally, a circumstance which further

indicates the strength of attachment to locale. On the other hand, such an alternative tended to be only temporary, and merely postponed emigration rather than eliminating it as those involved found that their circumstances continued to deteriorate. This was partly due to responses to the obligations of strong kinship bonds among local populations.²¹ These bonds promoted mutual assistance in adversity, so that the plight of the desperately poor and nearly landless was also a burden on the resources of their more prosperous neighbours, not least in terms of the subdivision of property which was often necessary to accommodate the former.

Thus, the hardships resulting from this pressure on resources were widely diffused throughout society, and were not restricted exclusively to those who had been pushed to the very edge of subsistence. While this general redistribution of land resources was reducing some to a level of poverty which severely restricted the scope of self-help, however, it was also providing significant opportunities to many.

The tendency to reduce the small tenantry to the status of a body of smallholders of roughly equal means meant that resources were spread more evenly, and in this period of inflated cattle prices even a quite small stock was sufficient to finance the emigration of a family. Indeed, it was noted at the time that many were taking advantage of the favourable market for their stocks by selling out and emigrating. It was also observed that this process involved a certain amount of anticipation since some, although not under immediate pressure themselves, were going at a time when economic circumstances were relatively favourable.²²

It was noted at this time that the unattractiveness of domestic alternatives to overseas migration, such as employment in the industrial lowlands, had in no way declined. Such a recourse was still being taken by many, but it was claimed that in some cases

it was regarded merely as a means of acquiring resources adequate for emigration.²³ The fact was that large-scale emigration had become for many the one viable means of retaining adequate land occupancy and closely-knit communities - essential aspects of the peasant society to which the ordinary Highlander clung so tenaciously.

In this respect, the resources of the Highlands themselves were proving quite inadequate, even in the islands where the social structure had been least disrupted; in some instances, as in the case of the new coastal fishing settlements, continued land occupancy involved considerable social disruption. These domestic factors were reinforced again in this period by the strength of overseas attractions and the ready availability of the means of effecting the transatlantic move.

Aspects of overseas attraction will be discussed in detail later, but it may be said in general that the "chain" process had by this time greatly strengthened the main foci of concentrated Highland settlement in rural North America as more vacant land was opened up to settlement, and the profound influence of invitations from those centres was acknowledged by contemporaries along lines similar to those of Porter's comments quoted above.²⁴

Selkirk's detailed discussion of the phenomenon also attested to its growing strength, as he noted how difficult it was to divert Highlanders from destinations already settled by emigrants from their own locality,²⁵ and the available data for the 1801-03 period examined above lends further support by showing how restricted the channels of emigration were in the case of the groups recorded.

The 1801-03 data also throw some interesting light on the subject of organization. Indeed, they suggest the existence of a well-organized trade, directed largely by a variety of mercantile interests, the extent of whose involvement is indicated by the adverse reaction of Greenock merchants to initial government

attempts, in 1801, to monitor the rising tide of emigration.²⁶

The true emigrant trade is considered to have developed only after 1815.²⁷ This is certainly true of centralized activities at the major ports, but it may be contended that this earlier phase of Highland emigration was associated with a formal organizational structure comprising many of the essential features of the later, fully developed commercial system. Contemporary commentators were in no doubt that commercial exploitation was an important feature of the emigration movement, and many even suggested that it was solely responsible for some moves as unscrupulous agents, governed only by the prospects of profits to be earned, cajoled groups of Highlanders to emigrate under circumstances which did not offer any significant advantages.²⁸

A graphic description of the kind of conduct on which such comments were based was provided by Porter, as he went on to state that he had heard of: "a crimping conduct practised by certain persons to carry off emigrants; it is effected by forging letters from emigrants in America, by beating up with a bagpipe and a flag, and by distributing vast quantities of spirits ..." ²⁹

There were certainly many reprehensible aspects to the trade, including such practices and of course the tendency to load as many people as possible on board the vessels, but, as Selkirk observed, the bulk of the population did not require such blandishments to persuade them to emigrate.³⁰ There already existed ample inducements on both sides of the Atlantic, and the emigrant trade, whatever its abuses, had now emerged as the principal means of effecting the desired transfer at a time when the lesser tenantry were generally not receiving encouragement or assistance in their designs from their social superiors.

The efforts of Lord Selkirk in some respects constituted a notable exception, but it is significant that, apart from the

identity of its instigator and his philanthropic motives, this venture was pursued along lines very similar to those of the commercial sector.³¹ The latter, therefore, continued to provide the necessary resources and organizational ability. The Strathglass "club" suggests that independent organization was not completely absent, but it seems evident that the bulk of the movement was dependent upon commercial expertise for the organization of transportation, and the available information for the peak years of 1801-03 strongly suggests that commercial involvement had developed to the point that it was capable of handling very large numbers.

These various general factors explain why emigration took place throughout this period, but do not explain why the rate was so uneven, particularly in terms of the concentrated activity during the three years at the turn of the century. For the answer to this we must turn to a number of other factors. The outburst was immediately preceded, in 1799-1800, by another of the periodic occurrences of widespread crop failure, which again served to accentuate the precariousness of the Highland subsistence base, and this atmosphere of mounting dislocation and discontent must have spurred many to seriously consider emigration at this time.³² Then came the brief interlude of peace marked by the Treaty of Amiens. Although the latter was not signed until 1802 and war broke out again in 1803, much greater freedom of movement on the seas was already prevalent in 1801, so that for almost three years there was considerably increased scope for transatlantic migration.³³

This was at a time, too, of heightened attraction on the North American side in that the Alien and Sedition Acts expired in the United States in 1801,³⁴ and it is noteworthy that a portion of the 1801 movement was directed to that country. However, the prominence of destinations in British North America suggests that there was an equal response to unmodified transatlantic incentives which had been

gathering momentum during the last two decades of the eighteenth century.

The resumption of war in 1803, coinciding with a period of consistently good crop returns during the first decade of the century,³⁵ contributed to a reduction of the flow for the remainder of the period, but public and private reactions to the events of 1801-03 also resulted in circumstances which had deterrent effects on the continuation of large-scale emigration.

Although some were beginning to see emigration as something to be encouraged, the reaction at the turn of the century was still generally negative, particularly among the landowners of the Outer Hebrides, as described by Porter again: "I can assure you that all the islands from the butt of the Lewis to Barra-Head are in a ferment; every measure has been taken by the Tacksmen to avert the spirit of emigration, but it appears to have too deep a root; and I have been assured by one of the leading men of Uist that Petitions from the Magistrates had been transmitted to a Member for the County praying the interposition of Government, or they must be ruined".³⁶

Such an attitude is understandable considering the peculiar advantages of an abundant population in the islands at the time. But it was also manifested much more generally, as witnessed by the concern of the Highland Society expressed in the statement quoted at the beginning of this chapter, recorded in the course of a detailed examination of the problem which it undertook.³⁷

Government action was indeed aroused, and this was no doubt facilitated by the potentially close relationship between public and private interest. Thus, Melville's attempts to assess the extent and nature of emigration from Perthshire were probably a result of his concern both as a public functionary and as a private landowner with extensive holdings in that county.³⁸

As already noted, there was a government move in 1801 to

monitor and regulate emigration. In 1802, Telford conducted his survey of the west coast and islands, and his report was included in the deliberations of the Parliamentary Committee which, in 1803, reviewed the perceived problems of the emigration movement and made recommendations which were much in line with the general contemporary viewpoint, and which were quickly implemented.³⁹

The measures introduced had two aspects - the direct control of emigration, and the provision of alternative opportunities at home. The former was to be accomplished by the provisions of the Passenger Act of 1803, while the latter was to be provided principally by the construction of the Caledonian Canal, and by the further improvement of land communications under the aegis of the Commissioners of Highland Roads and Bridges. However, the effectiveness of both in achieving the desired goals has been seriously questioned.

The goal of the Passenger Act was ostensibly to eliminate the flagrant abuses of the emigrant trade by establishing very stringent regulations governing transportation. In this respect, humanitarianism seemed to be the dominant motive, and this has been viewed as a valid interpretation, considering the shocking examples revealed mainly by the Highland Society investigations. On the other hand, the stringency of the regulations implied a severe curtailment of the flow of emigration by the application of passenger/tonnage ratios and other measures which tended to increase greatly the cost of a passage, and it has been more usual to view this indirect effect as the true aim of the legislation. But the very meticulousness of the provisions meant that it proved to be largely unenforceable.⁴⁰ Nevertheless, as a formal endorsement of anti-emigration views, it apparently gave rise to misgivings among the Highland tenantry.⁴¹

The general failure of the public works projects to stem the

flow of emigration has already been discussed. All the same, much hope was placed in the efficacy of these public works, and the discovery that emigration continued to be resorted to, albeit at a much reduced rate, sometimes produced expressions of slightly puzzled disappointment, although there were some less sanguine observers who recognized from the start that such measures would not put a stop to emigration.⁴²

This continued emigration flow was, however, accompanied by shifts in attitude on the part of some observers as emigration came to be regarded as convenient in some cases. For instance, the Sutherland estate papers for this period contain several discussions of the advisability of assisting the emigration of tenants who were dissatisfied with the process of resettlement under way on the estate at the time, and the Duchess herself commented in 1809: "The fact is that they will not repay us for the ground as they used to by enlisting when they were called upon but are more ready to go with others if they are not bribed by us, and if they will not adopt the other means of improvement for the country universally done elsewhere they must quit it to enable others to come to it".⁴³

In other words, there was an abundant reserve of occupants for the land available and the disgruntled could well be spared, especially if they could no longer be counted on to act as the all important military reserve. Not that this implied the countenancing of any extensive emigration. It was a source of satisfaction that only small groups were leaving while the great majority appeared to be settling contentedly in their new coastal locations,⁴⁴ but the fact that emigration was now being discussed as a valid policy is significant. At the end of the present period, official attitudes also manifested a degree of change as assistance was given to the settlement of Scottish emigrants in Upper Canada, but this was really a prelude to the next phase of emigration.

Notes

1. "Report from the Committee on the survey of the Coasts, &c. of Scotland, Relating to Emigration", Appendix A, Parliamentary Papers, 1802-03, IV.
2. A. Irvine, An Inquiry into the Causes and Effects of Emigration (Edinburgh, 1802); Flinn, "Malthus, Emigration and Potatoes", p. 52; Flinn et al., Scottish Population History, p. 93.
3. "Report Relating to Emigration", Appendix C, Parliamentary Papers, 1802-03, IV; R. Brown, Remarks Occasioned by the persusal of Thomas Douglas's "Observations" ... (Edinburgh, 1806), Appendix.
4. "Report Relating to Emigration", Appendix A, Parliamentary Papers, 1802-03, IV.
5. National Library of Scotland, Ms. 1053, ff. 104-09.
6. See Chapter 10 for details of this venture.
7. SRC, GD9/166/23, GD46/17/23; "Survey and Report by Thomas Telford", Parliamentary Papers, 1802-03, IV; "Introduction", Prize Essays and Transactions of the Highland Society of Scotland, III (1807).
8. R. Brown, Remarks.
9. "Report Relating to Emigration", Appendices A, B, Parliamentary Papers, 1802-03, IV.
10. D.F. MacDonald, Scotland's Shifting Population, p. 143; Wood, "Scottish Migration", p. 167; Smout, Scottish People, p. 246.
11. Statistical Account, XX, 286 ff.; Inverness Journal, October 9, 1807; "Introduction", Highland Society, III; Parliamentary Papers, 1821, XVII (718); R.J. Adam, ed., Sutherland Estate, II, 90, 96, 183. See also Chapter 16 below.
12. Flinn et al., Scottish Population History, pp. 33, 453-54; Gray, "Scottish Emigration", p. 97; Jones, "Background to Emigration", pp. 88-90; Wood, "Scottish Migration", p. 168.

13. SRO, GD46/17/23; "Survey and Report by Thomas Telford",
Parliamentary Papers, 1802-03, IV; Selkirk, Observations, p. 47;
Singers, "Sheep Farming"; Walker, Economical History; Hunter,
Crofting Community, p. 24; A. MacKenzie, The History of the
Highland Clearances (2nd. ed., Glasgow, 1914), p. 143.
14. Walker, Economical History.
15. Ibid.
16. SRO, GD9/166/23.
17. Selkirk, Observations, pp. 43-60.
18. Remarks.
19. Walker, Economical History.
20. Statistical Account, XVI, 265 ff.; Selkirk, Observations,
pp. 43-60.
21. Statistical Account: XIII, 326 ff.; XVI, 265 ff.
22. "Survey and Report by Thomas Telford", Parliamentary Papers,
1802-03, IV; Selkirk, Observations, pp. 43-60.
23. Ibid.
24. "Survey and Report by Thomas Telford", Parliamentary Papers,
1802-03, IV; Singers, "Sheep Farming".
25. Observations, pp. 158-76.
26. V. Harlow and F. Madden, ed., British Colonial Developments,
1774-1834 (Oxford, 1953), p. 396 (Hope to Portland, June 2, 1801).
27. W.F. Adams, Ireland and Irish Emigration to the New World from
1815 to the Famine (New Haven, 1932), pp. 71-76.
28. SRO, GD46/17/23; "Survey and Report by Thomas Telford", and
"Report Relating to Emigration", Appendix A, Parliamentary
Papers, 1802-03, IV; "Introduction", Highland Society, III.
29. SRO, GD9/166/23.
30. Observations, pp. 51 ff.
31. Ibid., pp. 176-223. See also Chapter 10 below.
32. Flinn, "Malthus, Emigration and Potatoes", p. 53; Hansen,

Atlantic Migration, pp. 66-68; Smout, "Famine", p. 26.

33. Hansen, Atlantic Migration, pp. 66-68.

34. Ibid.

35. Flinn, "Malthus, Emigration and Potatoes", pp. 28-29.

36. SRO, GD9/166/23.

37. "Report Relating to Emigration", Appendix A, Parliamentary Papers, 1802-03, IV.

38. National Library of Scotland, Ms. 1053, ff. 104-09.

39. "Report Relating to Emigration", Parliamentary Papers, 1802-03, IV.

40. Ibid., Appendix A; Hunter, Crofting Community, pp. 25-26; O.

MacDonagh, A Pattern of Government Growth, 1800-1860: The Passenger Acts and their Enforcement (London, 1961), pp. 55-64.

41. Wordsworth, Recollections, p. 92.

42. SRO, GD46/17/23; Inverness Journal, October 9, 1807.

43. R.J. Adam, Sutherland Estate, II, 90.

44. Ibid., II, 183, 249.

Chapter 9

Scottish Emigration, 1815-30

That the emigration movement from Scotland during this period was a very substantial one, and on a scale much greater than in any of the previous periods, is indicated by available statistics derived from contemporary official returns. The latter are still not sufficiently detailed and complete enough to enable a precise reconstruction to be calculated, but they do afford the opportunity for a reasonable gross estimate.

According to one source, 23, 792 passengers sailed from Scotland to destinations other than the West Indies, 1815-20.¹ Another source lists 21, 342 emigrants who sailed from Scotland, 1825-30.² Total figures for the entire United Kingdom are all that is available for the years between 1820 and 1825,³ but these tend to support the Nova Scotia evidence which points to a relative lull in the first half of the third decade.⁴ Consequently, a round figure of some 50,000 may be suggested for the volume of Scottish emigration during the 1815-30 period.

In this period, too, the flow was not an even one, being marked by periodic fluctuations. In broad terms, the immediate post-war years of 1815-20 witnessed a great increase in activity followed by a relative lull in the early 1820s, which in turn was succeeded by another period of peak activity in the late 1820s. The latter extended into the early 1830s and was followed by yet another brief interlude of reduced activity in the mid-1830s. However, the fact that over 88,000 emigrants from Scottish ports were recorded for the period 1831-46 reveals that the exodus was gaining even greater momentum, and indeed that the figures for 1815-30, impressive by earlier standards, represented only a prelude

to massive emigration in the middle decades of the nineteenth century.⁵

This period coincided exactly with a phase of official policy involving experimentation with assisted emigration, the first instance of which was noted at the end of the last chapter. The latter consisted of a group of Scots from both the industrial Lowlands and the northwest Highlands who were assisted to emigrate and settle in Upper Canada in 1815. Subsequently, similar forms of assistance were given to a group which went to the Cape of Good Hope in 1819, to two groups of Lowland Scottish industrial workers (mainly weavers) who went to Upper Canada in 1820 and 1821, and to the two Irish groups taken to Upper Canada by Peter Robinson in 1823 and 1825.⁶

Thus, six instances of government-sponsored emigration from Britain occurred in the first decade after the end of the war, signalling a significant change in attitudes towards the movement. We have seen how, even before 1815, there had been a certain shifting of opinion from the almost universal disapproval and discouragement of the later eighteenth century. Then the prevalence in the post-war economy of heightened social dislocation and distress in all sectors helped to lend respectability to the notion that the problems of rural displacement and urban unemployment could be eased by fostering the removal of the most distressed to the colonies.

Such an attitude was, of course, closely allied to and partly prompted by the contemporary revolution in economic thought which was leading to the dominance of free trade theories in place of the old doctrines of mercantilism. Moreover, the growing availability of national demographic statistics was producing a general awareness of the extent of population increase and the pressures it was creating in certain areas. The handful of government projects, then, represented a tentative official response to, and endorsement

of, the new climate of opinion.⁷

The most prominent figure involved was Wilmot Horton, Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies from 1822 to 1828, who attempted to promote a regular program of emigration of the indigent to be financed by such means as the mortgaging of poor rates. He was responsible for the assisted moves of 1823 and 1825, and the culmination of his work was encompassed by the investigations and reports of the Select Committees on Emigration of 1826-27, which applied themselves specifically to the feasibility of promoting large-scale emigration of the poor.⁸

However, these developments did not lead to a policy of continuing government involvement along the lines of the 1815-26 experiments. Although sympathetic to the general intention, the Committees rejected the concept of outright government expenditure: any participation should be on the basis of ultimate repayment and the movement should remain essentially a voluntary one, financed if and when necessary by local and private contributions from poor rates, landowners and manufacturers.⁹

That there were already serious doubts concerning the efficacy of this kind of scheme is revealed by other comments contained in the third Report of 1827. It was noted that there was a tendency for removed paupers to be rapidly replaced; in the industrial centres this was often as a result of the rising tide of Irish immigration. Thus poor law reform and measures to restrict the Irish influx might be much more effective than the removal of paupers. The concern about the recovery of any government expenditure also reflected another serious problem from the contemporary viewpoint.¹⁰ Indeed, the fact that some £160,000 had already been provided towards emigration schemes with no immediate prospect of return led to the refusal of funds to sponsor a third Robinson group in 1826, and resulted in a call for a thorough investigation of

the subject.¹¹

The basis of the movements had been the settlement of the emigrants as pioneers on individual allotments provided by the system of free land grants, and this implied a near subsistence economy for probably a quite lengthy period, a circumstance which did not bode well for the regular repayment of loans. This was only one possible factor, of course, but the fact remained that, whatever the circumstances, the effective recovery of outlays proved exceedingly difficult. The advances made to the 1820-21 groups, for instance, were in fact never repaid and the debts were eventually cancelled in 1836.¹²

The problem regarding emigrants of slender means was seen to be a key one, and by the end of this period a new approach was being advocated by Gibbon Wakefield and his associates who, in 1830, formed the National Colonization Society. According to them, the successful settlement of large numbers of poorer emigrants could best be achieved by allocating land only in large blocks to men of substance who would provide employment for those of lesser means until the latter were financially secure enough to set themselves up independently. This concept had considerable influence on official thinking throughout the 1830s and beyond.¹³

Experiments along these lines were largely restricted to Australia, but all colonies were influenced by the related policy of substituting distribution by sale for the former system of free land grants, a process which began in the late 1820s. Moreover, the kind of assistance employed sporadically between 1815 and 1826 was not repeated, and those who were assisted in this fashion (some 11,000) were but a small fraction of the total number of emigrants during the same years. Consequently, despite greater government involvement, the emigration movement continued to be a mainly voluntary one.¹⁴

However, yet another facet of government involvement was fostered by the very volume of the movement and by changing attitudes - that of regulation of the transportation of emigrants. In 1815, the 1803 Passenger Act was still in effect, but between 1815 and 1820 a generally more favourable attitude towards emigration led to a series of modifications of its more onerous provisions. In 1823, rather more stringent measures were again imposed, only to be modified in 1825. Then, in the aftermath of the 1826-27 Committees, all regulations were removed in 1827; however, harrowing reports of hardship and disaster over the following year led to the passing of a new Passenger Act in 1828. Thereafter, 1830 marks approximately the beginning of a new phase involving the appointment of emigration commissioners and emigration officers at principal ports, and, in 1840, the establishment of the Colonial Land and Emigration Commission.¹⁵

This progression of measures was prompted by the post-war growth of the commercially organized emigrant trade, the reported abuses of which were legion, and the fluctuating level of regulation in the pre-1830 period reflects contradictory objectives of facilitating the flow of emigration while attempting to reduce the level of hardship.¹⁶

It has been observed of the massive later nineteenth century migration from Europe to the United States that it was only possible because an adequate supply of vessels had been ensured by strong commercial links between source and destination.¹⁷ Although on a smaller scale, this is also essentially true of emigration from Britain to North America between 1815 and 1830. There was abundant space available on the east-west passages of vessels engaged principally in the shipment of bulky goods, most notably timber, from North America to Europe. The North Atlantic timber trade had greatly expanded during the war, and amidst the economic difficulties

of the post-war years an abundance of vessels and a decline in trade meant that there was brisk competition for a share of the lucrative emigrant trade.¹⁸

Comments have already been made on the beginnings of commercial organization in the Highland emigration movement, but it was in the years following 1815 that the trade became a large-scale formal business, particularly marked by the appearance of brokerage concerns at the major ports after 1815. These became the organizers of emigration movement, marshalling the emigrants and chartering the ships. One immediate and notable consequence was a tendency to centralization of the trade in important centres such as the lower Clyde, although local departures continued to be of importance in the northwestern Highlands and in the Western Isles.¹⁹

From the point of view of the emigrant, there were obvious benefits in the form of readily available transportation and fares which were kept low by the keenness of competition. On the other hand, general standards of comfort and safety did not improve during this period. The vessels were bulk carriers minimally modified to accommodate a human cargo, while gross tonnages and passenger/tonnage ratios remained in the ranges noted for the Highland emigration of 1801-03. This was also a time when the British merchant marine was cutting costs at the expense of safety and seamanship.²⁰

However, supply and demand continued to be matched despite obstacles such as the attempted regulation of shipboard conditions by the successive Passenger Acts, the provisions of which in any case seem to have been subject to widespread evasion. For example, although the passage of the 1828 Act aroused complaints among emigration agents, it did not result in any prosecutions over the next few years when emigration activity was at a peak.²¹

This, then, was the general background to the post-war

Scottish emigration movement: a climate of opinion which was regarding the phenomenon more favourably; sporadic government intervention which had little positive and lasting effect on the course of the movement; and, probably of greatest significance, the emergence of a sophisticated commercial system capable of effecting the transatlantic movement of large numbers.

With respect to the last factor, it is noteworthy that during this period the emigrant trade was a prominent activity at lowland west coast ports from the Clyde to Dumfries. Much of this business was directed towards the transporting of Highland emigrants, but there was also a considerable overseas movement from Lowland areas. Contemporary attention focused largely upon the rising popularity of emigration among the urban industrial poor. However, it seems that in terms of movement achieved (as in the late eighteenth century) the main contributions came from rural agricultural bases generally located on the periphery of the region, again most notably the extreme southwest and extreme northeast.²²

It has already been noted that demographic trends in these areas were coming to resemble more closely those of the Highland region than other Lowland areas, and particularly the central industrial belt. Thus, in the decade between 1821 and 1831, when the national population increased by 13%, that of the counties of Dumfries and Nairn increased by only about 4%, while that of the counties of Lanark and Forfar increased by about 30% and 23% respectively. In the following decade, this contrast became even more pronounced as both Dumfries and Nairn recorded slight decreases while the two counties with a strong urban industrial base experienced growth rates similar to those of the preceding decade.²³

A general trend of this nature was to be expected in the context of the kind of internal population redistribution which was taking place, but the minimal growth rates recorded for such

peripheral areas are complemented by other evidence which indicates a significant flow of overseas emigrants, in contrast to more central areas where the rate of emigration was relatively low. Again, this may be seen as partly a function of the relative isolation of these areas from the centres of industrial growth, and a consequent weakening of attractive influences. Indeed, the latter probably had a much greater influence on some strictly Highland areas which were much closer geographically to the central industrial belt than these outliers of the Lowland region.²⁴

Moreover, as post-war economic difficulties compounded the problems of social adjustment associated with the advance of agricultural improvement, an area such as the extreme southwest, where pastoralism remained prominent, may have offered fewer opportunities for local accommodation than, say, areas of the Lothians where agricultural wage labour was relatively abundant. Then again, in terms of the choice of emigration as a solution to social and economic difficulties, there is the consideration of land occupancy discussed above: the tenant of modest means, finding it difficult or impossible to maintain his position, may have opted for the opportunity of similar pursuits in another land rather than a change of occupation and status closer to home.

Certainly, as in the 1770s, most of the Lowland agricultural emigrants during this period seem to have been small tenant farmers.²⁵ In this respect, it is interesting to note that this movement was not represented in the flood of petitions for assistance to emigrate which accompanied the investigations of the Select Committees of 1826-27 (the one occurrence of a Lowland agricultural group consisted of a number of Lanarkshire labourers).²⁶ This lends support to the notion that the bulk of the Lowland agricultural emigration consisted of those who, for the most part, commanded the means to finance their own emigration: in other words, those who were in possession

of a small capital stock which could be converted to cash.

The extent of the movement from the extreme southwest in the early post-war years is indicated by reports of hundreds leaving the ports of Dumfries and Annan in 1817, and the outflow continued through the 1820s.²⁷ As suggested above, the general reasons for this exodus were those noted for previous periods exacerbated by the effects of post-war deflation. Immediate pressures upon the small tenant could take various forms, such as higher rents or the threat of eviction, but the basic problem was a declining availability of land for traditional forms of occupancy, at a time too when demand pressures were being heightened in many localities.²⁸

Distress in urban industrial centres during this period extended the influence of the emigration movement to those areas on a significant scale for the first time. However, while the subject received considerable publicity, positive action seems to have been relatively insignificant.²⁹ The assisted emigration of Lowland industrial workers in 1820-21 set a precedent, and was accompanied by the formation of emigration societies to promote mutual assistance, often in the belief that the supply and demand aspects of industrial employment could be better balanced by co-operative efforts to promote the emigration of the "surplus" element of the work force. Then the work of the 1826-27 Select Committees, occurring at a time of recession and increased unemployment, precipitated a heightened degree of activity manifested by petitions for further assisted emigration.

More than half of the petitions noted for the period from mid-1826 to mid-1827 were from groups of industrial workers, mostly weavers but including also a variety of other occupations, and drawn very largely from the west central industrial belt. In general, these petitions complained of extreme privation, unemployment, and eviction from dwellings, and looked to emigration as "the only

means by which they can be saved from perishing.³⁰

Emigration societies were prominently represented, some having direct links with the 1820-21 movement since their membership included many whose colleagues, friends, relatives or neighbours had taken part in the 1820-21 scheme. Thus many had the advantage of links with previous emigrants who, it was claimed, were now willing and able to assist newcomers on arrival, and this accounts for specific requests to be relocated in proximity to the earlier industrial emigrants (in Lanark, Upper Canada).

This, of course, represents the incipient development of a process of chain migration such as was important in the Highland emigration movement. However, there was one major inhibiting factor: the general inability of members of the urban industrial labour force to finance their own emigration. Unlike rural smallholders, these people were destitute of possessions such as livestock which could readily be liquidated to provide cash for the purchase of passages. Consequently, there was this widespread resort to requests for official assistance.

Schemes of this nature were indeed being seriously considered in conjunction with proposed aid from manufacturing interests, but came to nought in the face of growing doubts as to the efficacy of such measures in relieving social distress at home.³¹ The result was that, in the absence of assistance, any further large-scale emigration from the urban industrial centres was thwarted throughout the remainder of this period, and for some time thereafter, as lack of resources denied the industrial poor the opportunity of escape, and the further development of the process of chain migration was checked.³²

Another notable feature of the 1825-27 petitions was the prominence of Highland groups. However, in this case, lack of success in petitioning was not accompanied by a significant check

to the flow of emigration. Rather, the late 1820s was a period of heightened activity, and there are many contemporary references to large-scale movement to overseas destinations, particularly from the northwest coast and the neighbouring Hebrides, the area incidentally which was most prominently represented in the petitions.³³ This indeed was yet another peak in the course of the Highland emigration movement which had increased sharply in volume again immediately after the end of hostilities in 1815, indicating the beginning of yet another phase of the process which had been developing since the early 1770s, and which still probably represented the major portion of the total Scottish emigration movement.

This continuity was reflected in the fact that emigrants came mainly from the smallholding community, and the general reasons for emigration remained essentially those observed in the case of the preceding phases. The return of peace was, in itself, an encouragement to increased activity, but the difficulties experienced by the Highland economy in the post-war period also served to promote emigration. The incidence of particular immediate pressures, such as rising rents or clearance, varied according to local circumstances, but the universal root problem from which these stemmed was that of population pressure on resources at a time when population levels were peaking after a long period of sustained growth and the last economic advantages accruing to the maintenance of such levels were fast disappearing.³⁴

The growing practice of evicting smallholders to accommodate commercial sheep farms gained great notoriety and there was a considerable emigration from the Sutherland estate at the end of the war. However, it has been pointed out in the case of Morvern parish that the number of those known to have been evicted equalled less than a quarter of those known to have emigrated during the nineteenth century,³⁵ and it is obvious that such practices alone

cannot explain the nature and scale of emigration from the Highlands.

The new universal theme for the smallholder in the Highlands was one of drastically reduced opportunity all round, and in this context intolerable strains were placed upon the diminished resource base, especially along the northwest coast and in the islands where dense population concentrations had previously been an economic asset.

The population statistics for the counties of Inverness and Ross illustrate some of the ramifications of these developments: in the decade between 1811 and 1821, before the collapse of the kelp industry, the rates of increase were quite close to the national average, then in the following decade were greatly reduced and considerably below the national average, a trend which was even further accentuated in the decade after 1831. Population was still increasing, and consequently continuing to exacerbate problems; however, the rates recorded after 1821 suggest the steady loss of a proportion of the natural increase by outmigration and the major contribution made by the northwest to the emigration movement of this period.³⁶

The latter was largely due to an apparent preference for overseas migration as opposed to other forms of migration. Areas of the south and east Highlands interacted with the industrial economy, including a transfer of population, but it is clear that the population of the remoter northwest continued to resist permanent transfer to the industrial south. That this was a persistent factor is indicated by the comment of a witness before the 1841 Select Committee on emigration:

... I would say that the Highlanders themselves are very well aware of the fact that their families are in danger of acquiring bad habits in large towns, and they are glad to maintain their families at home at great loss, being afraid to let them out of their sight to the south, from

the bad habits they may contract; and one great reason for their emigrating is that they might send their families abroad in a way to earn an honest livelihood under their own care ...³⁷

This is very much in accord with the observation of the writer of the second Barra Statistical Account that there would have been a very great population increase, due partly to a reluctance to go south, if there had not been a large-scale emigration to Cape Breton and Nova Scotia.³⁸ In addition, as an adjunct to such observations, yet another comment made before the 1841 Committee is of interest:

... there was ... one great objection to the emigration to Australia, arising from the limitation of age ... this, when rigidly acted on, led to the separation of families, and the Highlanders would not leave behind ... their aged ... therefore many were prevented going and if any emigration is to take place to our North American colonies, it will not work well unless whole families are taken ...³⁹

Such opinions help to explain other apparently contradictory statements concerning the population of the northwest, whereby a general reluctance to abandon the local community and its social bonds was associated with a fairly widespread willingness to undertake overseas migration.⁴⁰ Thus, the essential bonds of kinship and locale and the concomitant adherence to the values of a peasant society remained very strong, rendering the prospect of fundamental social and economic change particularly unattractive.

This attitude was reflected in the continued prevalence of subdivision in an attempt to maintain occupancy of land in the face of reduced opportunity as the area available for smallholding was curtailed by the application of new economic strategies.⁴¹ Moreover, the fact that relatively high population levels and consequent

congestion were maintained for longer in the extreme northwest and in the islands suggests that people there tended to cling to the land as long as possible.

The extreme pressure on the land resource base is further illustrated by contemporary reference to a tendency for vacated properties to be reoccupied almost immediately.⁴² This instance resulted from the emigration of a number of smallholders, and throughout the region the latter recourse continued to be an acceptable means of relieving some of the pressure on local land resources.

The movement remained one of family and kinship groups who viewed overseas transfer as a way of retaining essential social and cultural values in a rural economy based on individual land occupancy, much more akin to their former mode of existence than employment in the industrial labour force of the south. Their economic position might be becoming ever more precarious, but it was observed that many, like contemporary lowland rural emigrants, still possessed the means to finance their own emigration: "... They have generally a cow, and they keep always their female produce, the heifer, and they have a calf of a year, which if it is a male is sold as a yearling always. That they generally have, and therefore, by converting those into money ... they will make 18 towards the expense ..."⁴³

The attractive influence of overseas destinations also maintained its strength during this period. By the 1820s many of the overseas concentrations of Highland settlement had been evolving for 40 or 50 years, and the links of the chain migration process had been greatly strengthened. The chain process implies a relatively sustained flow through time, and several references in the second Statistical Account suggest that this was indeed a widespread phenomenon. The Ardnamurchan reference to constant emigration

since the time of the first Statistical Account has already been cited. Similar observations were made in the case of South Uist where emigration was said to have been frequent since 1772, and in the case of Barra where a great many emigrated "almost every year".⁴⁴

The emergence of a highly organized emigrant trade also meant that there were abundant means of effecting the transfer; while centralization of activity at the major ports was becoming an important factor, departures from convenient collection points in the northwest was still very much in evidence.

The process seems to have been very similar to that observed during the 1801-03 phase:

... A person who is styled the emigrant agent goes about soliciting the natives to sign a paper by which they bind themselves to sail in his ship. - Those who have not money to defray the expenses of the passage, give up all to the agent, and in this way cows, sheep, horses, and other moveables are converted into cash. Having got a sufficient number of passengers, the agent charters a vessel ...⁴⁵

However, this observation was part of an account designed to emphasize the misery and hardship associated with Highland emigration in the late 1820s. The fact was that, though transportation facilities might be readily available, and though fares were being kept low, the economic circumstances of the bulk of the Highland population was such that self-financing of emigration was becoming more and more difficult as cash incomes declined or disappeared and stock came to be worth less and less. In Lochs parish, for instance, it was noted in 1833 that extensive emigration was prevented only by reluctance to part with scanty stocks of cattle at the prevailing low price.⁴⁶ The loss of income from kelp and

fish, where these were important, must also have had its effect.

Moreover, the accommodation of larger numbers in the closely-knit local communities by means of the traditional forms of mutual assistance meant that all tended to be reduced even further to a universal level of poverty.⁴⁷ Most notably, a tendency towards excessive subdivision implied inadequate individual holdings, and a consequent inability to maintain substantial holdings of livestock, as suggested above. As a result, many were finding it impossible to raise cash amounts sufficient to ensure successful emigration and settlement.

Indeed, inability to meet costs adequately, coupled with the rapacity of agents, was also apparently giving rise to an adverse reaction to emigration. For example, one instance was noted in which "they emigrated under some people who came and took all their little property from them, and accordingly when they got there they had nothing to begin upon, they could neither get land nor labour and they therefore returned completely beggars ..."⁴⁸

Thus, the long-standing, self-sustaining basis of the Highland emigration movement was faltering under the burden of acute depression, as indicated by the widespread appeals for assistance in the mid-1820s. Among the latter, however, there was one significant exception to the general run of group petitions.⁴⁹ This appeal was from a landowner in Coll who had himself sent overseas 300 from one of his islands, and could now "spare" 1,500 others from his estates. He was willing to pay for a period the interest on any money expended by government on their emigration.

This was MacLean of Coll, and the reference is to the emigration of almost the entire population of Rum to Cape Breton in 1826. MacLean not only financed the operation, but cancelled arrears of rent, allowed the tenants their stock, and even provided the emigrants with a lump sum of money.⁵⁰ This example is

early nineteenth century population and settlement expansion had failed, and could no longer be relied on consistently.

The extent of emigration among a population so impoverished indicates the presence of new factors. The most obvious of these was the widespread occurrence of landlord-financed emigration, mainly by the new group of owners who dominated the northwest by the middle of the century. In addition, a combination of public and private efforts facilitated the movement: some of the relief funds raised in 1836-37 were used to finance emigration; assistance came from the Destitution Board in 1849; then, in 1851, the Emigration Act provided for emigration loans and the Highland Emigration Society was founded. So, large numbers of the Highland destitute were sent overseas, and many must have had little choice in the matter.⁵⁴

This great outpouring in the middle decades of the century was accompanied by the appearance of negative population growth rates, particularly in the counties of the northwest, and it has been suggested that the composition of the emigrant body in this phase of activity contributed to population declines: emigrants were now predominantly young adults, particularly young adult males, leading to imbalances in age and sex structures and, consequently, low birth and marriage rates.⁵⁵ This implies a radically new aspect to Highland emigration, compared to the largely voluntary and independent pre-1830 movement which seems to have represented a much more balanced drain on the Highland population base.

In this context, it may be observed that Irish emigration seems to have followed a rather similar pattern in the period following 1815. Adams has pointed out that the commonly accepted pattern of Irish emigration - that is, involving predominantly the young and the single - is characteristic of extreme poverty such as was associated with the mass exodus of the Famine period, and was not generally true of the Irish emigration movement in the first few

symptomatic of a remarkable reversal of landlord attitudes towards emigration which brought them into line with current trends of thought.

A pre-1815 indication of a shift to a more favourable attitude has already been noted, and by 1822 a major Highland landowner was suggesting state-sponsored emigration. However, there was no overwhelming support among landlords for such schemes while the kelp industry remained viable.⁵¹ Then, with the almost complete collapse of the industry in the mid-1820s, the term "redundant", as applied to the population concentrations of the northwest, became fashionable, and landlords in general were now reported to be in favour of emigration as a means of reducing the burden of indigent populations on their estates.⁵²

However, there were very few in a position to follow the example of Maclean of Coll. The process of ownership change was under way, but economically hard-pressed traditional owners were still very much in control throughout the northwest, and the financing of any large-scale emigration was beyond the means of most. Nevertheless, they gave every encouragement to the movement in progress and to the agents who were organizing it. Those going at the close of this period were thus mainly those who could still afford it.⁵³

The full practical effect of the change in landlord attitudes was only to be felt in the period following 1830. The great increase in the rate of emigration during the 1830s and early 1840s has already been noted, and this was to be followed by an even greater exodus in the middle decades of the century.

During this later period, the situation of Highland smallholders had been rendered even more intolerable as the potato blight of the 1840s, following the subsistence crisis of 1836-37, destroyed what had become their principal subsistence resource: the crop which had been the basis for so much of late eighteenth and

years following 1815. During the latter period rural emigrants tended to be reasonably substantial farmers who moved in family groups, and for whom the possession of property was probably the key issue.⁵⁶ This certainly seems to have also been true of the emigration of Highland smallholders between 1815 and 1830, and of rural Lowland emigrants during the same period - the two dominant groups in the Scottish context.

Notes

1. Parliamentary Papers, 1821, XVII (718).
2. Ibid., 1833, XXVI (696).
3. MacDonagh, Passenger Acts, p. 351.
4. See Chapter 16 below.
5. Flinn et al., Scottish Population History, p. 446.
6. H.I. Cowan, British Emigration to British North America: the first hundred years (2nd. ed., Toronto, 1961), pp. 41-43, 59-64; F.H. Hitchins, The Colonial Land and Emigration Commission (Philadelphia, 1931), pp. 1-4; H.J.M. Johnston, British Emigration Policy, 1815-1830 (London, 1972), pp. 1-9.
7. Johnston, Emigration Policy, pp. 1-9.
8. Ibid.; D.V. Glass and P.A.M. Taylor, Population and Emigration (Dublin, 1976), pp. 64-66.
9. "Report from the Select Committee" (May 26, 1826), IUP, Emigration, I.
10. "Third Report from the Select Committee, 1827" (June 29, 1827), IUP, Emigration, II.
11. Hitchins, Emigration Commission, p. 4.
12. Cowan, British Emigration, p. 63.
13. E.G. Wakefield, A View of the Art of Colonization (London, 1849); Glass and Taylor, Population and Emigration, pp. 65-68; Hitchins, Emigration Commission, pp. 5-8; Johnston, Emigration

Policy, pp. 163-74.

14. Glass and Taylor, Population and Emigration, p. 66; Johnston, Emigration Policy, p. 1.
15. E.C. Guillet, The Great Migration (London, 1937), pp. 11-16; Hitchins, Emigration Commission, pp. 9-36; MacDonagh, Passenger Acts, pp. 64-68.
16. Adams, Irish Emigration, pp. 72-82; MacDonagh, Passenger Acts, pp. 18-19, 43-48. The former contends that abuses may have been exaggerated as a result of a tendency to concentrate upon the experiences of particularly bad years.
17. Hansen, Atlantic Migration, p. 172.
18. Adams, Irish Emigration, pp. 71-76; Hansen, Atlantic Migration, p. 180; MacDonagh, Passenger Acts, pp. 43-45; D. MacMillan, Scotland and Australia, p. 134.
19. Adams, Irish Emigration, pp. 71-76; J.M. Cameron, A Study of the Factors that Assisted and Directed Scottish Emigration to Upper Canada, 1815-1855 (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Glasgow, 1970), pp. 472-97; Cowan, British Emigration, p. 52; MacDonagh, Passenger Acts, pp. 43-48.
20. Hansen, Atlantic Migration, p. 184; MacDonagh, Passenger Acts, pp. 47-48.
21. MacDonagh, Passenger Acts, pp. 63-68.
22. J.M. Cameron, Scottish Emigration to Upper Canada, pp. 455, 474-79; Gray, "Scottish Emigration", p. 97; Jones, "Background to Emigration", pp. 88-90.
23. Census of Great Britain, 1851, Population Tables I, II.
24. New Statistical Account: V, 57 ff.; X, 1150 ff. J.M. Cameron, Scottish Emigration to Upper Canada, p. 558; Slaven, West of Scotland, p. 141; Wood, "Scottish Migration", pp. 168-69.
See also Appendix 5 below.
25. Cowan, British Emigration, p. 52; D. MacMillan, Scotland and

Australia, pp. 97-98.

26. IUP, Emigration, I, 356-57; II, 500-08.
27. Cowan, British Emigration, p. 52; Wood, "Scottish Migration", p. 169.
28. See Appendix 5 below.
29. Johnston, Emigration Policy, pp. 1-9; Jones, "Background to Emigration", pp. 88-90.
30. IUP, Emigration, II, 500-08.
31. "Second Report from the Select Committee, 1827" (April 5, 1827), IUP, Emigration, II; Johnston, Emigration Policy, pp. 8-9, 174.
32. Jones, "Background to Emigration", pp. 88-90.
33. IUP, Emigration: I, 356-57; II, 500-08. New Statistical Account: VII, 117 ff.; XIV, 145 ff., 157 ff., 159 ff., 198 ff.; XV, 1 ff. Acadian Recorder, September 15, 1827; Inverness Courier, July 16, 1828, January 28, 1829, April 7, June 23, 1830; W. MacGillivray, "On the present state of the Outer Hebrides", Highland Society, N.S., II (1831), 306.
34. IUP, Emigration, I, 73-77; MacGillivray, "Outer Hebrides", p. 306; Inverness Courier, April 22, 1840. New Statistical Account: XIV, 90 ff., 159 ff., 182 ff.; XV, 105 ff.
35. Gaskell, Morvern Transformed, p. 27.
36. Census of Great Britain, 1851, Population Tables I, II; Flinn, "Malthus, Emigration and Potatoes", p. 54; Gaskell, Morvern Transformed, p. 47; Slaven, West of Scotland, p. 141.
37. IUP, Emigration, III, 1141.
38. New Statistical Account, XIV, 198 ff.
39. IUP, Emigration, III, 218.
40. MacGillivray, "Outer Hebrides", p. 306; New Statistical Account, XIV, 151 ff., 235 ff.
41. New Statistical Account: XIV, 90 ff., 141 ff., 159 ff., 182 ff.; XV, 105 ff. IUP, Emigration, I, 73-77; MacGillivray, "Outer

- Hebrides", p. 306; Hunter, Crofting Community, pp. 31, 42.
42. New Statistical Account, XV, 1 ff. See also XIV, 444 ff.
43. IUP, Emigration, I, 73-77.
44. New Statistical Account, XIV, 182 ff., 198 ff.
45. Novascotian, September 25, 1828.
46. New Statistical Account, XIV, 157 ff.
47. Ibid., XIV, 157 ff., 159 ff., 182 ff., 198 ff.
48. IUP, Emigration, I, 73-77.
49. Ibid., II, 500-08.
50. Ibid., II, 287-92.
51. Hunter, Crofting Community, p. 41.
52. IUP, Emigration; I, 73-77; II, 287-92.
53. Hunter, Crofting Community, pp. 41-42.
54. J.M. Cameron, Scottish Emigration to Upper Canada, pp. 348-50, 363-64, 370-72, 392-93; Flinn, "Malthus, Emigration and Potatoes", pp. 55-57; D.F. MacDonald, Scotland's Shifting Population, pp. 147-48.
55. Flinn, "Malthus, Emigration and Potatoes", pp. 57-60.
56. Adams, Irish Emigration, pp. 103-11.

Chapter 10

The destinations of Scottish emigrants

Scottish emigration during the period 1770-1830 was directed almost exclusively towards North America. By the 1820s business interests in the major ports on the eastern Scottish seaboard were promoting emigration to Australia, but transportation costs restricted this recourse to the relatively prosperous until the introduction of a bounty system in the late 1830s.¹ There were several instances of Scottish colonization activity in North America during the seventeenth century. However, only one of these seems to have achieved any degree of success, and it was not until the eighteenth century that thriving distinctive Scottish settlements developed extensively.²

In this respect, considerable significance has sometimes been attached to the deportation of Jacobites to the Americas after the '45. However, it has been pointed out that only about 600 of these went to the North American mainland, and that they were far outnumbered by the several thousand Highland soldiers who remained in North America when they were discharged in 1763.³ Moreover, the three principal concentrations of Highland settlement in North America prior to 1776 had been established before the arrival of either of these groups or of the greatly increased numbers which began to flow out of Scotland from the late 1760s. In other words, foci of attraction awaited the emigration movement of the later eighteenth century. These three main areas of early Highland settlement were all located in what was to become the United States of America - the Altamaha valley in Georgia, the Cape Fear valley in North Carolina, and the Mohawk and upper Hudson valleys in New York.⁴

The settlement along the upper Cape Fear valley was by far the largest, and it is interesting from a comparative point of view since the environment was in sharp contrast to that encountered by immigrant groups arriving in the area of the future northern United States and Canada. The presence of Highland Scots in North Carolina was first recorded in 1732, and from then until the outbreak of the American Revolution groups of Highlanders arrived periodically. The greatest influx came during the early 1770s, and it has been estimated that by 1776 there may have been as many as 12,000 in the area of Highland settlement in Cumberland County.⁵

Bonds of kinship, custom, language and religion fostered the development of a closely-knit community which preserved many aspects of the way of life left behind in Scotland. Thus, there are contemporary references to the common occurrence of Highland dress, and Gaelic continued in use into the nineteenth century. In addition, the Highland group in North Carolina, which was solidly Presbyterian, quickly established its own ecclesiastical organization. However, despite the preservation of such distinctive traits, settlement in North Carolina involved extensive adaptation on the part of these Highlanders.⁶

The role of the tacksman in organizing Highland emigration prior to 1776 has been noted, and there is some evidence that this type of movement was represented in North Carolina, at least in the 1730s and 1740s. For example, a group of 350, which arrived from Argyllshire in 1739, was granted land in 1740. But only 22 members of the party received land grants, and it has been assumed that these were socially prominent individuals to whom the others were obligated in some manner. On the other hand, North Carolina developed primarily as a colony of small landholders as a result of the government policy of free land grants of restricted size based on a quitrent system. This enabled many of the poorer Scottish

immigrants to acquire land on relatively easy terms. Certainly, during the 1760s and early 1770s, the majority of the land grants were in the range of 50 to 200 acres. This has been interpreted as an indication that the later Scottish immigrants of modest means may have tended to come as individuals rather than in groups organized by their social superiors.⁷

Although many of the poorer immigrants were able to acquire land in their own right, there were also many others who did not acquire their own land. The scanty evidence available suggests that the latter became tenants of some of the larger landowners. The landowner would provide a plot of land together with the necessary equipment and stock. In return the tenant provided the landowner with one third of the annual grain crop and one third of the annual increase in livestock. Thus, the social and economic status of the Highland immigrants in North Carolina varied widely. Nevertheless, there is apparently no evidence to suggest that there was any attempt to establish a system of social obligations similar to that which was rapidly disintegrating in the Scottish Highlands.⁸

These Highlanders who settled in North Carolina became involved almost exclusively in agricultural pursuits. The town of Cross Creek, at the heart of the Highland settlement area, developed as the commercial centre for the upper Cape Fear and the Piedmont area to the west, providing communication with Wilmington to the east and Charleston to the south. However, although there were a few prominent Highland merchants, trade and commerce were conducted largely by non-Highlanders, including some of Lowland Scottish origin.⁹

Agriculture was a particularly attractive pursuit because of the abundance of available land, and also because of the agricultural background of many of the settlers, notably those from the Campbelltown area of Argyll where the provisioning of fishing fleets had

developed into a thriving business for local farmers during the eighteenth century.¹⁰

The type of adaptation involved in the agricultural settlement of North Carolina was of quite a different order from that involved in the settlement of the more northerly regions of the continent. Firstly, the immigrants were coming to a milder climate rather than a much harsher one. A result of this was that the favoured time of arrival was in the late autumn or early winter, whereby they could profit from the previous season's produce in Scotland and spend the winter in preparing their land for the coming crop season. In direct contrast, in the northerly latitudes it was most desirable to arrive in the spring or early summer since the severity of the winters rendered initial settlement extremely difficult if the arrival did not take place until later in the year.

The upper Cape Fear settlement was located in the coastal plain of North Carolina where the soil was generally light, well-watered and productive. Consequently, the Highland immigrants were soon able to raise good crops of maize, wheat, oats, peas, beans, flax and sweet potatoes. However, cultivation was carried on with only the most basic equipment and the simplest techniques. Because of the abundance of available land, little or no attention was paid to fertilizing; once the fertility of a particular area was exhausted the usual practice was simply to abandon it and exploit a new area. The ground was not cleared of trees, the standard procedure consisting simply of removing a ring of bark to kill the trees and, once the foliage had fallen, crops were planted among the dead trunks. In these circumstances a plough was not advantageous and the hoe remained the principal implement of tillage. In any event, the remoteness of the settlement from manufacturing centres made it very difficult and expensive to acquire manufactured goods. This fact was reflected in every aspect of their material culture: household

furniture, utensils and personal effects all tended to be sparse and of home, or at least local, manufacture. As in Scotland, of course, some farmers also provided basic services such as tailoring and shoemaking.¹¹

Although a variety of crops were raised quite successfully in close proximity to the river banks, the mainstay of the economy of the Cape Fear Highlanders was stock-raising, and in particular the maintenance of large herds of cattle which roamed the great areas of uncultivated land stretching back from the river and its tributaries. This extensive area of unenclosed pasture was treated as common land and individual herds are said to have numbered from 200 to 300, with a few of over 1,000. These provided the basis for a considerable export trade. Cattle were driven to Charleston in the south and to Virginia in the north. In addition, some were slaughtered and exported to the West Indies via Wilmington on the lower Cape Fear. Thus the Highlanders settled along the Cape Fear developed an extensive and apparently prosperous ranching industry, the success of which was probably related to experience of the predominantly pastoral economy which was common in the Scottish Highlands during the eighteenth century.¹²

As already mentioned, the Highlanders were not dominant in non-agricultural activities. During the eighteenth century the main exports from North Carolina were turpentine, pitch and tar in the form of naval stores. These products were obtained from the longleaf pine, a tree which was common in the area of Highland settlement, and yet there is no evidence that the Highlanders became involved in that enterprise. However, the specialized economy which they did develop appears to have provided for a reasonably comfortable existence. Material possessions always seem to have been at a minimum level, but Meyer considers that the poorer settlers at least were rather better off than their counterparts in Scotland.¹³

One indication of a probably increasing prosperity, not to be found in most of the other areas of Scottish settlement, is the record of slaveholding. In the 1760s about 25% of the Highland families in Cumberland County owned slaves. The average number of slaves per family among the owners was 4.7, but there were some who owned as many as 40 or 50.¹⁴

The further development of the Highland Scottish settlement in North Carolina was seriously disrupted by the outbreak of the American Revolution. As in most other areas, the Highlanders were overwhelmingly loyal, and suffered the usual consequences after their military defeat by revolutionary forces early in 1776. Many Highlanders did remain in the region after the Revolution but many others re-emigrated to the West Indies, Canada, the British Isles, and other parts of the United States.¹⁵

The two other main concentrations of Scottish settlement in the area of the United States prior to 1776 were also predominantly Highland, exhibiting the preservation of similar cultural traits, but were initiated in a different manner. When the colony of Georgia was founded in 1735 the Governor settled 160 Highlanders along the southern border to provide a frontier defence against possible attacks by Spaniards or Indians.¹⁶ This policy of settling Highlanders in vulnerable frontier zones was one which was adopted in North America into the nineteenth century, particularly in the St. Lawrence Valley area of Upper and Lower Canada.¹⁷ The nucleus established in Georgia attracted other Highlanders who colonized the Altamaha Valley in southern Georgia. This settlement seems to have developed along lines very similar to those followed in North Carolina since, by 1740, the Highland settlers are said to have devoted themselves almost exclusively to cattle-raising, and were carrying on a profitable trade with the local military forces.¹⁸

Also in the 1730s, 83 families of "loyal Protestant

Highlanders" were settled in upper New York, between the Hudson River and the Great Lakes, again as a potential defence force in a frontier area. However, the large-scale colonization of upper New York did not take place until after 1763. New York emerged as a colony of large estates, and as such was particularly attractive to Highland tacksmen and others of rank and resources who sought to develop large personal estates based on the establishment of a body of tenants.¹⁹

This trend was in evidence as early as the 1730s, but it was after 1763 that Highland Scottish settlement in the area expanded rapidly as ex-officers acquired estates and organized the settlement of themselves and their disbanded subordinates. Then, in the period of heightened emigration activity in the early 1770s there were many instances of members of the Highland elite coming to inspect potential estates in this area. Such activities were also undertaken by a few Lowlanders, most notably Philip Wharton Skene, who founded a Lowland colony on Lake George. Yet another Lowlander involved in similar schemes at the same time was John Witherspoon, whose contribution was particularly relevant in the Nova Scotia context. All of these developments were generally welcomed and encouraged by colonial authorities who were only too pleased to see the orderly peopling of the land, and who were little troubled by misgivings about the scale of the population transfer which were being voiced in the mother country.²⁰

The most prominent example of estate development in New York in the early 1770s was provided by Sir William Johnson, who owned a very large estate in the Mohawk Valley and who populated it with tenants drawn from the Scottish Highlands. These tenants had barely had time to establish themselves before the outbreak of the Revolution, and their circumstances as a result of that conflict were changed in a manner similar to that experienced by the

Highlanders of North Carolina and elsewhere. A great many joined the Royal Regiment of New York which was formed by Sir John Johnson, son of Sir William. The regiment marched to Quebec in 1777 and its members were resettled in Canada at the end of the war.²¹

Hitherto, reference has been made almost exclusively to Highland groups. This is due to the fact that, prior to 1776, the majority of Lowland emigrants to North America tended to come either in a mercantile capacity or as individual agricultural settlers. In the latter case they seem to have merged into established communities, of whatever background, and became difficult to identify. This was in contrast to the Highland practice of settling together in considerable numbers, thus forming nuclei which tended to attract others from the same area. Throughout the eighteenth century there was also a continuous influx of Lowlanders to North America as indentured servants.²²

The Lowland Scottish mercantile presence, although scattered along the entire eastern seaboard, was concentrated heavily in particular areas. The most important of these was the "tobacco country" of Virginia and Maryland where, by the 1770s, Scottish firms dominated commercial activity; it has been estimated that there may have been somewhere in the region of 2,000 Scottish mercantile immigrants in Virginia alone in 1776. Because of the factor system which accounted for most of this number, it is impossible to say how many can be considered genuine immigrants. Nevertheless, such Lowland Scottish elements influenced much of the economic life of this and other areas. In North Carolina, for example, they dominated commercial activity at the port of Wilmington.²³

As already described, emigration from Scotland greatly increased during the decade prior to the outbreak of the Revolution. Numbers peaked in the early 1770s, when there began to appear associations, companies, or societies formed by prospective Lowland

agricultural emigrants to provide for mutual assistance and, in some cases, for the co-operative purchase of land in North America. Such examples of self-organization illustrate one of the forms that the great migration from the British Isles to North America was to take in the period following 1783.

In the case of the Highland groups, individual leadership continued to be an important factor, although the tacksman tended to be replaced by clergymen, such as the Reverend MacDonell, or private promoters such as the Earl of Selkirk. A considerable amount of government assistance was afforded to the settlement of immigrant groups in parts of Canada, most notably to displaced loyalists and disbanded soldiers after the American Revolution. After 1815, assistance was given by the British government to several groups wishing to emigrate and establish themselves in Upper Canada. Towards the end of the period under review, there were instances of assistance provided by Highland landowners wishing to reduce the number of tenants on their land. Simultaneously, land companies were being established to develop specific areas in Canada, these being corporate successors to a number of individual private land developers. In addition, there was the increasing organization of emigration by agents as a return cargo for vessels engaged in the transatlantic timber trade. Thus, the swelling tide of emigration was channelled in diverse ways.

The outcome of the American Revolution served to redirect Scottish emigration when it resumed after 1783. Movement to the United States did not cease completely, but until the 1840s Scottish emigrants moving there were very much in the minority.²⁴ Until about 1850, emigrants from Scotland sailed primarily to the Maritime and St. Lawrence ports of Canada. There they joined the populations of the existing settled areas and opened up new areas, particularly that to the west of Quebec, which was to become Upper

Canada in 1791. Although large-scale Scottish emigration to this latter region did not get under way until about 1815, the foundations were laid immediately following the American war.²⁵

For example, the future Glengarry County received disbanded soldiers from the regiment which Sir John Johnson had recruited in New York at the outbreak of the Revolution. These were predominantly Highlanders from the Glengarry district, and again such a settlement was perceived as a potential buffer against aggression, this time from the new republic to the south. In common with other military settlers of the period, they received free grants of land and assistance in the form of free transportation, food rations, and a certain amount of basic equipment and stock. Many of them had, of course, prior experience of pioneering in a similar environment, but there was apparently a reluctance on the part of some to adapt to a settled existence again. However, such observations were made about most other disbanded military groups, and perhaps the greatest contribution afforded by these groups was to provide foci which attracted other immigrants.²⁶

This was certainly true in Glengarry County where the original military settlers were soon joined by others from the same area of the Highlands, beginning with a group of 500 brought from Glengarry by Father MacDonell in 1785. These were followed by others in the early 1790s, and then by the Glengarry Fencibles in the following decade, with the result that, by 1806, there were some 10,000 Highland Roman Catholics in the county. The process continued after the Napoleonic Wars, and their numbers had risen to 15,000 by 1817.²⁷

These Highlanders were subject to the usual vicissitudes of pioneering in a new area and the process of clearing farms was a slow and arduous one, alleviated somewhat by the government assistance which continued for a number of years. Again, their Highland background fostered a closely-knit community which, by encouraging a

co-operative spirit, probably advanced the process of settlement. On the other hand, as Selkirk mentioned, the same trait may have served to insulate them from beneficial contact with other, better adapted groups.²⁸ Contemporary accounts during the first half of the nineteenth century tend to express disappointment in the state of agricultural progress in the Glengarry settlement. This was probably due to the fact that the inhabitants seem, in general, to have opted for the more immediate, but usually transitory, profits to be derived from the exploitation of timber resources rather than for a long-term program of agricultural improvement. However, the Glengarry settlement continued to grow, agricultural activities increased in scope, if slowly, and most of the population achieved a fairly comfortable way of life.²⁹

In the same region the future Lanark County received numerous Scottish immigrants, but most were of a quite different origin. Although the Lanark settlement also developed from the base provided by the military settlements in the area, the immigrants arriving from Scotland were largely unemployed weavers from the industrial Lowlands who were assisted by government in their move just after the close of the Napoleonic Wars. Again, transportation and land were provided together with cash, food, and some equipment. Once firmly established, the immigrants were expected to repay the capital advanced. However, as noted above, the debts to the government were not paid and, in 1836, they were cancelled. Although the venture proved to be a financial burden for the government, it certainly benefited the immigrants. Not all of them were successful, some of the area being unsuitable for agricultural development, but those who did establish a permanent foothold formed a solid nucleus. By 1824, Lanark township had a population of about 1,500 who apparently had achieved a fair degree of prosperity. Their mixed farming activities were providing them with an adequate

sustenance and a number were also pursuing their former trade.³⁰

Private developers were also prominent in the process of settling Scottish immigrants in Upper Canada during this period. Archibald MacNab, for instance, arrived from Scotland in 1822 and proceeded to organize the immigration and settlement of Highlanders on a tract of land on the Ottawa River which he named MacNab township. Although he was actually only a colonizing agent authorized to establish settlers on government land, MacNab contrived to assume the role of a Highland proprietor, with the settlers as a subject tenantry. This is, of course, reminiscent of the practices of some of the pre-1776 emigrant tacksmen, and it was really an anachronism in the circumstances of early nineteenth century British North America. However, whether because of ignorance or accustomed usage, the settlers accepted the situation initially and it was many years before MacNab was ousted and the settlers established in their own right. The process was a long and unnecessarily difficult one, but it did result eventually in the emergence of a thriving Scottish community.³¹

Thomas Talbot was a rather more responsible example of the private entrepreneur in the immigrant settlement business, and, although his autocratic procedures aroused criticism, it is generally agreed that the string of settlements which he developed along the north shore of Lake Erie in the first three decades of the nineteenth century made a very important contribution to the settling of Upper Canada. His settlers were drawn from a variety of sources but Scots, in particular Highlanders, were prominent among them.³²

Many Scots were also attracted to Upper Canada by the Canada Company, founded in 1826. The latter was one of a number of corporate organizations which were set up in British North America to develop large tracts of land on a speculative basis. The company bought the land from the government en bloc and then

proceeded to develop it at their own expense by dividing it into lots to be sold to immigrant settlers who were often recruited directly by the company. Thus a variety of directive influences were operative in Upper Canada, and by the middle of the nineteenth century Scottish enclaves were well established.³³

In the case of the eastern section (notably Glengarry County), although it was not to become an agricultural area of great importance, it did provide resources which were advantageous to the development of agriculture, particularly in comparison with the other main area of Scottish immigration and settlement during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, that is, the present Maritime Provinces. Both certainly represented decidedly harsh environments compared to that encountered by the Scots who colonized North Carolina, but at least in the St. Lawrence Valley reasonably fertile soils were available and, although winters were severe, the climate was suitable for the cultivation of a variety of crops. Throughout the Maritime region, on the other hand, climate and soil were limiting factors in the development of pioneer agricultural settlements.³⁴

The Maritime Provinces attracted large numbers of Scottish immigrants during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries for a number of reasons which will be considered more fully later. Initially, it may be stated that, in general, Scottish settlements were established in Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island during the 1770s, and these were reinforced in 1783-84 by groups of disbanded soldiers of Scottish origin. As in the interior areas to the west, these settlements attracted many others from Scotland. Moreover, the fact that it cost less to reach the settlements on the Atlantic seaboard was an important consideration for those of limited means, and the developing timber trade between the Atlantic region and Britain provided increased transportation facilities. After the

1830s immigration to the area declined steadily while increasing numbers of immigrants flowed west to Upper Canada.

Nevertheless, although Scottish immigration into the area of the Maritime Provinces was virtually over before the period of massive emigration in the 1840s and 1850s, and although it accounted for only a small proportion of the total Scottish immigration to Canada, it did provide a very significant contribution to the population of the region.³⁵ By 1950, people of Scottish descent accounted for one third of the population of Prince Edward Island and one quarter of the population of Nova Scotia, the two highest proportions among the provinces of Canada. During the first half of the nineteenth century those of Scottish origin or descent probably accounted for fully one half of the population of Prince Edward Island. Lying across the Northumberland Strait from northern Nova Scotia, this province is a source of much information on early Scottish settlement.³⁶

Based on an almost uniform sandstone bedrock, Prince Edward Island is, in general, a gently rolling plain with an elevation above sea level of mostly less than 60 metres. In this respect, it is, in effect, an extension of the lowland areas on the Nova Scotia and New Brunswick mainland to the south and west, and offers a higher proportion of land suited to agriculture than in the other two provinces. However, its climate is similar in severity to that of northern Nova Scotia and its soils are podsols, with a correspondingly high acid content and rather low fertility.³⁷

Once the island came under British control in the 1760s, the circumstances of settlement were unique. The entire area (5,657 km²) was divided into 66 townships of approximately 8,000 hectares each, another of 2,400 hectares, and three town sites with attached royalties. In 1767, the townships, or lots, were assigned to individual grantees by a lottery system. Almost immediately these

grants began to change hands, with a consequent tendency towards the consolidation of holdings. The result was that the island came to be principally owned by a number of absentee landlords, or "proprietors", who had little interest in their holdings except as a capital investment.³⁸

Among the conditions of the original grants was a requirement that the proprietors should develop their holdings by establishing settlers on them. Some of the proprietors made gestures towards the fulfilment of their obligations. Included among these was Sir James Montgomery, Lord Advocate of Scotland, who, in the early 1770s, sent out some 120 families from Scotland, most of them apparently from Perthshire. These immigrants had to provide their own supplies and were to be charged one shilling per acre. However, the area they were directed to was densely forested and many took the first opportunity to seek land elsewhere.³⁹

The first large accession of Scottish immigrants was the result of the more responsible efforts of another of the proprietors, John MacDonald, laird of Glenaladale, who settled some 300 Roman Catholics from South Uist on his lands along the north shore of the island. Both movement and initial settlement were aided and closely supervised by MacDonald and his brother. The immigrants received free transportation, a year's provisions and some equipment. Further aid was made available to alleviate the hardships of the first few years and the rent required was low. Despite early setbacks, this community was to become one of the principal foci of Scottish settlement on the island.⁴⁰

One of the most frequent complaints throughout the island's history of settlement was the proprietorial system which made tenancy the normal method of acquiring land. Although the terms of their tenancy were relatively favourable, there are indications that some of the Glenaladale settlers departed for the mainland to

take advantage of free government land grants, and that this was a continuing factor throughout the early settlement history of the island is indicated by the evidence of substantial re-emigration to Nova Scotia by Scottish immigrants. Also, during the American Revolution, MacDonald raised a battalion from among his tenants and took them to Quebec, where they became part of the 84th Regiment. When disbanded, some returned to Prince Edward Island but many others settled in other areas such as northern Nova Scotia.⁴¹

During the 1790s the available records indicate that at least 700 immigrants arrived from Scotland. Most of these took up land in the vicinity of the Glenaladale settlement and, according to the census of 1798, the population of the island at that time consisted of 1,814 Highland Scots, 310 other Scots, 669 Acadians, and 1,579 others (largely of English origin).⁴²

The next large accession of Scottish immigrants consisted of the party of 800 sent by the Earl of Selkirk in 1803. Most of these were Presbyterians from Skye and had originally been destined for the United States. However, Selkirk had approached the government with a plan to divert them to one of the British areas to the north. In pursuit of this aim he became a Prince Edward Island proprietor and brought the group to lots 57 and 58, around Orwell Bay on the south shore. While the Glenaladale settlement was in many ways a late example of the type of movement organized by tacksmen, the Selkirk settlement was a forerunner of the type of systematic assisted emigration which came into vogue later in the nineteenth century. Indeed, this was only the first of Selkirk's ventures along these lines, and he later pursued similar activities in Upper Canada and on the Red River, although with less success than in the case of this first undertaking.⁴³

Like MacDonald, Selkirk gave the movement and initial settlement his close personal supervision, and the area was to become the

other main focus for later Scottish immigration. The majority of the original Selkirk settlers, having very few resources of their own, depended heavily upon Selkirk's support during the early years. For those who required it there were advances of passage money, equipment and stock. In addition, Selkirk offered his land for sale in 50 to 100 acre lots at a price of from two to four shillings per acre. Despite some setbacks common to most pioneering communities, the Selkirk settlers seem to have established themselves firmly within a short time. The crude, temporary shelters of the first season were soon replaced by adequate log dwellings and the area of cleared land was extended each year. Again, their close social bonds probably encouraged that communal spirit so important in pioneer areas. Those social bonds were, in fact, taken into account during the initial apportioning of land and accommodation: houses were grouped in clusters of four or five, each cluster occupied by near relatives, and Selkirk noted that this arrangement was readily accepted because of its similarity to the accustomed pattern of settlement in the old country.⁴⁴

Once established, these groups and later arrivals from the Highlands, in common with much of the island's population, developed a predominantly subsistence economy based on mixed cropping and herding. However, the areas of Highland settlement tended to be among the poorest in terms of agricultural development, while the areas occupied by those of English origin tended to be among the most advanced. The Highlanders apparently took every opportunity to devote themselves to non-agricultural pursuits, such as fishing and lumbering, with a consequent neglect of agricultural operations. This situation had been interpreted as being partly due to the economic and social background of the settlers: although most of them had practised some form of agriculture before emigrating, it had been on such a marginal level that, in the new environment, they

were rarely inclined to devote themselves wholeheartedly to farming. The cultivation of oats and potatoes remained the mainstay of their farming pursuits and, with the addition of herring and cod, provided their staple diet throughout much of the nineteenth century. This was in contrast to the English and Acadian areas where there was a marked emphasis on the raising of wheat, even although that crop was not altogether suited to the soil and climate. Also, the areas of Highland settlement seem to have participated less in stock-raising as it became an increasingly important part of the agricultural economy during the nineteenth century.⁴⁵

The fact that so many did not own their own land has been cited as a reason for lack of interest in improvement but, on the other hand, this was a factor in every area of the island, whatever the state of agricultural enterprise. Even within the Highland areas there was considerable variation in the proportion of freehold land. By the middle of the nineteenth century only 5% of the land in the area of the Glenaladale settlement was freehold, while in the area of the Selkirk settlement it was about 50%. Such a discrepancy may be related to the fact that the north shore settlement became heavily involved in the Gulf of St. Lawrence fishery.⁴⁶

On the whole, then, the Highlanders seem to have been satisfied to maintain only a relatively modest level of subsistence and, as population pressures increased, the fertility of existing cleared land was exhausted due to a lack of fertilizing, and as the supply of suitable uncleared land decreased, they were among the first to emigrate from the island to other areas of the continent, beginning in the 1880s.⁴⁷ This again was a phenomenon common to other areas of Highland settlement in North America.

Although they were greatly outnumbered by Highlanders, Lowland Scots were represented on the island. But, as in other areas, they have proved difficult to identify as groups, and have usually been

included in the English category. Certainly, they are considered to have been generally among the more successful and prosperous settlers.⁴⁶

Thus, a variety of destinations in North America were reached and settled by Scottish emigrants under diverse circumstances, including various elements of public and private assistance and direction in addition to the ever present factor of self-organization which was increasingly exploited by the commercial transatlantic emigrant trade. However, in terms of settlement, this review of a selection of Scottish experiences in North America suggests certain basic similarities.

There is the recurring tendency of Highlanders to cluster in compact rural groups, generally established by a process of chain migration, and often sharply distinguished from their immediate neighbours by such factors as language, custom and dress. Moreover, even in quite diverse circumstances there are common features of adaptation including a lingering attachment to the old country, a dislike of forested terrain, but at the same time a willingness to exploit its resources and any other readily available natural resources, often at the expense of agricultural development. Furthermore, perhaps the greatest advantage of life in North America from the point of view of Highlanders in every area was the opportunity of becoming a landowner. This opportunity was eagerly exploited whenever possible, and was accompanied by a notable tenacity in maintaining possession of land acquired. At the same time, though, it is evident that the circumstances of developing settlement varied considerably, according to locality, and each case may be considered a unique manifestation of the general phenomenon.

Another common feature is the lack of information available on Lowland Scottish immigrants. The main reason usually given for this is the tendency of Lowlanders not to form large, easily

identifiable rural groups.⁴⁹ They were usually a small minority in any one region and, in contrast to the great majority of Highlanders, they were not to be found exclusively as pioneer agricultural settlers. Among the non-agricultural pursuits, probably the most distinctive feature was the emergence of thriving mercantile communities.

Notes

1. D. MacMillan, Scotland and Australia, pp. xvi-xviii, 57-58, 69-70.
2. G.P. Insh, Scottish Colonial Schemes, 1620-1686 (Glasgow, 1922), pp. 1-5.
3. I.C.C. Graham, Colonists from Scotland, pp. 45-46.
4. Donaldson, Scots Overseas, pp. 59-61.
5. Meyer, North Carolina, pp. 72, 79-80, 84-85, 92-96.
6. Ibid., pp. 102-03, 116-18.
7. Ibid., pp. 79-80, 88-89, 92-96.
8. Ibid., pp. 107-08, 120.
9. Ibid., pp. 103, 110-12.
10. I.C.C. Graham, Colonists from Scotland, pp. 114-16.
11. Meyer, North Carolina, pp. 75-76, 103-05, 110, 124.
12. Ibid., pp. 105-06.
13. Ibid., pp. 106, 125-26.
14. Ibid., pp. 108-09.
15. Ibid., pp. 160-61.
16. Donaldson, Scots Overseas, p. 61.
17. Selkirk, Observations, p. 158; A.R.M. Lower, "Immigration and Settlement in Canada, 1812-1820", Canadian Historical Review, III (1922), 37-47.
18. I.C.C. Graham, Colonists from Scotland, p. 115.
19. Donaldson, Scots Overseas, p. 61; I.C.C. Graham, Colonists from Scotland, pp. 49, 77-84.

20. I.C.C. Graham, Colonists from Scotland, pp. 81-90.
21. Ibid., pp. 81-84; D. Hill, Great Emigrations: The Scots to Canada (London, 1972), pp. 30-32.
22. I.C.C. Graham, Colonists from Scotland, pp. 25, 110-11.
23. Ibid., pp. 115-25.
24. Donaldson, Scots Overseas, p. 112; Flinn et al., Scottish Population History, p. 449; Hansen, Atlantic Migration, pp. 53-54.
25. Donaldson, Scots Overseas, pp. 131-36; Hill, Scots to Canada, pp. 31-32; N. MacDonald, Canada, 1763-1841: Immigration and Settlement (Toronto, 1939), pp. 437-88.
26. Cowan, British Emigration, p. 12; N. MacDonald, Immigration and Settlement, pp. 498-502.
27. Hill, Scots to Canada, pp. 37-38; N. MacDonald, Immigration and Settlement, pp. 498-502.
28. Selkirk, Earl of, Diary, 1803-04, ed. P.C.T. White (Toronto, 1958), pp. 197-201.
29. C.W. Dunn, Highland Settler (Toronto, 1953), pp. 108-09; N. MacDonald, Immigration and Settlement, pp. 498-502.
30. Cowan, British Emigration, pp. 59-64.
31. K.J. Duncan, "Patterns of Settlement in the East", in W.S. Reid, ed., The Scottish Tradition in Canada, pp. 112-15.
32. Duncan, "Patterns of Settlement", p. 62; Hill, Scots to Canada, pp. 108-09.
33. Cowan, British Emigration, pp. 41-43, 59-64; N. MacDonald, Immigration and Settlement, pp. 302 ff.
34. A.H. Clark, Three Centuries and the Island (Toronto, 1959), pp. 17-22.
35. Donaldson, Scots Overseas, pp. 135-36.
36. A.H. Clark, Three Centuries, pp. 91-207.
37. Ibid., pp. 17-22.
38. Ibid., pp. 40-60.

39. Hill, Scots to Canada, pp. 19-20.
40. A.H. Clark, Three Centuries, p. 56; Hill, Scots to Canada, pp. 18-19; A. MacLeod, "Glenaladale Pioneers".
41. I.C.C. Graham, Colonists from Scotland, p. 49; A. MacLeod, "Glenaladale Pioneers".
42. A.H. Clark, Three Centuries, pp. 60-61.
43. J.M. Bumsted, "Settlement by Chance: Lord Selkirk and Prince Edward Island", Canadian Historical Review, LIX (1978), 170-88; A.H. Clark, Three Centuries, pp. 67-68; Cowan, British Emigration, pp. 113-19; Hill, Scots to Canada, pp. 57-73; N. MacDonald, Immigration and Settlement, pp. 151-74.
44. Selkirk, Observations, pp. 176-223; Hill, Scots to Canada, pp. 57-59; N. MacDonald, Immigration and Settlement, p. 154.
45. A.H. Clark, Three Centuries, pp. 67-68, 74-76, 91, 104, 110-14.
46. Ibid., pp. 95-96.
47. Ibid., pp. 110, 208.
48. Ibid., p. 209.
49. However, an Ontario study has suggested that concentrated early Lowland settlement was conspicuous there. See J.M. Cameron, "An Introduction to the Study of the Scottish Settlement of Southern Ontario - A Comparison of Place Names", Ontario History, XLI (1969), 171.

Chapter 11

The Nova Scotia environment ¹

Physiography

The area (55,490 km²) of the present Nova Scotia consists of a peninsular mainland connected to New Brunswick by the narrow Chignecto Isthmus, and Cape Breton Island, separated from the peninsula by the Strait of Canso. The peninsula is further divided into two main physical zones (northern and southern) by the east-west running Chedabucto-Chignecto fault line. In terms of Scottish immigration and settlement, the two zones of importance are northern Nova Scotia and Cape Breton Island.

In the general area of the Maritime Provinces there are two major physiographic divisions: upland areas underlain by igneous and metamorphic rocks which are relatively hard and resistant; and lowland areas underlain by sedimentary rocks which are relatively soft and weak. The various upland areas are sections of a single feature, usually called the Atlantic upland, an extension of the Appalachians, rising in the form of an inclined plane from the south coast of Nova Scotia northwestwards to the highlands of New Brunswick, and northeastwards to the high tablelands of Newfoundland and Labrador. In contrast, the lowland areas represent distinct worn-down districts reduced by local drainage patterns, and generally sloping towards the nearest coastline.

In northern Nova Scotia there are two upland areas - the Cobequid Mountains and the Pictou-Antigonish Highland. The Cobequid Mountains are long and narrow, stretching from the head of the Bay of Fundy eastwards across Cumberland, Colchester and Pictou counties to a point just to the south of Pictou harbour. The Pictou-Antigonish Highland occupies a roughly triangular area in eastern

Pictou County and western Antigonish County.

Although in a few localities these two upland areas attain elevations of 300 m or slightly more, the average elevation is about 250 m, and the relief is generally rolling to hilly rather than mountainous as the names tend to imply. In fact, the Pictou-Antigonish Highland takes the form of a dissected plain.

However, despite the moderate elevation and relative evenness, these upland areas are quite sharply distinguished from the adjacent lowland areas, the Cumberland-Pictou Plain and the Antigonish-Guysborough Lowland. The former lies between the Cobequid Mountains and Northumberland Strait, extending eastwards from the Chignecto Isthmus through Cumberland, Colchester and Pictou counties to the western boundary of the Pictou-Antigonish Highland. The latter occupies the portion of Antigonish County lying to the east of the Pictou-Antigonish Highland. The relief of these lowland areas is level to rolling, and they have an average elevation of 120 m to 150 m.

On Cape Breton Island, rock structures are similar and produce a generally similar mixture of upland and lowland terrain. However, a distinctive feature is the massive plateau of the Cape Breton Highlands which occupies the entire northern peninsula of the island, with elevations of 360 m and more. To the south of this the centre of the island is occupied by the salt water Bras d'Or Lake system, and around this there are extensive lowland areas interspersed with a number of smaller upland areas such as the Mabou Highlands, and the Craguish, Boisdale and East Bay Hills. The topography in this southern portion of the island also resembles that of northern Nova Scotia, with the lowlands ranging in elevation from sea level to 150 m, and the uplands generally ranging between 150 m and 250 m, with a few areas attaining 300 m.

In both zones the many rivers and streams give adequate

surface drainage in the lowland areas, and the larger rivers tend to meander in wide flood plains. The uplands are also well provided with watercourses, but these tend to flow rapidly in steeply-cut gorges, and boggy areas can occur where drainage is poor.

In common with Scotland, the entire region was subject to pleistocene glaciation, and the principal result was the deposition of glacial till which is particularly deep in the lowland areas.

Climate

Situated on the eastern side of the North American continent between 43°N and 47°N , Nova Scotia experiences marked seasonal temperature variations compared to the British Isles: in general, winters are colder and summers warmer. In winter, the dominant air masses are of continental arctic and maritime polar character, while in summer these are replaced by predominantly maritime tropical masses. The effects of these air masses are modified by the proximity of both the warm Gulf Stream and the cold Labrador Current, together with the distribution of sea ice during the winter months. In the latter respect, there is a marked contrast between the Gulf of St. Lawrence coast which is usually ice-bound for several months, and the Atlantic coast which is ice-free.

The general influence of the surrounding ocean on temperature regimes, as in the case of the British Isles, has a warming effect in winter and a cooling effect in summer. Cooling is most marked in areas close to the Atlantic coast. On the other hand, while the Gulf of St. Lawrence coast is ice-bound in winter, the Gulf waters are considerably warmer than those of the Atlantic in summer, and the climate is rather more continental than along the Atlantic coast to the south. Yet another effect of this marine environment is to delay temperature extremes so that spring tends to be late and cold, while autumn tends to be protracted and relatively warm.

Nova Scotia also lies on the exit track of low pressure cells moving out into the Atlantic, which results in a prevalence of unsettled weather conditions. This is particularly true of the winter months, when storms tend to be most severe. During the late summer and early autumn, intense storms originating in tropical disturbances may also be experienced and, while precipitation is fairly evenly distributed throughout the year, spring and early summer are usually much drier than the other seasons.

These variations in seasonal precipitation bear some resemblance to the pattern experienced in the northwest of Scotland, but in terms of average total annual precipitation a range of 1,000 mm to 1,500 mm does not exhibit the extremes recorded in Scotland. Yet another contrast is provided by the fact that, with a precipitation maximum and very much colder temperatures in winter, most of Nova Scotia, with the exception of certain Atlantic coastal areas, has a snow cover for three or four months. However, despite such contrasts, it may be said that, as in Scotland, short-term variability is a prominent feature of the Nova Scotia climate.

In addition, because of the diversity of influences, even within such a relatively small geographical area, there are several distinct climatic zones. The relevant one of these in the context of Scottish settlement is that of northern Nova Scotia, which incorporates the physical region defined by the same name together with the western coastal region of Cape Breton Island to the south of the northern plateau. For present purposes it will be convenient to extend this to include the central area of Cape Breton around the Bras d'Or Lakes which, like the Gulf waters, freeze in winter but are warm in summer. There are variations, but in general the climate is very similar to that of the north shore of the mainland. These areas encompass all the major centres of Scottish settlement, and a review of the salient climatic features will give an indication of

the conditions encountered by the vast majority of Scottish immigrants.

An annual mean temperature of about 5°C is associated with a wide seasonal range typified by January means of about -7°C and July means of about 16°C . This regime is accompanied by a frost-free period of approximately four months (June to September) and a growing season of six months (May to October). Total annual precipitation falls within the range of 1,000 mm to 1,250 mm, with lower amounts occurring in lowland coastal areas and higher amounts in interior uplands. There are also significant temperature variations between these two physical contexts: the former are distinctly milder, with a longer frost-free period.

During the winter months, of course, much of the precipitation falls in the form of snow and, since the ground is frozen, most is lost as run-off. However, 35% to 40% of the precipitation falls during the second half of the growing season, which is less favourable for the cultivation of grain crops than it is for the cultivation of grasses.

Again, it must be borne in mind that all the above climatic data pertain to contemporary circumstances, and it is very likely that Scottish settlers prior to about 1850 experienced a climate which was slightly cooler. Nevertheless, the important factors of short-term and local variability must have been just as crucial.

Soils and Vegetation

As a result of glaciation the province is covered by a mantle of glacial till from which most of the soils have developed. The only exceptions are local deposits of immature soils which have developed from alluvial and marine sediments laid down by water action along the watercourses and coastline in post-glacial times. The dyking and reclamation of marine sediments, concentrated heavily

in the Annapolis-Cornwallis lowland of western Nova Scotia, has produced the only soils of relatively high fertility. Otherwise, and in the areas under review in particular, prevailing climatic conditions have been responsible for mature soils which are podsolized and highly acid.

From the point of view of agricultural suitability, the upland soils are the poorest. They tend to be thin and stony and are further limited by poor drainage and rough topography. The better soils are concentrated in the lowland areas, but these are subject to similar limitations, although on a lesser scale. The most fertile are the stone-free alluvial deposits along the river valleys. However, none of the soils in the area can be considered highly fertile, and even the alluvial flats require careful management and the application of fertilizer for continued successful crop production.

On Cape Breton Island, for instance, 74% of the land area is suitable only for rough pasture or forest. Of the remaining 26%, only 2% is classified as good land with minor, easily remedied limitations, while 19% is moderately good, requiring extensive drainage and erosion control. The last 5% is so adversely affected by environmental factors that crop production is severely limited.

The native vegetation of Nova Scotia is forest. Prior to European settlement the entire land surface was forested, and at the present time some 70% of the province is still forested. Most of Nova Scotia, including the areas of present concern, falls within the Acadian forest region. The forest cover consists of coniferous softwoods (spruce, fir, pine, etc.) and deciduous hardwoods (maple, birch, beech, etc.). A mixed cover, with the conifers dominant, is now almost universal, but there are indications that there were extensive pure hardwood stands in the upland areas prior to European settlement.

land Use

The existence of this virgin forest cover profoundly influenced the process of European settlement: the timber was an important economic resource, as was also the indigenous fauna in terms of meat and furs; on the other hand, the development of agricultural land necessitated arduous clearing and, if neglected, cleared areas very quickly reverted to forest.

Of related significance in the process of agricultural development was the fact that soil resources had quite severe limitations which, however, might not be apparent for several years after initial settlement because the practice of burning the felled timber on the spot temporarily enriched the soil. This was particularly true in the upland areas where hardwoods were dominant and the leaf mould contributed a slightly higher organic content to the soil. These latter areas were often sought out as desirable agricultural land as a result of this, although in fact most were quite unsuitable. Thus, in the context of early European settlement the general impression gained is that of a relatively harsh and alien environment with severe winters, a generally forested terrain, and a very limited amount of land suitable for successful agriculture. As one recent author has stated with reference to the province as a whole: "... terrain, soils and climate may be said to have allowed, but not encouraged, most of the forms of plant and animal husbandry known in the British Isles ..." ²

Northern Nova Scotia and southern Cape Breton Island lacked the physiographic and climatic advantages of the Annapolis-Cornwallis Lowland, the most favoured area of Nova Scotia and one which was to develop a very successful agricultural industry based largely on intensive fruit growing. However, the lowlands did provide areas of agricultural capability and, indeed, the coastal plain of northern Nova Scotia is recognized as one of the best

general agricultural areas in the Maritimes. As indicated above, the environment did not favour the cultivation of grain, in particular wheat, which, because of the late spring, generally does not attain the highest mature quality. On the other hand, forage crops do grow well, and mixed farming with a pastoral emphasis is encouraged by the environment.

But the supply of suitable land was limited, and the process of development was difficult. Consequently, the lure of potential non-agricultural enterprise might be expected to exert a powerful influence. The exploitation of timber resources was an obvious recourse, and one which inevitably confronted the pioneer settler in some form or other. Until the mid-nineteenth century, too, timber had the potential to foster local industrial development in the form of shipbuilding along the extensive coastlines. Those coastlines also gave access to the abundant fish stocks of the continental shelf. Apart from affording a valuable contribution to local subsistence, these fish stocks provided the opportunity to share in the extensive export trade which had flourished in the region for centuries. In addition, there were sub-surface resources of considerable economic importance. Notable among these were coal seams which occurred principally in the Carboniferous formations to the south of Pictou Harbour and in eastern Cape Breton.

These, then, were the principal economic opportunities awaiting European settlers, and in the development of settlement and exploitation the constants of physiography and geographical location exerted powerful controlling influences. Internally, the environment of the extensive upland areas was unfavourable to settlement, and the restrictive influences of their topography and drainage rendered road building extremely difficult. Since the uplands occupy much of the interior of the province, the coastal lowlands and the major river valleys assumed great importance in the

development of settlement, and the difficulties of overland communication were alleviated by the relative ease of communication by water. The latter was particularly convenient since Nova Scotia, like Scotland, has an extremely long coastline in proportion to the total land area and, similarly, there are few points in Nova Scotia further than 65 km from the sea. Indeed, by the twentieth century the development of settlement resulted in the location of 95% of the province's population and productive agriculture within 25 km of salt water. Thus, the general trend was towards a scattered peripheral population. Moreover, the almost universal facility of communication by water was cited early as an important inhibiting factor in the development of nucleated settlements.³

Externally, too, connected to the continent by a neck of land only 27 km wide, communication by water was all important to Nova Scotia. At the regional level, areas bordering on the same body of water tended to have close interconnections. In this respect, for example, northern Nova Scotia was linked to Prince Edward Island, western Cape Breton and eastern New Brunswick by the waters of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, whereas the vicissitudes of overland communication rendered it relatively remote from the Atlantic coastal settlements to the south. Beyond the regional level, the location of Nova Scotia fostered several maritime links: to the southwest there was the eastern United States seaboard, to the east lay the British Isles and Europe, and to the west, by way of the Gulf, were the St. Lawrence Valley and the Great Lakes. In addition to independent connections with any of these destinations, there was also, of course, the potential advantage of being strategically located close to the principal routes between Europe and North America.

Considering these circumstances it might be expected that areas bordering on the Gulf would develop external links in marked

contrast to those, say, of the Atlantic coast. However, while northern Nova Scotia was certainly to be affected by a growth of traffic along the St. Lawrence route, there were notable hindrances to the establishment of strong links with interior areas to the west: beyond the Maritime Provinces most of the Gulf coastline was largely uninhabitable, while the St. Lawrence was unnavigable for many months of the year because of ice. In consequence, Gulf settlements were as inclined to look east and south as did those of the Atlantic seaboard.

Nevertheless, despite the facility of maritime travel, Nova Scotia was an essentially isolated area of limited resources on the periphery of the continent and, as far as economic development was concerned, that remoteness was to pose problems similar in nature to those of other isolated areas subject to serious environmental limitations - such as the Scottish Highlands. Thus, in terms of the exploitation of coal reserves, the area was at a considerable disadvantage in comparison with, for example, Pennsylvania, strategically located on the populous mid-Atlantic seaboard.⁴

Notes

1. The principal sources for this chapter are: I. Brookes, "The Physical Geography of the Atlantic Provinces", in A.G. MacPherson, ed., The Atlantic Provinces (Toronto, 1972), pp. 1-45; A.H. Clark, Acadia: The Geography of Early Nova Scotia to 1760 (Madison, Wis., 1968), pp. 11-55; J.W. Goldthwait, The Physiography of Nova Scotia (Ottawa, 1924); D.F. Putnam, "The Climate of the Maritime Provinces", Canadian Geographical Journal, XXI (1940), 134-47; D.B. Cann and R.B. Wicklund, Soil Survey of Pictou County, Nova Scotia (Truro, N.S., 1950); D.B. Cann and J.D. Hilchey, Soil Survey of Antigonish County, Nova Scotia (Truro, N.S., 1954); D.B. Cann, J.I. MacDougall and J.D. Hilchey, Soil Survey of Cape

Breton Island, Nova Scotia (Thuro, N.S., 1963); R.E. Wicklund and C.R. Smith, Soil Survey of Colchester County, Nova Scotia (Thuro, N.S., 1948).

2. A.H. Clark, Acadia, p. 54.

3. Anon., A General Description of Nova Scotia (Halifax, N.S., 1825), pp. 85-86.

4. J.B. Brebner, North Atlantic Triangle (Toronto, 1945), p. 6;
R.C. Harris and J. Warkentin, Canada before Confederation: A Study in Historical Geography (New York, 1974), pp. 170-220;;
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Chapter 12

Nova Scotia before 1770

The documented history of European activity in Nova Scotia extends back to the beginning of the seventeenth century. Prior to that there were some 10,000 years of unrecorded prehistoric occupation by indigenous peoples, during the latter stages of which, in the sixteenth century, there must have been increasing contact with European fishing fleets which came seasonally to exploit the stocks of the continental shelf. In 1605, a French group established a settlement at Port Royal on the Annapolis Basin of western Nova Scotia.¹ However, the area also attracted the interest of a variety of British groups, and the first few decades of the seventeenth century witnessed the beginnings of a Franco-British struggle for supremacy which was to last until the middle of the eighteenth century.

During the third decade of the seventeenth century there was a specifically Scottish contribution to this process, and one which was responsible for the name, Nova Scotia. This was a result of the colonizing activities of Sir William Alexander, who advocated the creation of a "New Scotland" along the lines of New England. By a royal charter of 1621 a large portion of northeastern North America, designated Nova Scotia and including the area of the present province, was granted to him for development as a field for Scottish colonization.²

Two small settlements were actually established in 1629 - one on the Annapolis Basin and the other on the southeastern coast of Cape Breton - but hostilities with France resulted in the loss of the latter within a few months, while the former was surrendered in 1632 when control of the area was ceded to France. This

reaffirmation of French control was accompanied by the introduction of the first group of pioneer agricultural settlers from France (in contrast to the Port Royal venture, for instance, which was essentially a fortified trading post).³

Thus, the French colony of Acadia had its real beginnings. The designation had no very precise geographical boundaries, but approximately comprised the territory of the three present Maritime Provinces. The resident population of Acadians originated in the small group established at La Hève on the Atlantic coast in the early 1630s. However, a move was soon made to the Annapolis Basin, and the development of settlement was closely linked to the exploitation of the tidal marshes bordering the Bay of Fundy. These were extensively dyked to form areas of fertile arable and pasture, and thriving agricultural communities developed rapidly. The population was concentrated in the Annapolis Valley and around Minas Basin, Chignecto Bay and, to a lesser extent, Cobequid Bay. There were smaller outlying settlements, on the Gulf shore for example, but the mainland population, which amounted to about 12,000 by 1750, was contained almost exclusively within the three principal Bay of Fundy settlement areas.⁴

In addition, by the middle of the eighteenth century, there were some 4,000 Acadians on Cape Breton Island, located primarily at a number of coastal locations where fishing was the main pre-occupation. The largest concentration was in the vicinity of Louisburg, where the French erected a fortress in the first half of the eighteenth century.⁵ This reflected the continuing struggle for supremacy in eastern North America, and was strategically located at the entrance to the Gulf of St. Lawrence. French control had, in fact, been weakened by this time since, by the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713, the mainland area of Acadia was ceded to Britain, while France retained control of only Isle St. Jean

(Prince Edward Island) and Isle Royale (Cape Breton).⁶

The nucleus of the British colony of Nova Scotia existed for much of the first half of the eighteenth century, but in a largely nominal fashion since, with the exception of a few officials and merchants at Annapolis and a fishing base at Canso, the population was exclusively French. Several schemes were advanced with the intention of settling groups of Protestants from continental Europe, but all came to nought and it was not until the long conflict entered its final phase at the mid-point of the century that the peopling of Nova Scotia under British auspices commenced.⁷

The first phase, lasting from 1749 until 1752, resulted in the establishment of settlements at Halifax and Lunenburg on the central Atlantic coast. As originally conceived, some half dozen strategically located settlements were to be founded to establish an effective British presence and a base of operations against the threat posed by Louisburg. However, it only proved possible to maintain two rather precarious footholds.⁸

The venture was unprecedented in the history of British expansion in North America in that it was the first time that colonization was undertaken directly by government, and current mercantilist policies dictated restricted sources of recruits. In this case, settlers were sought among discharged British soldiers and sailors and among emigrants from western Europe, mainly certain German states. The former category was one which was to be extensively promoted in British North America in the years to come. The latter were part of an emigration flow already in progress, and were doubly attractive in that they were Protestant and not British subjects.

The basis for these settlements was to be the allocation of free land grants, the system followed in the North American colonies in a variety of forms since the early seventeenth century.

Consequently, continental Europeans were offered 50 acres each, exempt from quitrent for 10 years and subsequently subject to not more than one shilling per annum on every 50 acres held. In addition, 10 acres were to be allowed for each dependant. The ex-military received similar conditions, but amounts were graded according to rank with the proviso that no individual was to receive more than 500 acres.⁹

With these provisions, then, the basic form of land acquisition for the next 80 years was established, including aspects which were to produce much dissension, in particular the quitrent requirement. Furthermore, because of the difficulties of establishing new settlements, it was deemed politic to provide transportation and free subsistence for the first year, together with arms, material and implements. In the case of those from continental Europe the cost of transportation was not part of the original offer, but was in fact paid for out of the general funds allocated.¹⁰

The immediate result was the initial settlement of Halifax in 1749 by a British group of about 2,000. These were followed by about 2,700 Foreign Protestants, 2,000 of whom settled at Lunenburg in 1753. However, despite the seemingly generous provisions, difficulties abounded and the process involved considerable hardship largely due to poor management, which, in turn, may be attributed to inexperience in terms of an undertaking which was exceedingly ambitious in the context of the times.¹¹

Moreover, execution had been swift and the recruitment for the Halifax settlement in particular had not been very selective, with the result that the initial population consisted of a very motley crew indeed, many of whom seem to have departed within the first year. The Lunenburg contingent, consisting mainly of rural family groups, represented much more promising pioneer material and were indeed to survive initial setbacks to form a prominent segment

of Nova Scotian society. On the other hand, pioneering qualities were not nearly so relevant in the Halifax context, where an almost complete lack of agricultural potential was offset by a strategic location and excellent harbour facilities. The latter were the significant features which were to maintain it as the administrative and commercial capital of the province and a major naval base. As such, it immediately began to attract immigrants, notably from the New England colonies to the south.

Immediately following the establishment of these outposts hostilities resumed and, with the local Indian population sympathetic to the French cause, Halifax and Lunenburg were essentially beleaguered garrisons for most of the 1750s. At an expense of over £300,000 the British government had succeeded only in securing a very tenuous hold on the Nova Scotia mainland after 40 years of nominal control, but this last phase of the great struggle was to result in the complete elimination of French power from the area by the end of the decade.¹²

Even more significant, from the point of view of future settlement, was the virtually complete eradication of French settlement prior to the final military defeat of the French forces. The Acadian population found themselves in an increasingly untenable position as the Franco-British conflict entered this final phase. The closely-knit rural peasant society which had evolved from its European antecedents over more than a century in its new location had very little wish to be drawn into the power struggle going on around it, and it seems likely that the majority would have been content to remain neutral. However, from the official British point of view the existence of a potentially hostile population in its own domain posed an ominous threat. To obviate this the Acadians were required to take an oath of allegiance. The result of their general refusal to make this commitment was the destruction,

in 1755, of their settlements and the deportation of as many of them as could be rounded up.

The deportation was not complete, but by the early 1760s probably only 2,000 of the mainland Acadian population remained as fugitives. With the fall of Louisburg in 1758 French control of the region was finally destroyed, and the time was ripe for further colonization under British authority.¹³ Early in 1758 the Board of Trade had written to Governor Lawrence stressing the importance of settling the vacated Acadian lands, in the pursuit of which nothing useful was to be left untried. In particular, it was suggested that a description of the advantages of settling in Nova Scotia and a request for settlement proposals be distributed in the other colonies.¹⁴

The two other principal approved sources, the ex-military and Foreign Protestants, were still very much in favour, but immediate prospects for exploiting them were not favourable. The war in Europe was to continue for several more years, effectively eliminating the possibility of any significant contribution from that quarter, while New England troops serving in Nova Scotia did not show any great desire to remain beyond the period of their service.¹⁵ However, settlement by residents of other colonies was also perfectly acceptable to official thinking, and the prospects in that respect were very favourable.

In New England, already, population pressure on land resources was extending colonizing activities and, with the area west of the Appalachians still effectively blocked by the French and Indian threat, northern and eastern expansion was most prevalent. There was, therefore, movement from Massachusetts into Connecticut, Rhode Island, New Hampshire and Vermont, with Nova Scotia representing a logical extension of this process. The elimination of French power promised a secure tenure, removing fears of the potential

weakening effect on the colonies of origin of any large-scale migration, which had hitherto exercised an inhibiting effect.¹⁶

Consequently, Lawrence's proclamation of October 1758,¹⁷ issued in the month following his return from the conquest of Louisburg, and in accordance with the Board of Trade's suggestion, received encouraging responses in the New England colonies. Indeed, before the end of the year Lawrence informed the Board of Trade that hundreds of families in Massachusetts, Connecticut and Rhode Island were associating in preparation for settlement in Nova Scotia, and that there was the prospect of settling whole townships.¹⁸

This activity also involved requests for more specific information, and in response to these Lawrence issued a second proclamation in January 1759.¹⁹ In this one he stated that land distribution would be organized in terms of townships of 100,000 acres, within which each settler would be allocated quantities of cleared Acadian land according to his abilities. In addition, each head of family would be eligible for 100 acres of "wild" land, with another 50 acres for each dependant. One third of the grant was to be improved in 10 years and the remaining two thirds in the following 20 years. A quitrent of one shilling per annum on each 50 acres granted was to be imposed after 10 years of occupancy. There were to be no fees on grants, and no individual was to receive more than 1,000 acres.

These provisions were in close conformity to the established New England practice of colonization by township associations, and preparations for the reception of immigrants from that region were completed in 1759 by the formal escheat of the former Acadian lands and of a large unsettled tract granted in 1736 to a former governor and some associates.²⁰ Actual immigration did not get under way until 1760, but in that one year perhaps as many as 2,000 arrived from New England, and it has been estimated that some 7,000 came in

the early 1760s.²¹ Certainly, by 1763, an official report accounted for nearly 1,000 families settled in a number of new townships in addition to the already established settlements at Halifax and Lunenburg.²²

These new settlers, largely from Massachusetts, Connecticut and Rhode Island, consisted broadly of two distinct groups, each attracted to specific areas. The former Acadian lands bordering the Bay of Fundy were occupied by farming stock from rural settlements, while a number of Atlantic coast harbours were settled by fishermen from the New England fishing ports.

Among the former category there was a notable sub-group consisting of a contingent from New Hampshire of Ulster origins which settled at the head of Cobequid Bay. Involved in their recruitment was one Alexander McNutt, who at this time was engaged in the promotion of Irish emigration schemes, and indeed brought several hundred emigrants directly from Ireland to Nova Scotia in 1761 and 1762. This instance of direct immigration from the British Isles, though, quickly produced an adverse reaction in London and, in 1762, further Irish emigration was forbidden.²³ Many of those who did arrive were destitute, and government assistance was required to settle a number of them in the township of Dublin on the Atlantic coast. This was another source of official misgiving in London, where the possibility of further large public expenditures along the lines of the 1749-52 venture was viewed as undesirable and to be avoided if at all possible.²⁴

However, the Irish case was by no means an isolated instance and the settlement process of the early 1760s was accompanied by a degree of dissonance between Halifax and London. The Board of Trade's first reaction to Lawrence's initial steps was unfavourable since, as they pointed out, the cleared Acadian lands were supposed to be reserved for ex-military settlers, and they directed him to

defer all further proceedings under the terms of his January proclamation.²⁵ However, Lawrence defended his actions vigorously, pointing out that immediate action was necessary to take advantage of the enthusiastic responses and indicating that rapid progress was being made. At the same time, he stated that some assistance to the first immigrant groups was considered advisable since it would help to maintain a favourable climate of opinion and encourage continued immigration.²⁶

The immediate response from London was conciliatory and Lawrence's general course of action was approved as a result of his explanation, although the expenditure of public monies on assistance was regretted and it was hoped that "such expensive allowances" would not be continued.²⁷ A slightly later communication reiterated this general approval, and even went so far as to concede that the present opportunities were "too considerable to be risked in favour of more distant views" (that is, the prospect of settlement by disbanded military groups), while requesting full information on progress achieved and adding another admonition to keep public expenditure to a minimum.²⁸

In reply, Lawrence gave glowing accounts of the continued success of the venture and emphasized again how necessary initial assistance was in some cases, although it would be minimal and was not proposed as a means of effecting future settlement.²⁹ By 1760 he had also compromised by setting aside some of the cleared land for the accommodation of ex-military settlers, and concentrated current granting activity in Atlantic coastal areas. Nevertheless, he did not hesitate to offer the opinion that disbanded soldiers were the least qualified of settlers and, in Nova Scotia, the least likely to be willing to attempt pioneer settlement.³⁰ Lawrence died in 1760 and so did not live to see the fruition of his planning, but over the next three years his schemes were fulfilled, involving

considerable assistance in the form of free transportation and subsistence allowances.³¹

This early example of the management of large-scale immigration by the Halifax administration illustrates several themes which were to recur in the history of the settlement of the province, and which were largely connected with variances between local and central policies. A major factor in this respect was the difficulty of maintaining close communication when long sea voyages created considerable time lags between questions and responses. In addition, this tended to exacerbate the cross purposes which could arise when, with the advantage of on-the-spot insight, the local administration displayed a propensity to overstep the bounds of accepted policy when it seemed that delay could only result in lost opportunities. However, the central authorities were just as anxious to promote settlement, and the events of the early 1760s revealed that, provided the course of action was attended with a reasonable degree of success, local initiative could win acceptance in London, even if grudgingly and with querulous reservations.

By the end of the war in 1763, substantial progress had been made towards the peopling of Nova Scotia. However, the new population had a very restricted geographical distribution: vacated Acadian lands in the Annapolis Valley and around Minas Basin, Cobequid Bay and Chignecto Bay had been occupied, while settlements had been founded at such Atlantic coastal locations as Liverpool, Barrington and Yarmouth. Consequently, settlement was contained exclusively within the southern and western portions of the peninsula. Even the Chignecto Bay settlements, strictly speaking in the north, were firmly oriented south and west by way of the Bay of Fundy. Northern and eastern Nova Scotia were relatively isolated from New England and remained unpopulated.³²

Until this point in time, too, Cape Breton Island was not a

target for development schemes since it was still nominally a French possession. However, in 1763, the Treaty of Paris altered that circumstance and was in fact the prelude to a new phase of settlement policy. Under the terms of the treaty all of eastern North America, with the exception of the small islands of St. Pierre et Miquelon, came under British control, and Isle St. Jean (Prince Edward Island) and Isle Royale (Cape Breton) were annexed to the colony of Nova Scotia, which thus came to comprise all of the present Maritime Provinces.³³

In the same year, expansion across the Appalachians into the Ohio and Mississippi valleys was banned by royal proclamation. There was, therefore, a continued incentive for North American expansionary activity to be channelled in the direction of the now secure and enlarged Nova Scotia. Moreover, in an effort to enhance this incentive, the British government extensively revised the existing policy towards land distribution in the colony. Wilmot was appointed Governor in 1763, and these revisions were embodied in the Instructions he brought with him in 1764.³⁴

The general intent of the new regulations was to impart greater precision to the process, and to give added encouragement to settlement. To this end, more detailed provisions were made for the granting of land to individuals. These included stipulations that three acres were to be improved within three years for each 50 acres granted, and that quitrent was to become due two years after the date of the grant. In addition to the usual amounts granted free, up to 1,000 acres per family might be purchased at the rate of five shillings per 50 acres. The terms were to be published, and were to be the only ones on which land would be granted.

However, the Instructions also permitted the governor to grant amounts of land, limited only by his discretion, to any promoter who proposed to settle them, and omitted an alienation clause which had

formerly required a governor's licence to sell granted land. These latter provisions provided the opportunity for large-scale land speculation, and reflected the influence of various interested parties on both sides of the Atlantic who were seeking British government approval for ambitious schemes of speculative colonial development.³⁵

At this time, the prospect of extensive settlement conducted by private enterprise was attractive from the government point of view: the public coffers had been severely strained by the recent war effort, and the initial colonization of Nova Scotia under direct government auspices had involved alarming expenditures. Thus, while the occupation of the newly defined colony of Nova Scotia was considered highly desirable, it would be all to the good if it could be accomplished at no expense to the public purse.

Settlers were to be recruited from the same sources as before, that is, from among residents of other North American colonies, "Foreign Protestants", and disbanded military units. Regulations for the allocation of land in North America to the latter had been included in the proclamation of 1763, and instances of settlement elsewhere on the continent have already been noted. However, military settlement was not to be a significant factor in Nova Scotia at this time. Settlements of New England origins had already been firmly established, and these were to continue to grow in strength. However, attention was to be focused principally upon the flow of predominantly German-speaking emigrants from western Europe, and private schemes were forwarded which proposed recruitment from this source to open up new settlements in Nova Scotia.³⁶

Such schemes were being concocted on both sides of the Atlantic, and indeed the resource to be exploited was also located on both sides of the Atlantic: in addition to the possibility of direct migration from Europe there were considerable numbers of

recent immigrants of those origins in the Mid-Atlantic colonies for whom opportunities for permanent settlement there were restricted by the current ban on westward expansion.³⁷ With the arrival of Wilmot and the new land regulations in 1764, the way seemed clear for the implementation of such proposals. But again the course of events was complicated by misgivings about the new approach on the part of local authorities, and contradictory aspects of the new policy were largely responsible for this.

While on the one hand encouraging wholesale land allocation, the settlement requirements were quite stringent, with the intention of ensuring that allocation would be followed by development. The local authorities certainly welcomed the prospect of continued colonization, but reservations were expressed by Wilmot in his response to the Instructions in which he questioned the advisability of drastically shortening the period of exemption from quitrent, advocated the reinstatement of the alienation clause, and objected to publishing the regulations as the only terms available. He concluded by stating that he would await further Instructions.³⁸

In other words, while the general aspects of the Instructions had the potential to encourage unproductive speculation, the particular aspects were likely to discourage the actual establishment of individuals on the land. However, his suggestions produced no response from London and by the end of 1764 mounting pressure from expectant speculators appeared to herald an inevitable recourse to extensive granting. This prospect seems to have prompted, in December 1764, the imposition of a system of fees to be paid to local officials on all future land grants, so the latter themselves were not averse to profiting from a speculative boom.³⁹

Matters came to a head in 1765 with the arrival in Nova Scotia of agents representing groups of speculators. The most prominent among them was Alexander McIlhutt, who now reappeared as the

representative of several groups in the other colonies and sought, in total, 21 townships of 100,000 acres each.⁴⁰ Wilmot had still not received further directions from London and for a time he attempted to steer a middle course by only making reservations of large tracts for the speculative associations, while continuing to grant smaller amounts under the terms of the former Instructions.⁴¹

The imminent passage of the Stamp Act, however, lent some urgency to the negotiations with the association representatives since, once in effect, it would impose an additional expense on the grantees. The result was a compromise whereby grants were issued, with some concessions to the demands of the agents for more favourable terms, but with the requirement that settlement was to be completed within four years from the date of the grant at the rate of one quarter of the total in each year, forfeiture being the penalty for non-fulfilment. In this way, vast areas were granted away in the space of a few months in 1765. The interests represented by McNutt, for instance, had over 2 million acres reserved, and received actual grants of over 1.5 million acres.⁴²

There has been some debate as to the true intentions of all these professed land developers. At the time, the local authorities were undoubtedly impressed by the proposals and it may well be that, if circumstances had been more favourable, some substantial development might have been achieved along the lines proposed. Certainly, some interesting attempts to fulfil settlement requirements were made somewhat later (to be discussed below). Nevertheless, even if the grantees were not all unscrupulous speculators gambling on a rise in land values, the terms of the grants were such that fulfilment was impossible. Any extensive development was likely to require considerable expenditure, to justify which there would have to be a reasonable chance of success. Whatever sincere purpose there may have been on the part of at least some of the

entrepreneurs was, therefore, seriously handicapped.⁴³

Official policy was also no longer so favourably disposed towards continental Europe as a source now that there were no strategic reasons to inhibit movement to Nova Scotia from other colonies, and when such movement was even to be encouraged as an alternative to westward expansion.⁴⁴ Nor did official policy change during the remainder of this period. Indeed, the instructions brought by Wilmot's successor, Campbell, at the end of 1766 only reiterated those of 1764.⁴⁵ In addition, a proposal from Nova Scotia in 1766 to recruit settlers in Britain's European domains was answered by a firm statement from London that only "Foreign Protestants" and residents of other North American colonies of two years' standing were eligible.⁴⁶

The activities so far described related to mainland areas of the province; the two recently acquired islands were also targets of speculative activity, but with quite different results. The fate of Prince Edward Island in the 1760s has already been described and its unique mode of development led, in 1769, to its administrative separation from Nova Scotia. Largely because of its known coal reserves, which had already been exploited by the French, Cape Breton also attracted numerous development proposals during the 1760s, but government was not willing to countenance industrial development of this nature and would only issue licences to occupy fishing bases. Consequently, by 1770, there was a population of no more than about 1,000 scattered along the coast at a number of fishing stations.⁴⁷

By the end of the decade the mainland had a population of about 17,000, but this was overwhelmingly concentrated in the settlement areas which had been established by 1763. The vast grants of 1765 remained almost completely untenanted and growth was accounted for almost exclusively by the expansion of existing

settlements. In the second decade of its existence, for example, the Lunenburg community was already expanding from its original base into Mahone Bay and the La Have river valley.⁴⁸

An additional factor as the 1760s progressed was the settlement of returning Acadians. Their former lands were no longer available, of course, and they had to adjust to a new settlement pattern. As part of this process, in 1768, the township of Clare, just to the west of the Annapolis Valley, was created to accommodate a portion of them.⁴⁹ Otherwise, Nova Scotia was still predominantly a colony of New England settlers, with an Ulster component in the case of the Cobequid Bay settlements, and the standard settlement form was the New England township. One of the distinctive features of the latter was the town meeting, and there were attempts to use this to establish a degree of local autonomy.⁵⁰

On the other hand, there were instances of a quite different settlement form - that of the individual proprietor. These were concentrated in the Windsor area of Minas Basin and consisted of estates owned by the Halifax elite and occupied by tenants and labourers. Probably the most remarkable example was the DesBarres estate at Falmouth which, by 1770, was populated by 93 tenants and servants.⁵¹

These reflected the growth of the official and mercantile establishment at Halifax, which had benefited from its development as a vital naval and military base during the war, as well as its role as the administrative centre of the colony. In 1749, because of the unique circumstances of the venture, all government functions, including the legislative, had been vested in the Governor and his appointed Council. As in other colonies, the Council soon assumed the guise of an oligarchic institution, closely supporting the Governor's prerogative and maintained by the development of family ties.

This ruling clique had predominantly transatlantic roots but there had also emerged a strong New England mercantile presence in Halifax, and it was largely as a result of agitation by members of this group that an elected legislative assembly was created in 1758. Distance and poor communications rendered it exceedingly difficult for the populace in the outlying communities to participate effectively in the parliamentary process, and initially it was mainly a Halifax affair. On the other hand, the possibility of representation was now open and the legislature was to grow steadily in power.⁵²

Consequently, the essential elements of a thriving colonial society seemed to be well founded in Nova Scotia. Nevertheless, the late 1760s were years of hesitation and uncertainty when prospects did not appear at all promising. The fishing ports of the Atlantic coast had certainly begun what was to become a major industry in Nova Scotia - shipbuilding - but elsewhere the economy was one of subsistence agriculture. The newcomers had had difficulty in adapting to Acadian techniques of land management and, although good harvests in the mid-1760s had afforded some encouraging returns, the fact remained that, generally speaking, a bare subsistence was wrested from the soil and surpluses were minimal.⁵³

In this context, then, the imminent expiry of quitrent exemptions loomed forebodingly and, at the same time, other factors were combining to render Nova Scotia less, and other areas more, attractive. In 1768, the entire military and naval establishment was removed from Halifax to Boston, with a consequently depressing effect on the local economy. Also in the same year, the Treaty of Fort Stanwix removed the ban on westward expansion across the Appalachians. Thus, the lure of the Ohio and the Mississippi was now a counter attraction, and one which probably exerted its influence among the Nova Scotia settlers. Indeed, a notable

feature of the late 1760s in Nova Scotia was an increased frequency of offers of land for sale. By the end of the decade, too, the large grants of 1765 were subject to forfeiture since the settlement requirements had nowhere been fulfilled.⁵⁴

One rather unsuccessful attempt which was made, though, was to have considerable future significance for the settlement of the hitherto uncolonized northern and eastern sections of the peninsula. One of McNutt's groups, based in Philadelphia, had been granted 200,000 acres in the vicinity of Pictou Harbour on the Gulf coast (later to be commonly known as the Philadelphia Grant), and an attempt to colonize it began with the arrival of six families from Philadelphia in 1767. However, no great number of settlers seems to have been attracted since, at the end of 1769, there was a total population of only 120, consisting apparently of 16 families and 2 single males. The composition of the group in terms of national origins is also of some interest: there were 93 Americans, 18 Irish, 5 Acadians, 2 English, and 2 Scots.⁵⁵

This raises the point that, over and above the few large ethnic groups represented during this early period, there were small numbers of other origins, including Scots. References are sparse, but it is certain that small numbers of Scots were to be found here and there in the colony, many no doubt having re-emigrated from the colonies to the south. A population count of 1767, for instance, identified 173 Scots in the colony.⁵⁶ This was admittedly a very small fraction of a claimed total of some 13,000. However, the formation of the North British Society at Halifax in 1768 by 14 founder members suggests that, though few in number, Scots had already established a presence of some significance.⁵⁷ In Halifax there was already, in fact, the nucleus of a strong Scottish mercantile community similar to others along the eastern seaboard.

Yet another commercial venture, though located in what is now

northeastern New Brunswick, was the establishment of a salmon fishery on the Miramichi in 1764.⁵⁸ Furthermore, the existence of a community of Ulster Presbyterians at the head of Cobequid Bay fostered yet another type of link with Scotland. In 1765 the settlement had petitioned the Associate Synod of Glasgow in the hope of acquiring a minister. As a result, the Reverend Samuel Kinloch came from Scotland and served at Truro from 1766 until 1769. He returned to Scotland in the latter year, but was replaced in 1770 by the Reverend Daniel Cock and the Reverend David Smith.⁵⁹

A scattering of Scottish emigrants were thus present in Nova Scotia by 1770, and the history of settlement was about to enter a new phase, at the beginning of which efforts to obtain settlers, particularly for the unsettled tracts of northern Nova Scotia, coincided with the beginnings of an extensive emigration movement from Britain.

Notes

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2. Ibid., p. 83; Insh, Colonial Schemes, pp. 48-78.
3. Insh, Colonial Schemes, pp. 78-90, 104-12; A.H. Clark, Acadia, pp. 83-84.
4. A.H. Clark, Acadia, pp. 211-12, 349-50.
5. Ibid., pp. 276-78.
6. Ibid., pp. 186, 268.
7. Ibid., pp. 186-95, 225-27; W.P. Bell, The Foreign Protestants and the Settlement of Nova Scotia (Toronto, 1961), pp. 19-24.
8. Bell, Foreign Protestants, pp. 317-20.
9. Ibid., pp. 9, 84-87, 104-09, 130-32, 327-28; M. MacDonald, Immigration and Settlement, pp. 68-72.
10. Bell, Foreign Protestants, pp. 21-23, 130-32.
11. Ibid., pp. 336-44; A.H. Clark, Acadia, pp. 334-39; E.C. Wright,

- Planters and Pioneers, Nova Scotia, 1749 to 1755 (Hantsport, N.S., 1978), pp. 8-11
12. J.M. Beck, The Government of Nova Scotia (Toronto, 1957), p. 8; Bell, Foreign Protestants, passim; A.H. Clark, Acadia, pp. 334-43, 353-60; Wright, Planters and Pioneers, pp. 8-11.
 13. A.H. Clark, Acadia, pp. 343-51, 360-67.
 14. PANS, RG1, vol. 30, doc. 21, Board of Trade to Lawrence, February 7, 1758.
 15. Bell, Foreign Protestants, pp. 109-10; J.B. Brebner, The Neutral Yankees of Nova Scotia (New York, 1937), pp. 4-5.
 16. Brebner, Neutral Yankees, pp. 20-24; Wright, Planters and Pioneers, pp. 12-13.
 17. CO 217/16/311.
 18. PANS, RG1, vol. 36, doc. 39, Lawrence to Board of Trade, December 26, 1758.
 19. CO 217/16/315.
 20. Brebner, Neutral Yankees, pp. 150-51; M. Ellis, "Clearing the Decks for the Loyalists", Canadian Historical Association Annual Report, 1933, pp. 43-45
 21. Brebner, Neutral Yankees, p. 25; A.H. Clark, Acadia, p. 369; W.S. MacNutt, The Atlantic Provinces: The Emergence of Colonial Society, 1712-1857 (Toronto, 1965), pp. 60-62.
 22. PANS, RG1: vol. 222, doc. 12; vol. 284, doc. 16. Printed in PANS, Report, 1933, Appendix B, pp. 21-27.
 23. Brebner, Neutral Yankees, pp. 30-33; MacNutt, Atlantic Provinces, pp. 60-62; B. Murdoch, A History of Nova Scotia or Acadie (3 vols., Halifax, N.S., 1865-67), II, 407, 423.
 24. Bell, Foreign Protestants, p. 117; Brebner, Neutral Yankees, p. 33; Murdoch, Nova Scotia, II, 423.
 25. PANS, RG1, vol. 30, doc. 29, Board of Trade to Lawrence, August 1, 1759.

26. CO 217/16/322, Lawrence to Board of Trade, September 20, 1759.
27. PANS, RG1, vol. 30, doc. 25, Board of Trade to Lawrence,
December 14, 1759.
28. Ibid., vol. 30, doc. 34, Board of Trade to Lawrence,
March 7, 1760.
29. Ibid., vol. 36, doc. 48, Lawrence to Board of Trade,
June 16, 1760.
30. Ibid., vol. 36, doc. 47, Lawrence to Board of Trade,
May 11, 1760.
31. Bell, Foreign Protestants, pp. 546-47; A.H. Clark, Acadia,
pp. 368-69; Ellis, "Clearing the Decks", p. 45; J.B. Martell,
Pre-Loyalist Settlements around Minas Basin, 1755-1783
(unpublished M.A. thesis, Dalhousie, 1933), pp. 169-70.
32. Brebner, Neutral Yankees, pp. 41-50, 93.
33. Murdoch, Nova Scotia, II, 432.
34. PANS, RG1, vol. 349, doc. 9; Brebner, Neutral Yankees, p. 78;
Ellis, "Clearing the Decks", pp. 45-47.
35. Bell, Foreign Protestants, pp. 111-12; Ellis, "Clearing the
Decks", pp. 47-48; MacNutt, Atlantic Provinces, pp. 63-67;
Martell, Pre-Loyalist Settlements, pp. 181-83.
36. Bell, Foreign Protestants, pp. 111-13, 117; N. MacDonald,
Immigration and Settlement, pp. 68-72; Martell, Pre-Loyalist
Settlements, pp. 181-83; Murdoch, Nova Scotia, II, 432.
37. Bell, Foreign Protestants, p. 113; Martell, Pre-Loyalist
Settlements, pp. 181-83.
38. PANS, RG1, vol. 39, doc. 9, Wilmot to Board of Trade, June 24,
1764; Ellis, "Clearing the Decks", pp. 47-48.
39. PANS, RG1, vol. 211, p. 402, Executive Minutes, December 24,
1764; Ellis, "Clearing the Decks", pp. 47-48; Martell, Pre-
Loyalist Settlements, pp. 181-83; Murdoch, Nova Scotia, II, 451.
40. Bell, Foreign Protestants, pp. 111-13; Murdoch, Nova Scotia,

II, 449.

41. Ellis, "Clearing the Decks", p. 49.
42. Bell, Foreign Protestants, pp. 113-14; Brebner, Neutral Yankees, pp. 78-84; Ellis, "Clearing the Decks", pp. 49-51; Martell, Pre-Loyalist Settlements, pp. 181-83.
43. Bell, Foreign Protestants, pp. 115-21; Ellis, "Clearing the Decks", pp. 50-51; N. MacDonald, Immigration and Settlement, pp. 68-72; Murdoch, Nova Scotia, II, 449.
44. Bell, Foreign Protestants, pp. 120-21.
45. Ellis, "Clearing the Decks", p. 51.
46. Bell, Foreign Protestants, p. 114.
47. Brebner, Neutral Yankees, pp. 94-95; MacNutt, Atlantic Provinces, pp. 63-67.
48. Bell, Foreign Protestants, pp. 546-47; Brebner, Neutral Yankees, pp. 77-103; Wright, Planters and Pioneers, pp. 11-12; Martell, Pre-Loyalist Settlements, p. 219.
49. Brebner, Neutral Yankees, pp. 86-92.
50. Ibid., pp. 184-88.
51. Ibid., pp. 29, 49; Wright, Planters and Pioneers, pp. 13-14.
52. Beck, Government of Nova Scotia, pp. 6-8, 24-25; Brebner, Neutral Yankees, pp. 1-15, 180-83; idem, North Atlantic Triangle, pp. 55-56.
53. Brebner, Neutral Yankees, pp. 104-24; Martell, Pre-Loyalist Settlements, pp. 219, 282-88.
54. Brebner, Neutral Yankees, pp. 78, 100; Ellis, "Clearing the Decks", p. 51.
55. N. MacDonald, Immigration and Settlement, pp. 68-72; I.F. MacKinnon, Settlements and Churches in Nova Scotia, 1749-1776 (Montreal, 1930), p. 34; Rev. G. Patterson, A History of the County of Pictou, Nova Scotia (Montreal, 1877), pp. 46-78.
56. PANS, RG1, vol. 443, doc 1. See also Martell, Pre-Loyalist

Settlements, pp. 177-80.

57. J.S. MacDonald, Annals of the North British Society, Halifax, Nova Scotia, 1768-1903 (Halifax, N.S., 1905), pp. 2, 12.
58. W.P. Garrow, "Origins of Settlement in New Brunswick", Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, 3rd. ser., X, section II (1904), 44.
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Chapter 13

Economy and society in Nova Scotia, 1770-1830

Nova Scotia entered the 1770s with a relatively small, scattered population, in the main only recently established and in the grip of "a province-wide agricultural depression accompanied by an uneasy pessimism as to the future and an anxiety to get out".¹ The fishery, in conjunction with some lumbering and shipbuilding, was certainly well established at a number of Atlantic coastal settlements. These settlements were also involved in a small export trade (largely of fish and lumber). However, the bulk of the agricultural settlers were at best only managing to hold their own, and their economy was scathingly criticized by two visiting English farmers who stated that the New England settlers "appeared to us to be a lazy, indolent people".² Ubiquitous poverty was noted as a concomitant of these characteristics, largely a result of poor agricultural practices.

Such a violent reaction from Europeans already exposed to the improving movement might be expected when exposed to the prodigality of standard North American techniques, and was probably fostered by the relative neglect of arable in favour of livestock. In this respect, however, the New Englanders were following the pattern of their predecessors, the Acadians, and the question of what was a satisfactory balance between arable and pasture was to be the dominant theme throughout the early history of agriculture in the province.³

A concentration upon livestock was rendered particularly attractive by the prospect of supplying naval and military requirements through the Halifax base. Demand from Halifax had been greatly reduced in 1768 with the removal of the military and naval

establishment, but physiography considerably lessened the attraction of that market. It was more convenient for the Bay of Fundy settlements to trade with New England, while it was more convenient to supply Halifax by water than by any overland route. So it was that the Lunenburg settlement of Foreign Protestants on the Atlantic coast came to be the principal local supplier of agricultural produce to Halifax.⁴

In the mid-1770s the outbreak of the American Revolution disrupted commercial links with the colonies to the south and had a profound influence on many aspects of the colony's economy and society. Of initial importance was the fact that Nova Scotia remained firmly under British control, despite the fact that the majority of the population had recently migrated from the New England colonies. There were sporadic instances of disaffection, but the isolated nature of the settlements and difficulties of overland communication hindered any concerted opposition. Moreover, British control of the seas isolated Nova Scotia as a whole from the possibility of any effective direct intervention from the disaffected colonies.

Under these circumstances, Halifax-based British interests maintained a firm hold on affairs, and the general stance of the dominant New England element came to be one of neutrality. Thus, they found themselves in much the same predicament as the Acadians during the previous conflict.⁵ However, war also resulted in renewed economic opportunities as Halifax once again became a major base of operations, and Nova Scotians, whatever their political persuasions, were not slow to respond.⁶ Consequently, war offered the prospect of prosperity, and this was to be a factor of great importance over the next 50 years.

Events at the conclusion of the struggle were also of great significance for the development of Nova Scotia since the rest of

the eastern seaboard to the south passed out of British control. Immediately, in 1783, it became the target for a majority of the great wave of Loyalist refugees who flowed out of the new United States of America. The scale of the movement, completed within a very short period, created many problems of adaptation and effective settlement. The latter will be reviewed below when considering aspects of immigration, but it may be noted here that by 1784 the population of the Nova Scotia peninsula had doubled its pre-war level to a total of approximately 40,000.⁷

This population also became a distinct administrative entity in that year, when the mainland area to the north of the Bay of Fundy was separated to form New Brunswick. The Loyalist influx provided the first large permanent population in the latter area, and the separation quickly followed pleas to that effect from the new settlers, which were lent weight by the difficulties of administering a region so remote from Halifax. At the same time, Cape Breton Island was also set up as a separate administrative unit, but relatively few Loyalists went there and settlement remained largely restricted to a string of coastal fishing stations.⁸ This administrative arrangement was to remain in force until 1820 when, with the annexation of Cape Breton, Nova Scotia assumed its present political boundaries.

In 1784, then, in the newly defined Nova Scotia, the greatly increased population was still overwhelmingly of North American origin although, as will be seen, the Loyalist flood included elements which were of European origin, and the hitherto unpopulated northern areas had already attracted a fair number of transatlantic emigrants. However, common North American origins were no guarantee of a unity of outlook and indeed, apart from the fact that they were largely from the Mid-Atlantic seaboard (rather than New England), the Loyalists in general held views which promoted social tensions

between them and their New England predecessors.

Adequate compensation was expected for the sufferings and losses incurred as a result of their loyalty. Land for settlement was obviously the first requisite, but in addition the many who had occupied government posts in their former locations, for instance, sought similar positions in Nova Scotia, even at the expense of incumbents. To such incumbents, and to the generality of the older inhabitants, it must have seemed that the newcomers were intent on re-ordering society to suit their own requirements.⁹

Loyalists soon became prominent in public affairs in terms of membership of the Legislative Assembly and the Executive Council, positions in which they tended to act as supporters of the executive. Other spheres in which they exerted influence were the related ones of religion and education. Thus, they helped to bolster the position of the Church of England as the established religion and were instrumental in the founding of King's College, a specifically Anglican institution of higher learning. This was in the context of a population which was already, and was to continue to be, predominantly non-Anglican, a circumstance which was to be the source of much future bickering.¹⁰

The Loyalists were also an important factor in strictly economic terms. The return of peace had a deflationary effect, but there were still notable opportunities to be pursued, especially since Nova Scotia now assumed a new importance in imperial commercial designs. With the loss of the colonies to the south it was expected to play a key role in the British Atlantic mercantile system, whereby it would be developed as a shipping centre to supply the West Indies with fish, lumber and agricultural products from the local resource base. In return, West Indian products could be shipped both to the northern colonies and to the mother country, and from the latter would come such manufactured goods as were required

by the colonial economy.¹¹

The exclusion of United States shipping from the British West Indies in 1783 provided strong encouragement, and initial developments in the decade of peace before the outbreak of the war against France were in many respects promising. The fishery made notable advances as the augmented population furnished both an increased local demand and a larger potential labour force. Shipbuilding also flourished as the local industry contributed to the restocking of the British merchant marine, depleted by the recent loss of most of its North American-based shipping. Shipbuilding was, of course, a direct stimulus to the exploitation of forest resources, and progress in that direction is indicated by the record of the growing number of sawmills in operation.¹²

In conjunction with all this, Nova Scotia shipping did indeed participate in the Atlantic trading system, but, in terms of sources of supply, the local resource base was not meeting expectations. Despite its progress, the fishery was still essentially an inshore one carried on by small vessels, and one which could not match the achievements of the New England fleets.¹³ Moreover, such lumbering activity as there was satisfied only local demands almost exclusively since, in the absence of large local specialized operations, it was simply easier and cheaper to acquire large commercial quantities of timber from neighbouring Maine.¹⁴

In agriculture, too, Nova Scotia continued to be a disappointment to official hopes and, far from being able to contribute substantial surpluses for export, the province was still struggling to attain a comfortable self-sufficiency. In fact, the arable sector was still unable to supply adequate breadstuffs, and the practice of supplying deficiencies with imports from the United States was given official sanction in 1784, a concession which was later extended to include timber.¹⁵

The result was that, though Nova Scotians had established themselves in the West India trade, many of the goods they carried were likely to be of American origin. All of which pointed to a number of serious disadvantages suffered by Nova Scotia. For example, even had there been a strong lumbering industry, the Nova Scotia resource was not well suited to the principal needs of the West India market: the demand was for oak, used in the manufacture of casks, a commodity which was not available in abundance in Nova Scotia. Yet again, while an emphasis on livestock production did coincide with West Indian requirements, the element of distance rendered the transportation of perishable goods an extremely precarious enterprise.¹⁶

Policy changes could not alter the fact that, in terms of this particular channel of trade, the United States enjoyed far superior advantages of accessibility to the market and of availability of suitable resources. In addition, the realities of the continental economy, regardless of political boundaries, were to continue to influence profoundly the development of the agricultural sector. The improvement and extension of arable farming was all very well in theory, but in practice the competition of supplies from areas much more suited to that pursuit proved to be a difficult obstacle to overcome.¹⁷ However, as one recent author has pointed out, European settlers in Nova Scotia took 300 years to come to the conclusion that pasture was more viable than arable, and the period under review was an important phase in that process of learning.¹⁸

By the early 1790s, though, agriculture was still largely in a subsistence stage, and provided a settlement base for the pursuit of other occupations. Of these, only fishing and shipping showed much sign of significant progress and even that was on a relatively modest scale. Apart from satisfying local needs, the only notable

contribution of the forest resource was in the supply of masts to the Royal Navy, and most of those came from New Brunswick. Industrial activity was confined almost exclusively to the domestic production of cloth, again for local consumption. There was certainly an amount of fish, lumber and grain processing, but this was carried on only by small establishments using the simplest technology. Mineral resources were already well known, but as yet there had been no significant commercial exploitation.¹⁹ Nevertheless, once again war was to change the course of the Nova Scotia economy as the early 1790s were followed by two decades of nearly continuous hostilities.

This extended period of war had very dramatic repercussions indeed, extending to almost every sector of the economy. For agriculture, an enlarged establishment at Halifax meant a ready market for livestock surpluses in association with rising prices. The fishery made remarkable progress at this time, with the development of an offshore capability. This turn of events was greatly encouraged by the temporary elimination of major competitors, at first the French, and later the Americans as the deterioration of relations between the United States and Britain resulted in economic embargoes in the later stages of the war. Such factors also enhanced the importance of Nova Scotia shipping, and a much greater share of the Atlantic trade was gained.²⁰

A large part of that increased maritime enterprise was in connection with the export of timber products, and therein lies the most remarkable aspect of the economic transformation which an extended war brought to the region: this trade now carried local products on a scale which increased steadily through the first decade and a half of the new century. We have seen how commercial exploitation was hitherto negligible, and how very little of what was produced found its way across the Atlantic. However, this new

trade was a transatlantic one and, again, its origins were to be found in the peculiar exigencies of the war effort.

The previous lack of any extensive transatlantic timber trade from the North American colonies was a consequence of the availability to Britain of an abundant supply of generally superior materials from a closer source, the Baltic. But the fortunes of war threatened the security of access to this source, and a crisis was precipitated by the provisions of the Treaty of Tilsit in 1807. The British response was to turn to the North American colonies as a secure alternative, which was encouraged by a series of increasing duties on foreign timber imposed over the next few years.

In this way, then, the export of timber to Britain became economically viable in Nova Scotia as the duties effectively cancelled the disadvantages of transporting a bulky, low value commodity over long distances. Nor, indeed, were Nova Scotians and New Brunswickers slow to take advantage of this opportunity and, by 1815, there was a booming industry where but 20 years before there had been almost nothing.²¹

This activity gave a corresponding impetus to shipbuilding, and strengthened transatlantic commercial links. One aspect of the latter was an influx of British mercantile expertise to organize and direct the new industry, but the stimulus extended throughout local society since the process of timber extraction was largely conducted on an individual basis by settlers.²²

The fact that winter was the season when cutting took place ostensibly made it a suitable complement to the business of farming, but the universal opinion of contemporary observers was that the two pursuits were not compatible, and when combined had detrimental effects on agricultural progress.²³ On the other hand, it has been argued that, considering the prevailing constraints on agricultural development, such an occupational diversification was in many

instances a necessity.²⁴ Nevertheless, the rewards to be gained in the context of the war-time economy were a strong temptation to neglect the farm in favour of the more immediate gains offered by the lumber industry, which could provide for immediate necessities and even luxuries.

While war-time inflation did bring an increased money supply, transactions between producers and entrepreneurs were generally in the form of a truck system, and there was a tendency towards growing indebtedness on the part of the producers. In a buoyant and inflationary economic climate little heed was paid to the potential perils of such a trend, and a heightened willingness to incur debt was noted as a characteristic of the farming populace as a whole at this time. Again, this was promoted by the rising value of livestock and land fostered by the peculiar demands of the war effort: speculation was encouraged by easy credit and existing holdings were mortgaged to finance the purchase of additional property, all at increasingly inflated prices.²⁵

After 1815 the bubble burst as the return of peace exerted deflationary pressures on all sectors of the economy, and the 1815-30 period was one of adjustment to post-war circumstances. The effects of depression were most immediate and prominent in the agricultural sector as market opportunities were reduced. The situation was exacerbated by harvest failures in 1815 and 1816 as a result of adverse environmental factors, and government aid was required to maintain adequate food supplies in many areas.²⁶

This brought to the fore yet again the long-standing question of the feasibility of attaining at least a general self-sufficiency in arable products, particularly grain. During the early years of the century a government policy of offering bounties for grain production had achieved some success, but had been offset by the encouragement to a pastoral emphasis given by the war economy,

together with the lure of lucrative subsidiary occupations such as lumbering, which indeed tended to become principal pursuits while markets were especially favourable.²⁷

To those who were aware of the achievements of the improving movement in Britain the time seemed ripe for a determined effort to establish similar systems in Nova Scotia now that the precariousness of the industry had been revealed. The impetus was given and the tone set by the publication in the Acadian Recorder, beginning in 1818, of the Letters of Agricola by John Young, an immigrant Scottish merchant. These advocated the application of the standard procedures of European improvement and were received with considerable enthusiasm, not least by the incumbent Lieutenant-Governor, Lord Dalhousie.²⁸

This official support contributed to the formation, in 1819, of a Central Board of Agriculture, and annual legislative grants until 1824 assisted the prosyletizing work of this body. Moreover, that enthusiasm was not restricted to a few influential figures in the capital is indicated by the fact that 27 local agricultural societies were founded between 1818 and 1824. The aims were wide-ranging, including the improved breeding of livestock and the introduction of more sophisticated equipment; however, the primary aim was an increased and efficient grain production.²⁹

There were certainly notable limited successes in some fields, but the flurry of activity and encouragement in the early 1820s seems to have had little permanent effect, as suggested by observations towards the end of this period and later which continued to deplore the general state of agricultural advancement.³⁰ Among the many adverse factors involved, the influence of ingrained tradition and the ever present tendency towards occupational diversity must have been ubiquitous inhibitors. Probably of crucial importance, however, was the fact that contemporary European

principles of intensive exploitation frequently had little relevance in the North American context of apparently unlimited land availability. In other words, it was much easier to increase returns simply by extending the area of cultivation than by improving the exploitation of an existing area.

Encouragement and interest waned in Nova Scotia after the mid-1820s and it has been argued that, once the initial shock of post-war depression had been weathered, there was little incentive to pursue radically new directions. In terms of incentive, too, other important factors continued to prevail. Of these, the lack of tariff protection against external wheat supplies was a formidable obstacle. In addition, internal economic fragmentation retarded the coordination of supply and demand on a provincial basis. At the most fundamental level, the scattered nature of the rural population rendered concerted effort extremely difficult and negated much of the agricultural societies' influence. Consequently they seem to have attracted only very small nuclei of active and enthusiastic participants.³¹

More generally, the region was still one of local economies, relatively isolated by the difficulties of overland communication and linked to the markets most accessible by water. While local supplies to the Halifax market were augmented, it had to rely also on external sources, and an area such as the Gulf shore was most conveniently situated to supply, for instance, the Miramichi lumber industry in New Brunswick, the demand incidentally being again largely for livestock products. Above all, there were no large developing urban industrial complexes to promote a more integrated and efficient agricultural economy. The lack of a coherent internal marketing system also reflected the orientation of native mercantile enterprise towards international trade: despite the prominent role played by such an individual as Young, the fact remained that

agriculture did not attract any great amount of capital or expertise from the mercantile community.³²

By the end of the present period, then, the course of Nova Scotia agriculture had not radically changed, and the statistics of the 1827 census relating to livestock holdings reveal the continuing importance of pastoralism. This is complemented, in terms of arable products, by the fact that wheat accounted for only about 25% of total grain production, while hay and potatoes were of great importance.³³ Thus, whatever hopes might be entertained in official spheres, what was emerging was a mixed farming economy with a pastoral emphasis, very much in conformity with economic and environmental realities. One, moreover, which was still largely on a subsistence basis, although small export trades were conducted at various localities according to local opportunities.³⁴

Nevertheless, if agriculture was no closer to being a thriving staple export industry, other sectors of the economy which had flourished during the war still showed some promise despite such common vicissitudes as reduced demand and credit contraction. Indeed, this period was the forerunner to one of enhanced commercial prosperity in the middle decades of the century.

Of the leading sectors of the economy, lumbering probably experienced the most extensive process of adjustment. The cessation of hostilities in Europe reopened the Baltic supply areas and that region sought to re-establish its position in the British market. To a great extent this was achieved, however there was an understandable reluctance to become again almost exclusively dependent on this one source. The rapid development of the British industrial economy also involved a greatly increased demand for timber products of all kinds, so that a market for North American produce could co-exist with that for the superior Baltic item.³⁵

This resulted in a partial reduction of the preferential

tariffs in the early 1820s, and colonial suppliers had to come to terms with a more restricted market. On the other hand, although reduced, demand was steady and continuous. As previously, this was of far greater significance to New Brunswick with its more abundant resource. In fact, in Nova Scotia, with nearly ubiquitous accessibility to salt water, commercially desirable stocks in many areas had been seriously depleted by the war-time onslaught. However, albeit on a relatively modest scale, Nova Scotia did continue to contribute to the transatlantic timber trade throughout the nineteenth century.³⁶

The fishing industry also lost some of the advantages it had enjoyed during the war years, most notably the near monopoly of the resource obtained as a result of the temporary exclusion of American and French competition. This edge was soon lost and fish exports declined, 1815-20; however, the industry was already strong and there was official encouragement in the form of bounties designed to counter the worst effects of renewed competition.³⁷

The main bases were still in the Strait of Canso area, and these had been greatly strengthened in the previous few decades by the return of Acadian exiles. However, the port of Yarmouth at the other end of the mainland provides evidence of the sustained growth which occurred all along the coastlines: 26 vessels totaling 544 tons in 1790 were succeeded by 41 vessels of 1,880 tons in 1808, and by 65 vessels of some 3,000 tons in 1828. Although the principal activities were fishing and coasting, it is noteworthy that by the last date this port had seven trading establishments, and there were some 20 voyages annually to the West Indies.³⁸

This overseas trade indicated the true strength of the Nova Scotia maritime economy. The war had fostered the development of an international carrying trade which was only partly dependent on local products. In addition, although the immediate post-war years

witnessed a decline in shipbuilding, the business had sufficient strength to take advantage of favourable circumstances in the 1820s as trade restrictions were lifted following changes in British economic policy.³⁹

A development such as the admission of American shipping to British West Indian ports ostensibly operated to the disadvantage of Nova Scotia, but it was really only a recognition of the practicalities of supplying that market. It certainly did not result in the exclusion of Nova Scotia shipping, and the trend towards freer trade opened up other opportunities which Nova Scotians were quick to exploit. Thus were laid the solid foundations of a merchant marine which was soon to operate on a global scale and which, combined with those of the other Maritime Provinces, was to rank as the fourth largest in the world by mid-century.⁴⁰

The basis of a flourishing entrepot trade was laid in the present period, for instance, by the designation of Halifax, Pictou and Sydney as free warehousing ports. Results were almost immediately impressive as local entrepreneurs gained access to channels of trade formerly dominated by external interests: the number of vessels entering Nova Scotia ports rose from 1,427 in 1825 to 1,846 in 1826, while the value of imports increased from £512,735 to £738,181, and that of exports from £390,371 to £454,621. The growth of maritime trade was also deliberately fostered locally by the lowering of duties on selected imports, a policy which was also designed to promote the development of local manufacturing industries - for example, a reduction in duties on mahogany and other materials was expected to give impetus to local furniture manufacture.⁴¹

However, despite legislative encouragement, manufacturing ventures of any scale did not emerge in Nova Scotia. There was some sugar-refining, distilling and brewing at Halifax and, of course, shipbuilding with its ancillary activities was prominent

along the coasts as the demand for shipping kept pace with the growth of trade. But, with these exceptions, observations concerning this sector made in 1830 differed little from those of the 1770s in that a limited textile production was the one pursuit thought worthy of mention. In this respect, a proliferation of carding and fulling mills represented a certain advance, but these served what was still mainly a domestic industry.⁴²

One contemporary pointed to the lack of a dense population and an available labour pool as principal reasons for the failure of large-scale manufacturing industries to emerge.⁴³ This raises the question of how society had evolved since the 1770s. Before turning to that topic, however, we may conclude this review of economic matters by noting that the most significant new industrial venture to appear towards the end of this period was the beginning of the exploitation of the Pictou coal field by the General Mining Association in 1826.⁴⁴

This was in accord with the long-standing tendency to concentrate upon a limited number of exportable staples, and the economic pattern for much of the rest of the nineteenth century was set: a modest agricultural sector provided the settlement basis for a number of extractive industries primarily directed towards an export trade, which in turn formed the core of an extensive mercantile system.

By 1830 society in Nova Scotia is generally considered to have reached something of a turning point, the period between 1815 and the mid-1830s, in particular, being one of an "awakening" of a specifically Nova Scotian consciousness. This has been generally associated with the emergence of a number of institutions at a time of political evolution.⁴⁵

In the latter sphere the decade of the 1820s was certainly a propitious period for the growth of local autonomy. As well as

turning towards less restrictive trade policies, Britain was now willing to countenance a less rigid central control of colonial affairs, and a policy of transferring fiscal responsibility to the colonial legislatures was initiated.⁴⁶

In Nova Scotia the House of Assembly had already assumed an important role in the process of government: with the introduction of payments to members, for instance, it became more truly representative, and various references already cited indicate how it was attempting to shape the course of the economy in the difficult years following 1815. Fully responsible government was not attained until 1848, but the years immediately before 1830 have been seen as a crucial prelude, when an increasingly sophisticated political system was accompanied by a heightened awareness and discussion of the province's problems and prospects.⁴⁷

Such a process might be expected to have been associated with a growing social cohesion, but this was scarcely the case in Nova Scotia, even by 1830, and institutional development masked a fundamental divisiveness based on general social factors which reflected the same conditions observed in the 1770s. Institutions were mainly an urban phenomenon and beyond Halifax, with a population approaching 15,000, only a few settlements could be included in that category. For example, of the thriving Atlantic coast ports, Liverpool, "the best built town in Nova Scotia", had only 150 dwellings. Truro, at the head of Cobequid Bay, had a total township population of 1,380, with a nucleated settlement comprising some 90 houses.⁴⁸

The population of Nova Scotia was predominantly rural, and any kind of nucleated settlement was relatively rare. In practice, the township pattern of settlement did not survive after the American Revolution. Pioneering settlement was on the basis of individual allocations of land, and the typical Nova Scotian was a relatively

isolated and independent farmer, excluded from any extensive intra-provincial contacts by physiographic constraints.

However, the latter were modified by the general facility of communication by water and, indeed, by the 1820s this was seen as a retardant to the emergence of nucleated settlements. The main economic thrust had a strong external orientation, and there was a corresponding lack of internal economic organization. Developing settlement areas hugged the coastlines and main waterways, and contributions to the larger economy in terms of part-time lumbering or fishing could be made on a direct and individual basis.⁴⁹

In this context local particularism flourished and, as in the 1770s, self-sufficiency was the dominant theme in a rural economy in which exchange by barter was near universal in the absence of any coherent internal marketing system, a situation complicated by a chronic scarcity of specie. Thus, the typical Nova Scotian was still portrayed as a marvel of ingenuity and improvisation, largely dependent upon his own exertions on his own farm, where he would most likely build his own house, make his own implements, and perhaps even construct and sail his own vessel.⁵⁰

The importance of the individual farm holding as an economic base is well illustrated by the frequent comments concerning the scarcity of labourers for any purpose - an independent establishment was the universal goal. The farmer's son, for instance, seldom considered seeking wage labour, preferring rather to obtain a holding of his own, whereby he frequently left a vacancy on the family farm, and was then in the market himself for hired assistance.⁵¹

Such a socio-economic order would be quite familiar to a displaced European peasantry, and the fact is that the prevalence of this state of affairs in Nova Scotia was partly a function of the immigration and settlement of just such a body. This, in turn, is a major factor in the most remarkable aspect of society during this

period, namely the extent of population growth.

The population which had suddenly doubled to a total of about 40,000 in 1784 doubled again by 1817, and reached the 200,000 mark by 1837.⁵² There was, therefore, an approximately five-fold increase in the 50 or so years after the Loyalist influx. Although a Lieutenant-Governor of the 1820s might be at a loss to explain this veritable explosion,⁵³ and other contemporaries might stress a prodigious natural increase,⁵⁴ there can be no doubt about the key role played by immigration.

This was accompanied by an expansion of the frontiers of settlement so that, by 1830, virtually every area that was to receive modern human settlement had been colonized. The process of immigration was by no means over by that date, but the principal settlement patterns had been formed. The prevailing influences of physiographic and economic fragmentation could not help but foster social discreteness, and Nova Scotia was still very much a land of disparate groups which were, as yet, in little danger of being alloyed in the melting pot.

It is little wonder, then, that the political, intellectual and even moral stirrings which have been perceived in Nova Scotia as it entered the fourth decade of the nineteenth century were not all-pervasive. "Tone" and leadership came mainly from the administrative and mercantile elite which was still strongly centred in Halifax.⁵⁵

However, although there might as yet be little general social cohesion, the voice of the great rural majority was beginning to be heard, most notably in the proceedings of the Legislative Assembly, and the emergence of identifiable party politics was heralded by the activities of "country" interests whose primary concern was the improvement of internal communications by the construction of adequate roads and bridges.⁵⁶ In this respect, local desires coincided broadly with official policy, and a substantial road

construction program was later seen as the one great benefit of the inflated war economy, some £240,000 having been spent between 1800 and 1821.⁵⁷

But in the sphere of religion, for example, local circumstances threatened a conflict with the official establishment since "public money and encouragement were generously expended to inculcate and cultivate an Anglicanism which was anathema to an overwhelming majority of the struggling population".⁵⁸ The close relationship of education to this matter has already been noted and, towards the end of this period, a movement to found a non-Anglican system of higher education produced considerable controversy; yet another instance of advancing social adjustment. A distinctive feature of this particular phenomenon was its peculiarly Scottish cast, which in turn was one aspect of the growing strength of that ethnic element within the general context of immigration and settlement.

Notes

1. Brebner, Neutral Yankees, p. 144.
2. PANS, Report, 1944, Appendix B, p. 50. Appendix B is a reprint of John Robinson and Thomas Rispin, Journey through Nova Scotia containing A particular Account of the Country and its Inhabitants (York, 1774). See also Brebner, Neutral Yankees, pp. 119-24.
3. Brebner, Neutral Yankees, pp. 119-24.
4. Ibid.
5. A.G. Bailey, "Creative Moments in the Culture of the Maritime Provinces", in G.A. Rawlyk, ed., Historical Essays on the Atlantic Provinces (Toronto, 1967), p. 234; Brebner, North Atlantic Triangle, pp. 55-56.
6. M.W. Armstrong, "Neutrality and Religion in Revolutionary Nova Scotia", in Rawlyk, ed., Historical Essays, p. 34.
7. M. Ellis, "Settling the Loyalists in Nova Scotia", Canadian

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8. MacNutt, Atlantic Provinces, pp. 95-97; W.M. Whitelaw, Maritimes and Canada, pp. 45-47.
 9. M. Ells, "Loyalist Attitudes", in Rawlyk, ed., Historical Essays, pp. 45-60.
 10. Harvey, "Intellectual Awakening", p. 104.
 11. W.T. Easterbrook and H.G.J. Aitken, Canadian Economic History (Toronto, 1956), pp. 142-43; G.S. Graham, British Policy and Canada, 1774-1791 (London, 1930), pp. 35, 44.
 12. Easterbrook and Aitken, Canadian Economic History, pp. 144-46; A.R.M. Lower, Great Britain's Woodyard: British America and the Timber Trade, 1763-1867 (Montreal, 1973), p. 42; MacNutt, Atlantic Provinces, p. 107.
 13. Brebner, North Atlantic Triangle, pp. 75-76; Easterbrook and Aitken, Canadian Economic History, pp. 143-46; G.S. Graham, British Policy, pp. 63, 73; MacNutt, Atlantic Provinces, p. 107; W.M. Whitelaw, Maritimes and Canada, p. 62.
 14. Easterbrook and Aitken, Canadian Economic History, p. 144; MacNutt, Atlantic Provinces, p. 107.
 15. Easterbrook and Aitken, Canadian Economic History, pp. 143-44; Harris and Warkentin, Canada before Confederation, pp. 190-96; MacNutt, Atlantic Provinces, p. 107.
 16. Easterbrook and Aitken, Canadian Economic History, pp. 144-47.
 17. Ibid., p. 144; Harris and Warkentin, Canada before Confederation, pp. 193-94.
 18. A.H. Clark, Acadia, p. 34.
 19. Easterbrook and Aitken, Canadian Economic History, pp. 189-91; Harris and Warkentin, Canada before Confederation, pp. 190-96, 208-10; Lower, Great Britain's Woodyard, pp. 42, 59; G. MacLaren,

- The Pictou Book (Pictou, N.S., 1955), pp. 78-79.
20. Brebner, North Atlantic Triangle, pp. 87-91; Easterbrook and Aitken, Canadian Economic History, pp. 144-50; Harris and Warkentin, Canada before Confederation, pp. 200-01; MacNutt, Atlantic Provinces, pp. 111-16, 129-35.
 21. Easterbrook and Aitken, Canadian Economic History, pp. 189-91; Lower, Great Britain's Woodyard, p. 59; MacNutt, Atlantic Provinces, pp. 136-39.
 22. Lower, Great Britain's Woodyard, pp. 61-63.
 23. Anon., Letters from Nova Scotia and New Brunswick illustrative of their Moral, Religious and Physical Circumstances, During the Years 1826, 1827 and 1828 (Edinburgh, 1829), pp. 34-39; W.S. Moorsom, Letters from Nova Scotia, comprising sketches of a young country (London, 1830), pp. 51-53. See also Lower, Great Britain's Woodyard, pp. 159-60.
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 28. Ibid., pp. 9-13.
 29. Ibid., pp. 14-19.
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 32. Ibid.; Easterbrook and Aitken, Canadian Economic History, pp. 240-41.
 33. T.C. Haliburton, An Historical and Statistical Account of Nova Scotia (2 vols., Halifax, N.S., 1829), II, 372, 376.
 34. Easterbrook and Aitken, Canadian Economic History, pp. 239-41; Harris and Warkentin, Canada before Confederation, pp. 200-05; H.A. Innis, The Cod Fisheries (New Haven, 1940), pp. 264-69, 271-77.
 35. Brebner, North Atlantic Triangle, pp. 97-98.
 36. Ibid.; Lower, Great Britain's Woodyard, pp. 29, 59, 123; Rev. G. Patterson, Pictou, p. 366.
 37. Brebner, North Atlantic Triangle, p. 96; Innis, Cod Fisheries, pp. 264-69; Lomas, Industrial Development, pp. 1-5.
 38. Innis, Cod Fisheries, pp. 271-77.
 39. Easterbrook and Aitken, Canadian Economic History, pp. 238-39; Lomas, Industrial Development, pp. 1-5; MacNutt, Atlantic Provinces, pp. 188-91.
 40. Brebner, North Atlantic Triangle, pp. 96-97, 114-15; Harris and Warkentin, Canada before Confederation, pp. 205-10.
 41. Innis, Cod Fisheries, pp. 264-69, 271-77.
 42. J. Bouchette, The British Dominions in North America (2 vols., London, 1831), II, 54-58; Anon., General Description, p. 71; Moorsom, Letters, pp. 66-67; Harris and Warkentin, Canada before Confederation, pp. 208-10.
 43. Anon., General Description, pp. 168-70. See also Harris and Warkentin, Canada before Confederation, p. 212.
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45. In particular by Harvey in "Intellectual Awakening", pp. 113-16.
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46. MacNutt, Atlantic Provinces, pp. 188-91.
47. Beck, Government of Nova Scotia, pp. 24-25; Harvey, "Intellectual Awakening", pp. 116-18; Lomas, Industrial Development, pp. 1-5.
48. Haliburton, Statistical Account, II, 13-14, 39-40, 49, 146;
Harris and Markentin, Canada before Confederation, pp. 212, 220.
49. Anon., General Description, pp. 85-86.
50. Haliburton, Statistical Account, II, 293-94; Moorson, Letters, pp. 53-55, 86-88. Moorson also describes the thriving communities of culturally distinct French, Gaelic and German speakers - pp. 256-63, 302-09, 343-55.
51. Anon., General Description, pp. 168-70.
52. Harvey, "Intellectual Awakening", p. 112.
53. PAC, Report, 1947, p. 80, Kempt to Hay, October 24, 1828.
54. Haliburton, Statistical Account, II, 278-79.
55. Harvey, "Intellectual Awakening", p. 113.
56. Beck, Government of Nova Scotia, pp. 29-30.
57. Anon., General Description, pp. 158-60.
58. Brebner, Neutral Yankees, p. 160.

THE SETTLEMENT OF SCOTTISH IMMIGRANTS
IN NOVA SCOTIA, 1770-1830

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Chapter 14

Immigration and settlement in Nova Scotia, 1770-93

Volume

Throughout this period the official record of immigration is meagre and unsystematic. Apart from a few other forms of contemporary evidence, including the indirect kind offered by the land records, much of the surviving information is to be found in various local histories, mostly written in the later nineteenth century. The latter, however, are often based upon primary sources (both written and oral) which are no longer available, and their potential value in reconstructing migratory patterns has recently been demonstrated by Ommer.¹ The available sources are therefore diverse in nature and often vague. However, taken together they complement each other quite well, and provide a general indication of the volume and rate of flow of immigration. Estimates of total numbers, though, must remain highly tentative.

The early part of this period (prior to the outbreak of the American Revolution) produced an exception in that concern in London over the magnitude of contemporary emigration from Britain prompted an official investigation of immigrant arrivals at Halifax in 1774.² A surviving document in this connection lists the arrival of nine vessels between May 6 and June 21, 1774, bringing a total of 703 "passengers as settlers".³ Four of these vessels came from Kingston-upon-Hull and Scarborough with 533 emigrants, two came from Newcastle and Sunderland with 117, and another two were from London but brought only 12. The ninth vessel was the John and Jane, which had sailed from Aberdeen, bringing 41 emigrants.

Nova Scotia was, therefore, receiving a share of the great migration to North America of the early 1770s, although Governor

noted later in the same year that arrivals from Britain were few compared to those destined for more southerly colonies.⁴ The origins of these immigrants are not stated explicitly, but the ports mentioned suggest that Yorkshire was a major area of origin. This is corroborated by Legge's statement of early May that 280 immigrants had recently arrived from Yorkshire and that three more vessels with Yorkshire immigrants were expected, for a total of 600 from that county.⁵

There was indeed considerable colonization activity by Yorkshiremen in Nova Scotia at this time, and Brebner has estimated that approximately 1,000 arrived between 1772 and 1775.⁶ All of the vessels in the 1774 list sailed from east coast ports, and it is possible that those from ports outside Yorkshire were chartered to take Yorkshire emigrants. On the other hand, the wording of the list suggests that the various groups actually sailed from the ports mentioned. In that case, it seems likely that the 41 who sailed on the John and Jane represent a Scottish contribution to the flow of emigration from Britain to Nova Scotia.

Definite evidence in the official record of a Scottish involvement in the movement to Nova Scotia is provided by Legge in a letter of May 10, 1774, when he noted that 200 Highlanders had arrived during the previous September.⁷ This must be a reference to the Hector, which, according to tradition, arrived at Pictou Harbour from Loch Broom and the Clyde on September 15, 1773.⁸

The exact number in this group is uncertain. Legge's figure is probably a rounded one, and of the two passenger lists drawn up at later dates by two of the passengers, only one indicates the total number involved.⁹ The figure given by the latter is 189, but 18 are said to have died on the voyage, so the number of arrivals was probably rather less than Legge's figure. Thus, the great Highland emigration of the early 1770s did send one group to the

shores of Nova Scotia.

The one other instance of a group of Scottish emigrants arriving in Nova Scotia that has been identified for the 1770s was of a rather different nature. This is the group of 15 "Dumfriesshire" families which is reported to have arrived at Pictou from Prince Edward Island in 1776 after having emigrated as part of a larger group which sailed on two voyages of the Lovely Nelly in 1774 and 1775. This evidence is supported by the fact that 12 of the 15 names correspond to names in the passenger lists pertaining to these two voyages.¹⁰

Immigration in the early 1770s was, therefore, mainly a result of the large-scale general migration from Britain to North America. However, these years were also marked by the return of Acadian exiles. Some Acadians are said to have settled at the eastern end of the mainland from the late 1760s, and it was reported in 1774 that a party of 20 had arrived at Canso from France and Jersey.¹¹

During the course of the American Revolution immigration seems to have been negligible, consisting almost exclusively of the beginnings of a flow of refugees from the disaffected colonies to the south.¹² At the end of the conflict in 1783, however, the process of immigration suddenly entered a new phase of vigorous activity.

This was also, of course, a time of renewed emigration activity in Scotland, and there is evidence that Nova Scotia had now become a destination of some importance. Governor Campbell, writing in September 1784, noted that great numbers had arrived at Halifax from Britain. These included 300 who had recently arrived from London on the Sally, indicating a continued contribution from England.¹³ However, a variety of other sources indicate that there was also a strong contribution from Scotland.

Among the land petitioners, for instance, 26 stated that they

had come directly from Scotland during the 1783-86 period.¹⁴ Of these, seven had arrived at Halifax from Glasgow on the Glasgow in 1784, and another three had arrived at Halifax from Glasgow on the Peggy in 1785. In connection with the first of these groups it may be noted that eight Highland emigrants listed as having settled in Pictou County are said to have arrived at Halifax in 1784.¹⁵ Yet again, nine Highland families listed as having settled in Antigonish County are said to have arrived at Halifax in 1786.¹⁶

A more direct indication of the arrival of substantial Scottish emigrant groups is provided by a letter written by the Reverend Hugh Graham in which he states that he arrived at Halifax in 1785 in the company of 161 Scottish emigrants.¹⁷ The vessel concerned is not named, but it could be the Peggy referred to above. Moreover, a Halifax resident had written to a friend in Scotland in 1784 complaining of the arrival of a great many "imprudent" Scottish emigrants at Halifax.¹⁸ Indeed, he referred to them as being thousands strong, which should probably be regarded as a considerable exaggeration. Nevertheless, the North British Society at Halifax is said to have afforded assistance to many distressed emigrants in 1785 and 1786, and itself experienced a notable increase in membership at this time.¹⁹ In this context a land petition reveals that John Dawson, later to become a prominent mercantile figure at Pictou, came to Halifax in 1787 as a merchant's clerk.²⁰

All of this evidence may be fragmentary and imprecise, but it does suggest the renewal of a direct transatlantic immigration of some magnitude. On the other hand, there can be no doubt that this must have been relatively insignificant compared with the great influx of Loyalist refugees which also occurred at this time. Some 7,000 are said to have arrived in the first half of 1783 alone, and altogether over 20,000 are estimated to have arrived in Nova Scotia. Not all of these became permanent settlers, but the great majority

did and, as has already been observed, effectively doubled the pre-war population.²¹

The bulk of these were people who had been residents of the former colonies to the south, and a proportion seems to have derived from Scottish immigrant communities established earlier in the century. Thus, some bearing Highland surnames came from North Carolina, and in Shelburne County, a major area of reception, 130 of the recorded Loyalist grantees had names suggesting a Scottish origin.²² The total number of Scottish natives involved cannot be ascertained, but they were certainly present. For example, among the land petitioners are four Scottish emigrants who state that they had been settled to the south before coming to Nova Scotia with Loyalist groups at the close of the war.²³

However, over a third of the Loyalist influx was accounted for by disbanded military personnel who had served in North America during the war, and among these it is rather easier to identify and quantify a Scottish element. The Ayrshire native who, having served in the 17th Dragoons, was discharged at New York in 1783 and came to Nova Scotia to settle, represents an unknown total of others who must have pursued a similar course.²⁴ But the major contribution was made by two units which were discharged in Nova Scotia in 1783 and were given land for settlement. These were the 82nd Regiment and the second battalion of the 84th Regiment. Both had been formed to fight in the American war, the former in Scotland and the latter among Highland emigrants on the northeastern seaboard of North America.²⁵

In 1784, 411 officers and men of the 84th, with 299 dependent women and children, received a grant at Douglas in central Nova Scotia, while 160 officers and men of the 82nd received a grant on the North Shore to the east of Pictou Harbour.²⁶ Some of the 84th are reported to have settled initially in the Pictou area rather

than at Douglas, and the disbanded 324 (including 132 women and children) accounted for at Pictou and Merigomish in the muster roll of the summer of 1784 presumably included the remainder of the 84th in addition to the 82nd.²⁷ There is some evidence, to be reviewed below, that not all of the 82nd were Scottish, but it seems reasonable to assume that the majority were. The disbanding of these two units, then, seems to have provided about 1,000 potential Scottish settlers.

The extensive process of resettlement under way in North America was responsible, therefore, for a substantial contribution to the Scottish element in the population of Nova Scotia, and one suspects that these refugees and disbanded soldiers helped to give the impression that Halifax was being inundated by "thousands" of Scots, although it seems likely that several hundred at least came directly from Scotland in the two or three years following the end of the war.

For the remainder of the 1780s direct evidence of immigration from Scotland is almost non-existent. Even as early as the 1820s it was pronounced impossible to determine exactly the volume and flow of immigration from Scotland. However, the writer stated that it did continue and that there were annual arrivals at the North Shore settlements.²⁸ This is supported by the accounts of later local historians of that area which indicate that emigrants from both the Highlands and Lowlands arrived, 1787-89.²⁹ It has also been recorded that a vessel with 14 Scottish emigrants arrived at Digby, in western Nova Scotia, in 1789.³⁰

From 1790 much more evidence becomes available, and it suggests a period of greatly increased activity prior to the outbreak of war in 1793. Once again the scale was sufficient to arouse official comment. In August 1791 Governor Parr informed Dundas that he had heard that 400-500 had embarked at Greenock for Nova Scotia.³¹

This was followed, in September, by the information that 650 emigrants had recently arrived at Pictou Harbour.³² A year later it was noted that 700 families from Scotland were expected at Pictou, following the 300 arrivals (families?) of the previous year.³³

Other sources record the arrival at Pictou in 1791 of two emigrant vessels from Scotland, bringing 650 and 350 individuals respectively.³⁴ The former was presumably that referred to in Parr's September letter. In addition, it was estimated in 1828 that about 1,300 had arrived at Pictou in 1791.³⁵ A later writer states that a vessel brought 350 from Barra and South Uist to Pictou in 1790,³⁶ and other secondary sources indicate that there were arrivals both in 1790 and 1792.³⁷ However, there is little to suggest that the influx in either of these years approached that of 1791 in magnitude, and it does not seem likely that the arrivals at Pictou in 1792 could have been more than twice as many as those of 1791, as was expected by the 1792 correspondent cited above.

Further evidence for 1790 and 1791 is provided by records pertaining to Prince Edward Island, across Northumberland Strait from Pictou. Three vessels are known to have arrived there in 1790 carrying 418 Scottish emigrants, and these were followed by another two vessels with 324 emigrants in 1791.³⁸ As will be discussed below, much of this emigration movement to northern Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island in the early 1790s was organized by a Simon Fraser, and it so happened that Patrick Campbell, who toured North America in 1791-92, met Fraser just before he left Scotland. According to Campbell, Fraser was in the process (in 1791) of chartering vessels for 1,600 emigrants he had enlisted, and had 800 prospective emigrants for the following year.³⁹

The prominence of these years in the course of the Scottish emigration movement has already been reviewed in general, and contemporary comments in Scotland include references to this area as

a destination: the writers of the first Statistical Accounts for Barra and South Uist both mention Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island as the destinations of emigrants from their parishes, and in the case of South Uist it was claimed that vast numbers had emigrated.⁴⁰ There can be no doubt, then, that the last few years of this period witnessed a wave of direct emigration from Scotland to Nova Scotia on an unprecedented scale.

Any estimate of the total numbers involved must be highly tentative, and calculations are rendered difficult by the volume of movement across Northumberland Strait between Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island. Nevertheless, it seems that at least 2,000 Scottish emigrants must have arrived on the North Shore of Nova Scotia between 1790 and 1793, and this figure was probably close to equalling the total number of Scottish settlers who had arrived between 1770 and 1790.

Finally, the close correspondence (in terms of migration dates) of the evidence of the land records to that of these various other sources should be noted.⁴¹ The prominence of the early 1770s, the mid-1780s and, in particular, the early 1790s is obvious. In addition, the annual count for this period suggests, as might be expected, that the flow was continuous, although operating at an often drastically reduced volume between the peaks. Of particular interest are the discrepancies between the dates of emigration and immigration recorded for 1775 and 1783 - a clear reflection of the delayed settlement of members of the 84th Regiment, which will be discussed below. It may also be said of the early 1790s that the figures for 1790 and 1792 lend support to the impression that there was significant movement in all three years, although 1791 was by far the most important year.

Origins

For this and the following section the passenger list is the most valuable primary source, and a general consideration of this type of data is appropriate at this point in the light of recently published comments on its availability for this area.⁴² Only a very few passenger lists have in fact survived. The extensive survey by Martell⁴³ of the 1815-30 period is compiled mostly from newspaper reports of ship arrivals, and only one actual passenger list for an emigrant voyage from Scotland to Nova Scotia during that entire period is extant.⁴⁴

Indeed, twice as many lists have survived for Prince Edward Island as for Nova Scotia for the entire period between 1770 and 1830. This Prince Edward Island evidence will be used throughout because of the close interconnections between the Scottish immigrant flows to the two provinces. The re-emigration of some of the two Lovely Nelly groups of 1774-75 has already been noted, and this was a trend which was to continue throughout the course of Scottish emigration to the area.

Atypically, passenger lists are the main source of information on origins for the known Scottish immigrants of the early 1770s. As noted above, the Hector data do not derive from a true passenger list, but the authority of a member of the group carries a good deal of weight.⁴⁵ According to this source, then, of those shipped aboard the Hector at Loch Broom in 1773, 14 families and 6 single males were from Sutherland, 6 families and 13 single males were from Loch Broom (in Ross), and 10 families and 2 single males were from Inverness-shire (including a family from Beauly and another from Kiltarlity). Another 3 families and 5 single males were shipped at Glasgow, including a family from Banff, a family from Dunfermline, and a single male from Renfrewshire. Consequently, the predominant source area seems to have been the most northerly section of the

northwest coast, with indications of contributions from the north-eastern end of the Great Glen and the Lowlands.

Solid evidence of a substantial Lowland contribution is, of course, provided by the Lovely Nelly passenger lists.⁴⁶ Excluding 16 for whom no local origins were given, and a schoolmaster from Lanarkshire who sailed in 1775, a total of 133 are recorded as having come from 16 southwestern parishes. Although these people were later generally designated "Dumfriesshire", an inspection of the distribution reveals that, in fact, 60% were from Galloway and 40% from Dumfriesshire. In detail, 79 were from seven parishes in eastern coastal Galloway, 30 were from five parishes in lower Annandale, 17 were from two parishes in lower Nithsdale, and 7 were from two parishes in upper Nithsdale. Moreover, of the 12 individuals on the lists whose names correspond to those of arrivals at Pictou from Prince Edward Island in 1776,⁴⁷ 7 were from Galloway and 4 from Dumfriesshire, while 1 did not have a local origin recorded.

When we turn to a consideration of the direct immigration of the mid-1780s, however, information on origins is very meagre indeed. The Reverend Graham did note that his 161 fellow passengers in 1785 were from most parts of Scotland, suggesting a continuation of the pattern of widespread origins observed for the 1770s.⁴⁸ Among the land petitioners who emigrated, 1784-86, two were from Banffshire and two from Inverness-shire (Inverness and Aird).⁴⁹ According to Patterson, of the eight arrivals at Halifax he lists for 1784, one was from Kilmorack, one from Kirkhill, and one from Beaulieu, which indicates further movement from the northeastern end of the Great Glen.⁵⁰ Another later source records that nine families from Knoydart arrived at Halifax in 1786.⁵¹ This represents a contribution from a more southerly section of the northwest coast and heralded a large influx from that area in subsequent years.

However, a great deal of the Scottish immigration of the mid-1780s was indirect, connected with Loyalist resettlement and the disbanding of military units at the end of the war. Diversity of origin is suggested by what little is known of the members of the 82nd Regiment who received land for settlement in Nova Scotia. This regiment was raised in the Rutherglen-Hamilton area by the Duke of Hamilton, and it has generally been assumed that its ranks were filled largely by Lowland Scots, along with some Highlanders and others.⁵² Patterson gives some indication of origin for 24 of the 82nd grantees: of these, 19 were Scottish, 4 were Irish, and 1 was English.⁵³ The Scots hailed from the central and northeastern Lowlands, and the Highlands and Western Isles. Notable among the latter group were six from Barra. Two of the members of the 82nd identified among the land petitioners were MacNeils, and so probably from Barra originally. Another stated that he was a native of Glasgow.⁵⁴

In contrast, the 84th was a Highland regiment and the references by McGregor and Patterson to those who came to settle in Pictou County mention two areas - Urquhart and Strathglass: of 16 84th Regiment grantees on the east branch of East River, 3 were said to be from Urquhart and 2 from Strathglass. In addition, 14 grantees of the 1790s elsewhere on the East River were said to have been from Inverness-shire, mostly ex-84th from Urquhart, with one from Strathglass.⁵⁵ Urquhart, of course, is in the central part of the Great Glen, while Strathglass is at the northeast end, straddling the parishes of Kilmorack and Kiltarlity. Further evidence of the general area bordering the Moray Firth as a source is provided by a former member of the 84th who stated in his land petition that he was a native of Contin.⁵⁶

The direct immigration of the late 1780s and early 1790s was very largely from Highland sources, but there is also a tradition of

a substantial Lowland influx in the late 1780s. Patterson names six Pictou County settlers whom he designates as of Dumfriesshire origin, presumably from the same general area as the Lovely Nelly groups.⁵⁷ Certainly, at this time Pictou acquired several residents who were to become prominent community figures, and who were variously from the Galloway/Dumfries area, the lower Clyde, and the northeastern Lowlands.⁵⁸

According to a variety of sources, Highland immigrants at this time came principally from districts of Ardnamurchan and Glenelg parishes on the northwest coast (Arisaig, Moidart, Morar and Knoydart), from South Uist and Barra, from the Small Isles (notably Eigg), and from Strathglass and Lochaber at opposite ends of the Great Glen.⁵⁹

These attributions are supported by the passenger lists of the vessels Jane and Lucy, which sailed to Prince Edward Island in July 1790 with 329 emigrants from the Clanranald estate.⁶⁰ Some of the localities of origin have so far proved difficult to identify. However, of the 236 whose origin has been identified, there were 163 from the Inverness-shire districts of Ardnamurchan parish (Arisaig, Moidart and South Morar), 30 from Morvern, 20 from Eigg, 18 from South Uist, and 5 from Fort William. Thus, 49.5% of the total were definitely from the Inverness-shire section of Ardnamurchan. At the same time the British Queen was reported to have sailed with 60 emigrants from Arisaig, North Morar, Eigg and Glengarry.⁶¹ This evidence is also in accord with the extensive emigration from Ardnamurchan and Glenelg recorded in the first Statistical Account.⁶² The comments in the same source on the emigration from Barra and South Uist to Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island have already been noted, and emigration from the Small Isles, particularly Eigg, was also recorded.⁶³

The land records data are in general agreement with the above

patterns, as may be seen in the general analysis.⁶⁴ More particularly, of the 68 cases recording a date of emigration and a county of origin which fell within this period, there were 61 from Inverness, 2 from Ross, and 1 each from Perth, Banff, Ayr, Dumfries and Galloway. The Dumfries, Galloway and Ross cases had all emigrated in the 1770s, while the Banff and Perth instances had emigrated in the early 1780s and early 1790s respectively. Of the two cases in which islands are mentioned, one came from Eigg in the early 1780s and the other came from Rum in the early 1790s.

Falling within this period also are 38 cases in which the parish of origin is stated together with the date of emigration. These provide striking corroboration for one of the main recorded source areas of the influx of the early 1790s: 29 were from Ardnarmurchan and 1 from Glenelg, all 30 of them having emigrated in the early 1790s. Seven of the remainder were from parishes at the northeastern end of the Great Glen and around the Moray Firth, and these had all emigrated between 1775 and 1789. The last case was a Renfrew native who had come in the early 1790s.

Composition

In terms of composition, aspects of primary interest are age and sex structure and family status, and for these we must turn principally to such information as the surviving passenger lists can afford. In the following discussion attention will also be paid in particular to the proportions of children (ages 0-14) and young adults (ages 15-29) to compare them with Flinn's contention that there were disproportionately few children and disproportionately many young adults (that is, unmarried males) among early Scottish emigrant groups.⁶⁵

Beginning with the Hector group, one list indicates that it consisted of 33 nuclear families and 31 single males.⁶⁶ The other

source does not give family associations but it does record the names of 72 children who were under nine years of age.⁶⁷ These constituted 38.1% of the calculated total of 189 embarked. This proportion is relatively high and suggests the dominance of family groups.

Much more detailed evidence is provided by the lists for the two Lovely Nelly voyages.⁶⁸ The undated (but presumably 1774) list has a total of 68 individuals, and 42 of these are accounted for by 7 nuclear families. The ages of 5 of the married men fell within the 30-39 range. The remaining 2 were 40 and 45 respectively. There were 19 single males ranging in age from 10 to 50. However, 13 of these were within the 20-29 range, 5 were within the 10-19 range, and 1 was 50. Of 7 single females listed, the ages of 6 were given and ranged from 14 to 66. Since the ages of 2 females are missing, the age structure was calculated for 66 individuals. Of these, 40.9% were under 15, 10.6% were aged 15-19, and 27.3% were aged 20-29. The proportion of children is again relatively high as is also that of the 20-29 group, but the latter is weighted by the age distribution of the single males.

For the 1775 voyage of the Lovely Nelly, 66 were shipped at Carsthorpe with full details given, while another 16 were shipped at other ports with only principals' names and family totals given. Fifty of the first 66 were accounted for by 10 nuclear families (among the others in this first group there are possibly 2 childless married couples, but since wives were designated by their maiden names in these lists this is very uncertain and the individuals concerned have been treated as singles). Of the additional 16 in the second group, 14 were accounted for by 3 nuclear families. Thus, 64 out of a grand total of 82 were members of nuclear families.

Among the first group the ages of 7 of the married men fell within the 30-39 range. The remaining 3 were 45, 50 and 57

respectively. There were 13 single males ranging in age from 18 to 48. However, of these, there were 6 within the 20-29 range, 4 within the 30-39 range, and 3 aged 18, 45 and 48 respectively. There were also 3 single females aged 25, 28 and 60. The age structure was calculated for the 66 in the first group: 43.9% were under 15, 3.0% were aged 15-19, and 13.6% were aged 20-29.

Thus, the proportion of children was even greater than in 1774, while the proportions within the 15-19 and 20-29 ranges were greatly reduced. Indeed, the figures for the 20-29 and 30-39 ranges are virtually reversed (Table 5). The age distribution among married males is quite similar, but there were fewer singles in 1775. This, together with the fact that the age distribution among single males varied markedly, helps to explain the discrepancies. Finally, if the two lists are combined, we have 20 nuclear families with 67 children, giving a mean of 3.4 children per family.

The John and Jane is the one other instance of an emigrant vessel of the 1770s for which some data are available. We know only that there were 41 emigrants on board, consisting of 26 males and 15 females, but no children.⁶⁹ However, this suggests a composition considerably at variance with those of the examples already reviewed and illustrates the variability which could and did occur among Scottish emigrant groups.

The two remaining sources for this period are the Jane and Lucy lists of 1790.⁷⁰ In these only single individuals and heads of families are named, the latter with the number in the family and the number of children under 13 recorded. Since the two vessels sailed together, the data may reasonably be considered in aggregate. It appears, then, that 306 of these 329 emigrants were members of nuclear families (consisting of 54 families with children, 11 instances of 2 adults together, probably childless couples, and an apparent widow with a single child). The remainder consisted of

14 single males and 9 single females.

It is not possible to calculate the complete age structure, but at least the numbers of those aged 12 and under are known, and an indication of the proportion of children can be gained (39.5% were under 13). This again is relatively high and is complemented by the small number of single individuals, emphasizing the apparent prominence of family units among early Scottish immigrant groups to this area. In addition, the occurrence of 176 children in 54 nuclear families gives a mean of 3.3 children per family. However, the peculiar circumstances of the settlement of disbanded soldiers in the 1780s seems to have produced a temporary alteration to this pattern in that the introduction of many single men is said to have resulted in a marked imbalance of the sex ratio in some of the developing North Shore settlements.⁷¹

In terms of socio-economic status, the passenger lists again provide some clues. Among the Hector emigrants only a weaver and a blacksmith are identified as regards occupation. On the other hand, there are no indications of substantial resources, and it may be assumed that this group was drawn from the ranks of the small tenantry which formed the bulk of the population of the source areas. Again, among the Highland emigrants of 1790 who sailed on the Jane and the Lucy, of 32 individuals who had occupations attributed to them, there were 25 tenants, 3 pedlars, 2 carpenters, a tailor, and a smith. An impression of people of relatively modest means (but not the most utterly destitute) is supported by some of the evidence considered under organization and reception: they seem to have been able to finance their own emigration, but in so doing were liable to exhaust their resources.

Among the Lovely Nelly groups, the 46 who had occupations listed also seem to have been of relatively modest origins. There were 22 labourers (17 of them from among the single males), 3

farmers, 5 joiners, 4 masons, 2 wrights, 2 smiths, and 2 seamen, together with a gardener, a chapman, a clerk and a schoolmaster. Consequently, a broad representation from the agricultural and non-agricultural groups most sharply affected by the economic crisis of the early 1770s in the Lowlands is suggested.

As indicated already, the Scottish influx of this period included other elements. These, though relatively few in number, were of substantial significance in the development of Scottish settlement. The Scottish mercantile community at Halifax continued to grow both as a result of direct immigration and indirect movement via the former colonies to the south after the American Revolution.

Although Halifax was the focus,⁷² this trend was evident elsewhere in the province. It is reported for Queens County, for instance, that a Scottish Loyalist became a Liverpool merchant, and another Scot was deputy registrar for the county in 1772.⁷³ Moreover, it seems likely that the three Scottish Loyalist land petitioners who complained of loss of property, and even imprisonment, during the Revolution were men of some substance.⁷⁴ The area of new and specifically Scottish settlement on the North Shore also developed a mercantile community during this period. One prominent figure had arrived on the Hector in 1773, and in the late 1780s about a dozen individuals, all originally from Scotland, formed the nucleus of a business community at Pictou Harbour.⁷⁵

Among professional groups the clergy were most notable. The tradition of seeking Presbyterian ministers in Scotland continued and attracted, for example, the Reverend Hugh Graham. However, this process was also coming to be closely connected with the general Scottish immigration movement, and by the early 1790s a Presbyterian and two Roman Catholic missionaries, all Scottish, were established on Northumberland Strait.⁷⁶ The presence of these missionaries is a reflection of another aspect of the composition of these early

Scottish immigrant groups which was to be of great importance in the development of settlement - religious denomination.

As might be expected from their known source areas, the arrivals of the 1770s are reported to have been almost exclusively Presbyterian (for instance, there was apparently only one Roman Catholic family on the Hector).⁷⁷ Then, in the 1780s, the 82nd and 84th Regiments included some Highland Roman Catholics, notably from Strathglass and Barra, and for the early 1790s it was reported that nearly all the Highland immigrants were Roman Catholic.⁷⁸ This is supported by what is known of their origins, and the fact that emigration from such parishes as Ardnamurchan and Glenelg was mainly from their Roman Catholic districts.

Reasons for emigration to Nova Scotia

The general reasons for emigration from Scotland during this period have been reviewed above, and local experiences are described in the selected parish reviews.⁷⁹ Although circumstances varied in detail, these different source areas were all subject to those broad economic and demographic factors which were the foundation of the general emigration movement. Moreover, despite the diversity of local circumstances, the common theme, certainly in the Highland areas, was the pervasive threat to the stable and near universal occupancy of the land which was the basic desire of the great majority.

The frequent identification of rising rent levels as a reason for emigration during this period is a symptom of that trend, and Patrick Campbell observed that the emigrants to the Maritimes organized by Simon Fraser in the early 1790s were oppressed by rack-renting.⁸⁰ That the secure occupancy of land was indeed a major goal of emigrants at this time is revealed by the fact that the promise of free property was one of the principal attractions

offered: for the beginning of this period it is reported that the Hector emigrants were mainly attracted by the prospect of owning their own farms.⁸¹

The fact that the latter inducement was offered heralds the emergence of Nova Scotia as a viable destination for British emigrants seeking land. Initially the impetus came from the private sector, as proprietors of the large grants of the 1760s continued to seek ways of fulfilling settlement conditions, and the rising tide of emigration from Britain in the early 1770s provided an obvious source. For example, Francklin actively promoted the Yorkshire emigration to Nova Scotia, and offered to rent land to the newcomers (largely tenant farmers who were finding rent levels at home insupportable).⁸²

The Philadelphia Company, with its vast empty acreage on the North Shore, turned its attention to the Highlands and was responsible for bringing the Hector group to Pictou, having advertised terms of settlement and prospective advantages in Scotland.⁸³ The coincidence of the urgent settlement requirements of Nova Scotia land proprietors and augmented emigration activity served, therefore, to establish a new destination in North America for Highland groups. Much the same process was also under way in Prince Edward Island, of course, and in going there the emigrants who came on the Lovely Nelly were committed to settling the lands of one of its proprietors.⁸⁴ In this respect, then, whatever their former circumstances, most of them seem to have resembled Highland emigrants by seeking to re-establish themselves in communities based on individual land occupancy.

Subsequently, in the wake of the American Revolution, Nova Scotia became a much more prominent focus for settlement as it was acknowledged as a principal reception area for refugees from the former colonies and an acceptable destination for British emigrants (in contrast to formerly important areas in the new republic to the

south). In addition, the conflict and subsequent attitudes tended to render many former areas of reception less attractive.⁸⁵

In the context of Loyalist settlement matters were fairly straightforward. Enlistment in military units such as the 82nd and the 84th brought with it the promise of land for settlement at the end of the war, and disbandment in Nova Scotia provided the opportunity to settle there with official assistance.⁸⁶ The men of the 84th seized this opportunity eagerly. They had, after all, been emigrants before they became soldiers and for some this would represent a new start, perhaps not far from their original destination (one of the Hector passengers, for example, is said to have served in the 84th).⁸⁷

However, for many, settlement in North America was still only a prospect in 1783. This is indicated by the fact that 15 of the Scottish land petitioners who identified themselves as former members of the 84th had emigrated to New York and Boston between 1774 and 1776, and had been persuaded to join the 84th before disembarking (the alternative was to be held indefinitely on board the vessels).⁸⁸ For them, Nova Scotia was an ultimate haven provided by the fortunes of war after many vicissitudes.

For the Scots among the civilian influx from the south, and particularly the mercantile element, lost advantages were balanced by the prospects afforded by the new role of Nova Scotia and its capital in Britain's transatlantic commerce. This also served to redirect the flow of mercantile capital and expertise from Scotland.

As already demonstrated, the Loyalist influx was accompanied by a renewal of direct immigration from Scotland. The Philadelphia Company scheme had drawn attention to Nova Scotia before the war,⁸⁹ not all of it favourable, and the post-war situation in North America stimulated even greater interest in Britain. For instance, a letter published at this time extolled the virtues of Nova Scotia as a

destination for British emigrants (as opposed to the United States),⁹⁰ and we have seen how Knox was commenting favourably on the progress of settlement there.

However, it is clear that the attractive power of established Scottish settlers was already of prime importance and that the essential links of the chain process had been established between Scotland and Nova Scotia. In 1788 the Reverend Hugh Graham was discussing favourably the prospects for Scottish emigrants in Nova Scotia in a letter to his parents in Scotland.⁹¹ Even in 1784 it was being claimed that much of the current Scottish immigration was due to "too sanguine" accounts sent home by former emigrants.⁹²

This is supported by the petitions of 10 of the emigrants who arrived at Halifax in 1784 and 1785, stating that they wished to join friends and relatives at Pictou.⁹³ Then, in 1786, with the arrival of the Reverend McGregor signalling the emergence of a settled community on the North Shore, many were reported to have written to relatives in Scotland exhorting them to emigrate. This brought a number of new settlers in 1787 and the process is said to have continued from then on, involving, as we have seen, mercantile and ecclesiastical elements as well.⁹⁴

For the mercantile interests there was the lure of expanding opportunities in the newly settled areas and the communication links with Scotland which must have been increasing. The arrival of two priests in the early 1790s is to be associated with the large Roman Catholic immigration of the time. Indeed, they both had been serving in the major source areas, and it is said that Father MacDonald came mainly because so many of his parishioners were leaving.⁹⁵

Consequently, during this period Nova Scotia came to provide two of the three prime requisites for a sustained flow of Scottish migration - land for settlement and the invitations of former

emigrants - and the evidence for the movement of the early 1790s indicates that the third, mass organization and transportation, was also well established.

Organization and transportation

With the involvement of land proprietors, external organization had already been a prominent feature in the 1770s. The circumstances surrounding the emigration of the Lovely Nelly groups are rather obscure. According to McGregor, they were sent out by a Prince Edward Island proprietor, while Patterson refers to inducements offered by Prince Edward Island proprietors. In terms of actual organization, two of the 1774 emigrants are said to have been responsible for chartering the vessel.⁹⁶ This suggests an example of the kind of self-organization which did occur in this region at the time. Some support for this interpretation is provided by the fact that two of the 1775 emigrants were said to have gone to look after the others.⁹⁷ Then again, one of the 15 who came to Pictou in 1776 is said to have preceded the others to Prince Edward Island as a proprietors' agent.⁹⁸

The Hector group, on the other hand, is quite definitely an example of organization by an external agency. The Philadelphia Company advertised that transportation and 12 weeks' provisions would be provided by the company to prospective settlers (at a cost of £3-5/- per full passenger).⁹⁹ The advertisement identified a number of persons throughout Scotland to whom enquiries could be made, and recruitment in the Highlands was carried out by an agent who actually sailed with the group in 1773. Local tradition records that this expedition was not well managed: the vessel was in a state of disrepair, accommodations were poor, provisions were inferior and insufficient, and there were outbreaks of smallpox and dysentery.¹⁰⁰

In the 1780s the schemes of land proprietors were no longer an

important factor and detailed evidence of organization and transportation is lacking except in the case of the Loyalists, whose movement was organized and paid for by government.¹⁰¹ We know little of the mechanics of the direct immigration at this time. However, official sources seem to imply that the 300 who came from London on the Sally had been organized and sent by some individual or agency,¹⁰² and the known arrival of at least one large group of diverse origins from Scotland suggests the possibility of organization by agents.¹⁰³

From 1790, though, the evidence is unequivocal. The one agent identified - Simon Fraser - remains a shadowy figure, but there is ample evidence of extensive operations by him between 1790 and 1792, and there is evidence of further activities by him in later years. He seems to have maintained bases on both sides of the Atlantic since he is referred to variously as being from Pictou and from Scotland, and the eyewitness account of his active recruitment and organization of emigrants in Scotland at this time has already been noted.¹⁰⁴

According to early Antigonish County historians he was responsible for bringing emigrants from several areas including Barra, South Uist, Lochaber and Strathglass.¹⁰⁵ It seems very likely, then, that the assertion in the Barra Statistical Account that recent emigrants to Prince Edward Island and Nova Scotia had been "inveigled there by a Mr. F-" is a reference to his activity.¹⁰⁶ Again, a petition on behalf of the group of 650 which arrived at Pictou in 1791 was made by Simon Fraser, who was described as the agent who had promoted their emigration.¹⁰⁷

Thus, the organizing activity of the emigration agent was a significant factor in this first very large scale direct immigration to the area. In addition, the arrival of Fathers MacEachern and MacDonald with Roman Catholic emigrant groups suggests the possibility of some element of participation in organization. There is

no direct evidence for this, but they were certainly prominent in terms of the reception and location of the immigrants, as indeed was also the Reverend McGregor.

Reception

Throughout this period it was apparently common for Scottish immigrants to have used up all immediately available resources in the process of migration, and the initial brunt of sustaining them fell largely upon local unofficial sources. According to tradition, the reception of the Hector group by the agents of the Philadelphia Company was no more satisfactory than the transportation, and there were disputes over provisioning and the arrangements for settlement. The upshot was that many of the group came to rely on what assistance they could obtain in the communities at the head of Cobequid Bay (some 65 km away, but the nearest established settlements). Some found temporary employment there and, in 1774, men from Truro are said to have assisted the Highlanders at Pictou in initial forest exploitation.¹⁰⁸

Then, barely established themselves, the small Highland community at Pictou was joined in 1776 by the Lowland contingent whose initial attempts to settle in Prince Edward Island had been unsuccessful, and who arrived in a state of destitution. This greatly strained local resources, but the necessary charity was extended to the newcomers.¹⁰⁹ Such occurrences may be explained simply by the fact that in sparsely settled areas the arrival of any new accessions, even though not of closely similar origins, must usually have been very welcome and the occasion for whatever hospitality could be afforded.

In the 1780s, though, it was the port of Halifax which seems to have received the bulk of the influx from Scotland, and the three 1785 arrivals who wanted to get to Pictou but had used all their

resources in procuring passage probably represented a common plight.¹¹⁰ Certainly, widespread distress is implied in contemporary references, and this prompted relief measures by the North British Society in 1785 and 1786.¹¹¹ Even the Halifax gentleman who was complaining so bitterly of the "glut" of Scottish immigrants at Halifax in 1784 claimed that he had personally afforded relief to some of these.¹¹²

A particular and rather drastic form of relief was recorded for 1789, when the return of 20 destitute emigrants to Britain was financed by Halifax residents amid comments that the town was unable to maintain so many "transient poor".¹¹³ The great majority of the Scottish arrivals at Halifax in the 1780s must indeed have been transient in the sense that they had not yet reached their ultimate destination, and effective "relief" must have consisted largely of either sending them on or sending them back, as in 1789. That the latter was not an isolated instance is indicated by references to returns to Scotland assisted by the North British Society, although apparently these were mainly Loyalists.¹¹⁴

By the late 1780s there is also evidence again of emigration directly to the North Shore, and the heavy immigration of the early 1790s seems to have been directed there exclusively; that is, to the immediate area of potential settlement already being colonized by fellow countrymen. At this time, too, in the context of the developing element of chain migration noted above, the presence of friends and relatives must have been important. However, the dire straits of the large numbers who arrived in the early 1790s presented a particularly pressing problem. According to the Barra Statistical Account, Simon Fraser returned to Scotland, having abandoned his charges once they had landed, and if the local inhabitants had not afforded relief many would have perished.¹¹⁵ Certainly, Parr reported that the 650 arrivals he noted at Pictou in 1791 were in a wretched condition and in want of sustenance.¹¹⁶

Immediate assistance was provided by the settlers already established in the area. The Reverend McGregor distributed axes and hoes among the new arrivals, and there seemed a reasonable prospect of assimilating them in the existing settlement areas. Most of them were, of course, Roman Catholic and an integral part of the process of reception was a campaign of attempted conversion conducted by McGregor.¹¹⁷

However, just prior to their arrival, Father MacEachern had been greatly disturbed to find that several of his co-religionists in the Pictou area had been "perverted by the importunities of a fanatical Dissenter of the Seceder faction".¹¹⁸ As a result, he strongly urged his fellow Roman Catholics to settle apart from the Presbyterians, and most of them did indeed move further east.¹¹⁹ This recourse, as it happened, was not unwelcome to McGregor since the influence of the newcomers and their "superstitions" on his own flock had given rise to misgivings on his part.¹²⁰ Religious divisions, therefore, came to have a profound effect on the pattern of settlement among Scottish immigrants.

These events of the early 1790s also aroused an official response which was the product of a gradual shifting of official attitudes and policies over the course of the period. In the early 1770s reception at the official level was governed by the adverse official reaction in Britain to the emigration movement, and the suspension of land granting in 1773 seems to have been partly due to that reaction.¹²¹ Then, in 1774, when instructing Legge to record the numbers of arriving British immigrants, Dartmouth stated bluntly that British emigration to Nova Scotia was an evil to be remedied despite the probable advantages likely to accrue to Nova Scotia from such a movement.¹²² An instance of a practical application of this attitude in Nova Scotia was provided in 1776 when a number of disillusioned Yorkshire immigrants were assisted to return to Britain

by General Massey, with a view to bolstering anti-emigration propaganda.¹²³

However, the repercussions of the outbreak of the American Revolution ensured that the development of Nova Scotia by large-scale immigration would be officially encouraged when the province was designated an asylum for refugee Loyalists in 1775.¹²⁴ Moreover, in the same year Legge was suggesting the recruitment in Scotland and Ireland of a regiment for the defence of Nova Scotia, comparable to the Royal Highland Emigrants. This implied the acquisition of a body of potential settlers directly from Britain as a result of the exigencies of the current political crisis.¹²⁵

At the close of the war not only were the Loyalists transported to Nova Scotia at government expense, but they and the disbanded military units were issued provisions to sustain them until they could be adequately settled. They were also supplied with basic items of equipment to facilitate the process of settlement. The original intention was that this assistance would be for the first year only, but delays in land allocation resulted in an extension of the provisioning system. In addition, provisioning was proving so troublesome to administer that it was found necessary to set up a board of Commissioners to examine claims and to render the distribution system more efficient in light of the tendency of the disbanded soldiers, in particular, to sell their provisions and become public burdens.¹²⁶

The renewed flow of immigration from Britain occurred in this context of extensive public involvement in the reception of immigrants, and the great number of arrivals from Britain reported by Campbell in 1784 were also applying for provisions. This led him to seek guidance from London.¹²⁷ However, while immigration from Britain was now being countenanced, it was made clear that such arrivals did not qualify for the kind of assistance afforded the Loyalists: they

were eligible for land grants if they demonstrated the ability to cultivate, but nothing else.¹²⁸

This was stated with particular reference to those who arrived on the Sally in 1784, whom local officials apparently felt obliged to assist in some measure because of their extreme destitution and poor health.¹²⁹ But, while arrivals from Britain might be welcomed in general by the local authorities, it is also evident that the kind of immigrant represented by the Sally group was not viewed very favourably, and Parr commented that steps should be taken to prevent the sending of "gaol sweepings".¹³⁰

By 1790 Parr was trying to reconcile two rather contradictory aspects of policy towards immigration and settlement: settlement in the North American colonies was to be encouraged, but land granting had just been suspended again.¹³¹ That the latter provision was also of vital importance to those already arrived is shown by the fact that, in August 1791, he was apprehensive that some Pictou residents would remove to the United States (which they were being encouraged to do) if they could not be confirmed in the secure possession of their land.¹³²

Then, a month later, the arrival at Pictou of large numbers in precarious circumstances brought matters to a head. These reportedly were being urged to move on to South Carolina, and Parr pointed out that, if they could be persuaded to stay, they would serve to channel future emigration to Nova Scotia rather than to the United States. It is possible, of course, that the threat to re-emigrate was largely a ploy on the part of the agent to elicit support, but Parr's response to the request for provisions and assistance in settling revealed a readiness to facilitate the reception of this large-scale immigration from Scotland. Not being able to use government funds, he used his own credit to send provisions to Pictou and offered to direct the immigrants to suitable

locations where they might get employment.¹³³

Parr died soon after, thus avoiding the recriminations which his activities aroused in London, and others, including his successor Wentworth, had to bear the brunt of negotiations to have the expenditure reimbursed.¹³⁴ Treasury did finally approve payment of the L226-4/- which had been spent on the relief of the 1791 immigrants, but with the proviso that Wentworth was not to incur any similar charge.¹³⁵ To this Wentworth promised "the most exact obedience",¹³⁶ but other correspondence of the same year suggests that he was personally inclined to follow Parr's example. He complained of the continued hindrance of not being able to grant land and the ill-advised policy of allowing prospective settlers to desert to the United States, while advocating a "modest" financial contribution towards the support of immigrants in 1792, along the lines pursued by Parr in 1791.¹³⁷

Consequently, at the local level official attitudes tended to be more accommodating than those of the central government. This is reflected in some of the Assembly proceedings at this time, notably grants to new settlements which had suffered setbacks.¹³⁸ There was also, though, a recurrence of an uneasiness over the nature of immigration: a Bill of 1791 was designed to prevent the introduction of "indigent and dissolute persons" likely to become chargeable to government.¹³⁹

Settlement

Changes in policy concerning land distribution were of fundamental significance in the process of settling the immigrants. At the beginning of the period the problems created by the wholesale distribution of vast acreages to speculative interests in the 1760s constituted the most prominent factor, and, as already noted, the immigration of the early 1770s was closely connected with attempts

to settle two of these large grants.

The terms offered were quite different. The Francklin lands to which Yorkshire immigrants were directed were offered for rent, with no limit on the size of individual holdings. The first year of occupancy was to be rent free, to be followed by a five year period during which the rent would be a penny per acre, then a second five year period when the rate would be threepence. After ten years the rate was to be a shilling.¹⁴⁰ In contrast, the Philadelphia Company lands to which the Hector group was lured were to be sold, lots averaging 200 acres having been laid out at the proprietors' expense. Each husband and wife were allotted 150 acres, with an additional 50 acres for each other family member. The first 20 families were to be charged sixpence per acre, the next 20, a shilling, and the next 20, a shilling and sixpence.¹⁴¹ However, the land made available under this scheme was in the backwoods, remote from water frontage. The immigrants generally refused to occupy it, and their settlement was accomplished independently of this scheme.¹⁴²

The heyday of the large-scale speculator was passing, however, and, in 1770, two of McNutt's grants totalling 250,000 acres had been escheated, including one on Pictou Harbour. There was some further escheating activity in 1773, but it was in the 1780s, with the pressing need to accommodate Loyalists, that it was vigorously pursued, resulting in the recovery of nearly 1.5 million acres between 1783 and 1788 alone.¹⁴³

So the way was paved for a fresh approach to land distribution. The evolution of this new policy, however, was not quite straightforward. The unsatisfactory situation following the Instructions of 1766 prevailed until 1773, when all land granting was suspended except in the case of former soldiers, who were still to be accommodated under the provisions of the 1763 Proclamation.¹⁴⁴

Early in 1774 new Instructions were issued directing that land was to be sold at public auction at a rate of not less than sixpence per acre and subject to a quitrent of a halfpenny per acre. Lots of 100-1,000 acres were to be laid out, and this was to be the only method of land disposal for the time being, except again in the case of ex-military settlers.¹⁴⁵

Legge reported later in the same year that this policy was being put into effect, although as elsewhere in North America it seems to have met with a very cool reception. Indeed, no purchases were reported.¹⁴⁶ But in the following year the first step towards yet another approach was taken with the designation of Nova Scotia as a haven for Loyalists. No detailed regulations were issued at that time, but a general commitment was made to provide free land grants to the refugees.¹⁴⁷ Specific instructions were not forthcoming until 1783, but these cleared the way for the disposal of Crown land to individual settlers by grant, in amounts of 100 acres to each family head and an additional 50 acres to each dependant.¹⁴⁸

These provisions applied to all, and so direct immigrants could be accommodated as well as Loyalists. The latter, though, did receive special consideration under the terms of additional Instructions, including exemption from all fees and a deferral of quitrent payments for 10 years. In addition, the ex-military element in general were to receive greater land allowances according to rank, ranging from 200 acres for non-commissioned officers to 1,000 acres for field officers, while the 84th Regiment was particularly favoured in that each soldier was to get a basic 200 acres and 20 years' exemption from quitrent.¹⁴⁹

Grants to settlers were permitted in Cape Breton in 1784, and there was considerable granting activity during the next few years. However, although very generous terms were offered to refugees and several thousand are said to have been attracted initially, very few

permanent settlers were acquired and much of the granted land lay vacant.¹⁵⁰

The volume and complexity of mass settlement at this time seems to have severely taxed the local administrative structure. While Parr reported in September 1783 that surveyors were already at work, there was much confusion and delay, and the process of Loyalist settlement proved to be frustrating.¹⁵¹ Already in 1783 the central authorities noted irregularities of procedure in Nova Scotia, demanded a complete accounting and were sending new guidelines.¹⁵² The entire exercise involved large public expenditures and this seems to have weighed heavily in the decision to alter course in 1790, when land granting was suspended yet again. The intention was to revert to a system of distribution by sale (probably inspired partly by the example of the United States), and, except in the case of allocation already in progress, all proceedings were to cease until a detailed policy could be formulated. The latter was not done and the suspension remained in effect in Nova Scotia until 1808.¹⁵³

Consequently, just as Nova Scotia was beginning to experience the effects of large-scale Scottish immigration, the means of satisfying the basic requirement of the immigrants was removed, much to the discomfiture of the local authorities. As Wentworth pointed out in 1792, when advocating the reinstatement of land granting, settlement was likely to be seriously retarded and the tacit invitation to resort to squatting was likely to cause much confusion in the future.¹⁵⁴ However, although secure title could not be granted, the local authorities did try to ensure orderly settlement, and land was allocated to immigrants of the early 1790s.¹⁵⁵

Such were the circumstances under which this first substantial wave of Scottish immigrants established themselves in Nova Scotia, and the means of access to land were of vital concern to the great

majority who were seeking the means to pursue farming, unlike a minority, such as the mercantile element, for whom land was probably only a secondary consideration. Certainly, the main objective of immigrants in the early 1770s was to establish themselves on the land, and the prevailing circumstances produced a variety of solutions.

Much of the available evidence pertains to Yorkshire immigrants rather than to Scots, but the former faced similar problems and the actions of later Scottish immigrants are anticipated. Some were dissatisfied by what they saw on arrival and were not expected to stay.¹⁵⁶ The failure of promoters' accounts to correspond to reality and the initial shock of confronting an alien environment were probably contributory factors in these cases. Among those who persevered, some rented farms, though sometimes claiming in letters to England that they had purchased, and others really did purchase. Some of the latter then rented part of their holding to other immigrants.¹⁵⁷

The Yorkshire group was probably in possession of rather more resources than the bulk of Scottish immigrants. We have seen, for instance, that the Hector people found themselves in a sorry plight soon after their arrival. Having refused to take up the land they were supposed to buy, many were driven to seek employment in established settlements elsewhere. This was a recourse which was to be strongly advocated by officialdom for the effective initial settlement of destitute immigrants. Moreover, in this case, as in later instances, there was little alternative to surviving in the new situation since lack of resources was an effective check to any thought of reverse migration.

However, the expedient was a temporary one and they took up land of their own as soon as possible. What is interesting is that after such an extensive dispersal most are said to have returned to the Pictou area to settle.¹⁵⁸ Of the 38 Hector passengers for whom

Patterson gives an ultimate settlement location, only 5 seem to have settled permanently elsewhere and, of the 33 who settled in the Pictou area, 26 were located around Pictou Harbour and along the three rivers which empty into it.¹⁵⁹ At this time, too, 13 of the Lowlanders who had abandoned the attempt to settle as tenants on Prince Edward Island came to settle on the same three rivers.¹⁶⁰

In the 1780s the dominant feature was the attempted settlement of large numbers of Loyalists and ex-military, and Scottish elements among these provide examples of varying success. For many of the civilian refugees Nova Scotia was merely a staging area for a return across the Atlantic, as indicated by the records of the North British Society.¹⁶¹ Such was the intention of the individual who expressed disenchantment with his new situation at Shelburne in 1784 and looked forward to a return to Britain.¹⁶² However, the general influx seems to have included many of Scottish origin who received land grants, and these were mainly distributed among various concentrations of Loyalist settlement along the Atlantic coast.¹⁶³

The former soldiers also included many who did not settle successfully. The 82nd is frequently cited as the prime example of this: many are reported to have sold or abandoned their land allocations, and they have generally been considered typical of disbanded soldiery in that they were mainly single and little inclined to settle down.¹⁶⁴ According to McGregor, though, this problem was largely solved in 1793, when he rejoiced that the vagabonds and drunkards among the ex-military settlers flocked to the colours again.¹⁶⁵

The circumstances of the men of the 84th, on the other hand, are generally considered to have promoted a much higher rate of success.¹⁶⁶ However, the letters of one of the officers attempting to settle at Douglas in 1783-84 reveal that the process was fraught with difficulties.¹⁶⁷ He himself was struggling to develop a farm,

but claimed to be the only officer so engaged. The others were content to live on their allowance or had already returned to Scotland (his correspondent there was a brother officer), and he too still had one eye on Scottish prospects. Similarly, he had not had much success in persuading the rank and file under his command to occupy their assigned lots. Over and above all this, as a result of disputes granting was being delayed.

The stated reason for the refusal to settle at Douglas was dissatisfaction with the location, but an important general factor in this case was the alternative offered by the development of the North Shore settlements, and the members of the 84th who went initially to Pictou are said to have been joined later by others from Douglas.¹⁶⁸ This was also the time when direct immigrants at Halifax were seeking removal to the same area.

In the early 1790s there is some indication of dispersal followed by re-concentration: some of the new arrivals, for instance, are said to have gone temporarily to Prince Edward Island.¹⁶⁹ A more particular example is provided by about a dozen families from Eigg who went to the Parrsboro area as tenants. Local tradition, supported by the evidence of a number of petitions, records that this was also a temporary expedient, and that they later joined other Highland immigrants on the North Shore and on the west coast of Cape Breton as landholders in their own right.¹⁷⁰

Within the context of a wide distribution of Scottish elements, therefore, the prevailing theme was a strong focus on areas bordering Northumberland Strait which were only just being opened up to extensive European settlement. The bulk of Loyalist settlement was oriented more towards the Atlantic coast. Indeed, apart from the 82nd and the 84th Regiments, the Nova Scotia Regiment at Antigonish Harbour was the only substantial Loyalist group along the North Shore between Cumberland County and the Strait of Canso, while two other

non-Scottish groups were located at the western and eastern extremities of the area. The latter groups comprised the "Foreign Protestants" at Tatamagouche Harbour, and returned Acadians in the vicinity of the Strait of Canso.¹⁷¹

Land for individual settlement was therefore available in abundance, and the strong desire of the Scottish immigrants for land of their own has already been noted. In addition, there was the official apprehension aroused by the prospect of not being able to provide the security of tenure which was being actively sought by Scottish settlers in this area towards the end of the period. A number of allocation approvals in 1792 suggest that some progress was being made in satisfying such demands.¹⁷²

This potential attraction was reinforced by the introduction of Scottish groups to the Pictou area by private and public agencies in the 1770s and 1780s, and for much of the period that area formed a specific local focus. Once established, the cumulative effects of various interacting factors stimulated a vigorous development of settlement. The flow of kindred and former neighbours from Scotland soon got under way, and this was augmented by arrivals from other areas in Nova Scotia. McGregor attributed much of this to the establishment of his ministry in 1786, which in itself was a sign of the emergence of a viable community. Significantly, it was apparently the service in Gaelic which McGregor provided that was the crucial factor in this respect - yet another indication of the desire to adhere to traditional norms in a familiar social milieu.¹⁷³

As the community developed, so did its economy. Initially there was little more than the beginnings of agricultural activity, and it was noted that the first settlers were too impoverished to exploit the Gulf fishery effectively.¹⁷⁴ The fishery was to remain largely a subsistence resource throughout this period, but the exploitation of timber rapidly assumed commercial importance. The

beginnings in 1774 have been noted. In the later 1770s, war stimulated activity and regular exports to British markets commenced.¹⁷⁵ In this respect Pictou was well placed, facing the Gulf of St. Lawrence and a major transatlantic route. By the late 1780s such factors in turn stimulated the beginnings of nucleated settlement on Pictou Harbour in conjunction with the arrival of the mercantile group mentioned above, and the latter became involved in shipbuilding and the export trade.¹⁷⁶

Indeed, economic progress was such that Wentworth himself travelled to Pictou in 1792 to attend to the regulation of the growing timber export trade, and to promote the opening of better land communication with Halifax.¹⁷⁷ By the end of the period, the District of Pictou had been created as a separate administrative unit within Halifax County and a Court of Common Pleas was established.¹⁷⁸ With the emergence of a commercial port and direct transatlantic trading links, therefore, Pictou Harbour afforded an obvious reception point for the later Scottish immigration of this period, reinforcing the other attractive influences.

Linked with all these developments was a steady population growth. Actual population counts are few and fragmentary, but there are contemporary estimates which indicate the rate of growth. The comings and goings of the 1770s produced considerable fluctuations and the war years were ones of little growth. As a result, by 1783 the population of the Pictou area was thought to be in the 200-50 range.¹⁷⁹ This number was apparently more than doubled by the events of the mid-1780s, since McGregor thought that there were somewhat over 500 inhabitants in 1786,¹⁸⁰ and a figure of 1,300 has been given for the population in 1791.¹⁸¹ The latter is identical to the figure given in another source¹⁸² for the number of immigrants in that year and there may be some confusion here, but it is certainly within the realm of probability. Another estimate is to

be found in a petition of 1790 which claimed that 400 families were settled in the Pictou area.¹⁸³

Despite the developments on Pictou Harbour this was almost exclusively a rural population, distributed along the coastline and the three principal rivers. The desirable alluvial soils of the river valleys seem to have been recognized for their worth from the beginning and, while land communications were still rudimentary, access to water served to diminish the threat of isolation imposed by the environment and the settlement process.¹⁸⁴ Moreover, while there is some evidence (in addition to the Philadelphia Company attempt) for settlement on the land of proprietors of large acreages,¹⁸⁵ it is clear that individual ownership was the essential basis of settlement at this time, as shown by the record of individual land grants approved for this area between 1783 and 1793.¹⁸⁶

Though quite restricted, this early population distribution does show some signs of clustering in homogeneous groups. The evidence pertaining to the 84th Regiment suggests a clustering both in terms of settlement and origin, based on the East River. This river also seems to have been the most popular locality among the Hector immigrants. The immigrants from the southwestern Lowlands seem to have favoured the West River, and by the time McGregor arrived, while there was a mixed Highland and Lowland population on the Middle River, all but two settlers on the East River were Highland.¹⁸⁷ The East River was the most populous area by far.

By the late 1780s and early 1790s, though, there is evidence of a significant settlement expansion beyond the core area of reception. A few Lowlanders had moved westward to the Tatamagouche area,¹⁸⁸ but nearly all of the movement was eastward along the coast. The basis for this had been laid in the mid-1780s when the 82nd Regiment was allocated land along the coast to the east of Pictou Harbour, and there are indications that some Highlanders were

beginning to colonize the stretch of empty coastline between the Pictou boundary and Cape George by the late 1780s. These have been identified as part of the Roman Catholic minority already introduced, and may represent a further clustering tendency by distinctive groups since religious differentiation largely reflected different community origins in Scotland.¹⁸⁹

This trend was strongly fostered by aspects of the reception of the predominantly Roman Catholic immigrants of the early 1790s, and the latter proceeded to form settlements along the coast between Merigomish Harbour and Cape George in what is now Antigonish County. The names of these new settlements - Arisaig, Moidart, Morar, for example - were directly related to the origins of the settlers, and local histories provide evidence for the flow of migration between areas of the same name on either side of the Atlantic, suggesting the early operation of the chain process among these groups.¹⁹⁰

Parr's intention to direct these people to locations where employment was available has been noted, but there is little indication of the effectiveness of this, if indeed it was ever attempted, although the case of the group which moved to Parrsboro may have some connection. Rather, the rapid spread of pioneer settlement through this area, where groups of Highland settlers had to compete with few others, serves to reinforce the impression that the primary goal was the maintenance of traditional social bonds based on universal land occupancy, and the result was the rapid formation of homogeneous communities.

The continuing process of rearrangement is further illustrated by the report that several Protestant military settlers in the vicinity of Moidart sold out to immigrants of 1791 and left.¹⁹¹ Religious organization was also accomplished swiftly with the building of a church at Arisaig in 1792 and the appointment, in 1793, of Father MacDonald as priest of the first Highland Roman Catholic

parish in Nova Scotia.¹⁹²

By the end of this period the process of expansion had begun to extend to Cape Breton, another largely empty area except for the fishing stations on the south and east coasts and Sydney (recently founded in connection with Loyalist settlement). The west coast, adjacent to the north shore of the mainland, must, therefore have been particularly inviting, and there are scattered references to initial colonization there by a few Highlanders in the early 1790s, together with the possible beginnings of movement into the interior.¹⁹³

This process was not always harmonious and smooth. In the 1780s, disbanded soldiers were accused of settling on the land of others, while members of the 82nd in particular were said to be demanding the best land.¹⁹⁴ In the 1790s, with increasing numbers seeking land, confusion and dispute threatened. For example, two recent Highland immigrants complained in 1792 that their possession of a 200 acre lot abandoned by another was being contested by yet another two.¹⁹⁵

In conclusion, a review of the land petitions data provides a broad measure of support for the interpretation afforded by the various other sources. Among the direct immigrants of the 1780s, 22 out of 26 were resident in or requesting land in the Pictou area, including some who mention purchasing from 82nd grantees.¹⁹⁶ Of 14 former members of the 84th with specific settlement locations recorded, 10 were in the Pictou area, 1 was in the Antigonish area, and 3 were at Douglas. Moreover, 8 of them had moved from Douglas to Pictou, and 1 had moved from Douglas to Antigonish, the former stating that they had refused their allocations at Douglas.¹⁹⁷ Three former members of the 82nd mention abandoning their allocations and seeking land elsewhere, 2 of them in the Antigonish County area.¹⁹⁸ In contrast, of 6 within the general category of Loyalists and ex-military, only 2 were settled in the North Shore area, the others

being located on the Atlantic coast and in Cumberland County.¹⁹⁹

In more general terms, relatively few cases recording both a date of petition and a location requested pertain to this period, and nearly all of these belong to the 1780s, when there was considerable land granting activity.²⁰⁰ There are 38 petitions dated between 1780 and 1789, 7 of which were non-specific as to location. Of the 31 specific cases, 28 referred to Pictou area locations and 3 to Atlantic coastal locations (Musquodoboit, Lawrencetown and Chester).

The relationship between date of emigration and location requested is much more informative. The general distribution is noted in Chapter 3, while Table 62 (Appendix 4) illustrates the general trend in terms of the principal areas of Scottish settlement - an early concentration in Pictou followed by a spread to Antigonish and Cape Breton, particularly after 1790. In more detail, of 138 cases who had emigrated between 1770 and 1789, 68 referred to Pictou locations. Of the latter, 43 were specific as to settlement, including 30 who referred to Pictou Harbour and the three major rivers. Antigonish and Cape Breton locations were referred to in only 4 and 7 cases respectively, while 23 mentioned specific other mainland locations, including 15 on the Atlantic coast and 6 in the general area of Douglas.

On the other hand, 46 of the 114 cases who had emigrated between 1790 and 1794 referred to Antigonish County locations, including 39 along the coast between Merigomish and Cape George, and 30 of these were the emigrants from Ardnamurchan and Glenelg parishes noted above. Cape Breton locations constituted the next most common occurrence with 31 cases, 16 of whom referred to the west and south coasts. Of the remainder, 14 specified Pictou County locations (including only 4 referring to the harbour and three rivers), and only 6 referred to specific other mainland locations, with Douglas accounting for 3 of these.

Notes

1. R.E. Ommer, "Highland Scots Migration to Southwestern Newfoundland: A Study of Kinship", in Mannion, ed., Peopling of Newfoundland, pp. 212-33.
2. PANS, RG1, vol. 32, doc. 22, Dartmouth to Legge, July 6, 1774.
3. CO 217/50/118, Legge to Dartmouth, July 6, 1774 and enclosure; PANS, Report, 1935, Appendix C, pp. 34-39.
4. PAC, Report, 1894, p. 321, Legge to Dartmouth, September 13, 1774.
5. Ibid., p. 317, Legge to Dartmouth, May 10, 1774.
6. Neutral Yankees, p. 101.
7. See note 5 above.
8. Rev. G. Patterson, Pictou, pp. 79-81.
9. The figure is given in the list compiled by William McKay (PANS, Ms. File, Ships, Hector), printed in MacLaren, Pictou Book, pp. 32-34. The other list, compiled by William McKenzie, is printed in Rev. G. Patterson, Pictou, pp. 450-56.
10. F.H. Patterson, Tatamagouche, Nova Scotia, 1771-1824 (Truro, N.S., 1970), pp. 44-45; Rev. G. Patterson, Pictou, pp. 94-96, 457. The lists are printed in V.R. Cameron, ed., Emigrants, pp. 96 ff. One is dated 1775 while the other is undated. However, Rev. Patterson states that the two groups came in 1774 and 1775 (Memoir, p. 78). It seems likely, then, that the undated list pertains to 1774.
11. R.L. Gentilcore, "The Agricultural Background of Settlement in Eastern Nova Scotia", Annals of the Association of American Geographers, XLVI (1956), 379; Murdoch, Nova Scotia, II, 518-19; D.J. Rankin, A History of the County of Antigonish, Nova Scotia (Toronto, 1929), pp. 376-77.
12. MacNutt, Atlantic Provinces, p. 90.
13. PAC, Report, 1894, p. 424, Campbell to Secretary of State, September 2, 1784; PANS, RG1, vol. 47, doc. 28, Parr to Secretary

of State, September 1, 1784.

14. PANS, RG20, Ser. A2: Fraser, Donald and Others, 1785; Fraser, William, 1809; Marshall, John and Others, 1785; McDonald, Angus and Others, 1785; McGilvery, Donald, 1807; McKay, Alexander and Others, 1784; McLaughlin, Robert, 1815; McLean, Alexander, 1802; McLean, David, 1808; McQuarrie, Niel, 1834; Reid, Alexander, 1810; Stephens, James, 1787.
15. PANS, Microfilm Biography, Rev. James McGregor, Diary, p. 8; Rev. G. Patterson, Pictou, p. 465.
16. R.A. MacLean, ed., History of Antigonish (2 vols., Antigonish, N.S., 1976), I, 129.
17. PANS, MG1, vol. 332B, p. 3, Rev. Hugh Graham to parents, September 2, 1785.
18. Caledonian Mercury, November 29, 1784.
19. J.S. MacDonald, North British Society, pp. 46-47, 53.
20. PANS, RG20, Ser. A2, Dawson, John, 1809.
21. Ellis, "Settling the Loyalists", pp. 106-08; Murdoch, Nova Scotia, III, 17-19.
22. M. Gilroy, Loyalists and Land Settlement in Nova Scotia (Halifax, N.S., 1937), pp. 49-50, 53, 76-106.
23. PANS, RG20, Ser. A2: Baxter, James, 1819; Fraser, Alexander Sr., 1814; Rough, James and John, 1818.
24. Ibid., Maxfield, James and Others, 1821 (Robert Crawford).
25. G. Patterson, Sketches in Nova Scotian History (Halifax, N.S., 1940), pp. 17-33; idem, More Studies in Nova Scotian History (Halifax, N.S., 1941), pp. 9-37.
26. PANS, RG20, Ser. A2: Robertson, Alexander and Others, 1784; Small, Col. John, 1784.
27. PAC, Report, 1884, p. xli.
28. Colonial Patriot, April 4, 1828.
29. R.A. MacLean, ed., Antigonish, I, 44-46, 80-81, 118-20; G.

- Patterson, Sketches, pp. 14-15; Rev. G. Patterson, ed., Memoir, pp. 137, 168; idem, Pictou, pp. 160-61.
30. I.W. Wilson, Geography and History of the County of Digby, Nova Scotia (Halifax, N.S., 1900), p. 82.
 31. PANS, RG1, vol. 48, doc. 48, Parr to Dundas, August 13, 1791.
 32. Ibid., vol. 48, doc. 58, Parr to Dundas, September 27, 1791.
 33. CO 217/63/379, Fishery to Watson, September 12, 1792.
 34. A.A. Johnstone, A History of the Catholic Church in Eastern Nova Scotia (2 vols., Antigonish, N.S., 1960, 1971), I, 136-37; C.S. MacDonald, "Early Highland Emigration to Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island", Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, XXIII (1936), 44; Rev. G. Patterson, ed., Memoir, pp. 256-58.
 35. Colonial Patriot, April 4, 1828.
 36. R.A. MacLean, ed., Antigonish, I, 62-63.
 37. J.L. MacDougall, History of Inverness County, Nova Scotia (Truro, N.S., 1922), p. 241; Rankin, Antigonish, pp. 162, 165 ff.
 38. A.H. Clark, Three Centuries, p. 60.
 39. P. Campbell, Travels in the interior inhabited parts of North America in the years 1791 and 1792, ed., H.H. Langton (Toronto, 1937), p. 43.
 40. Statistical Account, XIII, 292 ff., 326 ff.
 41. See Chapter 3 and Tables 17-24 (Appendix 3).
 42. Flinn et al., Scottish Population History, p. 94 implies that many early nineteenth century lists pertaining to Nova Scotia have survived.
 43. J.S. Martell, Immigration to and Emigration from Nova Scotia, 1815-1838 (Halifax, N.S., 1942).
 44. PANS, Ms. File, Ships, Saint Lawrence (1828).
 45. This is the list compiled by William McKenzie and printed in Rev. G. Patterson, Pictou, pp. 450-56.
 46. V.R. Cameron, ed., Emigrants, p. 96 ff.

47. Rev. G. Patterson, Pictou, p. 457.
48. PANS, MG1, vol. 332B, p. 3, Rev. Hugh Graham to parents, September 2, 1785.
49. PANS, RG20, Ser. A2: Fraser, William, 1809; McLean, David, 1808; Reid, Alexander, 1810 (joint petition with son).
50. Pictou, p. 465.
51. R.A. MacLean, ed., Antigonish, I, 129-31.
52. G. Patterson, Sketches, pp. 17-33; Rev. G. Patterson, Pictou, pp. 114-19.
53. Pictou, pp. 458-62.
54. PANS, RG20, Ser. A2: McNiel, John, 1808; MacNeil, Rory, 1821; Stewart, Alexander, 1811.
55. Rev. G. Patterson, ed., Memoir, p. 120; idem, Pictou, pp. 462-64.
56. PANS, RG20, Ser. A2, MacLellan, Kenneth, 1808.
57. Pictou, pp. 160-61. G. Patterson refers to "a large number of immigrants from Kirkcudbright and Dumfries in 1788 and 1789" (Sketches, p. 15).
58. F.H. Patterson, John Patterson: The Founder of Pictou Town (Truro, N.S., 1955), pp. 42-43, 48-51, 63; Rev. G. Patterson, Pictou, p. 158.
59. Johnstone, Catholic Church, I, 139-44; MacDougall, Inverness, passim; R.A. MacLean, ed., Antigonish, I, passim; Rev. G. Patterson, Pictou, p. 163; Rankin, Antigonish, passim.
60. PANS, Ms. File, Ships, Jane, Lucy.
61. Ibid.
62. Statistical Account: XVI, 265 ff.; XX, 286 ff.
63. Ibid., XVII, 272 ff.
64. See Chapter 3 and Tables 59-61 (Appendix 4).
65. Flinn et al., Scottish Population History, p. 445.
66. Rev. G. Patterson, Pictou, pp. 450-56.
67. MacLaren, Pictou Book, pp. 32-34.

68. V.R. Cameron, ed., Emigrants, pp. 96 ff.
69. PANS, Report, 1935, pp. 34-39.
70. PANS, Ms. File, Ships, Jane, Lucy.
71. Rev. G. Patterson, Pictou, pp. 125-26.
72. J.S. MacDonald, North British Society, pp. 34-41.
73. J.E. More, History of Queens County, Nova Scotia (Halifax, N.S., 1873), pp. 158, 182.
74. PANS, RG20, Ser. A2: Baxter, James, 1819; Rough, James and John, 1818.
75. F.H. Patterson, John Patterson, pp. 42-43, 48-51, 63.
76. The Presbyterian was James McGregor, whose career is the subject of Patterson's Memoir. The Roman Catholics were Aeneas MacEachern and James MacDonald - see Johnstone, Catholic Church, I, 133-34, 142-44.
77. Rev. G. Patterson, Pictou, p. 453.
78. Rev. G. Patterson, ed., Memoir, pp. 120, 256.
79. Chapter 7 and Appendix 5.
80. P. Campbell, Travels, p. 43.
81. Rev. G. Patterson, Pictou, pp. 79-80.
82. Michael Francklin was a prominent member of the Halifax establishment and was Lieutenant Governor briefly in the 1760s. See Brebner, Neutral Yankees, pp. 96-97, 101. PANS, Report: 1935, Appendix C, pp. 34-35; 1944, Appendix B, pp. 36-39, 47-48.
83. Scots Magazine, XXXIV, 482-83.
84. Rev. G. Patterson, ed., Memoir, p. 78; idem, Pictou, p. 94.
85. Hansen, Atlantic Migration, pp. 53-54; Meyer, North Carolina, pp. 160-61.
86. Ellis, "Settling the Loyalists", pp. 105-07; MacNutt, Atlantic Provinces, pp. 90-95; Murdoch, Nova Scotia, II, 17-19.
87. Rev. G. Patterson, Pictou, p. 455.
88. PANS, RG20, Ser. A2: Douglas Grant, 1816 (James McPhee, Donald

- McDougal Sr.); Forbes, John, 1809; Fraser, James, 1811;
 McDonald, James and Others, 1786; MacClellan, Kenneth, 1808;
 McDonald, Farquhar and Others, 1810 (John McPhee); Robertson,
 William and Others, 1809 (Donald Cameron).
89. Scots Magazine, XXXIV, 483-84, 587-88.
 90. Anon., Remarks on the Climate, Produce and Natural Advantages of Nova Scotia in a Letter to the Earl of Macclesfield (London, 1784).
 91. PANS, MG1, vol. 332B, p. 5, Rev. Hugh Graham to parents, November 19, 1788.
 92. Caledonian Mercury, November 29, 1784.
 93. PANS, RG20, Ser. A2: McDonald, Angus and Others, 1785; McKay, Alexander and Others, 1784.
 94. Rev. G. Patterson, ed., Memoir, pp. 137, 168.
 95. Johnstone, Catholic Church, I, 134, 142-44.
 96. Rev. G. Patterson, ed., Memoir, p. 78; idem, Pictou, p. 94.
 97. V.R. Cameron, ed., Emigrants, p. 96.
 98. Rev. G. Patterson, Pictou, p. 457.
 99. Scots Magazine, XXXIV, 482-83.
 100. Rev. G. Patterson, Pictou, pp. 80-81.
 101. E.C. Wright, The Loyalists of New Brunswick (Moncton, N.B., 1955), pp. 30, 49-52.
 102. PAC, Report, 1894, p. 427, Parr to Nepean, October 9, 1784
 103. PANS, MG1, vol. 332B, p. 3, Rev. Hugh Graham to parents, September 2, 1785.
 104. P. Campbell, Travels, p. 43.
 105. R.A. MacLean, ed., Antigonish, I, 57, 62-63; Rankin, Antigonish, p. 17.
 106. Statistical Account, XIII, 326 ff.
 107. CO 217/63/81, Memorial of Simon Fraser, September 27, 1791.
 108. Rev. G. Patterson, Pictou, pp. 83-93.

109. Ibid., p. 97.
110. PANS, RG20, Ser. A2, McDonald, Angus and Others, 1785.
111. J.S. MacDonald, North British Society, pp. 46-47, 53.
112. Caledonian Mercury, November 29, 1784.
113. PANS, RG1, vol. 48, doc. 7, Parr to Nepean, December 4, 1789.
114. J.S. MacDonald, North British Society, pp. 61, 66.
115. Statistical Account, XIII, 326 ff.
116. PANS, RG1, vol. 48, doc. 58, Parr to Dundas, September 27, 1791.
117. Rev. G. Patterson, ed., Memoir, pp. 256-58.
118. Johnstone, Catholic Church, I, 135.
119. Rev. G. Patterson, ed., Memoir, pp. 256-58.
120. Ibid.
121. Brebner, Neutral Yankees, p. 102.
122. PANS, RG1, vol. 32, doc. 22, Dartmouth to Legge, July 6, 1774.
123. PANS, Report, 1935, Appendix C, pp. 34-35.
124. PANS, RG1, vol. 32, doc. 31, Dartmouth to Legge, July 1, 1775.
125. PAC, Report, 1894, p. 339, Legge to Secretary of State,
October 17, 1775.
126. PANS, RG1, vol. 47, doc. 15, Parr to North, November 20, 1783;
W.O. Raymond, ed., Winslow Papers, A.D. 1776-1826 (Saint John,
N.B., 1901), pp. 108, 124-25, 207-08, 247-49; Wright, Loyalists,
pp. 30, 43-44, 49-52, 63, 94-108.
127. PAC, Report, 1894, p. 424, Campbell to Secretary of State,
September 2, 1784.
128. PANS, RG1: vol. 136, p. 331, Bulkeley to Pyncheon, March 2, 1784;
vol. 33, doc. 12, Sydney to Parr, October 5, 1784.
129. PANS, RG1, vol. 47, doc. 28, Parr to Secretary of State,
September 1, 1784; PAC, Report, 1894, p. 425, Campbell to
Secretary of State, September 24, 1784.
130. PAC, Report, 1894, p. 427, Parr to Nepean, October 9, 1784.
131. PANS, RG1, vol. 48: doc. 29, Parr to Grenville, August 23, 1790;

- doc. 30, Parr to Nepean, August 23, 1790.
132. CO 217/63/66, Parr to Dundas and enclosure (Memorial of Pictou inhabitants), August 13, 1791.
 133. PANS, RG1, vol. 48, doc. 58, Parr to Dundas, September 27, 1791.
 134. Ibid., vol. 48, doc. 72, Bulkeley to Dundas, April 14, 1792.
 135. Ibid., vol. 50, Wentworth to Long, December 3, 1792.
 136. Ibid.
 137. CO 217/63/379, Fishery to Watson, September 12, 1792; PANS, RG1, vol. 48, doc. 81, Wentworth to King, September 14, 1792.
 138. Assembly Journal, 1792, p. 175 (July 7).
 139. Ibid., 1791, p. 95 (June 11).
 140. PANS, Report, 1944, Appendix B, p. 36.
 141. Scots Magazine, XXXIV, 482-83.
 142. Rev. G. Patterson, Pictou, pp. 84-93.
 143. Ells, "Clearing the Decks", pp. 52-55.
 144. PANS, RG1, vol. 212, pp. 179-80, Executive Council Minutes, July 20, 1773.
 145. Ibid., vol. 349, doc. 26, Royal Instructions, February 3, 1774; Ells, "Clearing the Decks", pp. 52-53.
 146. PANS, RG1, vol. 44, doc. 37, Legge to Dartmouth, July 6, 1774; N. MacDonald, Immigration and Settlement, pp. 71-74.
 147. PANS, RG1, vol. 32, doc. 31, Dartmouth to Legge, July 1, 1775.
 148. Ells, "Clearing the Decks", p. 54.
 149. Ibid., p. 55; N. MacDonald, Immigration and Settlement, pp. 44-46; MacNutt, Atlantic Provinces, pp. 90-95; Halifax Gazette, October 3, 1775.
 150. R. Brown, A History of the Island of Cape Breton (London, 1869), pp. 391-93, 397, 404; N. MacDonald, Immigration and Settlement, p. 471; MacNutt, Atlantic Provinces, pp. 93-94.
 151. Murdoch, Nova Scotia, III, 17-19; Wright, Loyalists, pp. 100-08.

152. PANS, RG1, vol. 32, doc. 81, Board of Trade to Governor,
August 28, 1783.
153. Ibid., vol. 33, doc. 48, Granville to Parr, March 10, 1790;
MacNutt, Atlantic Provinces, pp. 109-10.
154. PANS, RG1, vol. 48, doc. 81, Wentworth to King, September 14,
1792.
155. PANS, RG20, Ser. A2, McDonald, Rory and Others, 1809 (includes
the petitions of 28 Inverness-shire immigrants of 1790 and
1791 seeking confirmation of lands allotted by Parr). See
also MacNutt, Atlantic Provinces, pp. 109-10.
156. PANS, RG1, vol. 44, doc. 37, Legge to Dartmouth, July 6, 1774.
157. PANS, Report, 1944, Appendix B, pp. 37-39.
158. PANS, Microfilm Biography, Rev. James McGregor, Diary, p. 8.
159. Rev. G. Patterson, Pictou, pp. 450-56.
160. Ibid., p. 457.
161. J.S. MacDonald, North British Society, pp. 61, 66.
162. SRO, GD30/1598, Letter written by Gideon Shairp at Shelburne,
December 1, 1784.
163. Gilroy, Loyalists and Land Settlement, passim.
164. Haliburton, Statistical Account, II, 50; Rev. G. Patterson,
Pictou, pp. 118-19; G. Patterson, Sketches, p. 33.
165. Rev. G. Patterson, ed., Memoir, pp. 317-18.
166. Idem, Pictou, p. 122.
167. SRO, GD174/2154/9-16, Lieutenant Hector MacLean to Captain
Murdoch MacLaine, 1783-84.
168. Rev. G. Patterson, Pictou, pp. 121-23.
169. R.A. MacLean, ed., Antigonish, I, 44-46.
170. Ibid., I, 57. PANS, RG20, Ser. B5: McLeod, Donald, 1810;
MacQuary, John and Others, 1802 (these were four Scottish
immigrants who moved from Parrsboro to Cape Breton).
171. PANS, Report, 1933, Appendix B, pp. 35-41; Bell, Foreign

- Protestants, pp. 550-51; B.J. Bird, "Settlement Patterns in Maritime Canada, 1687-1786", Geographical Review, XLV (1955), 385-404; Rankin, Antigonish, pp. 4-8, 376-78; Appendix 6 below.
172. PANS, RG1, vol. 213, pp. 213-18, 240, Executive Council Minutes, February 6, February 9, March 23, November 22, 1792.
173. Rev. G. Patterson, ed., Memoir, pp. 137, 168.
174. Idem, Pictou, pp. 86-93; P. McRobert, A Tour Through Part of the North Provinces of America ... (Edinburgh, 1776), pp. 20-21.
175. Rev. G. Patterson, Pictou, pp. 91-92.
176. Ibid., pp. 151-60; F.H. Patterson, John Patterson, pp. 21-26, 42-43, 48-51.
177. PANS, RG1: vol. 50, Wentworth to Fraser, August 14, 1792, Wentworth to Glenie, August 30, 1792; vol. 48, docs. 81, 83, Wentworth to King, September 14, 1792, Wentworth to Dundas, October 25, 1792.
178. PANS, RG1, vol. 213, p. 199, Executive Council Minutes, October 10, 1791. Assembly Journal: 1790, p. 5 (March 2); 1792, pp. 168-69 (July 5). Rev. G. Patterson, Pictou, p. 166.
179. Rev. G. Patterson, Pictou, p. 110. A return of January 1, 1775 pertaining to the township of Pictou records 13 families and 6 single males for a total of 78, while a list of November 8, 1775 records 53 families in Pictou District (MacLaren, Pictou Book, pp. 37-40).
180. Rev. G. Patterson, ed., Memoir, pp. 107-09.
181. Idem, Pictou, p. 164.
182. Colonial Patriot, April 4, 1828.
183. Murdoch, Nova Scotia, III, 84.
184. Rev. G. Patterson, Pictou, pp. 90, 110, 121, 136-40.
185. See note 188 below.
186. PANS, RG1, vol. 213, pp. 12, 15, 17, 39, 83, 213-18, 240, Executive Council Minutes, March 1784 - March 1786, February -

November 1792.

187. Rev. G. Patterson, ed., Memoir, pp. 78-81, 101, 105, 120;
idem, Pictou, pp. 120-23, 450-57, 462-64.
188. The Waughs, who had come on the Lovely Nelly, were the pioneers,
and Wellwood Waugh became a tenant on and an agent for the
DesBarres estate. Another Dumfriesshire emigrant is believed
to have joined them as early as 1789. See F.H. Patterson,
A History of Tatamagouche, Nova Scotia (Halifax, N.S., 1917),
pp. 30-40.
189. Johnstone, Catholic Church, I, 133-35; R.A. MacLean, ed.,
Antigonish, I, 44-46, 62-63; Rev. G. Patterson, Pictou,
pp. 114-19; Rankin, Antigonish, pp. 12-13, 110, 165 ff.
190. R.A. MacLean, ed., Antigonish, I, 44-46, 117-20; Rev. G.
Patterson, Pictou, p. 163; Rankin, Antigonish, pp. 162 ff.
191. R.A. MacLean, ed., Antigonish, I, 44-46.
192. Johnstone, Catholic Church, I, 147, 157.
193. Mrs. C. Archibald, "Early Scottish Settlers in Cape Breton",
Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, XVIII (1914),
75-76; D.C. Harvey, "Scottish Immigration to Cape Breton",
Dalhousie Review, XXI (1941), 314-15; Johnstone, Catholic
Church, I, 136-37; Kincaid, Scottish Immigration, pp. 69-70;
MacDougall, Inverness, p. 241; R.A. MacLean, ed., Antigonish,
I, 117-18; Rev. G. Patterson, Pictou, p. 163; G.C. Patterson,
History of Victoria County (1885, unpublished typescript,
Legislative Library of Nova Scotia), pp. 51-54.
194. PANS, RG1, vol. 49, pp. 11-12, Wentworth to Secretary of State,
October 21, December 21, 1783.
195. PANS, RG20, Ser. A2, MacDonald, Dougald and Angus, 1792.
196. Ibid.: Fraser, Donald and Others, 1785; Fraser, William, 1809;
McDonald, Angus and Others, 1785; McGilvery, Donald, 1807;
McKay, Alexander and Others, 1784; McLean, David, 1808;

Marshal, John and Others, 1785; Reid, Alexander, 1810.

197. Ibid.: Cameron, Donald, 1809; MacClellan, Kenneth, 1808;

McDonald, James and Others, 1786; McDonald, John Sr., 1811;

McDougal, Donald Sr., 1816; McIntosh, Alexander, 1810; McPhee, James, 1816.

198. Ibid.: MacNeil, Rory, 1821; McNiel, John, 1808; Stewart, Alexander, 1821.

199. Ibid.: Baxter, James, 1819; Fraser, Alexander Sr., 1814;

Maxfield, James and Others, 1821 (Robert Crawford); Money,

James and Others, 1828 (John Bell); Rough, James and John, 1818.

200. See also Chapter 3 and Tables 62-67 (Appendix 4).

Chapter 15

Immigration and settlement in Nova Scotia, 1794-1814

Volume

Throughout this war period available statistics are still meagre and imprecise, but, in total, the evidence reveals a pattern which corresponds closely to that observed for Scottish emigration as a whole at this time. During the first phase of the war, prior to 1801, there is no evidence for any substantial immigration from Scotland, although scattered references in the local histories indicate that the flow did not cease completely.¹ Then, for the years 1801-03 there is abundant evidence for a large-scale movement, directed almost exclusively to Pictou Harbour.

Official interest was aroused again, and Wentworth commented on the volume of the movement in dispatches to Britain. In July 1801 he noted the arrival of 120 out of 500 expected. In September 1802 he noted the arrival of 370 from Barra, and at the end of the following month estimated a total of 1,200 Scottish immigrants for the year. In May 1803 he reported that 1,000 were on their way from Scotland to Pictou, and recorded the actual arrival of 845 in August.² In addition, 299 recently arrived Scottish immigrants were reported at Sydney in August 1802.³

Fuller information is afforded by the contemporary Scottish sources reviewed above.⁴ According to these, 3,047 sailed to Pictou and 340 to Sydney between 1801 and 1803. Of these, 669 went to Pictou on three vessels in 1801. In 1802, 1,098 went to Pictou on four vessels and 340 went to Cape Breton on one vessel. In 1803, 1,280 went on nine vessels to Pictou. However, two of the 1801 vessels which had passenger lists totalling 565 were suspected of having actually carried 700,⁵ and this is supported by a later

statement by the agent, Denoon, that he had brought 700 on two vessels in 1801.⁶ In addition, two vessels were recorded for 1803 with no indication of the numbers involved. Consequently, the evidence of these Scottish sources probably represents closer to 4,000 emigrants destined for Nova Scotia.

These lists were admittedly incomplete, and a number of secondary sources indicate the arrival of additional vessels during these years.⁷ For example, six vessels have been named as contributors to the 1801 movement, including the three recorded in Scotland. One of the three not recorded in Scotland is said to have brought 500, so a figure of over 1,300 for 1801 is quite possible.⁸ For 1802, on the other hand, no evidence has been found of any vessels other than the five already noted, which brought about 1,400. The names of three vessels have been associated with the 1803 movement. Two of these were probably accounted for in Brown's list of 11, but the third, the Commerce, cannot be since it sailed from the Clyde. Thus, 1,350 sailed for Pictou on 10 vessels in 1803, including the 70 known to have been on the Commerce.

Taking into account that at least two more vessels sailed to Pictou in 1803, it seems likely that about 5,000 emigrated from Scotland to Nova Scotia between 1801 and 1803. This figure would also be reasonable in the context of a total Scottish emigration of about 10,000 at this time, considering the prominence of Nova Scotia as a destination suggested by the recorded statistics.

A sudden decline in the volume of immigration was noted by Wentworth in the summer of 1804, when he observed that several large vessels had arrived at Pictou from Britain without passengers, and his comment that emigrants had been changed into soldiers and sailors reflected the dramatic change in circumstances precipitated by renewed hostilities.⁹ However, this second phase of the war apparently did not exert such a heavily restrictive influence on

emigration from Scotland to Nova Scotia as the first phase had. The evidence is tenuous and extremely fragmentary, but it does suggest a sustained movement throughout the remaining years of the war, if at a considerably reduced rate.

Some official statistics from both sides of the Atlantic are available for the last few years of the period. In Scotland, 658 passengers to British North America were recorded for the years 1812-14,¹⁰ and in Nova Scotia it was recorded that 700 passengers had arrived at Halifax from Scotland during the years 1810-14.¹¹ Both of these lists were compiled at much later dates and their accuracy is doubtful, but they do corroborate other sources. The Halifax figures suggest the relative importance of 1810 and 1811 with 472 and 148 recorded respectively, while only 80 came in 1812 and 1813, and none came in 1814.

Prominent among other forms of evidence are references to the sailing of emigrant vessels between 1804 and 1814. In this respect we have rather fuller information concerning Prince Edward Island, with 11 recorded instances of emigrant vessel arrivals between 1805 and 1810. Six of these have surviving passenger lists: five pertain to sailings in 1806 and account for 474 emigrants; the sixth records 188 arrivals in 1808.¹²

Considering the destination pattern already well established, voyages to Nova Scotia might also be expected, and there are indeed references to at least nine possible emigrant vessels sailing to Nova Scotia between 1804 and 1811, six of them named.¹³ Seven of these are reported to have come to Pictou, one to Halifax, and one to the Strait of Canso. Included among these was the Rambler, which left Thurso for Pictou in 1807 with 130 emigrants. A group arrival at Pictou has been recorded for 1804 and another for 1805. The 1804 arrivals are said to have come from Lewis, and to have been followed by others from the same island in the years immediately

following.

Not all of such arrivals were necessarily large since the vessel which brought James Dawson in 1811 had only about another 30 in the steerage. However, the impression of a continued movement of some substance is reinforced by evidence for the activity of emigration agents. This factor will be considered in detail below, but for present purposes it may be noted that four individuals petitioning in 1807, 1809, 1811 and 1814 respectively, indicated that they were engaged in bringing Scottish emigrants to Nova Scotia.¹⁴ One of these indicated that 700 sailed for Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island in 1811. Moreover, in 1811 the North British Society at Halifax was active in assisting recent Scottish immigrants, as it had also been in 1807.¹⁵

The distribution of the land records data pertaining to migration dates for this period once again conforms closely to that indicated by the other sources,¹⁶ and the contrast between the very high counts for 1801-03 and those for the preceding seven or eight years is particularly striking. However, the evidence for a sustained continuation of the movement between 1803 and 1815 is most notable and, together with the other relevant evidence, suggests that several thousand more may have come during these years - perhaps nearly as many again as came in the three peak years at the turn of the century. In detail there is a degree of conformity with the few indications of fluctuations: 1810 and 1811 represent a slight peak in the 1804-14 distribution.

The evidence of a number of petitions also refers to the flow of indirect immigration via Prince Edward Island, which must have continued to be a factor throughout this period but was rarely recorded. Moreover, the flow was not one way nor restricted to one move: some 1801 arrivals, for instance, are said to have spent several years in Prince Edward Island before returning to settle

permanently on the North Shore.¹⁷

Origins

Contemporary evidence relating to the geographic origins of these immigrants is confined almost exclusively to the 1801-03 period, and the data compiled in Scotland provides a comprehensive review of the origins of Scottish emigrants to Nova Scotia at this time.¹⁸ For the 1801 movement to Pictou, districts of Ardnamurchan and Glenelg parishes, Glengarry, Urquhart, Strathglass, Perthshire, Ross and Renfrewshire were recorded. In 1802 there were further contributions from areas represented in 1801, with the addition of sizable groups from Barra and South Uist and a smaller contingent from Sutherland. Of the 340 who sailed to Cape Breton in 1802, 300 were from Ardnamurchan parish (Arisaig and Moidart), 30 were from the Small Isles (18 from Eigg and 12 from Rum), 6 were from Callander, 2 were from Ross and 2 were from Glasgow. For 1803, the emigrants enumerated were from Lewis, Strathglass and Sutherland, while those not counted were from "different quarters of the Highlands".

The three surviving passenger lists are in general agreement with these attributions and provide some additional detail.¹⁹ Of these, the Dove and the Sarah were part of the 1801 movement. Most of the emigrants on the former were from either Ardnamurchan and Glenelg on the northwest coast (41.0% of the total), or from Kilmorack and Kiltarlity (including Strathglass) at the northeastern end of the Great Glen (38.2% of the total). This latter area was even more prominently represented on the Sarah, comprising 51.2% of the total, while 27.2% were from Urquhart parish in the central Great Glen, and only 7.2% were from Ardnamurchan and Glenelg. Among the remainder of both these groups, those from districts of Perthshire formed a notable minority, and the 70 known to have come on the Commerce in 1803 were all from Perthshire.

In addition to the evidence of the emigrants themselves, to be considered below, there is the contemporary reference by Wentworth to the arrival of a group from Barra in 1802, which complements the evidence of the Scottish sources.²⁰ The various local histories furnish a considerable amount of data on the reported origins of immigrants at this time, and these coincide generally with the contemporary evidence just cited. Lochaber is the one additional area mentioned, while Lairg is cited as the parish of origin of some of the Sutherland emigrants of 1803.²¹

These secondary sources also refer to continued immigration after 1803, particularly from Ross, Sutherland and Lewis. For example, a considerable influx from Gairloch is noted for 1805, and there is said to have been a steady flow from Lewis between 1804 and 1812.²² There was some dispute as to the precise origins of the emigrants on the Rambler in 1807, but Sutherland and Caithness were the only two areas mentioned.²³ Very little is known in detail about immigration from areas other than the Highlands and Islands, but several sources indicate that it continued to be a factor during this period, with contributions from the extreme southwest (mainly Dumfriesshire) and the northeast in particular.²⁴

In the main, though, all of this evidence points to an overwhelmingly Highland immigration, particularly during the years 1801-03, and areas of origin prominent in the previous period, such as those on the northwest coast, along the Great Glen and around the Moray Firth, continued to be strongly represented. However, the Outer Hebrides and the northernmost areas of the mainland seem to have assumed a much greater prominence during this period.

The land records data provide a valuable complement to these various other sources, and the overall trends are discussed in the general analysis.²⁵ More particularly, of the 314 cases pertaining to the 1795-1814 period which recorded both a date of emigration and

a county of origin, 129 were from Inverness, 109 were from Ross and Sutherland, while Argyll and Perth each accounted for 15. This lends support to the suggestion that the more northerly counties were rather more prominent in this period. Moreover, while most of those from Inverness, Ross and Perth came during the years 1800-04, most of those from Sutherland and Argyll came after 1804.

Of the remaining 40 cases (12.7% of the 314), 20 were from eastern coastal counties from Nairn to Fife and 20 were from the southern and central Lowlands. These two groups also exhibit a pattern of timing at variance with that of the bulk of the Highland immigrants: 18 of those from the eastern coastal counties emigrated after 1809, while the other 2 emigrated between 1805 and 1809; similarly, 12 of those from the central and southern Lowlands emigrated between 1810 and 1814, 5 between 1805 and 1809, and only 3 between 1800 and 1804.

Supplementing the data on Highland counties are the 21 cases recording a date of emigration and an island of origin which fall within this period. Of these, 16 were from the Outer Hebrides (including 12 from Lewis and Harris), and 5 were from the Small Isles (4 from Rum and 1 from Canna).

Forty nine cases recorded a date of emigration and a parish of origin relevant to this period. The distribution of these reflects the continued importance of the northwest coast, with a notable contribution from the more northerly districts: 16 were from Gairloch, 1 each from Loch Broom and Assynt, and 6 from Ardnamurchan. Of the 12 from locations along the Great Glen, 1 was from Kilmanivaig, 6 were from Urquhart, and 5 were from Kilmorack and Kiltarlity. This again is in general agreement with the other evidence suggesting the continued importance of central and northeastern areas. Single contributions from Lairg, Dornoch and Aberfoyle complete the count of Highland parishes.

The remaining 10 cases from non-Highland contexts provide a valuable supplement to the county evidence since they were all from urban locations. There were 3 from Glasgow, 2 from Edinburgh, and 1 each from Paisley, Greenock, Perth, Dundee and Aberdeen. Moreover, their dates of emigration were largely post-1804.

Composition

In terms of composition, the most valuable information is again to be derived from the passenger lists pertaining to Highland emigrant groups. Those of the Dove and the Sarah,²⁶ which sailed from Fort William to Pictou in 1801, are somewhat deficient in that ages are only recorded for children under 16, and their structuring renders family status and combinations uncertain. Nevertheless, we can calculate that the proportions of those under the age of 15 were 30.1% for the Dove and 41.1% for the Sarah, suggesting a considerable variation in composition between these two groups which sailed from the same port to the same destination in the same year, and which were largely from the same source areas.

The occupations recorded for adult males may be relevant in this respect. In both cases they are described as farmers, tenants or labourers, with the addition of a blacksmith, a tailor and a "jacksman" on the Sarah. But labourers represent 24.5% of the whole Dove group, while the corresponding figure for the Sarah is only 11.9%. In addition, males constituted 57.3% of all those over the age of 15 on the Dove, but only 48.7% of those on the Sarah. These variations suggest a higher proportion of young single males on the Dove, although there can be no doubting the importance of family groups in both cases.

No actual passenger list has survived for 1802, but, of the 128 who sailed from Fort William to Pictou on the Aurora in that year, it was reported that 46 (or 35.9% were under the age of 16.²⁷ The

preponderance of family groups is also indicated by a list of recent Scottish immigrants (presumably of 1802) compiled in March 1803 for the purpose of land allocation.²⁸ This group comprised 50 family units (34 of them being husband and wife combinations with dependent children, the other representing a variety of combinations), 15 single males and 3 single females. There were 109 children in 34 nuclear families, giving a mean of 3.2 children per family.

For 1803 we have the list of 70 individuals from Perthshire who sailed on the Commerce from Greenock to Pictou:²⁹ 66 of these were accounted for by 12 nuclear families, the remaining 4 comprising 3 single males and 1 single female. Of the heads of families, 6 were aged 40-49, 3 were aged 30-39, 2 were aged 20-29, and 1 was 60. The 3 single males were 20, 24 and 60, while the single female was 40. In terms of the age structure of the total group, 57.1% were under 15, 1.4% were aged 15-19, and 10.0% were aged 20-29. Apart from a single male who was a labourer, all of the adult males in this group had been tenant farmers. The mean number of children was 3.5 for the 12 nuclear families.

In marked contrast to this, and indeed all the examples already cited, is the evidence relating to another 38 Perthshire individuals who sailed for New York from Greenock on vessels which left in August and September 1803.³⁰ Twenty of these were apparently single males and, in terms of age structure, 13.2% were under 15, 5.3% were aged 15-19, while 47.4% were aged 20-29. Although meagre, this evidence does suggest a movement of a quite different nature.

For the rest of this period there are no surviving passenger lists pertaining directly to Nova Scotia, but Prince Edward Island provides evidence which illustrates trends similar to those observed in the Nova Scotia instances. The lists for the five vessels which arrived at Charlottetown from Scotland in 1806 are structured in such a way that family groupings cannot be identified, but since all ages

are recorded it is possible to calculate age structures.³¹ There is a fair amount of variation, with the proportions of those under 15 ranging between 34.8% and 48.5%, while the corresponding ranges for those aged 15-19 and 20-29 are 5.4% to 13.4% and 15.5% to 22.9% respectively. However, these figures do not suggest any marked variation from the pattern of predominantly nuclear family movement already identified.

On the other hand, of the 188 who sailed on the Clarendon in 1808,³² 34.0% were under 15, 6.9% were aged 15-19, and 31.9% were aged 20-29. The relatively high proportion of the last range is complemented by the fact that 25 of this group seem to have been single males and another 3 were single males with dependants. However, the proportion of children is also relatively high, and 22 nuclear families containing 70 children can be identified, giving a mean of 3.2 children per family. The variety of other family combinations also suggests that many of those recorded as singles may have had family ties with others in the group. The occupations of adult males were also recorded for this group and, with the exception of a farmer, a surgeon and a "supercargo", they were all listed as labourers.

The occurrence of varying numbers of "labourers" among these Highland emigrant groups probably does not signify any fundamental differences in socio-economic composition. The other designations indicate that this was essentially a continued movement of the hard-pressed small tenantry. This is supported by the further evidence in this period of the tendency to exhaust resources in the act of emigration and the comments on the general poverty of many of the Highland immigrants. In this context those classified as labourers are most likely to have been young men who had as yet failed to gain a foothold on the land in their home community in the face of prevailing demographic and economic pressures, and their presence in

greater or lesser numbers among these groups would depend on local circumstances at the time of emigration.

For those Scottish immigrants of this period who were not part of this mass Highland movement information is again slight, but it is sufficient to identify a number of distinct groups. One of these consisted of the Dumfriesshire emigrants who are reported to have come to occupy land in the Tatamagouche vicinity during this period, largely as a result of the promotional efforts of one of the Lovely Nelly emigrants who relocated there and became an agent for the DesBarres estate.³³ These probably represented a Lowland equivalent of the Highland movement, that is, former small tenantry seeking land for settlement in a homogeneous community. Otherwise, the evidence suggests groups whose primary aim was probably not pioneer settlement.

The Scottish mercantile community continued to grow: the North British Society recorded the arrival at Halifax of merchants from Scotland throughout the period,³⁴ and McGregor noted a considerable mercantile influx into Pictou District from the Lowlands and England in the first decade of the new century.³⁵ Members of this group also appear among the land petitioners. For example, one came to Pictou in 1811 and began to trade, while another, a native of Ayr, arrived in 1810 and established a fishing business on the south coast of Cape Breton.³⁶

This mercantile element was also responsible for the introduction of a variety of artisans and others in connection with their business interests. The individual last mentioned, for instance, brought out a number of fishermen and their families to work for him. Similarly, the Lowdens imported workers for their shipbuilding enterprise at Pictou at the turn of the century,³⁷ and, in 1811, Mortimer brought out some 30 employees from Scotland, mainly masons and carpenters.³⁸ Further instances of such tradesmen are two

masons and a quarrier who had emigrated between 1808 and 1811 and who were involved in the erection of public buildings in Halifax.³⁹

The clergy also continued to contribute, and two Presbyterian ministers and a Roman Catholic priest arrived from Scotland to take up positions on the North Shore around the turn of the century.⁴⁰ Shortly thereafter the surgeon from an emigrant ship took up residence in the Antigonish area.⁴¹

Finally, mention of the arrival of pastors of the two denominations emphasizes the fact that, as in the previous period, the Highland immigrants comprised two distinct religious groups (Father MacEachern estimated that the Highland arrivals at Pictou in 1801 and 1802 included over 1,000 Roman Catholics).⁴²

Reasons for emigration to Nova Scotia

The factors governing Scottish emigration during this period have already been discussed in general, and the second Statistical Account indicates the particular severity of demographic and economic pressures in the areas which were most prominent in the contemporary exodus to Nova Scotia. In the Outer Hebrides it was noted for Stornoway that the "brisk" fishery of the years 1800-08 had been one of the factors contributing to a general population increase.⁴³ In North Uist a greatly increased population, 1801-21, was accompanied by the introduction of crofting in 1814. Those involved in this process had no leases, but were not removed without just cause since the proprietor was reluctant to do so and even encouraged the subdivision of crofts.⁴⁴ In the case of Barra, while there was a general rise in population levels, a levelling off was noted for the 1801-11 period.⁴⁵

Among the northwest coast parishes a marked population decline during the same period was recorded, for instance, for Glenelg. In this case the decline was stated to have been due to emigration as a

result of the creation of larger holdings: of those displaced, the better-off emigrated while the destitute remained. It was further observed that, although some of the former did choose to remain as crofters, many of them were eventually forced to emigrate before all their resources were exhausted.⁴⁶ The suggestion that emigration was becoming an important factor is further supported by the opinion of the writer of the Ardnamurchan Account that emigration to the Lowlands and the colonies from his parish had been constant since the time of the first Statistical Account.⁴⁷

Among the Great Glen parishes there are references to temporary population declines between 1801 and 1811, and by the time of the second Statistical Account commercial sheep farming was prominent throughout, and not just in the two parishes at the southwestern end, as in the 1790s.⁴⁸ Indeed, the turn of the century was a time of increased social disruption in Strathglass as a result of extensive economic reorganization.⁴⁹ This was also the case in Sutherland, and four emigrants from there who arrived in Nova Scotia in 1814 stated that they were "turned out of their possession by the freeholders of that county who have let their farms to sheep dealers".⁵⁰

Thus, varying local circumstances in these areas were still producing the same general result - a decreasing ability to accommodate all those who were seeking land occupancy. In addition, this trend was also an important factor in an area such as the extreme southwest as the process of rural reorganization intensified. It is not surprising, then, that the reasons given for the emigration of the Commerce group in 1803 were either "rent raised" or "farm taken".⁵¹ Similarly, a Highlander who emigrated to Nova Scotia in 1804, and later commented on his motives, referred to "rack-renting" and the prospect of freedom as opposed to serving lairds.⁵²

However, the importance of very specific local circumstances in triggering emigration was also an observed factor. In this

respect, two letters (of 1801 and 1802) written to the Reverend McGregor by a weaver resident in his native parish of Comrie are revealing. The writer was a prospective emigrant seeking information about Nova Scotia. In 1801 there was considerable local hardship, with unemployment among tradesmen, high food prices and high rents. Then, in 1802, lower food prices and the abundant employment opportunities afforded by Melville's estate improvements nearby greatly alleviated these difficulties. Nevertheless, this individual retained the desire to emigrate and his enquiries were quite detailed and specific, pertaining to employment opportunities, the nature and availability of land, and its proximity to the religious facilities offered by McGregor.⁵³

Another surviving letter from Scotland, written in 1803, was from an individual in quite different circumstances but revealing similar intentions. This was a Lieutenant Cameron of the 79th Regiment who wrote to a brother at Shelburne. He represents himself as a man "with a little money", who had thoughts of emigration to Nova Scotia "if there was good encouragement given from you, and the rest of our friends in that Country". Of further interest is the fact that his letter was sent with an emigrant who was recommended for assistance.⁵⁴

We also have an example of a response to this kind of enquiry when the Reverend Graham wrote, in 1801, to a brother concerning another brother who was considering emigration. He cited Nova Scotia as a more suitable destination than the United States because of its accessibility, climate and ties to the mother country. Moreover, in the current economic climate wages were high and there were good prospects in the brother's trade. He also observed that there was a vast quantity of good land available.⁵⁵ Similarly, the Reverend Alexander Dick wrote to Scotland in 1803 giving a favourable account of Cape Breton as a destination for emigrants.⁵⁶

The report of a vessel which sailed from Halifax to Greenock in 1808 with several hundred private letters on board,⁵⁷ together with the evidence for the development of private transatlantic communication in the previous period, suggests that our examples are a very meagre representation of a growing phenomenon. However, while only a very small sample, they do reveal the operation of the major factors which were drawing Scottish emigrants to Nova Scotia. The allocation of land on a regular basis did not get under way until the latter part of this period, but every effort was made throughout the period to accommodate newcomers seeking land for settlement and, as Wentworth observed, most of the immigrants at this time were prospective farmers.⁵⁸

The availability of land for outright ownership also had a great attraction for those who had gone to Prince Edward Island, but found themselves in circumstances which must have seemed little different from what they had left. A petition of 1807 by an agent seeking land in Nova Scotia for Prince Edward Island settlers refers to "indolent and monopolizing land proprietors" in Prince Edward Island whose grip on the land had been a great discouragement to effective settlement.⁵⁹ This individual, incidentally, was none other than Dr. Angus MacAuley, who had been Selkirk's agent in Prince Edward Island in 1803. Another two of Selkirk's employees appeared on the Nova Scotia scene in 1808 when they came to work in mercantile establishments in Halifax, but their ultimate objective also was to obtain land of their own.⁶⁰

Such considerations evidently resulted in Nova Scotia becoming a more desirable destination than Prince Edward Island among Scottish emigrants. However, as shown by the data for 1801-03, destinations in the United States and Upper Canada were also attracting Scottish immigrants. The former was certainly seen in Nova Scotia at the time as a serious competitor,⁶¹ and had a long-standing tradition of

Highland settlement, albeit severely disrupted by the Revolution. Upper Canada had the growing Glengarry settlement but otherwise was only just beginning to develop as a settlement area.

In addition, the one large group which is known to have gone to the United States in the 1801-03 period was from Skye,⁶² a source area which does not seem to have had a base established in Nova Scotia at this time. Similarly, Glengarry was not strongly represented in Nova Scotia, and the direction of much of the movement was obviously influenced by the origins of pre-existing communities in the New World. Denoon, for instance, claimed that the emigration organized by him in 1801 encouraged others to follow in subsequent seasons.⁶³

The data certainly suggest that at least as many went to Nova Scotia as all other destinations combined. Of crucial importance was the fact that Nova Scotia had already emerged as a major destination, resulting in the establishment of stable and discrete Scottish settlements in which the tendency to adhere tenaciously to homogeneous communities was already observed.⁶⁴ The correspondence quoted above emphasizes the importance of bonds of kinship and locale in directing the thoughts of prospective emigrants towards Nova Scotia, and four land petitions of this period illustrate in detail the operation of the classic chain process: all of the petitioners had nuclear relatives still in Scotland but ready to follow them to Nova Scotia.⁶⁵

It was not only kin and friends who were promoting this movement, however, as indicated by a petitioner who claimed to have emigrated on the advice of Simon Fraser of Pictou, and another who stated that he had been encouraged by Admiral Cochran to come and settle in Nova Scotia.⁶⁶ Yet again, Wellwood Waugh claimed, in 1806, to have engaged several Lowland families to come and settle at Tatamagouche,⁶⁷ and there are several other examples of

individuals proposing to introduce modest numbers of settlers (in the range of a dozen or so each).⁶⁸

The apparent existence of such small-scale organizing ventures is overshadowed, though, by the evidence for large-scale commercial organization, which is related to the factor of accessibility. In strict geographic terms, of course, Nova Scotia was more accessible to Scottish emigrants than destinations in the United States or Upper Canada. This might well be negated by inferior communication facilities, but this was far from being the case during this period, largely as a result of the tremendous stimulation of the Nova Scotia economy by the prolonged war effort. The strength of non-agricultural sectors of the economy may in itself be seen as the essential stimulus for the notable influx of mercantile and trades personnel from Scotland during these years. In addition, the rapid development of a lumber industry ensured that there would be ample means readily available to transport large numbers of Scottish emigrants to Nova Scotia.

Organization and transportation

The lumber industry responded vigorously to the growing demand from Britain for timber supplies from the North American colonies. The North Shore area was in the forefront in this activity, and Pictou Harbour quickly became a major export centre involved in providing the shipping as well as the raw material. In 1802, Wentworth, commenting on increased commerce in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, noted that 20 vessels of 120-450 tons had sailed that year from Pictou to Britain with timber, fish and pelts.⁶⁹ In the following year he referred to an unexpected volume of trade through Pictou, at least 50 vessels having sailed overseas from the district, mainly to Britain with timber.⁷⁰ This commercial expansion was accompanied by the building of many large vessels at Pictou between

1801 and 1803. These were sold with their timber cargoes in Britain.⁷¹ These activities continued to prosper for many years, and it has been estimated that timber exports from Pictou to Britain averaged £100,000 annually, 1800-20.⁷²

This substantial eastward flow of shipping implied capacious holds for potential return cargoes, and the individual who mentioned taking passage to Nova Scotia on a timber ship in 1809 provides a local example of the reported general practice.⁷³ It is unknown whether this person was a member of an organized group, but the report that the vessels which brought emigrants to Pictou in 1801 returned to Britain with timber illustrates the direct links between the timber trade and the emigrant trade.⁷⁴

The 1801 immigration had been organized by Hugh Denoon, a native of Scotland and a leading community figure in the early history of Pictou. However, as in the case of so many others prominent locally at the time, very little is known about him in detail apart from this venture into the emigrant trade. He is said to have personally recruited emigrants in Scotland in the summer of 1801, employing extravagantly optimistic claims as to prospects in Nova Scotia, and the groups which sailed on the Dove and the Sarah in the same year were his responsibility.⁷⁵ The third group listed in association with him in the Scottish sources for 1801 cannot be identified specifically in the Nova Scotia context. No evidence has been found for any other similar activities on his part, and it may well be that his career as emigration agent was confined to this one year.

In addition to him, the Scottish sources name six other agents who organized the emigration to Nova Scotia in 1802 and 1803.⁷⁶ Five of these are completely unknown otherwise and may also have had very brief careers in this business. The sixth, though, was Simon Fraser, noted as having been active for 10 years. This is probably

the same individual who played such a prominent role in the early 1790s, and he was the only one of all the agents mentioned in the 1801-03 lists who was recorded for more than one year. The evidence of two land petitions suggests that his career extended, in fact, throughout much of the entire period: in 1809 a Simon Fraser claimed (with a John Fraser) to have brought nearly 1,700 emigrants from Scotland in the previous eight years, and Simon alone stated in the same year that he had engaged emigrants from Scotland for the following year.⁷⁷

Another example of a long career is provided by Hector McKenzie, master and owner of the schooner Perseverance of Stornoway, who claimed, in 1820, to have brought some 1,500 Scottish emigrants to Nova Scotia during the previous 18 years.⁷⁸ Yet again, a Pictou merchant, who petitioned in 1814, had been bringing emigrants from Scotland for nearly three years.⁷⁹

Denoon later petitioned for land as compensation for the expense of bringing the 1801 emigrants,⁸⁰ and the other examples cited seem to have been similarly motivated in petitioning. Apparent connections between settlement development and emigration organization have already been described, and another petitioner of this period seems to have been involved in both emigration organization and prospective settlement development on a large scale. He sought land in Cape Breton for 32 families conditionally engaged, and proposed to settle a total of 100 families.⁸¹ Consequently, although fragmentary, the surviving evidence does indicate that the ready availability of shipping was complemented by extensive activity on the part of agents. For some it may only have been an occasional or isolated involvement, but for others it certainly seems to have been a major business interest for many years.

The 1801-03 evidence suggests a degree of specialization in terms of areas of origin in that the emigrants organized by Denoon

and Fraser came from the same general mainland areas and nearly all sailed from Fort William. Of the other agents, one was associated with the Barra and South Uist emigrants of 1802, while another two were associated with the Strathglass departures from the Moray Firth in 1803. The latter movement also produced the reference to a "club" of emigrants, an intriguing hint of independent organization. Nevertheless, it seems likely that the commercial operations of agents were of vital importance in coordinating Scottish emigration to Nova Scotia with transportation facilities throughout this period.

General observations concerning the size of vessels and average passenger loads have already been made when considering the entire Scottish exodus during this period, and the shipping reported to have been involved in timber export from northern Nova Scotia was of just the type and size range which seems to have been of greatest importance in emigrant transportation.

The general impression of a tendency towards extremely crowded conditions is reinforced by the reported circumstances of the Dove and Sarah voyages in 1801. It has already been noted that, while 565 passengers were listed officially for both, the Customs Collector at Fort William suspected that the true total was more like 700 as a result of the later addition of a third tier of berths to the two tiers present when he inspected the vessels.⁸² This is a clear reference to the practice of fitting the empty holds of timber ships with temporary accommodations, which was a constant temptation to overcrowding.

Certainly, according to local tradition, excessive crowding on these vessels was exacerbated by inadequate provisions, and an outbreak of smallpox on the larger vessel (the Sarah) resulted in nearly 50 deaths en route.⁸³ It was also reported in Scotland that 53 had died on one of these vessels.⁸⁴ In addition, it has been reported of one of the other vessels said to have sailed to Pictou

from Fort William in 1801 that 65 out of a total of 500 died of smallpox during the voyage.⁸⁵

However, it seems that 1801 was a particularly bad year and, while the evidence continues to suggest that crowded conditions were the norm, the prevalence of disease and extreme misery among immigrants was not reported for subsequent years of this period. In 1802, for instance, Wentworth noted that the Barra group had arrived in good health.⁸⁶ In the following year he stated that the 845 arrivals at Pictou were healthy and had had a good, well-provisioned passage, circumstances which he attributed to the beneficial effects of the Passenger Act.⁸⁷

These were the fortunate ones, though, for the case of the Rambler provides an example of the kind of complete disaster which constantly threatened. This vessel, as noted above, sailed from Thurso for Pictou with 130 emigrants in 1807. However, it was wrecked off the coast of Newfoundland with the loss of all but three of the passengers.⁸⁸ Interestingly, at least one of the latter did reach his destination since he appeared as a land petitioner in Nova Scotia in 1810,⁸⁹ but the fate of his fellow passengers emphasizes the perils and hardships of transatlantic migration faced by all Scottish emigrants.

Reception

On arrival, immigrants of this period were by no means left to their own devices. There was the possibility of continued superintendence by an agent, and three petitioners who said that they had come "under care of" Denoon apparently thought of themselves as dependants to a certain extent.⁹⁰ Another petitioner indicated that he had applied to Simon Fraser for information on land acquisition,⁹¹ and an agent apparently acted on behalf of the group which arrived at Sydney in 1802.⁹²

However, there is little evidence that emigration agents assumed any responsibility for their charges after delivering them to their destination. The minority recruited for specific private settlement schemes would be exceptions, and, of course, the tradesmen and others recruited as employees by business interests. Otherwise, in terms of private efforts, the resources of the North British Society were available at Halifax, and it continued to assist needy immigrants: in 1809, for instance, £12-10/- was given to a poor immigrant to buy a house.⁹³ But most Scottish immigrants must have been well beyond the sphere of that organization.

At Pictou, in 1801, Father MacEachern was again quick to be of assistance to the newcomers of his faith,⁹⁴ but it is clear that previous immigrants were still the principal agents of private reception. Wentworth observed in 1803 that the inhabitants of Pictou had afforded "every aid and encouragement" to the arrivals in recent years and, as Patterson commented later, reception by relatives and friends must have been an important aspect of this process.⁹⁵

This was a reflection of the operation of chain migration, and its importance by this time is indicated by the evidence of transatlantic kinship links in the correspondence and petitions quoted above. Another specific example is provided by six Strathglass emigrants of 1803 who are said to have lived with relatives on the Antigonish coast for two years before moving inland in 1805 to establish themselves independently.⁹⁶ In addition, a newspaper article of 1805 noted that the arrivals of 1801-03 were sufficiently established to assist others to become their neighbours.⁹⁷

Although the principal areas of reception were relatively remote from the centre of administration at Halifax, the great influx at the turn of the century was a matter of considerable concern, and the official role in the process was an important factor. The

local administration continued to be favourably disposed towards encouraging prospective settlers, and events of the early war years revealed a commitment to settlement development in association with an attempt to formulate strategies more effective than those of the 1780s.

St. Pierre et Miquelon were captured by British forces in 1793 and, since a large proportion of the population comprised Acadian exiles, it was decided that they could be usefully resettled in Nova Scotia, a course which was in accord with their own desires. They were to be settled at established settlements, such as Liverpool, where they could be adequately supported and where employment would be immediately available. Wentworth also suggested that initial support should be in the form of monetary subsistence allowances (for four years, decreasing in the last two), with subsidiary allowances towards buildings and equipment. In contrast to the expensive Loyalist bounties, this system was expected to be cheaper and more beneficial, fostering frugality and industry (in other words, making them responsible for their own provisioning rather than providing goods which could be all too easily sold).⁹⁸

In 1794 Wentworth issued instructions to the Liverpool magistrates for the reception of a contingent of these refugees: land was to be allocated, some housing and boats provided, and a monetary allowance was to be paid fortnightly. Further correspondence to the end of 1794 indicates that this project was carried through, illustrating the extent to which the local government was prepared to go to encourage immigrants as a "beneficial accession" because of the general scarcity of labourers and fishermen (the Acadians were already strongly oriented towards the fishery and the potential benefits of this were recognized).⁹⁹

There was a dearth of immigrants throughout the next few years, but an isolated incident in 1796 reveals that official receptiveness

had not abated. In that year a vessel carrying French royalists and Irish emigrants to New York was diverted to Halifax, and Wentworth was immediately hopeful that, by means of some judicious assistance, he could persuade at least the Irish to settle, and so help to channel British emigration to Nova Scotia.¹⁰⁰ Then, early in 1801 he was discussing measures which "will excite the attention of Emigrants and lead them to these Coasts".¹⁰¹

It is not surprising, therefore, that the arrival of the first of the new wave of Scottish immigrants at Pictou later that year elicited a quick and decisive response from Halifax. The Assembly provided a £1,000 grant, and commissioners and local agents were appointed to assist new settlers.¹⁰² The presence of smallpox among these first arrivals necessitated the imposition of quarantine regulations, and when the Pictou magistrates wrote in August requesting advice and assistance the Council advised Wentworth to send medicine and provisions immediately. In addition, any other necessary relief was to be afforded and the magistrates were to send accounts of expenses so that they could be paid out of the provincial Treasury.¹⁰³

By December, £189 had been paid towards providing for the immigrants quarantined at Pictou, and a further £500 had been allocated to the commissioners for relieving distressed emigrants.¹⁰⁴ In the following month Wentworth commented approvingly on the beneficial effects of the measures taken in 1801, and noted that the immigrants were restored to health and well on the way to being usefully settled and employed.¹⁰⁵ Then, in his speech to the Assembly in February 1802 he spoke of industrious farmers as being the most valuable acquisition for a thinly inhabited country.¹⁰⁶

However, further disbursements to immigrants in 1802 must have been the reason for the warning to the agents for settling emigrants at Pictou that the allocated funds were almost exhausted, and that

little further financial aid to immigrants was possible.¹⁰⁷ The prospect of such assistance becoming a regular practice was, therefore, not a welcome one, and the appointment, in March 1802, of a committee of the Assembly to prepare a Bill to prevent the introduction of paupers into the province reveals the survival of an uneasiness concerning the economic status of immigrants.¹⁰⁸ This was also reflected in continuing legislative discussion of the problem of "transient poor" (that is, those without legal places of settlement) amid proposals to establish a poor-house system.¹⁰⁹

The fact was that it was the active development of settlement which the local government saw as its prime responsibility, and not the relief of the indigent. Consequently, the grant of 1801 had been primarily intended to promote settlement and, by June 1803, when all but L5-8/- had been expended, L583-16/- had been spent on land surveys as opposed to only L365-16/- on the purchase of provisions for immigrants.¹¹⁰ The main thrust of government policy at this time was a determined attempt to direct the course of settlement along lines it thought most desirable. Support of the distressed, while undertaken, was only an emergency measure.

The one group which went directly to Cape Breton in 1802 was also assisted by the local authorities, with similar intent but by a rather different method. Many were poor and some support was necessary to encourage them to settle since they had arrived too late in the year to establish themselves effectively. It was therefore proposed to provide a monetary loan (on an individual basis graduated according to sex and age) for one year, to be repaid in cash or road work.¹¹¹

The relative lull in immigration during the remainder of the war years was matched by a corresponding lack of official involvement in reception, but as the conflict drew to a close there was evidence of a desire to ensure that Nova Scotia would benefit appreciably

from future European emigration. On March 3, 1814 the Assembly resolved that it would be beneficial to the agriculture and fisheries of the province to encourage the immigration of settlers from Europe.¹¹² This was followed by the drafting of an address to the Prince Regent, stating that previous British emigration to the United States had placed British North America at a relative disadvantage, and that it was an opportune time to channel emigration to British North America to increase British strength and influence.¹¹³

A later committee report observed that an increased population was of vital importance, and recommended a bounty of L5 to every healthy male aged 16-50 and L3 to every similar female who emigrated from Europe (except France) to settle in Nova Scotia between August 1, 1814 and December 31, 1815. In addition, commissioners and local committees should be appointed to superintend such a program, and its advantages should be advertised in Europe.¹¹⁴ Throughout this period, therefore, immigrants were very welcome from the official point of view, and this was accompanied by considerable efforts to promote an orderly development of settlement.

Settlement

During the earlier part of this period the process of settlement continued to be hindered by the lack of a land distribution policy, and the local authorities continued to complain: in 1796, for instance, Wentworth was advocating the removal of the prohibition on granting since there was no prospect of sales.¹¹⁵ Nevertheless, there were other ways in which settlement could be fostered, such as the alleviation of temporary subsistence crises, as in 1799 when flour was distributed as a result of crop failures.¹¹⁶ Wentworth also noted, in 1800, that money provided for road development was of great assistance in providing employment for the poor.¹¹⁷

Indeed, the promotion of an adequate system of internal

communications was seen as the most effective means of encouraging the orderly development of settlement, and substantial amounts were voted by the Assembly for surveys and road construction. In 1801, for example, £200 was allocated for a general survey of the less well-known parts of the province, and additional sums were to be devoted to road surveys in the eastern districts.¹¹⁸ It was in accordance with such policies, then, that the main purpose of the £1,000 grant of 1801 was stated to be the settling of immigrants on various roads throughout the province, such as those from Annapolis to Shelburne and Chester to Windsor, to the west of Halifax.¹¹⁹ Consequently, it was reported that the 1801 immigrants were being recommended to situations useful to themselves and the public - that is, post roads and new roads where settlers were required as a labour pool for maintenance.¹²⁰

The immigrants, of course, were concentrated on the North Shore, and the newly appointed commissioners directed their attention towards that area. One of the first official actions, with a view to accommodating Scottish immigrants, was the institution of measures for the escheat of the parts of the Philadelphia Grant liable to forfeiture for non-performance of settlement conditions.¹²¹ Moreover, towards the end of 1801, local deputy surveyors in the Pictou-Antigonish area were being instructed to lay out lots for recent Scottish immigrants.¹²²

These instructions also hint at the prevalence of less than perfect procedures: one surveyor was exhorted to be particularly careful since he had made many mistakes in the past, leading to disputes; and another was told to lay out only for recent Scottish arrivals under the direction of the commissioners, and not to interfere with previous allocations such as the 82nd Grant.¹²³ Such fears seem to be justified by a later report that some of the 1801 immigrants were encroaching on the 82nd Grant under the pretence

that it had been surveyed for them.¹²⁴ Tenure for these new settlers was by means of licences of occupation (based on an allowance of 100 acres to each family head or single person), a temporary expedient until further land instructions were received.¹²⁵

At the beginning of 1802 Wentworth reported that the L1,000 grant was a factor in the successful settlement of the recent Scottish immigrants,¹²⁶ and later in that year there were further instances of official activity in North Shore settlement development, including the further investigation of the Philadelphia Grant.¹²⁷ In April, a deputy surveyor was instructed to lay out lots for 11 Scottish immigrants. The latter were to pay for this, but the charges were to be kept to a minimum since they were poor.¹²⁸ Then, in May, the commissioners were required to settle a land dispute on the Pictou-Truro road.¹²⁹ When the Barra group arrived they were located, at their request, on Pictou Island and the adjacent mainland where they could pursue the fishery.¹³⁰

However, in his warning of August 1802 to the agents at Pictou concerning the exhaustion of funds for relief, Wentworth also indicated that recent and future immigrants should disperse over the whole province to areas where labour was in demand, and cited particular opportunities at centres such as Halifax, Liverpool, Annapolis and Digby.¹³¹ This was in accord with the course pursued in the case of the St. Pierre et Miquelon refugees, as well as the general intent of the road policy.

There was also activity in Cape Breton in these years as a result of the prospect of substantial immigration. Instructions received in 1801 still disallowed land grants, but allowed "real" settlers to be established as tenants-at-will, and a court of escheat was to be established.¹³² In 1802 a form of lease was drafted, and the direct arrivals of that year were distributed to various parts of the island and general warrants issued to them free of cost.¹³³

In 1803 the Mira Grant, which had been escheated in 1801, was opened to settlement, with each family head to get at least 100 acres and each dependant 50 acres.¹³⁴ In the same year an example of the encouragement of established settlements was provided by the allocation of L25 towards the purchase of stones and hardware for a proposed grist mill at Judique.¹³⁵

On the mainland in 1803 Scottish immigrants were still being settled along the North Shore. The group of 240 mentioned above were to be settled on some 10,000 acres at the rate of 100 acres to singles and up to 200 acres to families, the settlers having to provide their own axemen and chainbearers. This project provides evidence of further problems in the admonition that it was to be done very carefully, chainbearers were to be sworn to caution and accuracy, and a plan with names on the lots assigned was to be submitted on completion of the work.¹³⁶ At the same time the process of re-allocating escheated land in the Philadelphia Grant to immigrants was proceeding, and L150 was provided to cover expenses since the settlers were too poor to pay.¹³⁷

But the shift of emphasis to the long-settled western districts, evident in the previous year, now became quite pronounced. In addition to L275 to encourage settlement on new roads (in the form of a L25 subsidy per family, the settler to remain for at least five years), a committee of the Assembly recommended a grant of L500 to promote the settlement of immigrants in western districts. Specifically, the money was to be used to develop locations on three rivers (the Tusket, Sissiboo and Bear), around Annapolis Basin, and at Parrsboro. Local commissioners were to be appointed in these districts to superintend operations, prepare for reception, and distribute provisions if necessary.¹³⁸ Council approved this proposal and emphasized that it was to be applicable to areas to the west of the Halifax-Cumberland road.¹³⁹

Shortly thereafter, on being informed of further arrivals at Pictou, it was determined in Council that future arrivals at Pictou were to be told that government would not at present permit settlement or finance any surveys in eastern districts, but, if they were to come to Halifax instead, they would be settled in western districts.¹⁴⁰ Selkirk passed through Pictou slightly later that year and observed that this policy had not received a positive response among the Scottish immigrants because of their reluctance to leave their "friends".¹⁴¹

However, the scheme was put into effect to some extent since, in December 1803, the Council received accounts of expenses incurred in transporting Scottish immigrants from Pictou to Digby.¹⁴² Then, in July 1804, there was a proposal to settle more Scottish immigrants near Digby, the local commissioners to bear the expense of moving and settling them.¹⁴³ But, by November the Provincial Secretary was writing to the commissioners "for aiding and settling Emigrants at Digby" complaining that their activities had already consumed most of the Assembly grant, and that a new demand for money was apparently "for some not yet arrived and possibly never to come".¹⁴⁴

It is also obvious from the Provincial Secretary's comments that those who had been sent in 1803 were still unable to support themselves, a circumstance which he compared unfavourably to the relative success of those at Pictou. In 1805 a further expenditure of L31-17-5d to relieve emigrant families settled at Digby was approved, and in 1806 the commissioners for settling emigrants in western districts were directed to pay L30 to an Andrew McKinnon as compensation for settling immigrants.¹⁴⁵ No other references to this scheme have been found, but there are examples throughout the period of subsidies issued in accordance with the more general policy of establishing settlers on new roads.¹⁴⁶

During the latter part of the period another form of official

encouragement appeared - that of bounties for agriculture. In 1806, for instance, £2,000 was granted to be distributed as bounties for the clearing and planting of new land.¹⁴⁷ In 1807, 212 persons who had cleared 644 acres in Pictou District were eligible for such bounties, and Wentworth considered that the scheme had "answered the most sanguine expectations", having been "a stimulus to indigent farmers".¹⁴⁸ Yet another instance of government support in the developing Scottish settlements is the construction of a pier at Arisaig. This project received grants of £250, £500, and £300 in 1809, 1811, and 1813 respectively.¹⁴⁹

The main feature of the latter part of the period, though, was the implementation of new land regulations. In 1804 a committee of the Assembly was appointed to investigate previous land granting procedures, and Wentworth was expecting an imminent renewal of the process.¹⁵⁰ Several more years were to pass, but at last new Instructions were drawn up in 1807 and put into effect in Nova Scotia in 1808 (a regular system was not introduced in Cape Breton until annexation in 1820).¹⁵¹ Quantities of land were to be granted in proportion to the grantee's ability to cultivate. Large individual grants were no longer to be encouraged, and the standard allowance was to be 100 acres for each family head, with an additional 50 acres for each child present.

Additional amounts were possible, but no more than 500 acres was to be given to any individual without the approval of the Secretary of State. Once an applicant had proved his capability, a warrant of survey was to be issued, to be returned within six months, and a grant was to be taken out within another six months. Particular consideration was to be given to those who had settled since 1790, but they were to apply for and take out grants within a year of due notice. There were various settlement conditions, the basic one being that three acres were to be cleared and worked within five

years for every 100 acres granted. Most notable among the other provisions was the imposition of a quitrent of two shillings per 100 acres per annum, first payable after two years.

At the same time as these regulations were published at Halifax the Council was busy devising forms for the new grants, and drawing up detailed rules for applications, which were to be dealt with by a committee of Council.¹⁵² Later, a standard schedule of fees on land grants was approved. These involved payments to several officials from the Lieutenant-Governor down, and came to a total in the L10-L11 range for each grant.¹⁵³

In theory this new policy was a welcome improvement but, as has been observed by several modern authorities, its practical application was fraught with difficulties.¹⁵⁴ Quitrents were, of course, a long-standing grievance, conveniently ignored as long as possible, and this renewed attempt to have them collected aroused local opposition. In 1811 the Assembly requested that no attempt should be made to collect them. The response from London was a proposal to suspend them in return for an annual allowance to the Church of England clergy in Nova Scotia. The Assembly, however, declined to support the Church of England in Nova Scotia, and stated that the collection of quitrents would cause uneasiness.¹⁵⁵

Apart from this, the general process of administering the new procedures was proving to be far from smooth and straightforward. It was announced in 1812 that the lands of those who had obtained warrants and had neglected to take out grants within six months of the return of the warrants would be granted to others unless they applied for grants immediately.¹⁵⁶ In 1814, a committee of Council, considering "abuses" discovered in applications for land, recommended that a committee should sit on a regular basis to consider such applications (the main abuse under scrutiny at this time seems to have been prior arrangements to sell land being sought).¹⁵⁷

It was only to be expected, perhaps, that there would be many difficulties in establishing a regular system after such a long period of temporary expedients. Most of those concerned had been settled for some time, and many of those who had licences of occupation probably considered that they already had a reasonably secure title. Moreover, as was to be increasingly the case, there were others who had settled without any official sanction, as well as those who had entered into agreements to purchase from other private individuals in circumstances in which legal title might be unsettled.

The land petitions reveal that, however emphatic and precise the official instructions, responses were highly variable. For instance, very few seem to have observed the exact required form of petitioning. Some were rejected because of inadequate information, but this was rare.¹⁵⁸ In addition, it was obviously quite normal for the entire process of land acquisition to be drawn out over a long period. The required fees were a crucial factor in this respect: obtaining a warrant of survey, say, would not be too difficult, but the cost of obtaining a completed grant must have represented a severe, if not impossible, burden to the bulk of immigrant settlers.

The prolonged attempt to bring order to the Philadelphia Grant, which was still struggling along at the end of this period, is a particular illustration of the problems afflicting the land allocation system at this time of reorganization. A further £50 had been granted in 1806 to defray the expense of confirming titles, and, by 1809, a plan had been drawn up to accommodate various types of claimants - purchasers from the original grantees, those settled by government authority, and unauthorized settlers. By 1811 the lots had been surveyed and it only remained to pass grants, but the Assembly refused to grant any more money. So it dragged on, and in 1814 the essential problem was identified when it was noted that,

while the claimants thought that they were entitled to grants free of expense, there were no funds available to defray the required fees.¹⁵⁹

Although the legalities of settlement were the source of many difficulties, there can be no doubt that, in general terms, this was a propitious time for the absorption of large numbers of immigrants. After the subsistence crisis reported in 1800 there followed several years during which provisions were abundant and the climate was relatively equable.¹⁶⁰

The availability of provisions was also largely related to the very favourable economic climate created by the war. Reference has been made already to the dramatic expansion of the timber trade and shipbuilding centred at Pictou, and that sector remained important throughout the period. In association with these activities Pictou Harbour developed steadily as a commercial centre, and Pictou began to be referred to as a town by about 1803.¹⁶¹ By 1812, some 50 houses in addition to commercial structures were reported there, and by the end of the period another urban centre was forming on the site of New Glasgow.¹⁶² Elsewhere, Merigomish was said to have emerged as a large village by 1803.¹⁶³ Another indication of the importance of the harbour and surrounding district was the completion of a road between Pictou and Truro fit for wheeled traffic.¹⁶⁴

This great commercial expansion provided opportunities not only for the incoming merchants and skilled workers already noted, but also for the unskilled. There was a considerable demand for labour, and some of the Highland immigrants evidently found work as day labourers.¹⁶⁵ The increasing importance of the fishery, also reflected in exports, represented another potential occupation which might be expected to appeal, for instance, to the Barra immigrants. However, as Wentworth commented, most immigrants became agricultural settlers. Recent arrivals had less opportunity to benefit from

timber exploitation, but the agricultural sector was also benefiting from the demands of the war economy. There was the stimulus of supplying the armed forces through the Halifax base, and an export trade in agricultural products to the West Indies and Newfoundland was growing.¹⁶⁶

The new settlers first had to attain self-sufficiency, but that was greatly aided by a thriving economy among the established settlers who were so important in the reception of the immigrants. It was considered at the time that immigrants began to dispose of surpluses after about three years of settlement.¹⁶⁷ Certainly, the available evidence indicates the rapid and successful settlement of the Scottish immigrants who arrived at Pictou just after the turn of the century, aided by those aspects of public and private support discussed above. Consequently, by the end of 1804 it was considered that most of the recent arrivals in the Pictou area were self-supporting.¹⁶⁸ At the beginning of 1805, indeed, it was observed that those who had arrived in 1802 had so improved the land on which they had been placed that most now had a surplus of arable products to dispose of, and nearly every family had cattle, sheep and poultry.¹⁶⁹

Again, there are references to a variety of means of land acquisition, such as tenancy and purchase, as well as the more common occupation of Crown land, authorized or not.¹⁷⁰ Whatever the means, land occupancy was the near universal course pursued by the ordinary Scottish immigrant, and this colonization took place almost exclusively in the areas which had already been opened up by Scottish immigrants. The scale of the influx, particularly at the turn of the century, implied a considerable expansion of settlement, and since Pictou was the principal point of reception its effects were particularly noticeable in that district. It was estimated that at least 5,000 were settled there by mid-1803, and by 1817 a

population of 8,737 was recorded.¹⁷¹

The immigrant component of this increase contributed both to the expansion of existing settlements along the coast and the main river systems and to the opening up of completely new settlement areas. Thus, immigrants of 1801 are said to have formed the first settlement on Mount Thom, as well as joining established settlements such as those on the East River system and at Fraser's Mountain. In 1803 and the few years following, initial settlement is also reported for tributaries of West River, the upper reaches of Middle River, the River John and Caribou area in the extreme west, and Barney's River in the extreme east. Indeed, the extent of settlement development by about 1805 is said to have been such that all of the most desirable land in the district had been occupied, and there was a growing spread to areas beyond the district boundaries.¹⁷²

In this context, even in 1803, Selkirk found that only what was considered "back land" was available from government in the vicinity of Pictou.¹⁷³ There are reports of the establishment of a substantial settlement of Highland immigrants on the coast of Cumberland County to the west in the latter part of the first decade of the century, and there are reports of a movement from southernmost Pictou District across the watershed to the St. Mary's River system in the second decade.¹⁷⁴ Moreover, the pattern of distribution governed by area of origin and religious affiliation established by the early 1790s continued to be a powerful directing influence: visitors travelling through the North Shore region in 1803 commented on the geographic separation of distinct elements within the Scottish population at a time when a large accession of diverse elements might have been expected to blur the pattern.¹⁷⁵

Pictou District continued to be an almost exclusively Presbyterian stronghold, with Highlanders concentrated on East River, the most populous settlement, and Lowlanders (mainly from Galloway)

concentrated on West River and Middle River. The predominance of Lowlanders, again mainly from Galloway or Dumfries, was also noted among the mercantile community.¹⁷⁶ In addition, there are reports of clustering in accordance with more specific origins. Emigrants from Urquhart parish in 1801, for example, are said to have settled on the east branch of East River, an area which had already received emigrants from that source; while groups from Lairg and Gairloch are said to have founded the settlements of New Lairg and Gairloch on Middle River in 1803 and later. Similarly, the expansion westward into Cumberland County was undertaken by emigrants from Lewis.¹⁷⁷ The latter were, of course, Presbyterian as well, and the direction of their movement was probably dictated largely by the fact that areas to the east were being occupied by Roman Catholics.

Indeed, the trend established in the late 1780s and the early 1790s had been maintained to such an extent that, by 1803, settlement between Merigomish and the Strait of Canso was recorded as being almost exclusively by Highland Roman Catholics, and the process of distribution by local origin and religious affiliation was so well established that incoming Roman Catholics moved eastward from Pictou District almost immediately. The Barra contingent of 1802, for instance, despite the allocation of a relatively favourable location near Pictou, very soon abandoned it to move on to locations in the Antigonish area and Cape Breton.¹⁷⁸

The Antigonish area experienced a dramatic population increase: the mainland component of Father MacDonald's Scottish mission on the Gulf was estimated at 2,200 souls in 1803, or approximately double what it had been only three years before.¹⁷⁹ As in Pictou District this great influx was associated with a rapid extension of the area of settlement. Previously, settlement had been almost exclusively coastal, but this period was characterized by the colonization of the major river systems in the interior, largely between 1800 and

1810. Consequently, by 1810 expansion along the South River system had reached Lochaber Lake.¹⁸⁰

The areas of origin were generally those occurring in the previous period, reflecting the dominant religious affiliation, and there is further evidence for clustering according to specific origins. There are references to emigrants from Moidart on the Ohio, from Arisaig and Moidart on lower and middle South River, from Strathglass on lower South River, and from Lochaber on upper South River and Lochaber Lake.¹⁸¹

On Cape Breton Island, a population of about 2,500 in 1801 had increased to around 6,000 by the end of the period, and a modern study has suggested that by 1815 there were over 2,000 Scots on the island, concentrated mainly along the western coastline, but increasingly represented at interior locations.¹⁸² The continuing importance of the west coast is again indicated by the fact that that component of Father MacDonald's mission was estimated at 700 individuals in 1803.¹⁸³ Local tradition illustrates how this was largely a result of secondary movement via the Antigonish area, and one which once again occurred quite rapidly. Emigrants of 1801 are reported on the west coast of Cape Breton by 1802, and towards the end of the period settlement was begun at Lake Ainslie, and at West Bay on the Bras d'Or system, by Highland immigrants who had come via Antigonish and the west coast.¹⁸⁴

The areas of origin recorded - principally Moidart, Morar, Lochaber, Strathglass, the Small Isles, Barra and South Uist - are in accord with the evidence for the eastern section of the North Shore of the mainland and also, incidentally, with that for the arrivals at Sydney in 1802, many of whom seem to have settled in the vicinity of the Strait of Canso.¹⁸⁵ It was very soon after 1800, too, that the Grand Narrows area in the centre of the Bras d'Or system became a focus for Barra immigrants.¹⁸⁶

The apparently successful settlement of so many in such a short period must have been very largely a function of the widespread and almost immediate dispersal in search of individual farm holdings throughout this large region where the existing scattered population consisted almost exclusively of kindred groups. In these circumstances official attempts to redirect Scottish immigrants to other regions had little prospect of extensive success. However, the extent of the dispersal was probably also a function of the restricted availability of the more desirable locations, particularly with respect to water frontage, which in turn was related to soil quality along the river systems.

In this regard, contemporary comments suggesting a growing pressure on land resources are relevant.¹⁸⁷ Further indications may be sought in the petitions and other records pertaining to official land allocation. The latter are abundant for this period as the renewal of granting produced not only the beginning of a new series of grants, but also a veritable flood of applications from both new arrivals and those who were long settled but did not have complete title to their land. Very basically, these records reveal the general desire among Scottish immigrants to obtain secure title to their own land.

Specific instances of important factors governing site selection are provided by the examples already quoted of kin joining kin, and by an immigrant from Barra who asked to be located near relatives at Mabou. In yet another case, the petitioner's parents, immigrants from Scotland, had moved to Cape Breton from Pictou because of the lack of a Roman Catholic ministry in Pictou.¹⁸⁸

There are also examples of Scottish immigrants who did not settle independently, such as the 12 included in a group of 23 tenant farmers in the Annapolis-Digby area who petitioned in 1813.¹⁸⁹ Such circumstances do not necessarily mean that those concerned were

unable to find land for themselves, but one case in particular, perhaps connected with reception by kindred, suggests that it may not have been all that easy to establish a secure independent foothold on the land at this time. Tenancy is not mentioned as such in this case, but the individual concerned claimed to have been "placed" on a lot by another who later relinquished title to the petitioner.¹⁹⁰

Much more direct evidence of difficulties suffered in the course of settlement, and of heightened competition for a share of the available land resource, is provided by the plight of several Scottish immigrant petitioners. Some seem to have been victims of inadequacies in the system, such as the individual who claimed that the local official who received his fees failed to forward them, or another who suspected that his petition and warrant had been mislaid.¹⁹¹ More common, however, were instances of disputed titles, the result apparently of population pressure on resources and widespread confusion in the process of allocation: for instance, nine immigrants of five years' standing and longer still had not been able to find undisputed land by 1813.¹⁹² More particularly, there was the case of the immigrant who had settled on the Pictou-Truro road, but population pressure had deprived him of his allotted land and he was seeking land elsewhere.¹⁹³ Another had purchased land and improved it, but later found that his improvements were not on the lot.¹⁹⁴ Rather more complicated is the case of an individual who claimed to have received 300 acres and purchased another 250, but without ever obtaining an actual grant (he was petitioning in 1813 after 23 years' residence). The result was that, having discovered that all but 238 acres had been granted to others, he attempted to get a grant of this remainder. In the meantime, though, another had it certified that the petitioner's land was vacant and received a grant of 200 of the 238 acres.¹⁹⁵ A similar instance is provided by a plaintiff who, having commenced

improvements on land for which he held a warrant, found that another had had it surveyed during a temporary absence. He himself could not afford to take out a grant, but hoped that his claim would be confirmed.¹⁹⁶

These and other related cases vividly illustrate the conflict and confusion, implied by other sources, which arose as successive waves of Scottish immigrants spread over the land and official attempts to impose order proved inadequate. The centre of government at Halifax was remote from the principal areas being colonized, and those who admitted to being unfamiliar with the required procedures for obtaining title to land must have been typical of very many others who probably gave little consideration to such details until their occupancy seemed threatened by rival claims.¹⁹⁷

It must also have been difficult to determine the exact status of great expanses of uncleared land, and there was probably a tendency to pick a likely spot and hope for the best. This seems to have been the case of the 28 immigrants who, having had difficulty in finding land, settled at Caribou, only to find themselves located on the large Cochran Grant and faced with the alternatives of taking out regular tenancies or being expelled.¹⁹⁸

This last case is an example of the practice of group petitioning, which was a notable feature of the years after 1808 as settlers banded together to seek official sanction under the new regulations. Other examples of petitions by large groups illustrate another aspect of pressure on resources with the recurrence of requests for additional land to accommodate growing families. Their most interesting features, however, are the indications they give of the relative homogeneity of Scottish settlements, their demographic structure, and the importance of the 1801-03 movement in fostering their development. Nearly all of this kind of evidence pertains to areas in Pictou District, and some basic data contained

Table 2

	Merigomish	McLellan's Mountain	East River	Middle River	Western Settlements	
Unknown			1		2	3
Scotland	30	44	40	43	66	223
Ireland	2	1			1	4
United States	2		1	3	3	9
Newfoundland			1			1
Nova Scotia	18	9	9	14	9	59
	52	54	52	60	81	299

Table 3

	Merigomish	McLellan's Mountain	East River	Middle River	Western Settlements	
1770-74	1		2	2		5
1775-79	3		4	5	1	13
1780-84	2	2	4	2	1	11
1785-89	5		4	1	1	11
1790-94	3		1		1	5
1795-99					1	1
1800-04	14	39	23	22	49	147
1805-09	2	3	1	11	7	24
Unknown			1		5	6
	30	44	40	43	66	223

in five documents of 1809 referring to five of these areas are displayed in Tables 2 and 3.¹⁹⁹ The "Western Settlements" comprised individuals settled on tributaries of West River, and at Mount Thom, Caribou and River John, together with some on West River itself.

Table 2 indicates that these areas were populated almost exclusively by natives of Scotland. One of the Nova Scotia natives was from Lunenburg, but the bulk of the others probably represent the coming of age of a second generation of immigrants. This is suggested in particular by the Merigomish example, in which 12 of the 18 Nova Scotians were single males. The United States representation is probably partly a function of the Scottish Loyalist influx, although the identification of one of the Middle River settlers as "negro" suggests that they cannot all have been of Scottish origin.

Table 3 displays the distribution of dates variously given as those of emigration, arrival or settlement. This reveals the relative prominence of Merigomish, East River and Middle River as settlement areas in the period prior to 1800, although it also suggests that the first decade of the nineteenth century was of greatest importance in the development of settlement, particularly in the case of Middle River. The figures for the other areas, on the other hand, strongly support the other evidence pointing to the early years of the nineteenth century as the time of expansion beyond the principal areas of initial settlement along the coast between Pictou Harbour and Merigomish Harbour and along the three main rivers.

Another petition of 1809 pertaining to Roger's Hill reinforces this: all 23 of the Scots represented had arrived after 1801 (5 in 1802, 15 in 1803, and 3 in 1806).²⁰⁰ Similarly, 18 settlers in the Caribou-River John area (who petitioned in 1809 and 1816) had all

emigrated between 1804 and 1808, 6 of them being identified as natives of Lewis.²⁰¹ The prominence of emigrants from more northerly areas is further emphasized by a petition of 1811 by 10 Gairloch emigrants of 1803 who settled on Middle River, and another of 1815 by 11 Ross and Sutherland emigrants of 1803 who settled on the Philadelphia Grant.²⁰²

Returning to the five large groups considered, we may review some demographic data which were included. With the exception of 1 with no data, the 30 Scots in the Merigomish document comprised 22 heads of nuclear families with children and 7 single males (including 1 expecting his mother and siblings). Excluding 1 family which was a combination of three generations, we have 21 simple nuclear families with 133 children for a total of 175 individuals. This gives a mean of 6.33 children per family.

The larger sample from the western settlements comprised 49 nuclear families with children, 5 childless couples, a single female, and 8 single males (including 3 with nuclear dependants). There were 247 children in the 49 families with children, giving a mean of 5 children per family. For the Middle River and McLellan's Mountain groups there are no indications of marital status or the existence of spouses, and only numbers of children were recorded. However, 32 out of 43 and 38 out of 44, respectively, had dependent children, and respective means of 4.7 and 4.8 children per family head are in close accord with the evidence from the western settlements. All of this evidence suggests, therefore, the overwhelming importance of such family units.

A grant of 1809 to 35 settlers at Bailey's Brook and Knoydart also pertains technically to Pictou District, but is representative of the westernmost limit of concentrated Roman Catholic settlement, and as such provides evidence at variance with that of the other examples.²⁰³ The 35 included 31 from Inverness-shire, 28 of whom

had arrived in 1790 and 1791, and only 3 in 1802. Finally, two petitions, although concerning relatively few, are of interest since they refer to the Digby area, and are probably the result of the government activity already noted. One, of 1809, was by four Ross and Sutherland emigrants of 1803 who had settled at Digby (with a total of 30 in their families). The other, of 1808, was by Digby inhabitants on behalf of five Scottish immigrants who had recently settled.²⁰⁴

The review of the total evidence provided by Scottish land petitioners in this period clearly illustrates the general trends observed in other sources, notably the directions of population expansion within the region of reception on the North Shore and the growing emphasis on Cape Breton settlement areas.²⁰⁵ It is also evident that, with the one minor exception of the Digby area, official attempts to redirect the course of Scottish settlement seem to have had little effect. Settlement expansion was almost exclusively in terms of the pattern of homogeneous communities already established, and beyond the main areas it is noteworthy that the only relatively frequent occurrences were Douglas and St. Mary's River. The first was a long-standing outlier of Highland settlement which seems to have continued to attract a minority, while the second represented a natural expansion route from inland Pictou District.

More specifically for this period, in terms of those recording both a date of emigration and a location requested, 618 cases fell within the 1795-1804 range (with only 22 of these occurring before 1800). Individual Pictou settlements were specified by 299 of these cases: 125 referred to Pictou Harbour and the three major rivers (including 72 for Middle River alone); 103 referred to settlements to the west of West River; and 71 referred to settlements to the east of East River. Of the 32 who specified settlements in the Antigonish area, 24 referred to Antigonish Harbour, its neighbouring

river systems and the area to the east, while only 8 referred to the western coastal district which had received the immigrants of the early 1790s. Twenty three specified other mainland locations, including St. Mary's River (7 cases), Douglas (6 cases), and Digby (5 cases). Of the 87 specific references to Cape Breton settlements, 62 referred to the west coast and 11 to the Bras d'Or system.

A further 472 cases fall within the 1805-14 range in terms of the same two variables. Again, of the 87 specifying Pictou settlements, the majority referred to settlements beyond the central area: 32 specified settlements to the west and 16 specified settlements to the east. Similarly, only 6 of the 31 references to specific Antigonish area settlements pertained to the western coastal district, while the remainder were concentrated around Antigonish Harbour and along its associated river systems. Among the 37 specifying other mainland settlements, 15 referred to St. Mary's River and 10 to Digby, the remainder comprising single counts only. This evidence for further arrivals at Digby may indicate an attractive influence exerted by the nucleus established in 1803. More generally, the higher proportion of other mainland designations is probably related to the incidence of non-Highland immigrants noted for the years 1810-14 in particular. Finally, 118 were specific as to Cape Breton settlements, with 72 referring to the west coast, 21 to the Bras d'Or system, and 20 to the area to the south of the Bras d'Or.

Cases pertaining to this period in terms of date of petition and location requested are abundant and the distribution, while generally complementing that just discussed, reveals some differing emphases. Pre-1795 emigrants are, of course, included, and so areas which were settled early are more prominent. This is particularly true for Antigonish and Pictou settlement areas in the 1805-09 and 1810-14 ranges. Thus, 58 of the 75 Antigonish cases

referred to the western coastal district, while 48 of the 76 Pictou cases referred to the central area of Pictou Harbour and the three main rivers.

Further evidence along these lines is provided by cases recording the date and location of a grant, as granting became more frequent towards the end of the period. Consequently, 39 of 57 cases specifying Antigonish settlements referred to the western coastal district, while 7 of 12 cases pertaining to specific Pictou settlements referred to the central area. In addition, of 20 cases specifying other mainland settlements, 6 referred to Douglas, 5 to Musquodoboit, and 4 to St. Mary's River. Since the new regulations did not yet extend to Cape Breton it was completely unrepresented in this regard.

Notes

1. MacDougall, Inverness, pp. 188 ff.; Rankin, Antigonish, pp. 301, 312.
2. PAC, Report, 1894, p. 569. M. Ells, ed., A Calendar of Official Correspondence and Legislative Papers, Nova Scotia, 1802-1815 (Halifax, N.S., 1936), pp. 25, 28, 35, 46: Wentworth to Portland, July 27, 1801; Wentworth to Hobart, September 10, October 23, 1802, August 6, 1803; Wentworth to Duke of Clarence, May 26, 1803.
3. PANS, RG1, vol. 321, pp. 181-83, Cape Breton Council Minutes, August 16, 1802. These were presumably the bulk of the 340 emigrants to Cape Breton reported in the Scottish sources.
4. See Chapter 8.
5. "Report Relating to Emigration", Appendix A, Parliamentary Papers, 1802-03, IV. It seems reasonable to assume that the reference is to the Dove and Sarah since only two vessels were recorded for Fort William in 1801.
6. PANS, RG20, Ser. A2, Denoon, Hugh, 1810.

7. Johnstone, Catholic Church, I, 162-64, 197; C.S. MacDonald, "Early Highland Emigration", p. 44; MacLaren, Pictou Book, p. 118; R.A. MacLean, ed., Antigonish, I, 85-86; Rev. G. Patterson, Pictou, pp. 222-37.
8. The latter figure is cited in G. Patterson, Sketches, p. 15.
9. PANS, RG1, vol. 53, pp. 520-21, Wentworth to Tonge, July 9, 1804.
10. Parliamentary Papers, 1821, XVII (718).
11. PANS, RG1, vol. 238, doc. 27.
12. PANS, Ms. File, Ships, Clarendon; PAPEI, Accession 2702; A.H. Clark, Three Centuries, pp. 66-67; C.S. MacDonald, "Early Highland Emigration", p. 44.
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14. PANS, RG20, Ser. A2: Fraser, Simon, 1809; McLean, John and Others, 1814 (John Niven Sr.). Ibid., Ser. B5: Cameron, John, 1811; MacAuley, Angus, M.D., 1807.
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16. See Chapter 3 and Tables 17-24 (Appendix 3).
17. PANS, RG20: Ser. A2, Taylor, John and Others, 1810; Ser. B5, MacAuley, Angus, M.D., 1807. R.A. MacLean, ed., Antigonish, I, 85-86.
18. "Report Relating to Emigration", Appendix C, Parliamentary Papers, 1802-03, IV; R. Brown, Remarks, Appendix.
19. PANS, Ms. File, Ships, Dove, Sarah; National Library of Scotland,

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 21. Johnstone, Catholic Church, I, 197; MacDougall, Inverness, passim; R.A. MacLean, ed., Antigonish, I, 85-87; J. Murray, The Scotsburn Congregation, Pictou County, Nova Scotia (Truro, N.S., 1925), p. 20; F.H. Patterson, John Patterson, pp. 51-52; Rev. G. Patterson, Pictou, pp. 231-36; Rankin, Antigonish, passim.
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 23. Inverness Journal, February 12, 1808.
 24. F.H. Patterson, History of Tatamagouche, pp. 41-43; Rev. G. Patterson, ed., Memoir, pp. 369-70; idem, Pictou, p. 231; M. Whitelaw, ed., "James Dawson", pp. 504-06.
 25. See Chapter 3 and Tables 59-61 (Appendix 4).
 26. PANS, MS. File, Ships, Dove, Sarah.
 27. "Report Relating to Emigration", Appendix C, Parliamentary Papers, 1802-03, IV.
 28. PANS, RG1, vol. 396B, pp. 80-83.
 29. National Library of Scotland, Ms. 1053, ff. 104-09.
 30. Ibid.
 31. PAPEI, Accession 2702.
 32. PANS, Ms. File, Ships, Clarendon.
 33. Ells, ed., Calendar, p. 105, petition of Wellwood Waugh, December 1, 1806; F.H. Patterson, History of Tatamagouche, pp. 32-43; idem, Tatamagouche, 1771-1824, pp. 93-99, 149.
 34. J.S. MacDonald, North British Society, pp. 73-122.
 35. Rev. G. Patterson, ed., Memoir, pp. 369-70.
 36. PANS, RG20: Ser. A2, McLean, John and Others, 1814 (John Niven Sr.); Ser. B5, Taylor, George, 1815, 1819.
 37. Rev. G. Patterson, Pictou, p. 231.

38. M. Whitelaw, ed., "James Dawson", p. 506.
39. PANS, RG20, Ser. A2: Henderson, James, 1817; Rhind, John, 1816; Scott, Richard, 1819.
40. Johnstone, Catholic Church, I, 198; Rev. G. Patterson, Pictou, pp. 170-71, 267.
41. PANS, RG20, Ser. A2, MacDonald, Alexander, 1807; R.A. MacLean, ed., Antigonish, I, 75.
42. Johnstone, Catholic Church, I, 197.
43. New Statistical Account, XIV, 115 ff.
44. Ibid., XIV, 159 ff.
45. Ibid., XIV, 198 ff.
46. Ibid., XIV, 128 ff.
47. Ibid., VII, 117 ff.
48. Ibid., XIV, 36 ff., 117 ff., 361 ff., 459 ff., 483 ff., 503 ff.
49. MacKenzie, Highland Clearances, pp. 187-88.
50. PANS, RG20, Ser. A2, Baillie, Robert and Others, 1814.
51. National Library of Scotland, Ms. 1053, ff. 104-09.
52. PANS, Vert. Ms. File, James Gordon.
53. PANS, Microfilm Biography, Rev. James McGregor, Papers, 1786-1827, folder T, docs. 8,9.
54. PANS, Ms. File, Donald Cameron.
55. PANS, MG1, vol. 332B, p. 23.
56. J. Murray, The History of the Presbyterian Church in Cape Breton (Truro, N.S., 1921), p. 17.
57. Inverness Journal, January 22, 1808.
58. PANS, RG1, vol. 54, pp. 51-54, Wentworth to Lavington, September 12, 1805.
59. PANS, RG20, Ser. B5, MacAuley, Angus, M.D., 1807.
60. Ibid., Ser. A2, Taylor, John and Others, 1810 (Duncan McFarlane, John McPherson).
61. PANS, RG1, vol. 321, pp. 181-83, Cape Breton Council Minutes,

August, 16, 1802.

62. "Report Relating to Emigration", Appendix C, Parliamentary Papers, 1802-03, IV.
63. PANS, RG20, Ser. A2, Denoon, Hugh, 1810.
64. PANS, Microfilm Biography, Rev. John Mitchell, Journals, 1800-04; Selkirk, Diary, pp. 43-50.
65. PANS, RG20, Ser. A2: Gordon, William, 1808; Ross, Alexander and Others, 1809 (Donald McKay). Ibid., Ser. B5: Chisholm, Archibald and James, 1802; McDonald, John, 1805.
66. Ibid., Ser. A2, Philadelphia Grant, 1815 (Donald MacLeod).
67. Ellis, ed., Calendar, p. 105, petition of Wellwood Waugh, December 1, 1806.
68. PANS, RG20, Ser. A2, Bannerman, William, 1811. Ibid., Ser. B5: McKenzie, Rory, 1811; McLeod, Kenneth, 1811.
69. PANS, RG1, vol. 53, pp. 368-70, Wentworth to Hobart, September 10, 1802.
70. Ibid., pp. 429-30, Wentworth to Customs Commissioners, May 25, 1803.
71. Ibid., pp. 426-29, Wentworth to Duke of Clarence, May 26, 1803.
72. J.G. Marshall, A Brief History of Public Proceedings and Events in Nova Scotia During the Earliest Years of the Present Century (Halifax, N.S., 1879), pp. 26-31.
73. PANS, RG20, Ser. B5, Carmichael, Daniel, 1810.
74. CO 217/75/47, Wentworth to Portland, July 27, 1801.
75. F.H. Patterson, John Patterson, pp. 51-52; Rev. G. Patterson, Pictou, pp. 226-27.
76. "Report Relating to Emigration", Appendix C, Parliamentary Papers, 1802-03, IV; R. Brown, Remarks, Appendix.
77. PANS, RG20, Ser. A2: Fraser, Simon, 1809; Fraser, Simon and John, 1809.
78. Ibid., Ser. B5, McKenzie, Hector, 1821, 1825.

79. Ibid., Ser. A2, McLean, John and Others, 1814 (John Niven Sr.).
80. Ibid., Ser. A2, Denoon, Hugh, 1810.
81. Ibid., Ser. B5, Cameron, John, 1811.
82. "Report Relating to Emigration", Appendix A, Parliamentary Papers, 1802-03, IV.
83. Rev. G. Patterson, Pictou, pp. 226-27.
84. See note 82 above.
85. MacLaren, Pictou Book, p. 118. The prevalence of smallpox among immigrant arrivals at Pictou in 1801 was reported by Father MacEachern (Johnstone, Catholic Church, I, 163) and noted by the Executive Council (PANS, RG1, vol. 214, p. 83).
86. PANS, RG1, vol. 53, pp. 368-70, Wentworth to Hobart, September 10, 1802.
87. Ibid., pp. 447-48, Wentworth to Hobart, August 6, 1803.
88. Inverness Journal, December 25, 1807.
89. PANS, RG20, Ser. A2, Campbell, James, 1810.
90. Ibid.: Hogan, Andrew, 1808; Robertson, James, 1817; Robinson, John, 1808.
91. Ibid., Philadelphia Grant, 1815 (Donald MacLeod).
92. PANS, RG1, vol. 321, pp. 181-83, Cape Breton Council Minutes, August 16, 1802.
93. J.S. MacDonald, North British Society, p. 114.
94. Johnstone, Catholic Church, I, 162-64.
95. Rev. G. Patterson, Pictou, p. 222.
96. R.A. MacLean, ed., Antigonish, I, 85-86.
97. Weekly Chronicle, February 23, 1805.
98. PANS, RG1, vol. 48, doc. 89, Wentworth to Dundas, March 22, 1793.
99. Ibid., vol. 51, pp. 100-01, 118-20, 160-61, 227: Wentworth to Thomas, May 22, 1794; Wentworth to Thorne, May 26, July 29, 1794; Wentworth to Portland, December 21, 1794.
100. Ibid., pp. 293-94, Wentworth to King, May 21, 1796.

101. Ibid., vol. 53, p. 189, Wentworth to Despard, March 18, 1801.
102. PANS, RG5, Ser. A, vol. 8, Assembly Papers, 1801, Resolution of July 9.
103. PANS, RG1, vol. 214, p. 83, Executive Council Minutes, August 29, 1801.
104. PANS, RG5, Ser. A, vol. 9, Assembly Papers, 1802, Treasurer's Account, March 31 - December 31, 1801.
105. PANS, RG1, vol. 53, pp. 323-24, Wentworth to Hobart, January 6, 1802.
106. Assembly Journal, 1802, p. 3.
107. PANS, RG1, vol. 53, pp. 365-66, Wentworth to Mortimer et al., August 6, 1802.
108. Assembly Journal, 1802, p. 10.
109. Ibid.: 1801, p. 62; 1802, pp. 24, 36, 40, 44; 1803, pp. 28, 49-50, 55, 71, 73. PANS, RG5, Ser. A, vol. 10, Assembly Papers, 1803 (June 22).
110. Assembly Journal, 1803, pp. 32, 40; PANS, RG1, vol. 224, doc. 153.
111. PANS, RG1, vol. 321, pp. 181-83, Cape Breton Council Minutes, August 16, 1802.
112. Assembly Journal, 1812-14, p. 4.
113. Ibid., pp. 43-47.
114. Ibid., pp. 79-81.
115. PAC, Report, 1894, pp. 521-22, Wentworth to King, April 17 and 28, 1796.
116. PANS, RG1, vol. 53, p. 36, Wentworth to Milnes, May 3, 1800.
117. Ibid., p. 87, Wentworth to Portland, May 24, 1800.
118. Assembly Journal, 1801, pp. 42-43, 46, 50.
119. PANS, RG5, Ser. A, vol. 8, Assembly Papers, 1801, Resolution of July 9.
120. PAC, Report, 1894, p. 569, Wentworth to Portland, July 27, 1801.

121. PANS, RG1, vol. 214, pp. 86, 88, Executive Council Minutes, November 18, December 23, 1801.
122. Ibid., vol. 396B, pp. 35-36, 42: Surveyor General to Fraser, September 24, 1801; Surveyor General to Patterson, November 23, 1801.
123. Ibid.
124. Ibid., p. 84, Surveyor General to Fraser, March 22, 1804.
125. Ibid., p. 95, Surveyor General to _____, July 2, 1807.
126. PANS, RG1, vol. 53, pp. 323-24, Wentworth to Hobart, January 6, 1802.
127. Ibid., vol. 214, p. 91, Executive Council Minutes, March 20, 1802.
128. Ibid., vol. 396B, pp. 58-59, Surveyor General to Morris, April 19, 1802.
129. Ibid., pp. 59-60, Surveyor General to Mortimer, May 18, 1802.
130. Ibid., vol. 53, pp. 368-70, Wentworth to Hobart, September 10, 1802.
131. Ibid., pp. 365-66, Wentworth to Mortimer et al., August 6, 1802.
132. Ibid., vol. 321, pp. 160-61, Cape Breton Council Minutes, December 3, 1801.
133. Ibid., p. 185, Cape Breton Council Minutes, September 17, 1802; PANS, RG20, Ser. A2, McInnes, John and Others, 1834.
134. PANS, RG1, vol. 321, pp. 227-28, Cape Breton Council Minutes, August 16, 1803; N. MacDonald, Immigration and Settlement, pp. 471-72.
135. PANS, RG1, vol. 321, p. 217, Cape Breton Council Minutes, March 8, 1803.
136. Ibid., vol. 396B, pp. 80-83, Surveyor General to Morris, March 22, 1803.
137. Assembly Journal, 1803, pp. 91-92; PANS, RG1, vol. 139, p. 5, Provincial Secretary to Attorney General, August 25, 1803.

138. Assembly Journal, 1803, pp. 91-92.
139. Ibid., pp. 84-85.
140. PANS, RG1, vol. 214, p. 217, Executive Council Minutes, August 15, 1803.
141. Diary, p. 46.
142. PANS, RG1, vol. 214, p. 134, Executive Council Minutes, December 6, 1803.
143. Ibid., vol. 53, pp. 520-21, Wentworth to Tonge, July 9, 1804.
144. Ibid., vol. 139, pp. 19-20, Provincial Secretary to Moody et al., November 12, 1804.
145. Ibid., p. 20, Provincial Secretary to Moody et al., May 4, 1805; Assembly Journal, 1805-06, p. 64.
146. Assembly Journal, 1806-11, pp. 153-54, 201.
147. Ibid., pp. 28-54.
148. Ibid., p. 131; PANS, RG1, vol. 225, doc. 8.
149. Assembly Journal: 1806-11, pp. 412-13, 419, 439, 523, 528; 1812-14, pp. 13, 80.
150. Ibid., 1804, pp. 63-64; PANS, RG1, vol. 53, pp. 520-21, Wentworth to Tonge, July 9, 1804.
151. PAC, Report, 1946, p. 44, Castlereagh to Craig, August 31, 1807; PANS, RG1, vol. 214, p. 224, Executive Council Minutes, April 18, 1808; Royal Gazette, May 17, 1808.
152. PANS, RG1, vol. 214, pp. 239, 243-47, 264-68, Executive Council Minutes, May 14, May 31, June 28, 1808.
153. Ibid., pp. 398-400, Executive Council Minutes, January 12, 1811.
154. P. Burroughs, "The Administration of Crown Lands in Nova Scotia, 1827-1848", Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, XXXV (1966), 82; N. MacDonald, Immigration and Settlement, pp. 71-74; MacNutt, Atlantic Provinces, pp. 148-50.
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157. Ibid., p. 558, Executive Council Minutes, June 9, 1814.
158. See Table 41 (Appendix 3).
159. PANS: RG5, Ser. A, vol. 12, Assembly Papers, 1805-06 (January 14, 1806); RG1, vol. 214, pp. 336, 357-58, 567-68, 572-73, Executive Council Minutes, June 14, August 28, 1809, August 20, December 2, 1814. Assembly Journal, 1806-11, pp. 487-89, 546, 555-56 (March 1811).
160. PANS, RG1, vol. 53, pp. 256-57, Wentworth to Hobart, September 26, 1801; Ellis, ed., Calendar, pp. 16, 28, 31, 50, Wentworth to Hobart, March 22, October 23, 1802, January 15, December 24, 1803.
161. Rev. G. Patterson, Pictou, pp. 244-45, 267-68.
162. Ibid., p. 274; Johnstone, Catholic Church, I, 257.
163. PANS, Microfilm Biography, Rev. John Mitchell, Journals, 1800-04.
164. Rev. G. Patterson, Pictou, p. 265.
165. PAC, Report, 1894, p. 569, Wentworth to Portland, July 27, 1801; PANS, RG1, vol. 53, pp. 447-48, Wentworth to Hobart, August 6, 1803.
166. PANS, RG1: vol. 53, pp. 368-70, Wentworth to Hobart, September 10, 1802; vol. 54, pp. 52-53, Wentworth to Lavington, September 12, 1805. Selkirk, Diary, p. 44.
167. PANS, RG1, vol. 54, pp. 52-53, Wentworth to Lavington, September 12, 1805.
168. Ibid., vol. 139, pp. 19-20, Provincial Secretary to Moody et al., November 12, 1804.
169. Weekly Chronicle, February 23, 1805.
170. Selkirk, Diary, p. 45; R.A. MacLean, ed., Antigonish, I, 127-28; F.H. Patterson, Tatamagouche, 1771-1824, pp. 73-82, 91-99.

171. PANS, RG1, vol. 53, pp. 426-29, Wentworth to Duke of Clarence, May 26, 1803; vol. 445, doc. 8.
172. J.P. MacPhie, Pictonians at Home and Abroad (Boston, 1914), p. 82; Rev. G. Patterson, Pictou, pp. 225-41.
173. Diary, pp. 45-46.
174. P.S. Hamilton, Cumberland, p. 102; H.C. Hart, History of the County of Guysborough, Nova Scotia (Halifax, N.S., 1895), p. 169; Rev. G. Patterson, Pictou, pp. 236-37, 285.
175. PANS, Microfilm Biography, Rev. John Mitchell, Journals, 1800-04; Selkirk, Diary, p. 43.
176. Selkirk, Diary, pp. 43-51.
177. F.H. Patterson, John Patterson, pp. 51-52; Rev. G. Patterson, Pictou, pp. 236, 241.
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179. Johnstone, Catholic Church, I, 206.
180. R.A. MacLean, ed., Antigonish, I, 80-81, 85-87, 99-112; Rankin, Antigonish, pp. 14-17.
181. Ibid.
182. Harvey, "Scottish Immigration", p. 315; Kincaid, Scottish Immigration, pp. 115-22.
183. Johnstone, Catholic Church, I, 206.
184. MacDougall, Inverness, passim.
185. Ibid.; PANS, RG20, Ser. A2, McInnes, John and Others, 1834; for the origins of the 1802 group see the section on origins above.
186. G.C. Patterson, Victoria, pp. 43-50.
187. Selkirk, Diary, pp. 45-46; Rev. G. Patterson, ed., Memoir, p. 350.
188. PANS, RG20: Ser. A2, McLeod, William, 1810; Ser. B5, McNiel, Donald Jr., 1803.

189. Ibid., Ser. A2, Morrison, Hugh and Others, 1813.
190. Ibid., Ser. B5, Livingstone, John, 1814.
191. Ibid.: Ser. A2, Livingstone, Duncan, 1812; Ser. B5, Gillies, Alexander, 1814.
192. Ibid., Ser. A2, McQuarry, Donald and Others, 1813.
193. Ibid., Ser. A2, McLean, John, 1809.
194. Ibid., Ser. A2, McKenzie, Murdoch, 1811.
195. Ibid., Ser. A2, McGilvray, Evan, 1813.
196. Ibid., Ser. A2, McKenzie, James, 1809.
197. Ibid., Ser. B5, Gillies, Alexander, 1814.
198. Ibid., Ser. A2, Murray, Donald and Others, 1808.
199. Ibid., Ser. A2: Colly, John and Others, 1809; McDonald, Findlay and Others, 1809 (for Middle River and McLellan's Mountain); PANS, RG1, vol. 225, doc. 87 (East River). The lists for Merigomish and the Western Settlements are printed in MacLaren, Pictou Book, pp. 133-38, 146-51.
200. PANS, RG20, Ser. A2, Gorden, John and Others, 1809.
201. Ibid.: McLeod, John and Others, 1809; McLeod, William and Others, 1816.
202. Ibid.: Balfour, William and Others, 1815; McDonald, Finlay and Others, 1811.
203. Ibid., McDonald, Rory and Others, 1809.
204. Ibid.: Digby, Inhabitants of, 1808; Kerr, Alexander and Others, 1809.
205. See Chapter 3 and Tables 62-67 (Appendix 4).

Table 4

Date	Passengers sailing from Scotland to B.N.A.	Emigrants from Scottish ports to B.N.A.	Scottish arrivals recorded at Halifax
1815	549		236
1816	1875		201
1817	3949		628
1818	3704		1637
1819	3996		974
1820	4891		803
1821			60
1822			42
1823			403
1824			
1825		768	92
1826		1470	
1827		2208	205
1828		3921	142
1829		3033	218
1830		4242	115
	18964	15642	5788

Chapter 16

Immigration and settlement in Nova Scotia, 1815-30

Volume

During this period much more evidence is available concerning the volume of Scottish immigration, principally in the form of official statistics and newspaper reports of vessel arrivals. Martell has conducted an exhaustive survey of recorded immigrant arrivals in Nova Scotia, and the results of this, together with relevant officially recorded statistics, are summarized in Table 4 (supplemented by the distribution of 95 reported emigrant vessel arrivals from Scotland).¹

All of these sources are subject to deficiencies which render them inaccurate. In terms of the record of departures from Scotland, only figures for the united Kingdom as a whole are available between 1820 and 1825, and the separate Scottish figures available for the periods before and after these dates (undifferentiated in terms of the various components of British North America) are probably deficient. During the earlier phase, for example, the figure for 1815 is less than the number reported to have arrived in Nova Scotia alone. The returns for the Nova Scotia mainland and Cape Breton were both compiled in 1831. The former consists solely of statistics for the port of Halifax, and therefore completely omits the contribution of Pictou, which continued to be an important point of reception for Scottish immigrants. Similarly, the Cape Breton figures obviously rely on the statistics available for the port of Sydney, and do not reflect the importance of the Straits of Canso, which received many emigrant vessels.

Martell's estimates were largely based on newspaper notices of ship arrivals, and until well into the 1820s these were exclusively

Table 4 (continued)

Date	Scottish arrivals recorded for Cape Breton	Martell's figures for Scottish immigration	Recorded emigrant vessel arrivals for Nova Scotia
1815		630	2
1816		850	6
1817		1305	15
1818		1637	8
1819		1535	12
1820		931	4
1821	276	490	4
1822	181	420	6
1823	215	403	
1824		215	1
1825	429	521	
1826	342	802	4
1827	944	1199	6
1828	2473	2829	12
1829	719	1244	8
1830	994	1223	7
	6513	16234	95

Halifax publications. Consequently, the coverage must have been far from complete. Certainly, a selective examination of contemporary Scottish port records provides examples of emigrant sailings which seem to have gone unrecorded in Nova Scotia. For example, the Bassetere sailed from Fort William for Pictou in 1818 with 113 emigrants, and the Columbus sailed from Tobermory for Cape Breton in 1827 with 228 emigrants.² As Martell pointed out, therefore, total immigration must be a matter of conjecture,³ and, considering all the above, a round figure of some 20,000 Scottish immigrants during the period seems reasonable.

Moreover, all of these sources indicate peaks, 1815-20 and 1825-30, the years 1816-19 and 1828 being particularly prominent. Thus, the flow to Nova Scotia was in close accord with the rate of flow of the general Scottish emigration movement at this time, and it is interesting that, even towards the end of the period, Nova Scotia seems to have been the destination of about half those going the British North America. The official statistics also suggest that, while Halifax emerged once again between 1817 and 1820 as an important point of reception for Scottish immigrants, the movement of the late 1820s was largely directed towards Cape Breton.

Scots, however, were not the only British emigrants who came to Nova Scotia in the post-war period. Martell's study accounts for almost 10,000 other British immigrants between 1815 and 1830, comprising some 8,000 Irish, 1,500 English and 200 Welsh.⁴ Most of these arrived at Halifax, and the presence there of large numbers of immigrants at various times was an important factor in the development of local attitudes and policies towards immigration, in contrast to the previous period when the almost exclusively Scottish influx was usually received at locations remote from the capital.

It should also be noted that substantial immigration from Britain continued for some time after 1830; an additional 30,000

were recorded for the succeeding two decades, and about half of these were from Scotland. However, about 40% of the Scots arrived in Cape Breton between 1839 and 1843, representing a last concentrated influx after the movement which peaked just before 1830 and declined after 1832.⁵ The beginning of the 1830s was indeed a major turning point for most aspects of Scottish immigration, and as such has been taken as a suitable termination for the present study.

The evidence of the various statistics for the 1815-30 period is supplemented by more general contemporary comment as the movement again aroused the attention of officialdom and the press. There were reports in the British press of Scottish departures for Pictou and Halifax in 1815 and 1816. Indeed, more than 300 families were said to be departing for Pictou in 1815 alone.⁶ Certainly, the Pictou magistrates reported the arrival of a large number of Scottish immigrants in 1815, and for the following year they had reported 370 arrivals by October and were expecting another 150.⁷ In 1817, George Logan, emigration agent, petitioned for land on behalf of about 100 families "recently arrived" at Pictou from Scotland.⁸ These may have been 1816 arrivals, but there can be no doubt that 1817 was a year of greatly increased activity, and as late as December Dalhousie was referring to the daily arrival of "many hundred families" in different parts.⁹

The arrival of about 400 at Sydney in July 1817 provided the first recorded occurrence of direct migration from Scotland to Cape Breton since 1802.¹⁰ The most remarkable aspect of 1817, though, was the size of the influx received by Halifax, already noted by Dalhousie in May and June, and accompanied by a heightened interest in the local press.¹¹ Indications of the scale of the influx were mostly of a rather vague nature, with references to "immense numbers". However, a letter published in July 1817 referred to the arrival of nine emigrant vessels since the beginning of that month, with a

total of 1,254 passengers. Four of the vessels were from Scotland, four were from Ireland, and one was from England.¹² This is in reasonable accord with the official record of almost 2,000 arrivals at Halifax in that year, just over 600 of whom were from Scotland.

References are fewer thereafter, but early in 1820 the Surveyor General referred to "hundreds" of immigrants already arrived or expected, and in June of that year it was reported that Pictou was still receiving mainly Scottish immigrants for the North Shore settlements.¹³ Between 1820 and 1826 the apparent lull in the flow of immigrants was complemented by a dearth of contemporary comment, although there are scattered references to the arrival of Highland emigrant groups in Cape Breton between 1820 and 1826.¹⁴ It was not until 1826 that there appeared comments on the scale of immigration which indicated another period of increased activity.

Once again references are to be found in the Halifax newspapers, prompted largely by the arrival there of some 1,500 Irish in 1826 and 1827.¹⁵ However, newspaper reports from Scotland which indicated the growth of departures for Cape Breton were also quoted: over 600 were reported to have sailed from Tobermory in 1826, while 700 were about to sail from the same port in 1827 and 1,000 more were preparing to follow in 1828. In addition, there was a reference to immigrant arrivals at Pictou in 1827.¹⁶ During these years there was also a good deal of official comment indicating the strength of the Scottish contribution and the overwhelming importance of Cape Breton as a destination. Kempt noted in 1826 that, while immigration to the mainland had abated considerably of late, there had been continuous arrivals in Cape Breton and these had begun to increase.¹⁷

In 1827, a report of further arrivals was accompanied by the information that 10 to 15 vessels had been chartered from one firm to bring Scottish emigrants in 1828. Over 2,000 arrivals were indeed reported at Sydney in 1828, and by February 1829 there were

2,300 recent Scottish immigrants still located in the Sydney area.¹⁸ The prominence of Cape Breton in the 1820s is further illustrated by the statement made by an emigration agent in 1832 that he had organized 12,000 Scottish emigrants to Canada, Nova Scotia, Cape Breton and Prince Edward Island in the previous 12 years, about 7,000 of whom had gone to Cape Breton.¹⁹ Finally, as will be discussed in more detail below, indirect immigration from Scotland via Prince Edward Island continued to be a factor.

The land records data pertaining to migration dates conform very closely to the perceived pattern for the first half of this period at least, but the emigrants of the late 1820s were much less likely to appear as petitioners.²⁰ The yearly count for the early part of the period, however, does suggest a peak in 1817 and a steady decline after 1820. The figures for 1826, although very small, do suggest an upturn partially reflected here just before the phasing out of the granting system was put into effect. In terms of the volume of petitions, there is a notable peak in 1827 and 1828. This is largely to be accounted for by the attempts of established settlers to secure title as the phasing out process began.²¹

Origins

Both primary and secondary sources pertaining to Pictou District and adjacent areas of Colchester District indicate the importance of two widely separated source areas during this period: Sutherland and the central and southern Lowlands featured prominently in references to the upsurge of immigration activity at the very beginning of the post-war period. In the case of Sutherland there are specific references to the parishes of Lairg, Rogart, Clyne, Dornoch and Durness. Some from Ross and Caithness are also said to have been associated with this movement.²² In addition, Sutherland apparently contributed new recruits to the Halifax mercantile

community.²³

Lowland immigration was again mainly from the extreme southwest, notably Dumfries, and extended throughout the period.²⁴ The relative strength of the movement is suggested by the record of four ship arrivals at Pictou in 1821 and 1822 with a total of 385 emigrants. Three of these vessels sailed from Dumfries and the other from Whitehaven.²⁵ There are also indications of movement from the Lothians, and in 1818 Dalhousie noted an East Lothian farmer settled near Truro.²⁶

Scattered references to other source areas such as Urquhart, Lochaber and the Small Isles show that areas represented in previous periods continued to contribute.²⁷ This is particularly evident in references to arrivals in the Antigonish area: Arisaig, Moidart, Morar, Knoydart, Strathglass, Glengarry, the Small Isles and Barra are recorded, together with indications of lesser contributions from areas such as Perthshire, Banffshire, Mull and Coll.²⁸

Data pertaining to Cape Breton reveal contributions from mainland areas such as Lochaber, Moidart, Morar, Gairloch and Lochalsh, together with some mention of Argyll, Perthshire and Sutherland, and even a few from the Lowlands. However, the majority of references are to the Western Isles.²⁹ All of the Outer Hebrides and all of the Small Isles are mentioned, and the appearance of Tiree, Coll, Mull and Skye in the record suggests a widening base of activity, since these islands do not seem to have contributed significantly to emigration to Nova Scotia before 1815. Skye, for instance, only came into prominence towards the end of the period. On the other hand, Lewis and Barra were represented throughout, and the strength of the movement is indicated by the comments on emigration to Nova Scotia in the second Statistical Accounts for Barra and Lochs.³⁰

Indirect immigration via Prince Edward Island was also a

continuing factor, although the record is very sparse.³¹ However, the land records data reveal some aspects of this process. In particular during this period there is the evidence of a Selkirk emigrant who moved to Nova Scotia in 1821. Another two emigrated in 1806 and crossed to the North Shore in 1821. Yet another went to Prince Edward Island via Nova Scotia in 1820, but returned to Nova Scotia in 1825.³² Moreover, the 30 heads of families from Sutherland who petitioned in 1815 reflected the importance of that county in the early post-war years.³³

The general review of the information on origins pertaining to this period contained in the land petitions serves to support the conclusions drawn from other forms of evidence.³⁴ More specifically, of those who recorded both a date of emigration and a county of origin, 207 cases pertain to 1815-19. Of these, 149 were from the western and northern Highlands, with the largest count (67) still being that for Inverness. However, 54 (26.0%) were from Sutherland, and there were 73 from Sutherland, Ross and Caithness combined. Twenty seven (13.0%) were from east coast counties between Moray and Kincardine, including 11 each from Aberdeen and Banff. Twenty three (11.1%) were from the central and southern Lowlands, including 11 from Dumfries and Galloway.

The years 1825-29 only yielded 17 cases, and, combining these with the 94 for 1820-24, we have a total of 111 for 1820-29. Of these, 84 were from the western and northern Highlands, but Sutherland, with 26 (23.6%), has the highest single count and there were 38 from Sutherland, Ross and Caithness combined. The relative prominence of Argyll at this time is also noteworthy. The north-eastern counties were represented by only 3 from Banff and Angus, but 20 (18.0%) were from the central and southern Lowlands (all falling within the 1820-24 range) including 15 (13.5%) from Dumfries and Galloway.

Only 22 cases recording a date of emigration and an island of origin occurred between 1815 and 1829, but half of these pertained to the last five years. Although very few, these probably do reflect the relative strength of the movement in the late 1820s despite the general decline of petitioning. Barra, with 14 cases distributed throughout, is particularly prominent, and single occurrences from Arran, Tiree, Mull and Skye (all between 1815 and 1819) represent the first appearance of those islands in this data base.

Of the 21 relevant cases recording a date of emigration and a parish of origin, only two occurred after 1819 and they complement the county evidence. Four were from Glenelg and Loch Broom on the northwest coast, four were from Urquhart in the Great Glen, two were from Cromarty and Croy in the Moray Firth area, and four were from parishes in Perthshire. The central and southern Lowlands were represented by five cases, and another was from Dundee.

Composition

Only one actual passenger list is available for this period, but this may be supplemented by other kinds of lists and the evidence of passenger lists of a later date.

Nineteen heads of families arrived at Pictou on the Prince William in 1815 and petitioned for land in that year.³⁵ Only total family size was recorded. This ranged from 3 to 10 and, with a total of 122 individuals, gave a mean family size of 6.4. It is not known whether these families were exclusively nuclear, nor is it known whether they represented the entire passenger load, but they do suggest the continued importance of family groups. They were all former tenant farmers from Sutherland.

More general information concerning arrivals at Pictou in 1815 is contained in a list (drawn up in 1816) of immigrants of 1815

resident in Pictou District.³⁶ This accounted for 366 individuals, comprising 166 adults and 200 children (the latter being probably all those under the age of 16). It is possible to identify 50 nuclear families with children, 9 childless couples, 9 widows (5 of them having children), 25 single males, 13 single females, and an individual whose family was still in Scotland. The ages of wives and dependent children were not recorded, so the complete age structure of the group cannot be calculated. However, it is noteworthy that 30 of the 59 married males were aged 40 or over (including 10 in their sixties and seventies), while 15 were aged 30-39, and 14 were aged 20-29. Similarly, 8 of the 9 widows were aged 40 or over, including 5 in their sixties and seventies. Conversely, 22 of the 25 single males and 9 of the 13 single females were under 30. There was, therefore, a high proportion of older heads of families, and some of the singles recorded must have been adult offspring of these. Of the recorded dependants, 186 children in 50 nuclear families represent a mean of 3.7 per family (or 3.6 if the 14 children of the 5 widows are included).

An occupation was recorded for 89 individuals, 46 of whom were designated labourers. The remainder comprised 28 with a variety of skilled occupations, 4 farmers, 2 clerks, 8 servants (all single females), and a schoolmaster. In addition there were comments on the socio-economic status of 70 individuals. Only 15 of these were able to support themselves, and the general impression is one of severe economic distress.

The record of the 208 individuals from the Small Isles, who sailed from Tobermory to Cape Breton on the St. Lawrence in 1828, is the one actual passenger list available for 1815-30.³⁷ The age structure of this group has some interesting variations in comparison with previous examples: the figures of 28.8% for those under 15, 11.5% for those aged 15-19, and 23.6% for those aged 20-29 represent

a much smaller proportion of young children. This is complemented by higher proportions among the upper age ranges: indeed, 27.5% were 40 or over and just over 10% were 60 or over.

Family connections are not always clear in this list, but 109 seem fairly certainly to have been included in 16 nuclear families, and these yield a figure of 4.8 for the mean number of children per family. This figure is much higher than in previous examples, and is probably a function of the age distribution of the 16 heads of families, 12 of whom were 40 or over. The overall impression is that, although family groups were still the most important feature of the movement, they tended to be older by this time as the upper age ranges became more fully represented (4 of those on the St. Lawrence were in their eighties).

Useful comparative data are provided by the passenger lists of three vessels which brought emigrants from Scotland to Pictou in 1848, particularly since they pertain to both Highlanders and industrial workers, the latter destined for the General Mining Association operations at Pictou. The Ellen sailed from Loch Laxford with 155 from the Sutherland estate, all tenants and their families except for a mason. The Hope sailed from Glasgow with 136, comprising "colliers" and their families. The Lulan also sailed from Glasgow with 31 colliers and dependants and 125 labourers and dependants, the latter from South Uist.³⁸

The age structures of the Ellen passengers and the Highland group on the Lulan are quite similar: 38% of the former were under 15, 10.3% were aged 15-19, and 17.5% were aged 20-29, while the corresponding figures for the latter were 37.6%, 8.8% and 21.6%. The proportions of those over 40 were 20.6% and 20.0% respectively.

Family groups were again predominant in both cases, and they reflect the general age structures. The Ellen group comprised 23 nuclear families with children, 3 childless couples, a single male

Table 5

	0-9	10-19	20-29	30-39
Lovely Nelly (1774)	34.8	16.7	27.3	12.1
Lovely Nelly (1775)	37.9	9.1	13.6	28.8
Commerce (1803)	48.6	10.0	10.0	17.1
Rambler (1806)	29.5	21.7	19.4	15.5
Humphreys (1806)	31.2	20.8	22.9	8.3
Spencer (1806)	27.0	16.5	22.6	14.8
Isle of Skye (1806)	24.3	16.2	21.6	18.9
Elizabeth (1806)	28.9	33.0	15.5	11.3
Clarendon (1808)	22.9	18.1	31.9	13.8
St. Lawrence (1828)	17.8	22.6	23.6	8.7
Ellen (1848)	21.9	26.5	17.4	13.5
Lulan (1848-Highlanders)	24.8	21.6	21.6	12.0
Lulan (1848-Colliers)	12.9	19.4	45.2	12.9
Hope (1848)	41.2	17.6	21.4	10.4

Table 5 (continued)

	40-49	50-59	60+
Lovely Nelly (1774)	4.5	3.0	1.5
Lovely Nelly (1775)	4.5	4.5	1.5
Commerce (1803)	10.0	1.4	2.9
Rambler (1806)	3.1	7.8	3.1
Humphreys (1806)	7.3	6.2	3.1
Spencer (1806)	4.3	7.8	7.0
Isle of Skye (1806)	8.1	5.4	5.4
Elizabeth (1806)	3.1	8.2	
Clarendon (1808)	5.3	5.3	2.7
St. Lawrence (1828)	11.1	6.3	10.1
Ellen (1848)	7.7	7.7	5.2
Lulan (1848-Highlanders)	8.8	9.6	1.6
Lulan (1848-Colliers)	9.7		
Hope (1848)	6.6	2.2	0.7

and 3 single females. Fourteen of the 26 married males were over 40, the single male was 70, and the single females were 46, 52 and 85. The 89 offspring listed for 23 families give a mean of 3.9 per family (including several adult offspring who might equally well have been listed separately as singles). The Lulan group comprised 15 nuclear families with children, 2 childless couples, 4 apparent single parents (3 male and 1 female), 2 single males, another 2 single males with mother and siblings as dependants, and 6 single females. Eight of the 10 singles were under 40, but 14 of the 20 married men or presumed widowers were 40 or over. There were 75 dependent children in 19 families for a mean of 3.8 per family.

The Hope emigrants were also mainly in family groups. There were 21 nuclear families with children, a possible widow with children, 8 single males and a single female, while 76 children in 21 families represent a mean of 3.6 per family. However, 15 of the 21 heads of families were under 40 and 6 of the single males were under 30. This is complemented by the general age structure since 50.0% were under 15 and only 9.5% were over 39.

The small group of colliers on the Lulan presents an even greater contrast since 12 of the 31 were single males. Ten of these single males were aged 20-29 and the other two were aged 30 and 32. The remainder comprised two nuclear families with children, a childless couple, and a father and son. In terms of the general age distribution, 45.2% were aged 20-29, while only 22.5% and 9.7% were under 15 and over 39 respectively. These two exceptions thus serve to emphasize what seems to have become more characteristic of Highland emigration during this period - an increasing participation by all elements in a community and not just those young adults and their dependants regarded as the classic mainstay of any emigration movement.

Table 5 displays the evidence of all relevant passenger lists

with reasonably complete age statistics. Although very meagre, it does suggest the general importance of family groups in the Highland and rural Lowland movements, and the relatively high proportion of older emigrants among later Highland groups. It should also be noted at this point that the various demographic data recorded in the land petitions, while not always closely connected with circumstances at the time of emigration, do offer general corroboration, particularly in terms of the importance of family groups.³⁹

The frequency of references to the utter destitution of arrivals from the Highlands reflects the generally reduced resources of the hard-pressed small tenantry during this period, and there can be no doubt that the vast majority of immigrants were drawn from the ranks of the new crofter class, whose capital was barely sufficient to finance passage alone.⁴⁰ However, the emigration of almost an entire community, as in the case of Rum in 1826, ensured that a few at least were in possession of some means since all grades of the tenant hierarchy were represented.⁴¹ In addition, the Sutherland natives who went into business at Halifax provide evidence of a mercantile contribution from the Highlands.⁴² This is supplemented by the report of a hotelier and dry goods dealer from Lochaber who emigrated to Cape Breton in 1818 bringing £500.⁴³

While it seems that Lowland mercantile personnel were no longer prominent, men of some substance continued to arrive: a burgess of Dunfermline came with three sons (respectively schoolmaster, wright and farmer), and an individual from Dumfries brought a carpenter and two servants.⁴⁴ Probably the most notable feature of the post-war movement, however, was the contribution of wage labour. This was particularly true of arrivals at Halifax, where it was noted that emigrant ships from Scotland brought mostly "mechanics", labourers, masons and carpenters in 1817.⁴⁵ Details of specific origins are lacking, but the bulk of these were probably not from

Highland areas.

Towards the end of the period the initial exploitation of the Pictou coal field by the General Mining Association led to the recruitment of miners in Britain. The first groups sailed from Liverpool in 1827 and 1828 and were probably English, but the arrival of 157 from Greenock in 1829 indicates a Lowland Scottish component as well, and a forerunner of the type of movement recorded in the 1848 passenger lists.⁴⁶

The Lowland agricultural sector was also well represented, and the movement from the extreme southwest seems to have comprised small tenant farmers of some skill but slender resources.⁴⁷ As already shown, tenant farmers from areas such as the Lothians were also coming to Nova Scotia, and some of these were probably rather better off: the East Lothian farmer noted by Dalhousie in 1818 had brought some capital and purchased a farm.⁴⁸ There was, then, considerable diversity among Scottish immigrants at this time, although the phenomenon remained very largely that of the mass migration of the Highland small tenantry, and among Highlanders distinction by religious denomination continued to be an important factor.

Reasons for emigration to Nova Scotia

The primary reasons for movement from Scotland to Nova Scotia are, of course, to be sought in the exacerbation of economic difficulties by the circumstances of the post-war economy. Skilled workers were coming to seek employment since prospects at home were poor, while small tenant farmers in the extreme southwest were hard-pressed by high rents.⁴⁹ A rare specific example from the Lowland agricultural sector is provided by the East Lothian farmer encountered by Dalhousie who, as a result of credit contraction, was unable to pay rent and lost his farm.⁵⁰

In the Highlands, too, recession was an important trigger, so

that for Lochs parish it was noted that the declining profitability of fish and cattle was partly responsible for the popularity of emigration to Nova Scotia.⁵¹ Other forms of intensified pressure in the new economic order in the Highlands are also evident in this period. For example, Sutherland emigrants arriving at Pictou in 1815 stated that they had been forced to emigrate by their landlord, having been dispossessed of their holdings to accommodate commercial sheep farmers.⁵²

As already noted, overseas emigration was not the only possible response to this kind of pressure, but in the case of the mass exodus from Rum to Cape Breton in 1826, sponsored by the landlord, the emigrants were sent whether they wanted to go or not. This instance was cited at the time as being the direct result of the fundamental problem of population pressure since there was no kelp industry, and neither commercial sheep farming nor any other form of agricultural reorganization had been introduced. In effect, the landlord had tolerated the status quo until it was likely to ruin himself as well as the tenantry as rent arrears accumulated.⁵³

This was just one example of the general inclination among Highland proprietors to consider means of disposing of their "surplus" tenantry as the economy collapsed, and in 1827 an agent for several of them was scouting the area of the Maritime Provinces in search of suitable destinations for settlers.⁵⁴ Large-scale sponsorship by proprietors did not occur until slightly later, but the focusing of attention on Nova Scotia, and Cape Breton in particular, was an acknowledgement of the importance of that destination among the voluntary emigrants who were still very much in the majority. The fact was that the channelling of migration between particular sources and particular destinations had become so firmly established that Nova Scotia continued to be a principal destination, although evidence of population pressure on resources there was already

apparent, and the interior of British North America was rapidly gaining in importance as a destination.

This consideration of just where Scottish emigrants could be persuaded to go was a recurring theme in the deliberations of parliamentary committees in the second quarter of the nineteenth century, and it was frequently stated that there were predilections which would be difficult to overcome. Thus, a proposal to send 2,000 Renfrewshire unemployed to Nova Scotia met with the objection that they knew little of Nova Scotia and expected to go to Upper Canada, having received favourable accounts from previous emigrants.⁵⁵ Similarly, emigrants from certain Highland areas were said to have a marked preference for Upper Canada.⁵⁶ However, it was recognized that many other Highlanders, and particularly those in the Western Isles, were just as firmly oriented towards Nova Scotia. This represented the culmination of a long-standing process of chain migration.⁵⁷

In 1847 it was stated that immigration in the form of friends following friends was especially the case in Cape Breton, so that "the circumstances of an emigrant ship arriving there with persons without any sort of connection with the colony is almost without precedent".⁵⁸ It seems that the successful operation of this process was being threatened by sheer weight of numbers by 1830, but there can be no doubt of its significance as a directing influence. Even the Rum emigrants of 1826 had been preceded by a voluntary advance-guard.

A striking example of the pull of kinship ties is provided by an emigrant of 1818 who petitioned for land in the same year: he had been discharged from the 42nd Regiment at Paris and, having found that his relatives had emigrated, followed them without waiting for his prize money.⁵⁹ There are several other examples among land petitioners of relatives following relatives during this period, and

the maintenance of transatlantic communication obviously remained important.⁶⁰ The observation that the people of Lochs were influenced by "the warm entreaties of their acquaintances and friends who emigrated to Nova Scotia in former years" is only one of many general contemporary references to this phenomenon, but, again, direct evidence is very sparse.⁶¹

However, a surviving letter of 1830 from an emigrant in Cape Breton to his relatives in Lewis, inviting them to join him, does suggest what was probably the general tone of Highland correspondence. Having stated that he was "well pleased for coming to this country", he went on, as might be expected, to emphasize land ownership and the consequent absence of laird, factor and rent. The possibility of government aid was mentioned and, while admitting that water frontage was getting scarce, he indicated that land was still available in circumstances which were "good for poor people".⁶²

Other correspondence is available pertaining to Lowland contexts, and this complements the Highland example as well as revealing that the chain process was not exclusively Highland. In the early post-war years the Reverend Hugh Graham was still writing to Scotland, encouraging relatives and friends to emigrate to Nova Scotia. While admitting that desirable land was becoming scarce and that the economy was rather depressed, he was of the opinion that opportunities were more favourable all round in Nova Scotia, particularly since the local government was favourably disposed towards immigrants. Indeed, he went so far as to say that, with a strong Scottish element growing fast in property and reputation, Nova Scotia was "the best part of America for Scotchmen".⁶³

A letter of 1832 from a Lothian tenant farmer to a brother in Nova Scotia reveals circumstances which applied in varying degrees throughout rural Scotland. Having heard encouragingly from his emigrant brother, and considering the state of the Scottish economy

and the popularity of emigration, he was contemplating emigrating to acquire a farm of his own, which was better than "being a servant always".⁶⁴ In the case of the substantial numbers from the extreme southwest, too, although there is no direct evidence, local tradition records that the settlement of New Annan by kindred and friends was actively promoted by previous emigrants.⁶⁵

Comments on the interrelated aspects of government activity and ease of access to land ownership indicate another important aspect: receptivity on the part of established settlers had to be complemented by reasonable assurances that newcomers would also be able to establish themselves independently. Indeed, it was claimed that about 300 Highlanders who came to Cape Breton in 1824 and 1825 did so directly as a result of hearing that the government had laid out lots for the reception of immigrants.⁶⁶ Conversely, it was claimed in 1827 that the abolition of the land granting system "may put a stop to the voluntary emigration of the poorest settlers, to whom the greatest encouragement is undisturbed possession of a portion of Crown Lands until they have the means to secure title".⁶⁷

This desire for independent property ownership also continued to direct a flow of Scots from Prince Edward Island to Nova Scotia. In 1821, for instance, the Selkirk emigrant and the two emigrants of 1806 mentioned above abandoned rented land on Prince Edward Island to seek land of their own in Nova Scotia.⁶⁸

Complaints that emigrants were being lured to Nova Scotia by the unscrupulous misrepresentations of agents and shipping interests are a reflection of the large-scale commercial emigrant trade of the post-war years,⁶⁹ and there can be no doubt that the scale of population transfer achieved would have been impossible without it. Indeed, the facilities for transportation between Scotland and Nova Scotia were such that, in conjunction with the province's status as a long-established destination, they probably served to attract

emigrants other than those involved in the chain process. This may explain the apparent expansion of source areas and the predicament of arrivals who had no resident connections.

Organization and transportation

Trade between Nova Scotia and Britain, based very largely on the export of timber, suffered a decline in the period of post-war readjustment, and the financial crisis of the mid-1820s dealt a severe blow to mercantile interests. However, Pictou is reported to have maintained regular direct links with Britain, and Scotland in particular.⁷⁰ Indeed, surviving port records for the 1830s reveal a thriving commerce based on trade with the West Indies, the United States, Canada, Britain and the Baltic.⁷¹ Exports to Britain continued to be in the form of timber products, and Scottish port records reveal that this involved direct trade with principal emigrant source areas: Stornoway, for instance, appears to have received regular imports of timber from Pictou throughout the 1820s.⁷²

Reports of timber ships from New Brunswick arriving at northern Scottish ports during the same period are of equal significance, since the forests of northeastern New Brunswick were the prime source of timber exports from British North America, and northern Nova Scotia and Cape Breton lay on the route to Britain.⁷³ The potential importance of this is shown by the record of 445 ships trading between Scotland and New Brunswick, 1826-28. The comparable figure for Nova Scotia was 54.⁷⁴ Vessels sailing to New Brunswick offered passage to Nova Scotia, Cape Breton and Prince Edward Island,⁷⁵ and the westward transportation of emigrants was a function of the availability of returning timber vessels. The very close inter-relationship is demonstrated by the report that the first timber cargo shipped directly from the Bras d'Or, in 1818, was on a vessel which had brought out emigrants,⁷⁶ and it was recognized that timber

vessels represented the most convenient and economical means of travelling to Nova Scotia.⁷⁷

After 1815 the centralized transatlantic emigrant trade emerged, together with its accompanying evils, and Nova Scotia experienced its effects between 1815 and 1820 as immigration increased. The arrival at Halifax of groups from various parts of the United Kingdom aroused adverse comments on organization and transportation among officials and in the local press. This criticism was directed against the "artful crimps for the shipping engaged in the timber trade" who were held responsible for misleading advertising, overcrowded vessels, inadequate provisions, and failure to deliver to the intended destination.⁷⁸

One of the worst examples to arrive at Halifax was the Perseus, from London with emigrants bound for New York. The master denied any connection with the "freighters" and would only take them to Saint John. The "freighters" were three brothers in London regularly involved in recruiting passengers.⁷⁹ This is an example of practices common at the great ports after 1815, and a probable Scottish example is provided by the individual at Port Glasgow who was considering sending a shipload of emigrants to Nova Scotia in 1816.⁸⁰

In the context of Highland emigration to northern Nova Scotia and Cape Breton, though, the evidence points to the continuation of the system which had operated since about 1790: that is, organization was undertaken by an agent based in Nova Scotia or a major source area, or both. The procedure, as described by Uniacke, was for an established immigrant to return home as an "adventurer" to engage emigrants and hire a vessel to bring them back. A form of the redemptioner system was also involved to accommodate those unable to pay for their passage before departure. There were "handsome" profits in this business, but at the same time a great many were

transported at little expense.⁸¹

Many of the Sutherland emigrants to Pictou in the early post-war years were organized by George Logan, a Scottish immigrant resident at Pictou, and in 1817 he petitioned for land on behalf of some of his charges. However, it was reported in 1816 that an agent from Pictou (Logan?) had collected passage money from a Sutherland group but failed to provide transportation, so flagrant abuse seems to have occurred in this context too.⁸²

A more fully documented case is provided by the Barra emigrants who arrived at Sydney in 1817 on the William Tell and the Hope. The agent involved was Simon Fraser, described in a petition of 1818 as a former major in the Fraser Highlanders and a former colonel in the Nova Scotia militia, and very probably the same individual active in the business since 1790.⁸³ He went to Barra and encouraged prospective emigrants with the promise of three years' provisions, implements, and land from government on arrival in Cape Breton. A vessel was to be sent to Barra for them, the cost of passage including provisions being eight guineas per adult. However, they were taken first to Tobermory, then to Greenock where a further delay used up their meagre resources. Then they had to pay extra for the passage to Greenock, and on the voyage to Cape Breton the stock of provisions proved inadequate.⁸⁴

This venture, then, seems to have been strongly affected by the growing centralization of emigrant departures - certainly, by the 1820s the Clyde was by far the most important point of departure - and the apparent mismanagement may not have been entirely Fraser's fault. In other respects this last known venture of his was more in line with his previous exploits and those of others like him, including the Hector MacKenzie noted above who was active at this time. In fact, Fraser seems to have contemplated forming a new settlement in Cape Breton with his recruits, although this may have

been merely a ploy to get the 5,000 acres he was unsuccessful in obtaining.⁸⁵ The immigrants themselves joined their kindred on the Bras d'Or.⁸⁶

It was not until the later 1820s that a further flurry of commentary on the nature of emigrant transportation arose in Nova Scotia. There had been the intervening lull in the flow of emigration, and this was seen as partly the result of more stringent passenger regulations which increased the cost of passage from Scotland to Nova Scotia, including provisions, from about L4 to L10. The latter is close to the figure said to have been charged by Fraser, but this does seem high since rates apparently declined somewhat immediately after 1815.⁸⁷ Certainly, for the later 1820s, a variety of sources indicate that the cost of a passage from Scotland to Nova Scotia was in the range of L2 - L2-10/- without provisions, or L4 - L5 with provisions.⁸⁸

Thus, in the context of less stringent regulations and sharp competition among economically distressed shipping interests, the costs of emigrating to Nova Scotia remained relatively low.⁸⁹ The quality of what was received in return, though, seems also to have been generally low. Reported adversity focuses on 1827, the notorious year when the Passengers Act was repealed and Halifax received a portion of the sick and wretched who crossed the Atlantic from Ireland.⁹⁰ However, the circumstances of Highland emigrants arriving in Cape Breton seem to have been just as bad, since arrivals of that year were reported to be afflicted by measles, dysentery and starvation, having been brought in vessels which were "confined, crowded and filthy".⁹¹ All of this prompted a statement by the Council that "we shall be overwhelmed with as many ignorant paupers as the artful and unprincipled men who carry on this traffic can delude".⁹²

Disease and destitution were just as prevalent among the great

influx of 1828 at Sydney. In particular, the Three Sisters of Pictou arrived from Greenock with 160 emigrants, more than 40 of whom had smallpox, and there had been deception as to the number of passengers and stock of provisions carried.⁹³ This instance illustrates the involvement of leading mercantile centres on both sides of the Atlantic. However, it appears that most of the Highland emigrants to Nova Scotia at this time were taken directly from Highland ports such as Tobermory and Stornoway. The latter, for instance, accounted for nearly 30% of all recorded Scottish emigrants in 1828.⁹⁴ Moreover, the organization again seems to have been largely in the hands of local entrepreneurs such as Archibald McNiven of Tobermory, who claimed to have sent 7,000 to Cape Breton between 1820 and 1832, or emigrants already established in Nova Scotia such as Dugald Smith, who brought 201 to Cape Breton in 1826.⁹⁵

An 1829 description of the organization of the emigration to Cape Breton of several hundred from Skye is probably quite typical. It was undertaken by two "respectable" local agents who had chartered vessels as a "partly philanthropic and partly speculative" venture. £2 was to be charged for passage (with water) so that, based on an allowance of one boll each of oatmeal and potatoes per person, an emigrant could get to Cape Breton for less than £4.⁹⁶ The same report claimed that a great many had already been comfortably transported and resettled in this manner, and it was, of course, the general procedure in operation at the turn of the century.

On the other hand, standards seem to have declined as the tide of emigration swelled and the resources of the participants declined. The appearance of a reaction to the standard modes of emigration has already been noted, and the assumption of responsibility by agents of the proprietors was already being advocated as preferable to purely commercial operations.⁹⁷

Yet another approach is represented by a Skye schoolteacher who requested information concerning the transportation and settlement of emigrants directly from government, since the people would give no credit to information unless it was given by government authority in writing. He himself hoped to obtain a vessel and sail it to Cape Breton in 1829.⁹⁸ It is not known whether there is any connection, but, when 49 families from Skye were allocated land in Cape Breton in 1830, the head of the party received 300 acres, while the others got 100 acres each.⁹⁹ These instances suggest the independent organization of local groups under the leadership of a prominent individual. This certainly was the case of a Sutherland minister who chartered a vessel to enable a number of parishioners to emigrate to Pictou with him.¹⁰⁰

Finally, it should be noted that emigrant groups in Lewis are reported to have built their own vessels.¹⁰¹ Nevertheless, the old emigrant trade conducted by local entrepreneurs in conjunction with shipping interests, however reprehensible it may have been, had been the principal means of effecting the transatlantic transfer of the great bulk of Scottish emigrants to Nova Scotia.

Reception

During this period unofficial aspects of the reception of immigrants were generally in accordance with the various procedures noted for the previous period, but a new dimension was added with the arrival of significant numbers of non-Scots, particularly the Irish. It was noted of these that they tended to arrive "alike destitute of friends and property".¹⁰² This created acute problems at Halifax, and in 1817 it was thought expedient to form a committee for relief.¹⁰³

In the case of the Scots, though, the strong development of the chain process offered the continued prospect of immediate succour

by previously established emigrants: at the end of the period it was observed that for many years Scottish immigrants in Cape Breton "have been humanely subsisted by persons not provided with more than a sufficiency for themselves".¹⁰⁴ This aspect was emphasized by witnesses before the parliamentary committees on emigration, and specific instances illustrate its operation.¹⁰⁵

When the Reverend Graham encouraged his brother to emigrate he undertook to assist him and even provide land if necessary. On the brother's arrival at Pictou he obtained temporary accommodation with a friend of Graham's and was impressed with the hospitality he received.¹⁰⁶ Again, the Lewis emigrant who invited relatives to join him stated: "If you come I will give you a house and part of what I have till you find a place to your wish or should you stop upon my land for ever you are quite welcome".¹⁰⁷

Several petitions also provide examples of initial assistance from relatives or friends, but some indicate that the process was under some strain. In 1817 some Antigonish area residents complained of distress as a result of crop failures and the burden of supporting recent immigrants.¹⁰⁸ Then, 24 Scottish families who had emigrated to Cape Breton in 1827 found that their neighbours could only maintain them through their first winter, and that they were without support thereafter.¹⁰⁹ In addition, there is the case of an individual who emphasized that he had no relatives or friends for support.¹¹⁰

Such circumstances are borne out by reports sent to Halifax by local officials. At Pictou, the arrivals of 1815 were said to be in great difficulty "from the extraordinary scarcity of provisions and consequent poverty of friends already settled, upon whose assistance many relied for support"; while those of 1816 were largely "of the most indigent class without friends here able to assist them".¹¹¹ Moreover, the complaint of some of the Sutherland emigrants at this

time that they were "crowded two and three families together in wash-houses" at Pictou suggests difficulties of dispersal.¹¹² At Sydney in 1828 there was comment on the "desperate straits of many ... who have no friends or relatives here", and the fact that over 2,000 Scottish immigrants were lingering in the Sydney area early in 1829 suggests serious problems of dispersal.¹¹³

In contrast to circumstances at the turn of the century, the first few post-war years and the late 1820s were not propitious times for the reception of large numbers because of crop failures, and widespread relief was required even by established settlers.¹¹⁴ Consequently, support derived from the operation of the chain process seems to have become increasingly inadequate to cope with the influx of peak years as the immigrants themselves tended to be more uniformly destitute. An increasing number of those without close contacts in the new land also seems to have been a factor.

By 1830, Nova Scotia was experiencing the effects of the kind of mass migration which was to be typical of the middle decades of the century, and public opinion, as reflected in the press, shifted quite dramatically. In the early post-war years there was unanimous approval of immigration accompanied by pleas for assistance and encouragement for those who were arriving, so that they should not be tempted to move on to the United States.¹¹⁵ But, by the late 1820s, while such sentiments could still be found, adverse reaction was more evident, particularly with regard to some of the suggestions emanating from London, which it was hoped "will not ... be tested among us".¹¹⁶

While those of some means were always welcome, Nova Scotia was thought to have had its fill of the destitute, and there were calls for action to stem the tide and even reverse its flow by sending immigrants back at public expense.¹¹⁷

This shift in opinion was paralleled by changes in official

attitudes and policies. As noted above, immigration from Britain was being enthusiastically advocated just before the end of the war, and in the years following it was hoped that the experiments in assisted emigration to Upper Canada would be extended to Nova Scotia.¹¹⁸ However, while emigration to Nova Scotia was seen as desirable in London, it was made clear that access to land was all that was to be made available by government.¹¹⁹ On the other hand, the local government was faced with the problem of dealing with the increasing influx of the destitute, and the heightened importance of Halifax as a port of entry brought that problem to its immediate attention.

In the early years Irish emigrants moving on from Newfoundland seem to have caused the greatest concern. L100 was allocated late in 1816 for the relief of 150 unemployed Newfoundland immigrants at Halifax. A further L150 was advanced for similar purposes early in 1818, and the Assembly was to consider further relief. By the end of that year, however, the Council decided that a message should be sent to Newfoundland stating that there was no further means of assisting any who might come to Nova Scotia in the hope of obtaining relief.¹²⁰ There appeared again, therefore, the kind of ad hoc response to temporary crises recorded previously. This was also prompted again by circumstances at Pictou.

On application by the Pictou magistrates in 1815, the Lieutenant-Governor approved relief measures and recommended that they be subsidized by the Assembly. L500 was voted for this purpose in February 1816 and provisions to the value of L250 were sent to Pictou in May.¹²¹ However, as distress continued in 1817 and Dalhousie was raising the old fear that Highland immigrants at Pictou would leave for the United States if they were not adequately supported, the Assembly declared that there were insufficient resources for continued relief on the scale of recent years.¹²²

Fortunately, though, the severe subsistence crisis was coming to an end and the situation was greatly alleviated in 1818. Nevertheless, emergency relief was still extended as local emergencies arose: for example, flour, blankets and bedding were supplied to recent immigrants at St. Ann's in 1820.¹²³

The prevalence of disease among immigrants also elicited official action. When typhus was reported among recent arrivals at Halifax in 1820 the Council advised the enforcement of quarantine, and in the same year a Health Officer was appointed for the port of Pictou.¹²⁴ Consequently, it is not surprising that, by 1819, Uniacke was advocating the publication in Britain of accurate information on Nova Scotia. He hoped that this would prevent a further inundation by the wretched and attract only the "useful".¹²⁵ By the late 1820s, indeed, the local government came to assume a determinedly anti-immigration posture, in a complete reversal of the attitude of a decade before.

It is rather ironic that it was Uniacke's overly sanguine promotion of Nova Scotia before the Select Committee of 1826 which prompted Cockburn's mission in 1827 to find a suitable location for the 2,000 poor urban families whose assisted emigration was proposed. The scheme came to naught any way, but Cockburn was soon persuaded by officials in Nova Scotia that he must look elsewhere. The general opinion was that very little suitable land remained vacant, and that any poor immigrants, other than the Highlanders who were sustained by the chain process, would be unlikely to prosper. They were therefore unwelcome.¹²⁶

In 1827 there was also the influx of diseased and destitute Irish at Halifax which prompted the appointment of a Health Officer and the establishment of a hospital at Bank Head.¹²⁷ As a result, there was a call for the reinstatement of the Passengers Act as the Council expressed the fear that, "the refuse only of the super-

abundant population at home will come to us, while all the valuable and useful emigrants will embark for the United States".¹²⁸ In 1828 Nova Scotia imposed its own regulations with the passage of an Act requiring a bond of L10 per immigrant, forfeitable if he required public assistance.¹²⁹ This Act was in effect for two years and, although an attempt to renew it in 1830 was not approved by Council, the executive firmly discouraged mass immigration from Britain.¹³⁰

What did follow, in 1832, was a new Act imposing a head tax on immigrant arrivals.¹³¹ Consequently, just at the time when Scottish emigration to Nova Scotia was beginning to be regarded favourably by authorities and landlords in Britain, it was becoming decidedly unwelcome in Nova Scotia. A great part of the problem was that the waves of Highland immigrants were no longer so universally apt to disappear swiftly into the forest to be absorbed easily by communities of their predecessors, and the 1830s were to be a decade when relief was regularly required in Cape Breton.¹³²

The situation at Sydney in 1828 created an immediate crisis, and again the local magistrates were subsidized to provide temporary relief, with L250 in 1828 and another L500 in 1829.¹³³ At the same time smaller amounts were being allocated to rural areas in Cape Breton for similar purposes.¹³⁴ A policy which was never intended to be regular was, in fact, becoming virtually so through mounting necessity, and this "reluctant and sparing" relief was of great importance to many Scottish immigrants throughout the course of the movement.¹³⁵

Settlement

Throughout this period it was considered that preparing the way for permanent settlement was the most effective means of assisting immigrants. Until the late 1820s this consisted largely of attempts to administer the land regulations of 1807 effectively.

The system continued to be beset by administrative difficulties and inefficiency,¹³⁶ but there was a determined attempt to accommodate the immigrants.

Titles in the Philadelphia Grant were settled at last in 1815 and the escheat of undeveloped grants continued. At the same time blocks of lots were being laid out to receive immigrants. A major drawback, though, was the inability of many immigrants to meet the considerable cost of a "free" land grant, and the remission of fees was discussed.¹³⁷

In Cape Breton the lack of any kind of regular system produced an even more chaotic situation, and by 1820 it was reported that probably as much land was occupied by means of a warrant only or no authority at all as by means of grants, leases or licences.¹³⁸ With the annexation of Cape Breton in that year, however, new measures were instituted to establish a more regular procedure on the island, and in the following year these were extended to the mainland.¹³⁹

These measures conformed largely to proposals put forward by Uniacke in 1819, and were specifically designed to aid the settlement of newly arrived immigrants. A new system of local boards of land commissioners was responsible for issuing tickets of location to immigrants. These tickets were subject to a fee of 2/6d and were valid for a year. Full title by grant was still required once the holders were reasonably well settled, but up to five grantees could be included in a grant to ease the burden of fees. There was also an attempt to eliminate general abuses: the number of deputy surveyors was reduced to one per county or district; "land jobbing" was to be discouraged; and the names of unauthorized settlers were to be reported.

By 1822 the land boards were said to be operating reasonably well. However, abuses were apparently rampant, and the issue of

tickets was restricted to those resident six months or less, since the initial operation had tended to be indiscriminate. In addition, the collection of fees was unsatisfactory.¹⁴⁰ More serious, though, was a widespread disregard of the official system, particularly in Cape Breton where settlement without authority was reported to be unprecedented in 1823. This was accompanied by a "great trafficking and transferring of land", and a general disposition "to believe they may remain in quiet possession of the lands they occupy without taking warrants or in any manner applying for them".¹⁴¹ The system itself could not have inspired much confidence: in 1827 it was still hindered by a lack of adequate surveys, some of the deputy surveyors' returns being "wretchedly deficient", and there was no means for the Surveyor General "to proceed in a scientific manner".¹⁴²

It was in 1827 that the central government began the process of replacing the land granting system with a policy of distribution by sale in accordance with Wakefieldian principles. New Land Instructions were sent in March. These required land to be sold at auction to the highest bidder in future (although, to accommodate poor immigrants, it was still possible to occupy up to 200 acres on a quitrent of 5% of the purchase price or estimated value). The land boards were abolished and those holding land by any form of authority other than a grant could complete title only by purchase after January 1, 1828.¹⁴³

This policy was viewed with misgivings by local authorities: they considered that the remaining vacant land, mostly in remote areas, was not likely to attract purchasers; and thought that the old system should be continued in some form to serve the needs of the poorer immigrants who constituted the great majority of settlers. They were also of the opinion that, while there was widespread failure to obtain initial authority for settlement in Cape Breton, this was largely due to utter destitution on arrival and, given the

chance to establish themselves with the assistance of their predecessors, many were likely to regularize their activities. In their view, then, the general procedures of the old system were more convenient.¹⁴⁴

The prospect presented by the new policy was just as formidable for those already established officially, but without full title, since many were in no position to complete their grant before the deadline and had little hope of being able to pay a purchase price thereafter.¹⁴⁵ Cape Breton, the principal area of new settlement, presented the greatest problem and the local authorities, in fact, managed to avoid instituting sales there until 1832, while continuing the former system in a modified form: licences of occupation replaced other forms of temporary authority with the stipulations that a house was to be built within six months and a grant obtained within three years.¹⁴⁶

Despite the Council's opinion that the former system should be reinstated, the central government continued to press for its elimination. As a result, new Instructions were issued in 1832 confirming sale with a minimum upset price as the standard means of land disposal. However, during the 1830s the volume of sales was low and revenues were equalled by administrative expenses.¹⁴⁷ Nor was the process of unauthorized occupation abated, and at the end of the decade steps were taken to legalize squatters' claims to all land actually occupied.¹⁴⁸ It was also during the 1827-32 period that the central government made a final attempt to have quitrents collected, but local opposition remained adamant and they were commuted in 1834 in return for an Assembly grant of £2,000 towards the civil establishment of the province.¹⁴⁹

As in the previous period, the development of internal communications was the other major government involvement in the progress of settlement, and continued appropriations for road

construction and maintenance were of local benefit throughout the province.¹⁵⁰ By the end of the period, the increasing but widely scattered settlements of Cape Breton prompted the Assembly to pay for surveys already carried out and to allocate £250 for further exploration.¹⁵¹ Moreover, specific local projects received public support: Arisaig Pier, for example, was supported by further grants between 1815 and 1830.¹⁵²

The activities of the Central Board of Agriculture were of some significance in areas of new settlement, and the provision of subsidies for the establishment of schools was welcome among Scottish immigrants.¹⁵³ However, despite a recommendation from the Assembly in 1815 that funds should be made available and commissioners appointed to supply poor settlers with seed, grain and implements,¹⁵⁴ instances of comprehensive and systematic support of initial settlement remained exceptions to the general rule.

The two notable exceptions at the end of the war were the resettlement of Blacks brought to Nova Scotia from the United States as a result of the War of 1812, and the establishment of disbanded military units at three locations on the proposed route between Halifax and Annapolis. Both proved expensive and the latter proved unsuccessful: although supplied with provisions and implements, the military settlers made little effort to achieve independence, and most seem to have abandoned their holdings after support was withdrawn.¹⁵⁵ This kind of result was probably good reason in the opinion of local officials to shun any more extensive application of this kind of procedure. However, there was one interesting example of the officially promoted settlement of an immigrant British group.

This comprised some 200 Welsh who arrived at Halifax in 1818, the first known large accession from that source. They were given provisions and implements, transported to Shelburne, and given shelter there until land could be laid out for them on the Roseway

River. They were even provided with books so that they could learn English. The reason for this particular exception lay in the fact that, being considered "desirable and industrious", it was hoped that very favourable treatment would induce others to follow them.¹⁵⁶

On the other hand, in contemporary opinion, one of the redeeming features of the long-established Scottish influx was that it was largely self-supporting.¹⁵⁷ Government assistance to settled Scots was, therefore, generally similar to that received by the newly arrived - temporary relief during subsistence crises - although the Barra arrivals at Sydney in 1817 were given provisions and transported to Grand Narrows at the modest expense of L43-14-6d.¹⁵⁸ Relief of new arrivals and those already settled were closely inter-related, of course, since the latter were often distressed at times of crisis by having to support the former. Consequently, while there was direct relief to immigrants during the difficult early post-war years, most aid was distributed more generally, with grants of L1,500 in 1816 and L8,000 in 1817 providing the means to import provisions and seed from Britain and the United States.¹⁵⁹

During the late 1820s and early 1830s there were increasing numbers of responses to local crises, but these were clearly not meant as outright grants. For instance, oatmeal was sent to settlers on the West River of Antigonish in 1828 in return for an agreement to repay by means of road work, and L100 advanced to Middle River (Cape Breton) settlers in 1829 for the purchase of seed was repayable in three years. However, it seems to have been recognized that such conditions may not have been realistic: when granting L500 for the relief of settlers in various parts of Cape Breton the Council thought it advisable to stipulate that the recipients should repay by working on roads, but left it to the Assembly to determine the expediency of enforcing this obligation.¹⁶⁰

Government involvement in the course of Scottish settlement

was, therefore, largely in the form of emergency relief, and there were no further attempts to redirect its development. Indeed, the Barra group of 1817 was designedly sent to join its established kindred. This indicates a recognition of the fundamental directing influence.¹⁶¹ In addition, however inefficient and unsatisfactory its operation, land distribution was governed by a local willingness to accommodate the large numbers of impecunious Scots, and there was certainly no general attempt to seriously hinder land acquisition, although, of course, such a policy would have been very difficult to enforce.¹⁶²

As already noted, economic and environmental adversities in this post-war period led to less propitious circumstances for the successful settlement of immigrants. There were fewer prospects for skilled tradesmen, and the demand for unskilled labour, which had never been very great, was minimal at a time when a glut threatened as a result of rising immigration. As was observed at the end of the period, there were no large manufacturing industries and agriculture was largely a family concern.¹⁶³ Even in the case of the developing coal industry at Pictou, labour was recruited directly from Britain by the company. Consequently, opportunities open to the generality of immigrants were restricted even more exclusively to the prospects of independent agricultural settlement, and there was a very basic distinction between those immigrants who settled and those who did not. The latter group tended to move quickly to the United States.

The latter course was reported as characteristic of arrivals at Halifax, and particularly of the dominant Irish component. This phenomenon was also observed in Upper Canada, and many probably never intended to settle in Nova Scotia but merely found it a convenient staging point on the way. On the other hand, if complaints voiced in 1817 are to be believed, there were many others

who only moved on, if they could afford to do so, after failing to find adequate employment in Nova Scotia.¹⁶⁴

Some decided to try their hand at pioneering and applied for land after finding it impossible to obtain their intended form of employment.¹⁶⁵ In this way some Scots apparently took up land by default, but the great majority, being Highlanders, were characterized by an initial determination to acquire land, and the tendency to re-emigrate was not observed among them.¹⁶⁶

Some participated in the inshore fishery, probably largely on a subsistence basis, but land for agricultural settlement was the universal primary goal.¹⁶⁷ However, the process of settlement was subject to mounting difficulties due to straitened circumstances among new arrivals and their predecessors, and the declining availability of accessible and useful land. The fact was that settlement was already pressing on the limits to successful exploitation imposed by environmental constraints. In the late 1820s the knowledge that there had been little encroachment on the northern peninsula of Cape Breton encouraged some optimistic estimates of the numbers of additional immigrants who could be settled; but more cautious opinion was justified since that area was to prove largely uninhabitable.¹⁶⁸

The scramble to secure "front" land and avoid being pushed on to "back" land was already creating conflict and confusion. As the Reverend Graham observed in 1817, "those who come for land had better come soon",¹⁶⁹ and by 1827 it was stated that nearly all land fit for settlement in Pictou District had already been occupied or granted.¹⁷⁰ That area had been settled for 60 years, but much more recent settlement areas in Cape Breton were experiencing similar problems and, while there are general references to the successful absorption of Highland immigrants into communities of their predecessors,¹⁷¹ detailed observation reveals that permanent

settlement could be a long and probably painful procedure.

For instance, 400 who arrived in 1826 sought official advice after failing to find good front land vacant on the Bras d'Or.¹⁷² One result of the frequent large group arrivals of the late 1820s was the opening up of new settlement areas, but for the many who joined existing settlements occupancy could be precarious. Having established contact with friends or relatives, and without the means to make a regular application, they tended to commence clearing immediately on the first uncleared spot they found. There they planted potatoes donated by their predecessors. After several years, though, they were likely to have to accept compensation from the legal claimant to the land and move on. This process could be repeated several times until they had the resources to establish a legal claim on their own behalf.¹⁷³

It was also observed of new Highland settlers that the tenuous nature of their resources forbade any retreat.¹⁷⁴ This must always have been a factor, but had become more universally prevalent. Of related significance is a comment of 1816 which noted that the "superior" arrivals at Pictou were expected to be more mobile than the indigent.¹⁷⁵ This implies that the ability to seek opportunities independently was restricted to the comparative few with adequate resources, while the majority had to rely, perforce, on the support of the chain system where it was available. This system was the governing force throughout, but the cumulative distress of these later years rendered it of crucial importance, even although it was showing signs of strain.

Certainly, with the exception of a small new settlement at Caledonia in Queens County,¹⁷⁶ the record is one of the expansion of the traditional areas of Scottish settlement, and in accordance with established patterns of distribution. Indeed, by the middle of the nineteenth century it was observed that the province as a whole was

principally settled by distinct ethnic and religious groupings.¹⁷⁷

By 1830 Pictou District had a population approaching 14,000, and 2,000 of these were located in the growing urban centres on Pictou Harbour. This was one of the most populous areas in the province, and in the forefront of agricultural, commercial and industrial development.¹⁷⁸ In many respects, though, it still gave the impression of a pioneer land. In 1817 Dalhousie expected "a considerable town" at Pictou, but found it only "a very small village".¹⁷⁹ A decade later a traveller commented on the scattered and isolated nature of settlement in the district: there were clearings here and there in the forest and along the rivers occupied by one to a dozen settlers, and most of this settlement was not visible from the main roads.¹⁸⁰

However, such settlement extended throughout the district, and it was noted, by 1819, that an exclusively Highland population had already penetrated into the centre of the woods.¹⁸¹ During the early post-war years substantial numbers of Scottish immigrants continued to arrive at Pictou Harbour and many of these settled in Pictou District, the principal source areas mentioned being Dumfriesshire, Ross and Sutherland. While some joined existing settlements, the characteristic feature of this period is the expansion of the boundaries of settlement to Pictou Island, for instance, which now received its first permanent settlement, and to the marginal upland areas which had first been exploited in the previous period.¹⁸²

Consequently, Roger's Hill is said to have been fully settled by Ross and Sutherland immigrants by 1820, so that later arrivals had to move on to Dalhousie Mountain and the West Branch of River John. Some of the Dumfriesshire immigrants, in a similar predicament, also settled on Dalhousie Mountain, but many soon abandoned their holdings as the harshness of the climate and the poverty of the soil defeated their efforts.¹⁸³

Most of the arrivals are said to have moved beyond the district, and one aspect of this was a greatly increased flow westward to northern Colchester District by those (mainly from Dumfries and Sutherland) who might otherwise have been expected to settle in Pictou District. In this way the settlements of New Annan and Earltown were formed. The former, as the name suggests, was a fairly homogeneous Lowland settlement recruited mainly from Dumfriesshire, while the latter was settled by elements of the substantial post-war influx from Sutherland.¹⁸⁴

To the east of Pictou it was noted that the Antigonish area received substantial numbers of new settlers. As before, these were overwhelmingly Roman Catholic and, while there are indications of a greater diversity of national origins (including a notable Irish contribution) the accessions were mainly of Highland Scottish origin. The principal local origins mentioned were long established - for example, Arisaig, Moidart, Strathglass and the Small Isles.¹⁸⁵

By this time the area of initial colonization on the western coastline was reported to be thickly settled, and settlement took place largely in the central area and in the western interior, including marginal upland areas such as Eigg Mountain.¹⁸⁶ By 1827 the population of this Upper District of Sydney County was reported to be just over 7,000,¹⁸⁷ which suggests a density comparable to that of Pictou District, and the tradition that there was an intensification of the process of movement to Cape Breton about 1820 is probably related to the growing pressure of population on the land resource base.¹⁸⁸

Cape Breton was the area which received most comment in terms of settlement expansion as the island experienced a remarkable population increase. Surviving population statistics are incomplete, but it seems likely that a population of less than 10,000 in 1817 had increased to almost 40,000 by 1838.¹⁸⁹ This population comprised

several distinct geographical groupings. The southeastern coast was comparatively sparsely populated by fishing communities of predominantly Irish, English or American origin. The commercial fishery was also prominent on the south coast, pursued mainly by a large Acadian French concentration around Isle Madame, while in the Cheticamp area on the northwest coast there was another large Acadian community. In addition, there were scattered English, Irish and Loyalist elements, but the remainder of the settlement pattern consisted almost entirely of Highland Scottish communities.¹⁹⁰

The area of most concentrated settlement was that of initial colonization along the west coast between the Strait of Canso and Margaree Harbour. The population was predominantly Roman Catholic, and the continued mention of local origins such as Strathglass, Lochaber, Morar and the Small Isles are in accord with this and with the pattern of movement via Antigonish. After 1815 this well settled coastal strip was the base for a rapid expansion into the hinterland, principally along the branches of the Margaree river system and around Lake Ainslie. This involved further immigration from traditional source areas, directly and via Antigonish, the latter by second generation immigrants in some cases.¹⁹¹

At the same time a greater diversity of local origins seems to have been involved, and with this there was a recurrence of differentiation by religious denomination. Thus, while the west side of Lake Ainslie developed as a Roman Catholic settlement, the east side was populated in the 1820s by Presbyterian immigrants from source areas such as Mull and Tiree.¹⁹²

The most notable expansion, though, took place in central Cape Breton, where most of the Bras d'Or system was colonized between 1815 and 1830. As might be expected from the immigration data, local origins reported were mainly in the Western Isles, and again distribution was influenced by the interrelated factors of geographic

origin and religious denomination. The area around Grand Narrows was settled by Roman Catholics, chiefly from Barra; while, to the west, the St. Patrick's Channel, Whycocomagh Bay and River Denys Basin areas received Presbyterians from Lewis, Harris, North Uist, Skye, Mull, Tiree and Coll.¹⁹³

Ease of access from Sydney, a major point of entry by the 1820s, led to the rapid occupation of Boularderie Island at the northern outlet of the Bras d'Or, again by both Roman Catholic and Presbyterian elements who formed separate settlements. Many of the Presbyterians were from Gairloch, an indication of the continued contribution of the northwest coast of the mainland.¹⁹⁴

During the 1820s, the east coast northwards from the Bras d'Or outlet was also settled, among the first arrivals being the Sutherland group led by the Reverend Norman McLeod. They had come to Pictou in 1817 and moved to St. Ann's in 1820. However, the northeast coast was mostly settled by immigrants who came from Lewis and Harris in the late 1820s.¹⁹⁵ Highland Roman Catholics are said to have first established themselves on the Mira River in the southeast in 1826.¹⁹⁶ By 1830, then, all the present major Scottish settlement areas had been occupied.

The population estimates already quoted are largely based on census returns available for this period. Even at the time the accuracy of these was regarded as highly suspect, and incompleteness is a frequent problem.¹⁹⁷ Nevertheless, they do throw some interesting light on the Scottish settlements of this period. Returns made in 1817 are available for Pictou and Antigonish.¹⁹⁸ The Pictou return, in manuscript form, consists only of the names of heads of families with numbers of dependants for a total of 8,737, "Scotch almost to a man, or their descendants".

The Sydney County return was conducted by settlement on printed forms. However, it is fragmentary and confused, and it

seems possible only to be certain of a count when a settlement was covered on one page. The total recorded population of 6,991 is obviously incomplete, particularly in the case of the area of the present Antigonish County which had a total of 2,549. National origins were recorded, and these reveal the strength of the Acadian French communities in the eastern area, while there are occurrences of Irish, American and English. The total of 752 natives of Scotland seems to be a considerable under-representation. However, some examples of apparently complete settlement coverage illustrate the homogeneity of Scottish concentrations at this time.

There were 213 individuals in 31 families at Morristown. Of these, 118 were native Nova Scotians, 82 were Scottish, 6 were English, 6 were Irish, and 1 was American. However, 30 of the families had members who were natives of Scotland (the exception comprised all 6 English). Of the 6 Irish, 5 were included with Scots and 1 was included with the English family. The American was also included with Scots. At Manchester Road there were 230 in 36 families, consisting of 117 Scots and 113 Nova Scotians. Every family had Scottish members and most had Nova Scotians, which suggests an exclusive group of first and second generation Scottish immigrants. Again, of the 180 in 29 families at West River, 103 were Nova Scotian, 74 were Scottish, and 3 were Irish. Twenty eight of the families had Scottish members, the exception being an Irish family of two, while the third Irish occurrence was included in a Scottish family.

Further returns of 1827 were apparently deficient in many respects, but recorded a population of 13,949 in Pictou District and 7,103 in the Upper District of Sydney County.¹⁹⁹ Despite a growing commercial and industrial sector around Pictou Harbour, the population of Pictou District was still overwhelmingly rural, and by far the largest concentration was on East River which had almost

twice the population of the next largest settlement area, Merigomish. Just over 89% of the population of the district was listed as "Church of Scotland" (obviously including Secessionists).

The Upper District of Sydney County was recorded in terms of four townships - Dorchester, Tracadie, St. Andrew's and Arisaig. The first was centred on Antigonish Harbour, the second comprised the eastern area of concentrated French settlement, and the other two were more exclusively Scottish areas. Arisaig, the western coastal area, was recorded in some detail. The population was 1,568 and just over 90% were Roman Catholic. The occupation of 224 adult males was recorded, 204 of whom were farmers. The others comprised four merchants, three innkeepers, three schoolmasters, two coopers, two shoemakers, a tailor, a weaver, a miller, a mariner, a labourer and a priest.

Incomplete returns of 1818 are available for Cape Breton, and, despite their deficiencies, these provide useful information on national origins, length of residence and occupation.²⁰⁰ A total of 897 were listed by name as heads of families or singles (status was not always recorded). Of these, 333 were identified as single, but all males over 15 seem to have been counted independently. Of the total 897, 357 were declared natives of Scotland, 270 of whom resided on the west coast and 87 on the Bras d'Or. In addition, there were 81 born elsewhere whose parents were natives of Scotland. These were natives of Nova Scotia (40), Prince Edward Island (25), Cape Breton (10), the United States (3), Ireland (2), and England (1).

Prominent among other origins were Acadian French, American, Irish and English. Two areas were notable in having none of Scottish origin recorded: Cheticamp on the west coast, which was almost exclusively French; and Louisburg-Gabarus on the east coast, where the population was either Irish, English or American. A strong Scottish concentration is evident along the west coast between

River Inhabitants and Margaree. But Scots were not dominant in the area of the Strait, where English, Irish and Americans were prominent, nor at Port Hood where there was a strong Irish element. On the other hand, Broad Cove, for instance, was solidly Scottish. The meagre evidence for the Bras d'Or also indicates a mixture, with proportions varying from settlement to settlement - at Baddeck in particular there were relatively few Scots.

Dependent children (presumably excluding males over 15) were recorded for 227 of the natives of Scotland, and a total of 943 children gives a mean of 4.15 per family. In terms of occupation, "farmer" was dominant, particularly among the Scottish concentrations. In contrast, there was a fairly wide range of occupations at Port Hood, and fishing was important in the vicinity of the Strait.

Length of residence in Cape Breton was recorded for 340 of the Scots. Dates of arrival ranged from 1781 to 1817, but the distribution varied considerably between the two principal settlement areas. On the west coast 9.3% had arrived before 1800 (most of these in the late 1790s, presumably in connection with the immigration of the early 1790s), 36.7% had arrived between 1800 and 1804, 34.8% between 1805 and 1814, and 19.3% in 1815-17. Only 4.3% of those on the Bras d'Or had arrived before 1805, 65.7% had arrived between 1805 and 1814, and 30.0% in 1815-17.

The general evidence of the land petitions data is also a valuable complement, largely confirming the broad conclusions which can be drawn from other sources and furnishing some useful additional insights. General aspects are again reviewed in the general analysis.²⁰¹ More specifically, in terms of those recording both a date of emigration and a location requested, 622 cases pertain to the years 1815-19, and 342 of these were settlement-specific. Seventy specified Pictou District settlements: 32 referred to the harbour and three major rivers (including 19 for East River), 21

referred to western areas (including 8 for Mount Thom and Dalhousie Mountain and 6 for Pictou Island), and 23 referred to eastern areas (including 11 for Sutherland River and French River).

In terms of westward and eastward expansion, the corresponding data for 1800-04 indicate an emphasis on Caribou and Scotsburn in the west and McLellan Brook and Mountain in the east. Compared with the 1815-19 data, this suggests a progressive spread out from the central area, as areas closer to Pictou Harbour were most intensively exploited initially.

Of the 85 referring to Antigonish settlements, only 8 requested the western coastal area, while 61 requested central Antigonish, including Antigonish Harbour (36) and South River (13). Sixteen requested the eastern area between Pomquet and the Strait of Canso. There was, therefore, a continued shift of emphasis away from the area of initial colonization, and there seems to have been a more significant expansion into the eastern area. The data for 1815-19 and 1820-24 also suggest the great importance of the first post-war decade in the settlement of the Antigonish area.

Of the 68 references to other mainland locations, 1815-19, 23 requests were for North Shore areas to the west of Pictou (including 17 for Earltown), and another 6 were for southern Colchester District, also adjacent to expanding Pictou settlements. Locations bordering the Atlantic coast between Canso and Halifax, notably the St. Mary's and Musquodoboit rivers, were specified by 25 others, while 7 referred to the Annapolis-Cornwallis Valley. There were only 3 references to Douglas, though, and none at all to Digby, so that these seem to have ceased to exert much attraction.

Of the 113 references to Cape Breton settlements, 1815-19, 64 pertained to the west coast, while the others were fairly widespread, illustrating the growing importance of areas such as Lake Ainslie, River Inhabitants, River Denys and Boularderie Island. On the west

coast, a comparison with the 1800-04 data suggests a shift of emphasis from the Judique area in the south to the Inverness/Broad Cove area further north.

Of the 376 cases pertaining to 1820-24, 248 were settlement-specific. Pictou settlements were specified by 57 of these: 12 requests were for the three major rivers, with East River prominent again; 18 requests were for western areas, half of them for Mount Thom and Dalhousie Mountain; and 27 requests were for eastern areas, including 17 for Barney's River. This last settlement was adjacent to the westernmost limits of Roman Catholic settlement, and its prominence seems to represent a continuation of the trend noted above.

There were 51 Antigonish area references, 1820-24, and 33 of these pertained to the central area, while only 5 referred to the western coastal area. However, 7 referred to the area between the western coast and Antigonish Harbour, suggesting the growing occupation of the hinterland. There were only 6 references to the eastern area, and 5 of these were to Pomquet River on its western boundary. Thus, eastward expansion does not seem to have been sustained.

Of 50 references to other mainland locations, 1820-24, 36 requested the North Shore area to the west of Pictou, including Earltown (24) and New Annan (3). The other 14 have a distribution similar to that for 1815-19, although the occurrence of 3 requests for the Caledonia area of Queens County is noteworthy (the latter had made its first appearance with a case in 1815-19).

Among the 90 references to Cape Breton settlements only 11 requested the west coast, while 40 requested the Bras d'Or system, 14 requested southern areas, and 10 requested St. Ann's and the east coast to the north of there. This illustrates the emergence of the Bras d'Or as a prominent destination in the 1820s. There are only

67 cases for the years 1825-34, but these confirm the cumulative effects of the established trend: 42 of the settlement-specific cases referred to Cape Breton.

The crosstabulation of petitions of this period with location requested yields results which largely duplicate those just discussed. The eastern area of Antigonish County is more prominently represented in the 1820s, but this is probably the result of petitioning by earlier immigrants. The relationship between date of grant and location of grant also provides general confirmation, and the frequency of occurrences between 1825 and 1829, even in the case of Pictou, must be a reflection of the completion of processes as granting was being phased out as a regular procedure.

It may also be noted here that the relationship between Scottish origins and location requested, irrespective of date, lends support to the other evidence of differing distribution.²⁰² Among the Highland counties, for instance, the evidence for Ross, Sutherland and Argyll is most striking. In the case of the Western Isles there is the contrast between northern and southern areas of the Outer Hebrides and the restricted distribution of the Small Isles, particularly Rum. This, together with the rather meagre parish evidence, conforms to the observed pattern of distribution by religious denomination. Other source areas, especially in the Lowlands, were less concentrated, with the notable exception of Dumfriesshire. It should also be noted that the dominance of requests for central and eastern Cape Breton locations among arrivals from Prince Edward Island is probably a reflection of the relatively early and intensive settlement of the more accessible west coast.²⁰³

Finally, selected cases again provide insight at the individual level. Five who left Scotland together and wished to settle together, and another four who wished to settle near relatives, are straightforward examples of links in the chain process.²⁰⁴ Another

two cases, however, reveal more strikingly the importance of this phenomenon. In one case an immigrant of four years' residence asked to be allowed to relinquish an assigned lot and move to another district to be near a brother and other relatives who had recently arrived.²⁰⁵ In the other case Lewis emigrants who came to Cape Breton in 1828 moved to Wallace where their cousins were settled.²⁰⁶

As in the previous period, though, most examples reveal vicissitudes suffered in the course of settlement, the main difficulty being to obtain a secure holding of one's own. Many complained of not being able to find unassigned land. A common solution was to enter a counter claim on the grounds that the land had not been improved by the legal claimant, and it seems to have often been the case that allocations were simply abandoned by those involved in the kind of redistribution just noted.²⁰⁷

Some sought guidance from community leaders, for example the three Glenelg emigrants who requested land under the superintendence of the Reverend Alexander McDonald.²⁰⁸ Others were able to obtain a foothold, at least temporarily, on land belonging to relatives.²⁰⁹ However, the case of the individual who purchased land from his brothers, and then allowed another to occupy part of it for 2/6d per annum, indicates that the kinship bond did not preclude commercial transactions, and that the buying and selling of land had become an important feature of the settlement process.²¹⁰

It was aspects of this kind of development which prompted official attempts to stamp out "land jobbing". A simple example is provided by the individual who sold his claim to another for L10 when he found himself unable to pay for a grant at the appointed time.²¹¹ Another case in which granted land was sold to pay for other land which had been purchased is rather more complicated.²¹² This reflects the standard procedure of purchasing on a promise to pay at some future date, when in fact it might prove difficult or

impossible to do so. So, a petitioner, having purchased land and sold parts of it to three others, complained that they were trying to get grants without paying the purchase price.²¹³ On the other hand, the purchaser could be the aggrieved party, as in the case of one who had purchased and settled but then found that the vendor had no title.²¹⁴

Such circumstances obviously invited a variety of disputes, and these were certainly conspicuous. One complainant stated that the "relinquished" land on which he had settled had been sold by another claimant. Yet another, previously dispossessed of land, had been allocated 500 acres elsewhere, but was unable to take out a grant. As a result, 200 acres of his allocation had been surveyed for others.²¹⁵

Official administrative inadequacies also continued to be a source of grievance, hardly surprising considering the deficiencies admitted by those in authority. The unfortunate individual who built and improved on the wrong lot may have been a victim of the shoddy surveying which seems to have been so common, or merely of his own error. However, a number of complaints that services and documents had not been received in return for fees paid suggest gross inefficiencies among minor officials and perhaps even outright embezzlement.²¹⁶

During this period there are occasional admissions of indigence among petitioners. For instance, one, although allocated a lot, was unable to settle because of a lack of provisions and materials.²¹⁷ This was an attempt to elicit official aid and therefore suspect, but other examples reveal how the cost of emigrating was affecting the ability to settle. In one case the petitioner had worked to pay the expenses of his passage from Scotland and still could not afford any fees to acquire land.²¹⁸ The burden could be indirect, too, as in the case of another who had guaranteed his brother's

passage money, had been forced to pay it, and was consequently unable to take out a grant.²¹⁹ Yet another, an immigrant resident for two years, stated that he had been forced to sell his coat to make application for title to the lot on which he and his brother were settled and which was being claimed by a third party.²²⁰

Two last examples suggest that considerable time might pass before a competency was achieved. These, who had emigrated in 1801 and 1805 respectively, stated in 1815 that they had hitherto been unable to pay grant fees.²²¹ So the process of successful settlement could be long and arduous, and implicit in that process was a variety of necessary adaptations.

Notes

1. Parliamentary Papers, 1821, XVII (718) (column 1); Parliamentary Papers, 1833, XXVI (696) (column 2); PANS, RG1, vol. 238, doc. 27 (column 3); CO 217/152/413 (column 4); MacLaren, Pictou Book, pp. 119-20, and Martell, Immigration and Emigration, passim (column 5).
2. SRO, E504, 12/6, 35/2.
3. Immigration and Emigration, pp. 7-8.
4. Ibid., pp. 91-96.
5. Ibid.; S.L. Morse, Immigration to Nova Scotia, 1839-1851 (unpublished M.A. thesis, Dalhousie, 1946), pp. 102, 121.
6. Annual Register, 1815, Chronicle, p. 35; Inverness Journal, June 28, November 22, 1816.
7. PANS, RG1: vol. 214, p. 600, Executive Council Minutes, November 16, 1815; vol. 227, docs. 116, 129, Denoon et al. to Cogswell, May 12, October 15, 1816.
8. PANS, RG20, Ser. A2, Logan, George, 1817.
9. CO 217/99, Dalhousie to Bathurst, December 14, 1817. A note at the end of the Pictou census dated October 1817 indicated that

- 445 immigrants had arrived on several vessels since the spring (PANS, RG1, vol. 445).
10. PANS, RG1, vol. 329, doc. 109; CO 217/135/100, Ainslie to Bathurst, July 24, 1817.
 11. M. Whitelaw, ed., The Dalhousie Journals (Toronto, 1978), pp. 33-37; Free Press, October 21, 1817; Acadian Recorder, April 25, 1818.
 12. Acadian Recorder, July 26, 1817.
 13. PANS, RG1: vol. 306, doc. 60, Morris to Haliburton, February 18, 1820; vol. 229, doc. 34, Smith to George, June 30, 1820.
 14. PANS, RG1, vol. 334, docs. 32, 34; IUP, Emigration, I, 37-47; Johnstone, Catholic Church, I, 432, 458.
 15. Free Press, July 3, 1827; Novascotian, September 14, 1826, July 12, September 13, 1827.
 16. Acadian Recorder, September 15, 1827; Novascotian, September 20, 1827.
 17. CO 217/146/132, Kempt to Wilmot Horton, September 14, 1826.
 18. PANS, RG1: vol. 307, doc. 126; vol. 336, doc. 49; vol. 309, doc. 49.
 19. CO 217/154/434, McNiven to Goderich, April 5, 1832.
 20. See Chapter 3 and Tables 17-24 (Appendix 3).
 21. See the comments on the relationship between date of grant and location of grant below.
 22. PANS, RG20, Ser. A2, McKay, John and Others, 1815; Free Press, May 11, 1816; Annual Register, 1815, Chronicle, p. 35; I. Longworth, A History of the County of Colchester, Nova Scotia (1866 and 1878, unpublished typescript, PANS), pp. 135-41; MacLaren, Pictou Book, p. 119; J. Murray, Scotsburn Congregation, p. 20; Rev. G. Patterson, Pictou, pp. 277-78.
 23. J.S. MacDonald, North British Society, pp. 122, 216.
 24. Longworth, Colchester, pp. 177-90; J. Murray, Scotsburn

- Congregation, p. 27; F.H. Patterson, History of Tatamagouche, p. 43; Rev. G. Patterson, Pictou, pp. 276-80.
25. MacLaren, Pictou Book, p. 119; Martell, Immigration and Emigration, pp. 52-53.
 26. PANS, MG1, vol. 313C; M. Whitelaw, ed., Dalhousie Journals, p. 168.
 27. C.S. MacDonald, "Early Highland Emigration", p. 45; Martell, Immigration and Emigration, p. 49; Rev. G. Patterson, Pictou, p. 284.
 28. R.A. MacLean, ed., Antigonish, I, passim; Rankin, Antigonish, passim.
 29. PANS, RG1: vol. 67, doc. 19; vol. 335, doc. 64. CO 217/135/100; Inverness Courier, January 28, 1829; IUP, Emigration, IV, 46-60; MacDougall, Inverness, passim; A.D. MacLean, History of Washabuck (privately printed, n.d.), p. 75; Martell, Immigration and Emigration, pp. 52-53, 56; G.C. Patterson, Victoria, passim.
 30. New Statistical Account, XIV, 157 ff., 198 ff.
 31. See, for example, R.C. MacDonald, Sketches of Highlanders (Saint John, N.B., 1843), p. 44.
 32. PANS, RG20, Ser. A2: Dickey, Robert, 1826; Gillis, Donald and Hugh, 1821; Martin, Donald, 1821.
 33. Ibid.: McKay, John and 9 Others, 1815; McKay, John and 18 Others, 1815; McStephen, John and Others, 1815.
 34. See Chapter 3 and Tables 59-61 (Appendix 4).
 35. PANS, RG20, Ser. A2, McKay, John and 18 Others, 1815.
 36. PANS, RG1, vol. 227, doc. 118 (printed in Martell, Immigration and Emigration, pp. 37-39).
 37. PANS, Ms. File, Ships, Saint Lawrence.
 38. PANS, RG1, vol. 257, docs. 99, 110, 167.
 39. See Chapter 3 and Tables 6-9 (Appendix 3).
 40. PANS, RG1: vol. 114, p. 52; vol. 227, docs. 116, 129; vol. 306, doc. 39; vol. 336, doc. 47. CO 217/135/130 and 154/432;

- PAC, Report, 1946, p. 214; Novascotian, October 15, 1828.
41. IUP, Emigration, II, 287-92.
 42. J.S. MacDonald, North British Society, pp. 122, 216.
 43. MacDougall, Inverness, p. 373.
 44. J.S. MacDonald, North British Society, p. 206. PANS, RG20, Ser. A2: Taylor, George, 1817; Thompson, James, 1817.
 45. M. Whitelaw, ed., Dalhousie Journals, pp. 33-34; Acadian Recorder, July 26, 1817. See also PANS, RG20, Ser. A2, Fraser, Walter and Others, 1817 (tradesmen recently emigrated from Ireland and Scotland).
 46. Martell, Immigration and Emigration, pp. 60, 62, 64.
 47. Longworth, Colchester, pp. 177-90.
 48. M. Whitelaw, ed., Dalhousie Journals, p. 168.
 49. PANS, RG20, Ser. A2, Fraser, Walter and Others, 1817; Longworth, Colchester, pp. 177-90.
 50. See note 48.
 51. New Statistical Account, XIV, 157 ff.
 52. PANS, RG20, Ser. A2: McKay, John and 18 Others, 1815; McStephen, John and Others, 1815.
 53. IUP, Emigration, II, 287-92.
 54. Parliamentary Papers, 1828, XXI (148) (Appendix to Cockburn's Report).
 55. IUP, Emigration, II, 183-84.
 56. Ibid., III, 1148.
 57. Ibid., III, 215-22, 634-44, 2798-99.
 58. Ibid., IV, 445.
 59. PANS, RG20, Ser. A2, Patrick, William and Others, 1819 (Donald McLeod).
 60. Ibid.: Morrison, Roderick and Angus, 1828; Reid, James, 1817; Thomson, Ann, 1820; McIsaac, Roderick, 1820 (Ser. B5).
 61. New Statistical Account, XIV, 157 ff. See also Acadian Recorder,

September 15, 1827; Inverness Courier, January 28, 1829.

62. PANS, Vert. Ms. File, Donald Campbell.
63. PANS, MG1, vol. 332B, pp. 37-43.
64. Ibid., vol. 313C, doc. 2d.
65. Longworth, Colchester, pp. 177-90.
66. IUP, Emigration, I, 37-47.
67. PANS, RG1, vol. 335, doc. 112, Crawley to George, May 28, 1827.
68. PANS, RG20, Ser. A2: Gillis, Donald and Hugh, 1821; Martin, Donald, 1821.
69. CO 217/135/100; Free Press, July 15, July 22, 1817; Acadian Recorder, July 26, 1817.
70. Rev. G. Patterson, Pictou, pp. 303-10.
71. PANS, RG13, vols. 12B, 14C, 16E, 17F.
72. SRO, E504, 33/3, 33/4.
73. Ibid., 17/9, 36/1.
74. Parliamentary Papers, 1829, XVII (350).
75. See, for example, an advertisement for the Hamlet in the Glasgow Herald, April 19, 1819.
76. R. Brown, Cape Breton, p. 437.
77. PANS, MG1, vol. 332B, p. 38.
78. PANS, RG1, vol. 306, doc. 39, Uniacke to Dalhousie, January 26, 1819; Free Press, July 22, October 21, 1817; Acadian Recorder, July 26, 1817; Royal Gazette, August 20, 1817.
79. PANS, RG1, vol. 214½, p. 117, Executive Council Minutes, July 1, 1817; SRO, GD45/3/1 (24), Dalhousie to Bathurst, July 6, 1817.
80. CO 217/98/334, Gillespie to Bathurst, June 26, 1816.
81. IUP, Emigration, I, 64-73.
82. PANS, RG20, Ser. A2: Logan, George and Others, 1815; Logan, George, 1817. Annual Register, 1815, Chronicle, p. 35; Free Press, May 11, 1816.
83. PANS, RG1, vol. 63, doc. 69.

84. CO 217/135/130.
85. PANS, RG1, vol. 63, docs. 69, 103.
86. Royal Gazette, August 20, 1817; Harvey, "Scottish Immigration", p. 316.
87. IUP, Emigration, I, 37-47; CO 217/135/130; PANS, MG1, vol. 332B, p. 38.
88. PANS, RG1, vol. 114, p. 59; IUP, Emigration, II, 287-92; Inverness Courier, January 28, 1829; Anon., The Advantages of Emigrating to the British Colonies of New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, etc. (London, 1832), pp. 43-44.
89. IUP, Emigration, I, 37-47, 218-19; CO 217/154/432.
90. PANS, RG1, vol. 307, docs. 113-18.
91. Ibid., doc. 26.
92. Ibid., vol. 214B, p. 110, Executive Council Minutes, December 21, 1827.
93. Ibid., vol. 336, docs. 48-49.
94. Parliamentary Papers, 1833, XXVI (696).
95. CO 217/154/434; PANS, RG20, Ser. A2, Campbell, Malcolm and Others, 1836 (Dugald Smith).
96. Inverness Courier, January 28, 1829.
97. IUP, Emigration, II, 287-92.
98. CO 217/146/295.
99. PANS, RG1, vol. 67, doc. 19, Hay to Maitland, June 14, 1830.
100. Inverness Courier, October 21, 1840.
101. William Matheson, University of Edinburgh, pers. comm.
102. Moorsom, Letters, pp. 72-73.
103. Free Press, July 22, August 5, 1817; Assembly Journal, 1815-18, p. 238.
104. PANS, RG1, vol. 114, p. 52, Maitland to Goderich, August 12, 1831. See also the comments in Moorsom, Letters, pp. 72-73.
105. IUP, Emigration: II, 287-92; IV, 46-60.

106. PANS, MG1, vol. 332B, pp. 38, 40.
107. PANS, Vert. Ms. File, Donald Campbell.
108. PANS, RG5, Ser. P, vol. 80.
109. PANS, RG1, vol. 336, doc. 22.
110. PANS, RG20, Ser. A2, McCurdy, John, 1817.
111. PANS, RG1, vol. 227, docs. 116, 129, Denoon et al. to Cogswell,
May 12, October 15, 1816.
112. PANS, RG20, Ser. A2, McKay, John and 9 Others, 1815.
113. PANS, RG1: vol. 309, doc. 49; vol. 336, doc. 49.
114. Assembly Journal: 1815-18, pp. 130, 149, 208, 230, 233, 239,
340, 381; 1827-30, pp. 200-01, 227-28, 410, 430, 442-43.
PANS, RG1, vol. 336, doc. 49.
115. Acadian Recorder, December 14, 1816, April 25, 1818; Free Press,
July 22, October 21, 1817.
116. Acadian Recorder, April 28, 1827; Free Press, July 3, 1827;
Novascotian, September 14, 1826, April 26, May 3, June 7,
July 19, November 15, 1827, October 15, 1828.
117. Colonial Patriot, June 3, 1829; Novascotian, August 30, 1827;
Martell, Immigration and Emigration, pp. 14-15.
118. CO 217/97/37, Atcheson to Goulburn, March 17, 1815.
119. Ibid., 98/334, Gillespie to Bathurst, June 26, 1816 (Minute);
PAC, Report, 1948, pp. 199-200, Bathurst to Dalhousie,
October 4, 1816, June 14, 1817.
120. PANS, RG1: vol. 214½, pp. 81, 151, Executive Council Minutes,
December 27, 1816, October 12, 1818; vol. 305, doc. 122,
Dalhousie to Assembly, February 10, 1818.
121. Ibid.: vol. 214, p. 600, Executive Council Minutes, November 16,
1815; vol. 214½, pp. 14, 41, Executive Council Minutes, March
30, May 21, 1816; vol. 227, docs. 116, 129, Pictou Magistrates
to Cogswell, May 12, October 15, 1816.
122. PAC, Report, 1946, p. 214, Dalhousie to Bathurst, January 2,

- 1817; SRO, GD45/3/23/4, Assembly to Dalhousie, February 27, 1817.
123. Assembly Journal, 1819-20, p. 6; PANS, RG1, vol. 334, docs. 32, 34.
124. PANS, RG1, vol. 214 $\frac{1}{2}$, p. 178, Executive Council Minutes, August 25, 1820.
125. Ibid., vol. 306, doc. 39, Uniacke to Dalhousie, January 26, 1819.
126. Parliamentary Papers, 1828, XXI (109), (148); IUP, Emigration, I, pp. 37-47; PANS, RG1, vol. 335, docs. 98, 112.
127. PANS, RG1, vol. 307, docs. 113-18.
128. PAC, Report, 1947, p. 72, Kempt to Huskisson, November 25, 1827; PANS, RG1, vol. 214B, p. 110, Executive Council Minutes, December 21, 1827.
129. Geo. IV, Cap. XV.
130. PANS, RG1: vol. 114, doc. 59; vol. 214B, p. 376, Executive Council Minutes, November 26, 1831. Martell, Immigration and Emigration, p. 24.
131. Wm. IV, Cap. XVIII.
132. Harvey, "Scottish Immigration", pp. 319-21.
133. PANS, RG1: vol. 214B, pp. 189-91, Executive Council Minutes, October 8, 1828; vol. 309, doc. 49; vol. 336, docs. 49, 80.
134. Assembly Journal, 1827-30, p. 44 (February 24, 1827); PANS, RG1, vol. 214B, pp. 245, 306, Executive Council Minutes, July 15, 1829, November 16, 1830.
135. PANS, RG1, vol. 114, p. 52, Maitland to Goderich, August 12, 1831.
136. Ibid., vol. 214 $\frac{1}{2}$, pp. 76-77, Executive Council Minutes, November 29, December 19, 1816; SRO, GD45/3/22, Cogswell to _____, February 7, 1817.
137. PANS, RG1: vol. 226, doc. 149; vol. 305, docs. 19, 29, 30; vol. 306, doc. 60, Surveyor General to Haliburton, February 18, 1820; vol. 396B, p. 113, Surveyor General to Taylor, October 28, 1817.

- Ibid., RG5, Ser. A, vol. 22, Assembly Papers, March 29, 1815.
- SRO, GD45: 3/1, Dalhousie to Bathurst, January 2, 1817; 3/23/4, Assembly to Dalhousie, February 27, 1817. PAC, Report, 1948, pp. 200, 202, Bathurst to Dalhousie, March 12, June 14, 1817, March 4, 1818. Martell, Immigration and Emigration, p. 21.
138. PANS, RG1, vol. 334, doc. 42, Crawley to George, December 4, 1820; Harvey, "Scottish Immigration", p. 317.
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157. IUP, Emigration, I, 64-73. PANS, RG1: vol. 214B, p. 344, Executive Council Minutes, June 3, 1831; vol. 114, p. 52, Maitland to Goderich, August 12, 1831.
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162. See Table 41 (Appendix 3) and the comments on "Result of Petition" in Chapter 3.
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209. Ibid., Ser. A2: Thomson, Ann, 1820; McEachern, Mary and Others, 1821.
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Others, 1836; McDonald, Malcolm, 1830; McLean, Malcolm, 1830.
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- 218. Ibid., Ser. A2, McCurdy, John, 1817.
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Chapter 17

Aspects of adaptation: continuity
and change in the new environment

The most prominent feature of Scottish migration to Nova Scotia, 1770-1830, was the rapid creation of large areas of relatively homogeneous Highland settlement in the northeastern mainland and on Cape Breton Island. However, the land records data base also reveals that the total Scottish influx was drawn from a wide geographic and socio-economic base. In addition, Scots were to be found throughout Nova Scotia.¹ Consequently, the process of adaptation must have been equally variable.

The great majority were those from the northwestern mainland and the Western Isles who occupied a relatively continuous and discrete area of rural settlement in Pictou, Antigonish and much of Cape Breton. The more conspicuous occurrences in the land records of pioneer agricultural settlement beyond this nuclear area largely represent offshoots from the main body of Highland settlement. The limited westward expansion into Colchester and Cumberland is the foremost example, and the land records provide valuable supplementary evidence of a southward expansion to the Atlantic watershed along the St. Mary's river system, mainly accomplished after 1810 as available land to the north became scarcer. On the other hand, Digby and Douglas are examples of officially promoted early Highland settlement which do not seem to have exerted much attractive influence during later phases of immigration, indicating the overwhelming attraction of the focal areas of Highland settlement development in the east.

However, Scottish settlement in the Musquodoboit Valley seems to have been of a quite different character. It developed

throughout most of the period, but was apparently concentrated in the post-1815 segment. Local origins were recorded for only two of the cases pertaining to this area, but these (Glasgow and Banffshire) are far removed from the common Highland source areas. In addition, the data on amounts of land allocated, to be considered below, suggest that the Scottish settlers in this area did not conform to the norms of the areas of concentrated Highland settlement.

Closely linked with areas of origin such as Glasgow and Banffshire was the occurrence of non-agricultural occupations, which in turn was associated with the appearance of Scots at urban locations in Nova Scotia. The administration at Halifax provided employment for some,² but most notable was the strength of the Scottish contribution to the mercantile community in the capital, well known if sketchily documented, and amply reflected in the land records data.³

Scottish merchants were also prominent elsewhere, particularly in areas of Scottish settlement such as the developing urban economy of Pictou Harbour, and among the developing rural settlements. They were also involved in the commercial fishery at locations, such as Isle Madame, which were generally avoided by pioneering Scottish immigrants.⁴ A reference to more than one transatlantic move suggests a degree of mobility among this group, probably in connection with the importance of commercial links with Scotland.⁵ In some cases the appearance of such individuals in the land records appears to have been simply a reflection of the desire of the successful businessman to acquire land as an additional asset; in others it was directly related to the pursuit of a particular form of business such as the fishery.⁶

Some cases, however, suggest that land could be sought as a means of establishing a new livelihood when a business had failed. It was certainly the opinion of contemporaries that, while merchants could amass considerable profits on paper, these could prove illusory

all too easily in times of recession. For instance, the well documented career of James Dawson at Pictou provides a good example of how a flourishing business could be lost, necessitating a drastic change of course.⁷

A comparable case is provided by a Halifax resident who petitioned in 1812. He had come from Scotland in 1802 with a "large property", and had carried on "an extensive trade" for several years until misfortunes and accidents had reduced him to a state of great distress from which he had only recently emerged "by unremitting industry".⁸ Another Halifax resident, who petitioned in 1817, seems to represent a more definite resort to the land as an alternative. He had failed after being in business at Halifax for 11 years and was seeking land in Cape Breton.⁹ The career of an 1821 petitioner is rather more complicated: he had arrived in 1801, bringing "a large stock of merchandise" to set up business, but had failed. He had returned to Scotland, served in the Royal Navy, and was now back in Nova Scotia seeking land.¹⁰

The land records also reveal the variety of skilled tradesmen who came to Nova Scotia. In many respects their petitions suggest experiences paralleling some of those of the mercantile group: some seem to have turned to the land after finding that their accustomed occupation offered only very poor prospects, particularly during the post-war recession. In addition to the more general examples cited elsewhere there are individual Scottish examples. For instance, a plasterer who petitioned in 1816 found little encouragement in his occupation and asked land to farm.¹¹ Again, a mason and a carpenter who had emigrated in 1817 still could not find sufficient employment to maintain their families in 1820 and asked land for similar purposes.¹²

However, these last two occupations also provide examples of successful employment in Nova Scotia, mostly in the case of the

masons and quarriers who participated in the public building program at Halifax.¹³ The capital was, indeed, of considerable importance for this group as well as for mercantile interests: there was the example of a tanner, petitioning in 1812, whose family was waiting in Scotland until he could establish himself in his trade at Halifax.¹⁴ Government employment at Halifax was also a factor, and could be followed by independent establishment on the land. Such was the case of the Galloway emigrant of 1774 who served as a carpenter in the Engineer's Department during the American War and later settled at Gay's River.¹⁵ Similarly, an emigrant of 1819 sought land after working at his trade of carpenter in the Dockyard at Halifax, and a blacksmith who had worked for three years in the Dockyard sought land in Cape Breton in 1831.¹⁶

The skills of these two occupations were among those which were in particular demand in the pioneer context, and the blacksmith was proposing to follow his trade in his new location. In addition, the demand for carpentry skills, like those of the blacksmith, was a general one and by no means confined to the Halifax establishment. Consequently, there are several examples of the use of such skills as a means to provide a sufficiency for settlement on the land: three carpenters who had emigrated in 1815 had, by the following year, earned sufficient from their trade to enable them to pay for land grants.¹⁷ Another petitioner, describing himself in 1826 as a house carpenter, had purchased 500 acres for £100 which he had earned at his trade. Having achieved this, his wife and family were on their way from Scotland and he had begun to construct a mill.¹⁸

The suitability of certain occupations in the context of the prevailing rural economy also provided opportunities to combine them with agricultural pursuits from the beginning. Thus, four petitioners at Pictou, who had emigrated in 1805, stated in 1809 that they had been employed in farming and shoemaking since their

arrival. Moreover, an immigrant from Caithness, who petitioned in 1818, had combined farming and weaving and had enough money saved for a grant.¹⁹

Scottish physicians, teachers and ministers of religion constituted a professional element in the immigrant body. In the case of physicians, two occurrences in the land records suggest that land was being sought in conjunction with retiral from official service. These were both former Royal Navy surgeons subsisting on half pay in Nova Scotia.²⁰ For teachers and ministers, though, working the land was frequently a necessary adjunct to the pursuit of their profession, since remuneration for their services tended to be precarious and irregular in a cash-deficient pioneer economy. The Reverend Donald Fraser of Pictou, for example, sought land in 1818 to aid in providing an income.²¹ For some this secondary pursuit came to be more than just a subsistence aid, and several immigrant Scottish ministers emerged as leading lights in the agricultural economy in different areas of the province.²² An interest in agriculture was, of course, a notable feature of the ministry in parts of Scotland, and the existence of this trait was to be of significance in the development of settlement in Nova Scotia.

While the interests of some Scottish immigrants were not directed primarily towards the exploitation of land initially, there must have been very few who did not become involved in that process to some extent since opportunities were so abundant as successive areas were settled during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Certainly, independent agricultural settlement was the initial goal of the great majority, and this is reflected in the data pertaining to the status of petitioners in Nova Scotia: urban residents and merchants, tradesmen and labourers are represented, but they are only a small minority.²³

In addition, the recorded information concerning the manner in

which land occupancy was achieved reveals the diversity of strategies which could be adopted by those intent on establishing a foothold as soon as possible. It also suggests their apparent success since relatively few admitted to being landless.²⁴ The maintenance of close social bonds during the process of migration and resettlement, particularly among Highlanders, must have been of great significance in this respect. This phenomenon is also reflected in the tendency to act in concert when dealing with the official aspects of land acquisition.

The specific purposes of the petitions submitted by these Scottish immigrants provide further insight into the process of settlement at the individual level.²⁵ Perhaps most notable is the tendency to be specific as to location: most of these Scottish immigrants were not disoriented in the new land, but were rather oriented quite specifically towards certain locations, largely under the influence of those transferred bonds of kinship and locale documented above. With the exception of 13 who were seeking land in connection with the fishery and a few others, the record confirms (if tacitly in most cases) that agricultural settlement was the primary goal. However, the mention of proposed mill construction in 13 cases reveals involvement in an important ancillary aspect of pioneer agricultural development.

Of equal interest is the evidence concerning efforts to acquire additional land or completely new locations.²⁶ Much of this activity may be related to the widespread confusion and turmoil which reigned over the process of immigrant settlement. In addition, there were geographical rearrangements in accordance with the links of the chain movement, and an apparent concern to ensure that offspring could be adequately accommodated as they came of age. However, the relative prominence of those who complained that the resources of their original holding were inadequate suggests an

element of painfully acquired experience in the process of adaptation to the new environment.

The various forms of additional information provided by petitioners serve to supplement the conclusions drawn from the general intent of the petitions.²⁷ References to "improvement" are to be expected when it was a crucial requirement for the completion of a grant and, of course, if the immigrant settled at all, the necessary procedures constituted improvement of some sort in the forest of Nova Scotia. On the other hand, more definite indications of enterprise are provided by the 13 who were combining farming with the operation of a mill, and the two instances each of quarrying and commercial activity in association with farming. Of interest, too, are the few cases of claimed agricultural expertise and significant agricultural success. These indicate that at least a small proportion had the advantage of superior skills, and of resources in some instances. Moreover, the presence of some who had the necessary skills to construct mills, for example, must have been a boon in many localities.

However, there were more who referred to specific problems encountered in the course of settlement, and most of these complained that the quality of their land was unsatisfactory. Individual adaptation was obviously quite variable. For instance, three petitioners, all bearing Highland names, claimed particular expertise. The first stated that he had studied modern agriculture in England and Wales and had managed estates in Glengarry. He asked for more than the allowable allocation to establish a model farm. The second brought letters of recommendation and a letter of credit for £400, and indicated that his knowledge of husbandry and rural economy would enable him to conduct a farm in the most approved manner. The third had studied improved farming techniques and the manufacture of improved agricultural implements, which he proposed

to introduce among his countrymen.²⁸

Rather similar examples are provided by a petitioner who was noted to be "a regularly bred farmer and cattle dealer" with a capital of nearly £200; by another, from Rattray, who had spent 10 years acquiring a thorough knowledge of raising and dressing flax; and by yet another who claimed to have been a substantial tenant in Ardnamurchan parish.²⁹ An instance of such skills put to good use in the new land seems to be provided by the individual who declared that he had been instrumental in introducing drill cultivation to Pictou.³⁰

In terms of more general achievement, three brothers, settled at Pomquet, claimed to have raised more wheat than any other farmer in their county.³¹ Such a statement might well be regarded with some reservations, but the case of an 1803 emigrant who received additional land in 1812, because of the large improvements made on land already granted, indicates that outstanding endeavours among Scottish immigrants were being acknowledged officially.³²

Obviously, achievement might be expected to increase with length of stable settlement. In this respect, the petitions of two emigrants of the 1770s of some 35 years standing are noteworthy: one had 80 acres cleared with two houses and two barns; the other had cleared 150 acres and had built three houses and three barns.³³ Particularly impressive progress over a much shorter period is suggested by the case of the immigrant of 1797 who, by 1809, had built a house, a barn and a large hop kiln, and had 70 acres "under a high state of cultivation" on a 500 acre holding.³⁴ This case pertained to the Musquodoboit Valley and, again, the mention of a hop kiln suggests a background and orientation in considerable contrast to those of the majority of Scottish immigrants.

By contrast, there are examples of vicissitudes suffered in the course of settlement: another immigrant of the 1770s, after 34

years' residence, claimed that the 350 acres allocated to him was of such poor quality that he was forced to seek land elsewhere.³⁵

Similarly, in another case the complaint was that the allocated land was so rocky and uneven that it could not be cultivated.³⁶ There was, of course, a "luck of the draw" element in land acquisition, in addition to an unfamiliarity with environmental limitations which must have been particularly significant in the case of those who came with little agricultural expertise. A revealing example is that of a former soldier of the 42nd Regiment, settled in Cape Breton, who petitioned in 1825. He had been reduced to great poverty since, knowing nothing of forest land in North America, he had chosen a location where early frosts destroyed his potato crops.³⁷

However, the element of choice was limited for those who were increasingly forced to turn to upland areas where a shorter growing season, the difficulty of the terrain and the general poverty of the soil were critical factors. Some seem to have rejected the prospect immediately: one petitioner received a lot on St. Andrew's Channel, but declared it unfit to occupy since it was on a mountain side.³⁸ Others made the effort but failed, an example being the emigrant of 1803 who was forced to abandon his allotment on Mount Thom after a succession of crop failures.³⁹ Such difficulties, though, were not peculiar to those attempting upland settlement, since even the attractive alluvial flats of the river valleys presented a serious hazard to settlement in the form of periodic flooding. This factor was brought forcibly to the attention of many settlers, sometimes only after several years of successful exploitation: a Pictou settler of 12 years' standing was forced to part with most of his cattle when a spring flood covered his land with stones.⁴⁰

Almost everywhere in the new environment forest fire threatened disaster, and a number of petitions refer to the dire consequences of such an occurrence, including the abandonment of holdings.⁴¹

In this context it was the loss of the forest itself which seems to have been considered the greatest hardship. This may seem rather ironic in light of the necessity of arduous conventional clearing, but the wood was a valuable resource, not least as fuel necessary for survival in winter. Finally, a petition by an immigrant widow in Cape Breton, whose husband had been killed by a falling tree, reveals another universal hazard where the felling of trees was such a prominent feature of settlement, and one to which many immigrants were probably quite unaccustomed on arrival.⁴²

The amounts of land mentioned in terms of individual holdings also throw some additional light on the process of settlement. Allotments of hundreds of acres must have far exceeded the common experience of the great majority of Scottish immigrants; yet it was noted that the desire for enlarged holdings seemed insatiable, particularly among Highlanders.⁴³ A comparison of amounts requested and approved in the land records data base seems to lend some support to this contention, although much of the discrepancy is probably to be explained by the evolution of a policy of standardized allocations rather than close adherence to the family proportions allowable under the provisions of the 1807 Instructions.⁴⁴ Moreover, the crucial factor was quality rather than quantity, and much of the recorded activity directed towards enlarging holdings (and the acquisition of new ones) was governed by this consideration.⁴⁵

However, attempts to provide for offspring were also conspicuous, both in terms of explicit references and of the apparent tendency to seek amounts in proportion to family size.⁴⁶ Indeed, the problem of accommodating a second generation must have become increasingly significant in the later stages of this early period of settlement. This is suggested by the distribution of dates of petitioning among declared single males: since these do not seem to have constituted a significantly higher proportion of later group

arrivals, their tendency to appear later in the record seems to be largely a reflection of increasing numbers of minor immigrants coming of age.⁴⁷

In addition, the comparison of amounts approved with locations approved suggests certain area differentials.⁴⁸ In some respects, for example the discrepancy between the Pictou and Cape Breton data, such variations are probably to be explained by differences in the timing of settlement: much of the settlement of Pictou was accomplished prior to 1807, when allocations were likely to be quite flexible; but the more rigid system of allocating standardized amounts prevailed during the 1820s when much of the settlement of Cape Breton was accomplished.

Similarly, on the mainland beyond the focal area of Scottish settlement, the evidence for Douglas seems to indicate an association between early settlement and larger amounts. However, in the case of the Musquodoboit Valley, while settlement by Scots began early, there was the apparent prominence of the years after 1815, and the allocation of large holdings was notable: of the 26 Scots who received approval for specific amounts, 12 received 350 or more acres, including 9 who received 500 or more. It has already been noted for this area that there are indications of origins beyond the major areas of the northwest, and of extraordinary agricultural exploitation. The circumstances of distribution there may, therefore, have been affected by the kind of bias which is suggested by the comparison of amounts approved with recorded occupations in Nova Scotia.⁴⁹

In addition to other considerations, land was supposed to be apportioned according to the ability to cultivate, and an example of an individual apparently getting additional land because of agricultural expertise has already been cited. However, the frequency of the maximum normally allowable amount among the

mercantile and professional groups suggests that amounts could also be related to social standing. This is quite understandable at a time when the lack of a hierarchical social structure on the land, as in Britain, was provoking adverse comment among influential inhabitants of Nova Scotia.⁵⁰ On the other hand, whatever the effects of official policy, the ordinary Highland immigrant often acquired extensive holdings by purchase or other means in addition to distribution through official channels.⁵¹

This complicated manoeuvring over property rights was associated with ramifications of kinship ties. Thus, a petitioner sought land of his own from government in 1821 because his father had given him 150 acres on condition that he work for his father on 14 days of each year when called upon, for the remainder of his father's life.⁵² There is an interesting echo in this of tenurial practices in the society of origin, but these were not likely to be tolerated in the new context. More feasible was the case of an emigrant of 1791 who, in 1821, sought land in addition to 100 acres purchased from his father (part of the holding on which his father still lived).⁵³ In a third case the head of a family, having been allocated land of poor quality in a remote area, lived on part of a brother's land until he was able to purchase a satisfactory holding of his own. He had, however, made some improvements on his original lot and asked that it be granted for the use of his sons.⁵⁴

Such activity provides an important clue to the motives underlying that observed propensity to deal in land and, indeed, to the degree of importance of traditional social norms among the Highlanders who formed the bulk of the Scottish influx. But before turning to the more strictly social aspects of the settlement process, a general review of the course of material adaptation required of the Highland majority is appropriate.

The physical environment presented important differences of

climate and vegetation. However, probably of greater significance were general similarities between marginal regions which had fairly severe environmental constraints, but which were able to support similar agricultural produce. Moreover, apart from the variations in climate and vegetation, there are very striking physiographic similarities between Scotland on the one hand and northern Nova Scotia and Cape Breton Island on the other. The general form of the landscape must, therefore, have reminded many Highland immigrants of their former homeland, a factor which probably did have some bearing on other aspects of adaptation.

Initial establishment was governed by the necessity of forest clearance, the general experience of pioneer settlers in eastern North America. In a way many Highlanders may be said to have been pre-conditioned for a pioneering role in North America because of the increasing prevalence of such strategies as moor colonization in Scotland: in other words, "pioneering", or the settlement of previously unoccupied land, was already a familiar procedure. However, such activity in Scotland did not involve forest clearance, and new techniques were required in Nova Scotia.

Throughout the Maritime Provinces contemporary descriptions indicate a standardized pioneering procedure among settlers of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, and it was this which immigrant Scottish pioneers adopted.⁵⁵ Initially, sufficient trees were felled to provide material for a log dwelling and a clearing where a first crop of potatoes (and perhaps some grain) could be planted after the surplus wood had been burned. The cleared area would be extended by stages in subsequent years and crops would be grown on the newly cleared land, while older clearings were used as pasture to establish livestock. This regime was encouraged by temporarily enhanced fertility as a result of wood burning.⁵⁶ Only a minimal equipment was required in these initial

stages of settlement: the axe and the hoe were cited as the only really necessary implements. The use of a plough, for instance, was not feasible until tree stumps had been cleared, and it was usually many years before this was accomplished.

The typical pioneer context was also one in which settlers were required to be largely self-sufficient because of relative isolation and a low degree of integration into the larger economy. In these circumstances participation in communal efforts was of considerable significance, and it was customary for groups of neighbours to clear and build with mutual assistance. The prime indicator of initial economic advancement, as described by contemporaries, was the erection of mills for grain and wood processing. Saw mills were closely connected with housing improvements in that they facilitated the construction of framed structures, and the replacement of log cabins by substantial framed houses was regarded as a sign that a settlement was in a well established, thriving state.⁵⁷

The physiographic similarities between Scotland and Nova Scotia and the socio-economic background of Highland immigrants certainly indicate that they were well suited in many respects to tackle the problems of pioneering in Nova Scotia. However, their previous experience has also been the basis for some dubious assumptions, such as their supposed penchant for seeking out high ground to settle, as a result of their "highland" orientation.⁵⁸ Rather, as in Scotland, settlement in less favourable upland locations was a function of population pressure on the limited resource base of desirable land, a factor which is abundantly evident from the reconstruction of the spread of settlement.

Even if there was a general element of predisposition towards the strategy of opening up new land for settlement, there remained the matter of acquiring necessary additional skills, and the

maintenance of traditional social bonds was probably the essential basis for the transmission of necessary new adaptive techniques to successive arrivals. In the case of the first group arrival in 1773 there was invaluable assistance from experienced settlers from the Truro area, but in later years the common practice of reception by relatives or former acquaintances, who had themselves acquired a measure of experience, must have been very important in terms of the acquisition of necessary new skills.

Along with the initial clearing, the erection of the first permanent shelter represented a radical adaptation. Selkirk's reference, in 1803, to the erection of a stone house in the Scottish manner by two recent Highland immigrants is very much an exception, since other contemporary sources indicate that the standard form of log cabin was nearly universal.⁵⁹

Wooden dwellings survived in some Highland areas into the late eighteenth century, and some modern research suggests that wooden forms may have been more widespread earlier in the century.⁶⁰ Some familiarity with building in wood was therefore possible among some of the emigrants, but the particular technique (horizontal logs) was certainly new. On the other hand, it was very simple. In exterior appearance, then, the first dwellings of the Scottish immigrants probably differed little from that of any other pioneer group in the region, although there is one intriguing but vague reference to what seems to have been a hybrid form combining features of the log cabin and the Hebridean black house.⁶¹ Information on dwelling interiors is scanty, but the arrangement was probably closer to accustomed norms with a one or two room interior, which frequently housed livestock as well. Furniture and utensils were scanty, and the initial fireplace was often an open hearth.⁶²

In terms of the initial exploitation of the cleared land, the traditional implements of the northwestern mainland and the Islands

were well suited to the intensive cultivation of small plots, and several sources suggest that these implements were used extensively, at least by the first generation.⁶³ The caschrom, or foot plough, could fulfil the function of the hoe, while the traditional round of grain processing with the sickle, flail, sheepskin sieve and quern was admirably adapted to the difficult circumstances arising from the scarcity of mechanical grain processing facilities. The quern, in particular, was a great boon. Indeed, its use is said to have been adopted by others from the Highland example.⁶⁴

Staple crops were ones very familiar to the immigrants. As in Scotland, the potato served as the basic subsistence crop and, while many went on to raise a variety of crops, oats soon emerged as the staple grain crop throughout the area of concentrated Highland settlement. This was very much in accord with the thinking of the local improving movement after 1815, and there was praise for the Scottish immigrants who so conveniently adopted this practice.⁶⁵

However, the Highlander was also prone to establish a livestock holding as soon as possible, and by the early years of the nineteenth century a distinct pastoral emphasis was noted.⁶⁶ This was to continue, and by the end of our period there were even comments that Highlanders tended to overstock their available pasturage.⁶⁷ The importance of pastoralism in the Highlands must have been a very significant influence in this respect. In addition, as already discussed, general environmental factors favoured this kind of development, despite early hopes of the emergence of extensive arable production. This is not to say that there was a conscious recognition of the long-term suitability of this adaptive strategy among the immigrants, but it was certainly of significance that their predisposition was generally in a direction likely to be fostered by the natural environment.

Market opportunities for livestock and livestock products were

also significant. There was the demand for military and naval supplies through Halifax, particularly in wartime. There were also the demands of the Newfoundland fishery and the lumber industry of northeastern New Brunswick, and the Scottish settlements in the northeastern mainland and Cape Breton were well situated to supply these two latter markets. These trade links involved a considerable demand for pork, and this may partly explain the apparent importance of pig raising in the areas of Highland settlement. This is notable since pigs were absent from the stock inventory throughout much of the Highlands. The more traditional cattle and sheep were important in Nova Scotia, but the evidence, although far from abundant or precise, does suggest that the pig was also a prominent resource among Highland immigrants.⁶⁸ The advantages of the animal in the pioneer context were probably very relevant: it was eminently suited to foraging in the forest, and could be sustained by the ubiquitous potato.⁶⁹

In addition, there were opportunities for non-agricultural exploitation from the base of the pioneer clearing. The forest abounded with game and this provided a valuable subsistence supplement. In this respect, the immigrants rapidly adopted the techniques and some of the equipment of the indigenous Micmacs. Snowshoes and the birchbark canoe were more widely useful as means of transportation in the new environment, and the latter was supplemented by the dug-out canoe, probably by then no longer in use in Scotland, but widely used in the course of the early European settlement of North America.⁷⁰

Then again, there were aspects of traditional Highland culture which reflected adaptation to transportation problems in difficult terrain where roads fit for wheeled vehicles were not common, and these reappeared in the new context - for instance, creels designed for the backs of humans or horses.⁷¹ However, water was the

principal medium of communication, and there arose a widespread use of small boats. This kind of craft was more stable and reliable than canoes and, of course, was more familiar to the great many who came from the coastal northwest and the Islands.⁷²

Access to water also gave access to its fish resources, and the forms of exploitation which developed among Highland immigrants conformed very closely to those of the homeland, particularly the principal source areas along the northwest coast and in the Western Isles. There are references to some whose participation in the fishery was quite extensive and probably on a commercial basis, but, for the most part, fishing by immigrant Highlanders was on an essentially subsistence basis.⁷³ This was in marked contrast to the Acadian groups settled in eastern Nova Scotia and on Cape Breton, among whom the commercial fishery was a principal pursuit.⁷⁴

The Highlanders seem to have continued a firmly land-based economy in the new environment, and the land afforded another abundant resource - timber. As we have seen, this resource came to be intensively exploited in Nova Scotia in the first quarter of the nineteenth century. It has been generally assumed that, coming from a land which had long since been largely denuded of trees, Highlanders found the forest cover of Nova Scotia completely alien and difficult to exploit. There are certainly many references to initial ineptitude in tackling the forest, and indications that it was regarded with some loathing.⁷⁵ The great many who came from the Western Isles must indeed have found the new landscape very strange: for instance, "Bard" John McLean, author of "The Gloomy Forest", was a native of Tiree. However, a surviving petition, probably by him, suggests that he was not averse to profiting from exploitation of the forest.⁷⁶

It has already been noted that remnant portions of the original forest cover and extensive new plantations existed in certain

mainland areas of the Highlands. Moreover, these were the basis for large-scale commercial lumbering operations which were still in a thriving state at the beginning of the nineteenth century, when Nova Scotia received a significant proportion of its Highland immigrants. There is no direct evidence of any links between the Scottish industry and developments in Nova Scotia. However, Strathglass, for instance, was a major source area of emigrants to Nova Scotia, and was in one of those areas of commercial timber exploitation.⁷⁷

It was also at this time that the timber trade rose to prominence among the Scottish settlements of the North Shore. Indeed, by the 1820s it was considered that the area had been largely denuded of commercially valuable timber (mainly pine).⁷⁸ In this context, then, the possibility that some of the Highland immigrants were not unfamiliar with forest exploitation may have been of significance. Certainly, the area was cited as an example of the adverse effects of the timber trade at its peak during the war years: noted in particular was the neglect of agriculture in pursuit of the temporary and often illusory gains which were open to the individual settler in helping to fill the quotas of the business interests involved. The consequences were seen to be an undesirable decline in self-sufficiency as the acquisition of unnecessary luxuries grew, in association with an over-reliance on credit extension by local mercantile interests in the buoyant atmosphere of the wartime boom. Consequently, the post-war depression was seen by many as a salutary check to the worst of such excesses.⁷⁹

The extensive degree of self-sufficiency inherent in the Highland economy was yet another very important asset in the pioneer context. This was recognized by contemporaries who compared the Highland immigrants favourably in this respect with the urban poor who were unlikely to be in possession of the basic domestic skills necessary for successful establishment on the settlement frontier.⁸⁰

Although it declined, the demand for timber products was by no means eliminated after 1815, and there were widespread opportunities to participate in the trade, albeit on a more modest scale which was not incompatible with more traditional pursuits. As noted above, traditional pursuits also afforded considerable commercial opportunities, especially in terms of livestock. By the end of the period circumstances were particularly favourable in the vicinity of Pictou Harbour: it had emerged as a major port, and industrial development in connection with the neighbouring coal field had begun. Consequently, a considerable demand for the produce of the surrounding rural settlements developed, and the stimulating effects of that demand were being noted by 1830.⁸¹

But such influences also extended to the relatively remote settlements of Cape Breton, although less directly. For example, in the 1820s, Lawrence Kavanagh (a merchant at St. Peter's) was trading extensively with Scottish settlers on the Bras d'Or system, and the produce of this exchange was apparently used by him to supply the Halifax market.⁸² A great drawback in the investigation of mercantile activity during this early period has been the lack of detailed information. However, in this case some of the account books have survived, and these yield valuable insights into the economy of the pioneer settlers of central Cape Breton.⁸³ A perusal of the surviving records revealed 55 customers who were identified as Scottish immigrants (mostly from the Western Isles).

Most of the accounts cover periods of several years and some encompassed quite lengthy periods. Most entries fell within the 1820s, with a few slightly earlier and a few slightly later. Long-term indebtedness to Kavanagh with associated interest charges was common, but there were also examples of debts successfully cleared, and even of some cases in which credit was established. The general term "sundries" was the most frequent entry in terms of items

received from Kavanagh by the settlers. In fact, it was mentioned in 40 cases, 10 of which had no other form of entry. However, the 45 cases with more specific entries reveal a wide range of items.

By far the most frequent occurrence was salt (23 cases), followed by rum (12 cases) and tobacco (11 cases). Other more strictly dietary items comprised potatoes (9 cases), flour (4 cases), fish (4 cases), molasses (4 cases), and oats (1 case). Somewhat less common were items which may be subsumed under the general term of apparel. These comprised shoes (3 cases), moccasins (3 cases), cotton (2 cases), flannel (1 case), a hat (1 case), and a handkerchief (1 case). As might be expected, there were also references to the acquisition of basic implements such as a scythe (5 cases), axe (4 cases), hoe (4 cases), knife (3 cases), or sickle (1 case). These included cases of combinations and multiples such as a scythe and an axe or a scythe and two hoes. In addition, there appeared nails (2 cases), an oven (1 case), and lumbering equipment and supplies (1 case). Another three references, although few, are of particular interest since they relate to the development of livestock holdings: two cases each received a cow and a calf, and a third received a calf only. Other references comprised tar (2 cases), indigo (1 case), cork (1 case), financial loans (3 cases), and attorney's letters (2 cases).

Turning to the form of payment received in return by Kavanagh, we have the evidence of 39 cases which have some form of payment recorded. Cash was a factor in 9 cases, and in only 4 of these was it the sole form of payment. Prominent among the goods tendered in return were livestock or livestock products: there are references to pigs (13 cases), cattle (3 cases), sheep (2 cases), butter (6 cases), poultry (4 cases), meat (beef and pork - 3 cases), and eggs (1 case). Arable products were represented by potatoes (13 cases), oats (11 cases), and by wheat, flour, hay and turnips (1 case each). Among

non-agricultural items, timber was most prominent, occurring in 13 cases. The remaining references were to sundries (2 cases), oil (1 case), services (1 case - a tailor), and labour (2 cases).

These records therefore provide a detailed insight into the operation of the prevalent barter economy. As various contemporaries noted, the inherent disadvantages of this system were many, and insupportable debt loads could lead to the loss of property holdings.⁸⁴ However, Kavanagh was one of those who had a good reputation for fair dealing, and his business contributes towards a more balanced view of the operation of the rural economy.⁸⁵ In fact, the prevailing system and market opportunities fostered local economies which were quite compatible with the Highland background. These examples reveal an apparent pastoral emphasis in which pigs featured prominently, although other forms of livestock were obviously important also, while potatoes and oats were most important in terms of arable production. In addition, the exploitation of timber seems to have been an important subsidiary pursuit, and the individual who acquired oxen and lumbering equipment from Kavanagh was probably involved in fairly extensive operations.

The extent of material adaptation was therefore variable. In many respects traditional Highland material culture, with a few modifications, was admirably adapted to the new environment. Forest exploitation, for example, required the extensive acquisition of new skills. However, when the necessary skills had been mastered, it represented a convenient and compatible adjunct to a predominantly pastoral agricultural economy based on universal land occupancy. Thus, while there were significant environmental variations between the old and the new home, there was a broad similarity in the context of geographically and economically marginal regions which, however, allowed participation in the general economy, mainly in terms of certain agricultural products and natural resources.

The reported practice of seasonal migration from the North Shore area to participate in harvest work in western districts of the province is again reminiscent of the Highland economy in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.⁸⁶ Highland settlements seem, therefore, to have quickly assumed economic forms which closely reflected their accustomed lifestyle in Scotland. This general compatibility between former experience and the exigencies of pioneering in eastern North America was, of course, the basis for the general contemporary opinion that Scottish Highlanders were surpassed by no other group in their ability to tackle the rigours of initial establishment in the New World.⁸⁷ However, this was accompanied by an equally prevalent opinion that they were notably deficient in terms of the progressive advances in agricultural economy and material comforts which figured so prominently in the accepted model of settlement development.⁸⁸

Such observations were by no means peculiar to Nova Scotia, but were commonly made about the Highland population there. These, though, must be viewed in the general context of the lack of success of the improving movement, and the lack of incentive to apply techniques of intensive cultivation where land was relatively abundant (in comparison, say, with circumstances in Britain). The accusation of dilatoriness in the march of progress could just as easily be applied to other groups and other areas. However, Highlanders were often cited as being particularly resistant to change in their economy and certain aspects of their material culture, once they had established a firm foothold on the land.⁸⁹

A well known example of this is the reported continuation of the use of the log cabin in Antigonish County at the end of the 1820s, when the introduction of framed structures might have been expected.⁹⁰ It should be noted that anything other than simple log dwellings were also apparently very rare at the beginning of this period in the

Stewiacke Valley of Colchester County, not an area of concentrated Highland settlement but one which had been colonized comparatively recently.⁹¹ Nevertheless, the Antigonish settlements were contrasted rather unfavourably with those of Pictou, which raises the question of differential rates of settlement development among the Highlanders.⁹² The populations of Pictou and Antigonish were, of course, very clearly distinguished by religious persuasion, and this distinction has been considered an important factor by more recent commentators: it has been assumed that the Roman Catholic was more apt to be hidebound by tradition, in contrast to the Presbyterian imbued with the inspiration of the work ethic.⁹³

If there was indeed a significant contrast between Roman Catholic and Presbyterian settlements, one possible explanation might be sought in the relationship between religious affiliation and local economy in Scotland prior to emigration. For instance, the Roman Catholic sections of Ardnamurchan and Glenelg parishes, which made such substantial contributions to the settlement of Antigonish County, were also those least affected by agricultural change in those parishes.⁹⁴ On the other hand, some of the Highland areas which were most noted for resistance to change and "improvement" (for example, the northern Outer Hebrides) were precisely those Presbyterian areas which contributed so notably to the peopling of other areas in northern Nova Scotia and Cape Breton.⁹⁵ Moreover, general impressions mask individual variations within settlements, and it is evident from a number of more detailed references that these could be considerable. Certainly, early development in Pictou County was by no means uniform, and examples of the prospering farmer could be matched by those of the much less enterprising individual who had long ceased to advance his prospects.⁹⁶

In the case of Pictou and Antigonish, the relative ease of access to the general economy and society of Nova Scotia enjoyed by

Pictou was probably most significant, together with the simple fact that it had been settled longer. While the initial Highland colonization of Antigonish was not much later than that of Pictou, a relatively greater amount of its settlement seems to have been accomplished after 1815. The same period was the one of rapid expansion in the even remoter areas of Highland settlement in Cape Breton, and there is little evidence of differential development there among the interspersed Roman Catholic and Presbyterian communities, other than differences that can be accounted for by timing or environmental variation.⁹⁷

Although there seems to have been a widespread lack of what was thought to be appropriate economic advancement, this did not involve a general failure to progress beyond the operations of initial pioneering. Throughout the areas of Highland settlement, even the most remote, that universal indicator of pioneering progress - the mill - was quick to appear. The immediate benefit was the more efficient processing of grain and wood, and these functions were often combined in one building. Once such facilities became available the quern could be abandoned and the construction of framed structures was facilitated.⁹⁸ The framed house, while alien, was no more so than the log cabin, and any lag in reconstruction may well have been related to the fact that, as contemporaries were quick to point out, even the pioneer structure and its appurtenances compared quite favourably with the forms of housing to which many of the immigrants had been accustomed in Scotland.⁹⁹

The Tatamagouche and New Annan area in northern Colchester County was yet another one where log dwellings were still nearly universal at the end of the period, and this was one of the concentrations of group settlement by emigrants from the extreme southwest. Forms of adaptation among these people were similar in many respects to those adopted by Highlanders: oatmeal succeeded the potato as the

main dietary staple, and there was a similar range of basic grain processing equipment, although the scythe and the shovel seem to have been used instead of the sickle and the sieve. However, these Lowlanders were thought to be less apt than Highlanders to combine agriculture with other pursuits, and their notable development of orchards was a feature which seems to have been conspicuously lacking in Highland settlements.¹⁰⁰

Fruit-growing was also pursued by what Selkirk referred to in 1803 as the "Galloway colony" on the West River of Pictou, where the arrivals of the 1770s from Prince Edward Island had concentrated. He considered that they had been "very industrious and successful". One of these Lowlanders told Selkirk that he considered the profits of dairy products to be superior to those of grain. Indeed, the raising of livestock, including imported Galloway black cattle, came to be an important element in the local economy.¹⁰¹ Pastoralism was, of course, prominent in the extreme southwest as well as in the Highlands, and these Lowlanders were probably already well adapted to the kind of mixed economy with a pastoral emphasis which was to prove most successful in the new environment.

Another parallel with the Highland experience is provided by the formation of distinctive, relatively homogeneous communities which permitted the retention of cultural traits: Selkirk observed "many peculiarities of Galloway" among the West River settlers. The continuation of this trend is indicated by the clustering of post-1815 Dumfriesshire immigrants in the Mount Thom area.¹⁰²

However, Lowlanders from the extreme southwest and from the lower Clyde region were also very prominent in the commercial and industrial development of Pictou Harbour.¹⁰³ On the other hand, in addition to maintaining a high degree of ethnic discreteness, Highland settlement had an almost exclusively rural orientation, and was manifested by a network of transplanted communities in which

social cohesion was fostered.¹⁰⁴ However, the circumstances of transatlantic migration and resettlement at the time were such that varying degrees of social dislocation were to be expected.

In the opinion of several contemporaries, initial isolation from regular religious ministrations was associated with neglect of observances and a consequent moral decline. These circumstances troubled early missionaries of both major denominations. The phenomenon of staggered family migration was also reported to have fostered irregular cohabitation. More generally, apathy and drunkenness were considered to be all too prevalent among newcomers striving to establish themselves.¹⁰⁵

In the opinion of leading figures such as McCulloch and Dalhousie, perhaps the most pernicious aspect of the new society was the lack of a social hierarchy (in particular, a landed gentry who could direct the course of settlement by acting as landlords and provide a necessary spur to industry among the lesser settlers). As it was, McCulloch described Nova Scotia in 1834 as "a colony of country lairds stimulated by no good example but edifying one another", or, as Dalhousie observed earlier, "every man is laird here".¹⁰⁶ But this was exactly the aspect of the new society which recommended it to many immigrants, typified by the exclamation of a steerage passenger on the vessel which brought Susannah Moodie to Canada: "we shall a' be lairds here".¹⁰⁷

Nevertheless, it must have been unsettling for many to be suddenly free of accustomed directive influences. It is not surprising, therefore, to find evidence of a measure of substitution whereby local, socially prominent individuals assumed some of the attributes of social superiors in Scotland, in many cases establishing links between the local immigrant community and the larger society. An early example was "Squire" Robert Patterson, a Lowland immigrant at Pictou, who apparently exercised a generally paternalistic role

during the first two decades of settlement.¹⁰⁸ In addition, William "Squire" McKay, a Highlander who came on the Hector, seems to have assumed a similar role: he was described as "a leading man among his countrymen" on the East River.¹⁰⁹ Despite the contemporary condemnation of the exploitation of settlers, some of the mercantile community seem to have had community involvements over and above strict business relationships: Sydney merchants were commended for their contribution to the support of distressed immigrants, and Lawrence Kavanagh was referred to as "father and protector" of the Highland settlers on the Bras d'Or.¹¹⁰

However, the spiritual and temporal leadership provided by ministers and priests was probably of greatest significance. Once established, regular religious ministrations provided a vital social bond, and acted as an added attractive influence directing the settlement of Scottish immigrants.¹¹¹ Moreover, the pastors did not confine themselves to the spiritual welfare of their flocks, as indicated by the Scottish immigrants who sought land under the guidance of Father MacDonald.¹¹² Most of these early Scottish religious leaders were also agricultural settlers themselves, and individuals such as the Reverend Robert Blackwood were noted for their agricultural enterprise beyond the main areas of Scottish settlement.¹¹³ In the focal area of initial mass Scottish settlement along the North Shore McGregor and Trotter (Presbyterian minister at Antigonish) were prominent agricultural "improvers" who strove to foster more efficient exploitation among their fellow settlers.¹¹⁴

So, temporal and spiritual welfare were concurrent concerns, and McGregor is reported (while on one of his journeys in 1790) to have made a plan of a mill he saw at Truro with a view to promoting the erection of similar facilities in Pictou District.¹¹⁵ In addition, the clergy frequently took the lead in establishing

educational facilities. McCulloch was foremost in this respect, as the founder of Pictou Academy and the first President of Dalhousie University. However, even he was initially active in education at a much more elementary and local level, and similar efforts by others, of both major denominations, were instrumental in providing basic educational facilities in the developing Scottish communities.¹¹⁶

At a more fundamental level religious observance assisted the maintenance of social interaction in the new land. The periodic Presbyterian mass communions were also the occasion for secular activities such as courtship and trading, and the regular gatherings of scattered Roman Catholics at a central location provided similar opportunities.¹¹⁷ Such opportunities were obviously important in the context of relatively homogeneous Highland communities in which bonds of kinship and locale had also been transferred across the Atlantic. Various aspects of the data already considered indicate the tendency of Highlanders to cluster in accordance with the directive influence of these factors, and a recent study by Ommer, based on genealogies published in MacDougall's Inverness County history, has shown the extent of kinship links among the pioneers of one Cape Breton settlement area.¹¹⁸ This would be a powerful incentive to close cohesion in the new communities. Indeed, over and above the phenomenon of occasional very large gatherings, the life of individual settlers was characterized by frequent communication, despite the generally more isolated nature of individual settlement in Nova Scotia.¹¹⁹ Under these circumstances the survival of essential elements of traditional Highland peasant society was fostered.

The use of Gaelic was of great significance in this respect, and promoted the continued exclusiveness of Highland communities. A notable aspect of the subsequent history of Highland settlements in Nova Scotia was to be the progressive decline in the use of Gaelic

in favour of English, the rate of attrition being governed by the degree of external influence. Thus, the process was swiftest in the Pictou area and slowest in Cape Breton. However, the use of Gaelic maintained a strong hold even in the Pictou area; in 1845, for instance, a visitor from Scotland encountered an immigrant who had lived there since childhood, but still knew only a few words of English.¹²⁰ As Selkirk pointed out, the maintenance of such exclusiveness could affect the process of adaptation and assimilation by restricting the beneficial effects of contact with more experienced English-speaking settlers.¹²¹ But others considered that it was eminently desirable in that it helped to maintain community on the New World settlement frontier, where, incidentally, the lack of English was not such a handicap as in urban centres at home or abroad.¹²²

With the language came the associated traditions of folklore and music, and the ceillidh became an important aspect of Highland community life in Nova Scotia. The activities of such an institution were easily blended with those of the "bee" or "frolic", the common form of North American pioneer communal work project. Indeed, a completely Highland tradition such as waulking, together with its associated music and folklore, was another example of ready adaptation to the exigencies of pioneer existence and, while the necessity for the physical activity passed away, the associated traditions survived to provide an outstanding example of the persistence of Highland folk tradition.¹²³

Re-establishment in North America, therefore, was not incompatible with the reappearance of essential aspects of the accustomed closely-knit peasant community, and what struck contemporary observers most forcibly was the degree of similarity between Highland society in the Maritime Provinces and Scotland. In fact, it was even claimed in the late 1820s that some Highland settlements

in the Maritimes were more reminiscent of Scotland in the mid-eighteenth century than in the early nineteenth century.¹²⁴

This was emphasized by the pervasive attitudes which underlay the more obtrusive transplanted elements of material culture and folk tradition. There was a staunch attachment to the concept of Scotland as the true homeland, even beyond the first generation, and an adherence to many of the fundamental values of the society of origin. This was revealed in "an unyielding devotion to race and name", whereby "they knew the lives of their clans and held them in sacred memory".¹²⁵ Consequently, when a Highland Society was being organized at Antigonish in 1838 and the appointment of a chief was proposed, it is reported that there was indignant opposition from the Chisholms, who thought that this would usurp their allegiance to the clan chieftain in Scotland.¹²⁶

The essence of all these manifestations was that settlement in Nova Scotia had proved to be compatible with the retention of those aspects of traditional society which were a prime concern of the ordinary Highlander amid the socio-economic upheaval which afflicted the Highlands during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The crucial attachment to the soil could be maintained, and circumstances in the New World permitted the emergence of a mixed, land-based economy with limited commercial activity quite similar in general nature to that which had been pursued in Scotland.

The suitability of this kind of economy to the retention of valued social norms may, in fact, go far towards explaining the criticism that Highlanders were not prone to advance themselves materially: if social, that is, immaterial, values were the pre-eminent concern then there would be little incentive to indulge in economic pursuits other than those which supported that social system. Indeed, radical economic change might even be resisted as a potential threat to the survival of that system.

Even in this earliest period of settlement the apparently obsessive concern with land acquisition seems to have been a function of the overriding desire to maintain social cohesion. It was observed later that the only care of the first settlers was to place their sons independently as near as possible to the parental homestead, and to that end any cash surplus acquired tended to be used to buy land.¹²⁷ This is supported by the land records data, which suggest that much of the land acquisition activity on the part of Highland immigrants was directed towards the provision of holdings for dependants rather than for personal gain.¹²⁸ Of significance also in this respect is the fact that there is evidence both for the division of parental holdings among heirs and for the principle of primogeniture whereby the parental holding was inherited intact by the eldest son.¹²⁹

The provision of an adequate land base for male offspring had, of course, been one of the most pressing problems in Scotland, and one which had come to be associated with subdivision to the point where individual holdings represented the most precarious of subsistence bases. During the initial settlement of the new land, though, the ability to acquire control of large acreages could ensure that there would be an ample local base for the next generation, and in pursuing this goal Highland immigrants were probably seeking to obviate the evils of excessive subdivision, which had become only too apparent in the land they had left. However, the supply of land desirable for settlement was limited in the new land too, and the strain of population pressure on the resource base was already apparent throughout the region of Scottish settlement by 1830.

The rapid spread of settlement was related to this, and by that date most of the relatively productive low-lying locations with reasonable water access had been occupied. In this context, then, the settling of a second and subsequent generations according to the

traditional strategy threatened mounting pressure akin to that which had been experienced in Scotland, especially since families tended to be large. Numerous offspring were a recognized boon in the pioneer economy of Nova Scotia. The economy was labour intensive, but most of the participants could not afford to hire wage labourers, and in any case it was a frequent complaint that the latter were in short supply.¹³⁰ The rather sparse demographic data already reviewed suggest that trend, and in terms of general observation, certainly, contemporary commentators considered that the average family was much larger than in the Old World.¹³¹ There is another interesting parallel to Scottish circumstances in that early marriage encouraged by the ready availability of subsistence was cited as a principal causal factor.¹³²

However, while it was convenient to have one's own work force, it was not usually a permanent one since marriage and an independent holding was the common goal of a son on attaining adulthood.¹³³ There were potentially serious problems ahead, then, when there was such a strong orientation towards continuing the traditional rural economy in a pattern governed by the dictates of a social system which encouraged the preservation of close kinship links within a settlement. During the earlier part of the nineteenth century, though, the areas of Highland settlement in Nova Scotia represented a remarkably successful transplantation of the essential elements of a distinctive peasant society.

Notes

1. See Chapter 3, Tables 11-15, 33, 42-48 (Appendix 3), and Tables 56, 62 (Appendix 4).
2. PANS, RG20, Ser. A2: Anderson, Alexander, 1811; McGregor, John and Malcolm, 1813; Smith, James, 1810.
3. Ibid., Ser. A2: Currie, David, 1812; Donaldson, Thomas, 1814;

- Duncan, James, 1811; Leishman, James and Others, 1816; Murison, Alexander, 1830; Patterson, John, 1812.
4. Ibid., Ser. A2: Cook, George and Others, 1824 (Robert Logan); Lowden, David, 1813; Lowden, Thomas, 1813; McDonald, Hugh, 1808; McLean, Archibald, 1813; Morison, William, 1809. Ibid., Ser. B5: Bannerman, William, 1820; McDonald, Angus, 1816; Taylor, George, 1819; Taylor, Peter, 1819.
 5. Ibid., Ser. A2, Morison, William, 1809.
 6. Ibid., Ser. A2, Leishman, James and Others, 1816. Ibid., Ser. B5, Taylor, George, 1819.
 7. Rev. G. Patterson, ed., Memoir, pp. 148-63; M. Whitelaw, ed., "John Dawson".
 8. PANS, RG20, Ser. A2, Currie, David, 1812.
 9. Ibid., Ser. B5, Scobie, John, 1817.
 10. Ibid., Ser. A2, Fraser, Paul, 1821.
 11. Ibid., Ser. A2, McLennen, Frederick, 1816.
 12. Ibid., Ser. A2, Hogg, George and John Hunter, 1820.
 13. Ibid., Ser. A2: Hay, John, 1821; Henderson, James, 1817; Rhind, John, 1816; Scott, Richard, 1819.
 14. Ibid., Ser. A2, Moffet, James, 1812.
 15. Ibid., Ser. A2, McGeorge, John, 1811.
 16. Ibid., Ser. A2: Brodie, Alexander, 1819; Sparling, Peter and Others, 1831 (Magnus Louttet).
 17. Ibid., Ser. A2, Pitcher, Henry and Others, 1816 (John Adams, John Campbell, Archibald Dryborough).
 18. Ibid., Ser. B5, Pringle, James, 1826.
 19. Ibid., Ser. A2: Livingston, Donald, 1818; McLean, John and Others, 1809.
 20. Ibid., Ser. A2: McLeay, John, 1821; Petrie, William, 1816.
 21. Ibid., Ser. A2, Fraser, Rev. Donald A., 1818.
 22. See note 111 below.

23. Chapter 3 and Table 34 (Appendix 3).
24. Ibid.
25. Chapter 3 and Table 36 (Appendix 3).
26. Chapter 3 and Tables 38-39 (Appendix 3).
27. Chapter 3 and Table 40 (Appendix 3).
28. PANS, RG20, Ser. A2: Bethune, Donald, 1818; Cameron, Allan, 1819; Munro, Alexander, 1818.
29. Ibid., Ser. A2: McCulloch, Roderick and Others, 1828 (Hugh McKay); Martin, Robert, 1819. Ibid., Ser. B5, Cameron, Mary, 1833 (John Cameron, 1819).
30. Ibid., Ser. A2, Thompson, William, 1821.
31. Ibid., Ser. A2, McDonald, Angus, Donald and Samuel, 1815.
32. Ibid., Ser. B5, Cameron, John, 1812.
33. Ibid., Ser. A2: Campbell, William, 1812; Murray, Walter, 1809.
34. Ibid., Ser. A2, Dean, John, 1809.
35. Ibid., Ser. A2, Marshal, Robert, 1810.
36. Ibid., Ser. A2, Douglas, Norman, 1822.
37. Ibid., Ser. B5, Beaton, Finlay, 1825.
38. Ibid., Ser. B5, Gillies, Donald, 1822.
39. Ibid., Ser. A2, McQuarry, John and Others, 1820 (James Gordon).
40. Ibid., Ser. A2, Cameron, Donald, 1791. See also *ibid.*, Ser. B5, McDonald, Alexander, 1809 (a Cape Breton example).
41. Ibid., Ser. A2: Manson, Alexander, 1829; McLeod, Kenneth, 1820; Morrison, John, 1835; Robertson, John, 1820. Ibid., Ser. B5: Gillies, Alexander, 1828; McNeal, John, 1816.
42. Ibid., Ser. A2, Chisholm, Helen, 1830.
43. Howe, Rambles, pp. 152-53.
44. PANS, RG1, vol. 214A, pp. 1-5, Executive Council Minutes, November 1, 1820.
45. Chapter 3 and Tables 38-39 (Appendix 3).
46. Chapter 3 and Tables 38, 52 (Appendix 3).

47. Chapter 3 and Table 71 (Appendix 4).
48. Chapter 3 and Table 68 (Appendix 4).
49. Chapter 3 and Table 69 (Appendix 4).
50. See note 104 below.
51. PANS: RG1, vol. 334, doc. 123, Crawley to _____, June 3, 1823;
MG1, vol. 332B, p. 23 (Graham correspondence, 1801).
Howe, Rambles, pp. 152-53.
52. PANS, RG20, Ser. A2, McInnes, John, 1821.
53. Ibid., Ser. A2, Chisholm, Alexander, 1821.
54. Ibid., Ser. A2, McDonald, Finlay and Others, 1828
(Donald McDonald).
55. IUP, Emigration, I, 37-47; Anon., General Description, pp. 93-95;
Bouchette, British Dominions, II, 54-58; A. Gesner, New
Brunswick; with Notes for Emigrants (London, 1847), pp. 244-46;
Moorsom, Letters, pp. 178-79.
56. Again, this may not have been unfamiliar since the practice of
burning over infertile ground and mixing in the ashes is
reported for Scotland in the eighteenth century (Handley,
Scottish Farming, p. 60).
57. Gesner, New Brunswick, pp. 250-51; Howe, Rambles, p. 179;
Moorsom, Letters, pp. 174-75.
58. P.J.M. Campbell, Highland Community on the Bras d'Or (1966,
unpublished typescript, Beaton Institute, College of Cape
Breton), p. 16; D.A. Grant, Land Use in Pictou County, Nova
Scotia (unpublished M.A. thesis, Acadia, 1951), p. 125; N.L.
Nicholson, "The New Glasgow Region of Nova Scotia", Scottish
Geographical Magazine, LXIX (1953), 79-86.
59. Selkirk, Diary, p. 45. Selkirk also went on to note the
prevalence of log cabins (p. 47), and, with the exception of the
reference cited in note 61 below, log structures are consistently
mentioned in other nineteenth century sources.

60. Gailey, "Peasant Houses".
61. Anon., A Short American Tramp in the Fall of 1864 (Edinburgh, 1865), p. 49.
62. Ibid.; Anon., General Description, p. 168; J. Marsden, The Narrative of a Mission to Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and the Somers Islands (London, 1816), p. 37; Rev. G. Patterson, ed., Memoir, pp. 81-82, 90-91, 95; C.H. Farnham, "Cape Breton Folk", Harper's New Monthly Magazine, LXXII (1885-86), 607-25; Archibald, "Early Scottish Settlers", pp. 79-80, 96; G.C. Patterson, Victoria, pp. 79-80; Rev. D. McMillan, History of Presbyterianism in Cape Breton (Inverness, N.S., 1905), pp. 13-14.
63. P.J.M. Campbell, Highland Community, p. 16; Dunn, Highland Settler, pp. 29-30; Farnham, "Cape Breton Folk", pp. 623-24 (illustrations depicting the use of the caschrom and the quern in Cape Breton); MacDougall, Inverness, pp. 4-5, 624; A.D. MacLean, Washabuck, p. 80; R.A. MacLean, ed., Antigonish, I, 91-92, 117; C.I.N. MacLeod, Stories from Nova Scotia (Antigonish, N.S., 1974), p. 20; J. Murray, Scotsburn Congregation, pp. 28-29; Rev. G. Patterson, Pictou, pp. 137-38.
64. Rankin, Antigonish, p. 10.
65. PANS, Vert. Ms. File, Donald Campbell; Howe, Rambles, p. 151; M. Whitelaw, ed., Dalhousie Journals, p. 176; MacLaren, Pictou Book, pp. 78-79; Bouchette, British Dominions, II, 85-86; Uniacke, Sketches, pp. 61-70; Archibald, "Early Scottish Settlers", pp. 79-80, 96; F.H. Patterson, History of Tatamagouche, p. 54; Rankin, Antigonish, p. 42.
66. Selkirk, Diary, p. 47.
67. Haliburton, Statistical Account, II, 278-79. Similar circumstances were reported for Prince Edward Island - J. McGregor, Historical and Descriptive Sketches of the Maritime Colonies of British America (London, 1828), p. 56.

68. Anon., General Description, p. 95; MacDougall, Inverness, pp. 5, 624; Rev. G. Patterson, Pictou, p. 164; Rankin, Antigonish, p. 42. See also the statistical tables pertaining to livestock holdings in Haliburton, Statistical Account, II.
69. In the Hebrides, too, the potato was said to have encouraged pig-rearing in the late eighteenth century (Heron, General View).
70. P. Campbell, Travels, p. 43; Rev. G. Patterson, ed., Memoir, pp. 107, 231; idem, Pictou, pp. 91-92, 145; G.C. Patterson, Victoria, p. 109.
71. Archibald, "Early Scottish Settlers", pp. 85-86; MacDougall, Inverness, p. 115; Rankin, Antigonish, pp. 41-42.
72. P.J.M. Campbell, Highland Community, p. 16; MacDougall, Inverness, p. 473; Rev. G. Patterson, ed., Memoir, pp. 337-38; G.C. Patterson, Victoria, p. 109.
73. PANS: RG20, Ser. B5, McLeod, John and Others, 1825; Vert. Ms. File, Donald Campbell. IUP, Emigration, I, 64-73; Selkirk, Diary, p. 47; Uniacke, Sketches, pp. 61-70; Farnham, "Cape Breton Folk"; Archibald, "Early Scottish Settlers", pp. 80, 96; P.J.M. Campbell, Highland Community, p. 16; R.A. MacLean, ed., Antigonish, I, 117.
74. Bouchette, British Dominions, II, 77-81; Moorsom, Letters, p. 334.
75. PANS: RG1, vol. 380, pp. 109-10, Survey by Titus Smith, 1801-02; MG1, vol. 332B, p. 23 (Graham correspondence, 1801). Selkirk, Diary, pp. 44-45; Archibald, "Early Scottish Settlers", p. 79; R.A. MacLean, ed., Antigonish, I, 86; H. Creighton and C.I.N. MacLeod, Gaelic Songs in Nova Scotia (Ottawa, 1954), p. 297.
76. PANS, RG20, Ser. A2, McLean, John, 1836.
77. Statistical Account: XIII, 507 ff.; XX, 401 ff. New Statistical Account, XIV, 361 ff., 483 ff.
78. Howe, Rambles, pp. 151-52; Rev. G. Patterson, Pictou, pp. 364-66.
79. Selkirk, Diary, pp. 44-45; Novascotian, October 19, 1825; Howe,

- Rambles, pp. 175-77; Moorsom, Letters, pp. 51-53; Anon., Letters from Nova Scotia, pp. 34-39; Rev. G. Patterson, ed., Memoir, pp. 317-18, 369-70; idem, Pictou, pp. 244-47.
80. PANS, RG1, vol. 335, doc. 112, Crawley to George, May 28, June 17, 1827.
81. Moorsom, Letters, p. 351.
82. M. Whitelaw, ed., Dalhousie Journals, p. 97.
83. PANS, MG3, vols. 301, 302.
84. SRO, GD46/11/9/2, extracts from correspondence of Rev. J. Stewart, March - April, 1835; Anon., Letters from Nova Scotia, pp. 34-39, 43-45; Rev. G. Patterson, ed., Memoir, p. 148; Uniacke, Sketches, p. 160.
85. PANS, RG1, vol. 311, doc. 72, petition of Bras d'Or settlers, February 27, 1833; M. Whitelaw, ed., Dalhousie Journals, p. 97.
86. Rankin, Antigonish, p. 14.
87. Novascotian, October 26, 1825; Colonial Patriot, February 15, 1828; McGregor, Maritime Colonies, pp. 68-71; IUP, Emigration, III, 943, 1140.
88. Anon., General Description, pp. 38-40; Moorsom, Letters, pp. 182, 344; Uniacke, Sketches, pp. 159-60; J.C. Myers, Sketches on a Tour through the Northern and Eastern States, the Canadas and Nova Scotia (Harrisonburg, Va., 1849), p. 300; Dunn, Highland Settler, pp. 108-09.
89. McGregor, Maritime Colonies, p. 70; Anon., Letters from Nova Scotia, pp. 198-99.
90. Howe, Rambles, p. 179.
91. Stewiacke, The Centenary Celebration of Dec. 31st., 1900; and The Centennial Celebration of Oct. 6th., 1880 (Truro, N.S., 1902) pp. 123, 149.
92. Howe, Rambles, pp. 144-87.
93. D. Campbell and R.A. MacLean, Beyond the Atlantic Roar: A Study

- of the Nova Scotia Scots (Toronto, 1974), passim.
94. Statistical Account: XVI, 265 ff.; XX, 286 ff. New Statistical Account: VII, 117 ff; XIV, 128 ff.
 95. Statistical Account: XIII, 300 ff.; XIX, 241 ff., 263 ff., 274 ff., 280 ff. New Statistical Account, XIV, 115 ff., 141 ff., 151 ff., 157 ff., 159 ff.
 96. PANS, RG20, Ser. A2: Fraser, Donald and Alexander Campbell, 1815; Marshal, Robert, 1810. Selkirk, Diary, pp. 43-50.
 97. SRO, GD46/11:7/1; 9/2. McGregor, Maritime Colonies, pp. 108-19; Uniacke, Sketches, pp. 158-78; Farnham, "Cape Breton Folk"; Fraser, Trip, p. 16; Archibald, "Early Scottish Settlers", passim.
 98. PANS, RG1, vol. 321, doc. 217, petition of Judique settlers, March 8, 1803. Ibid., RG20, Ser. A2: Frame, James, 1811; Mitchell, William and Andrew, 1824. Ibid., RG20, Ser. B5, McCaskill, Murdo, 1825. Ibid., Microfilm Biography, Rev. James McGregor, Diary, p. 16. Howe, Rambles, p. 151; M. Whitelaw, ed., Dalhousie Journals, p. 176; Longworth, Colchester, pp. 177-90; Archibald, "Early Scottish Settlers", p. 86; R.A. MacLean, ed., Antigonish, I, 91-92.
 99. R. Brown, Cape Breton, pp. 424-26; Selkirk, Diary, pp. 197-201.
 100. Longworth, Colchester, pp. 177-90; F.H. Patterson, History of Tatamagouche, pp. 34, 52-57; idem, Tatamagouche, 1771-1824, pp. 95-99.
 101. Selkirk, Diary, pp. 49-50; MacPhie, Pictonians, p. 16.
 102. Selkirk, Diary, p. 49; Rev. G. Patterson, Pictou, p. 276; J. Murray, Scotsburn Congregation, p. 27. For the pertinent land records data see Chapter 3 and Table 56 (Appendix 4).
For evidence of Lowland clustering in Ontario see J.M. Cameron, "Scottish Settlement of Southern Ontario", p. 171.
 103. F.H. Patterson, John Patterson, pp. 42-52; Rev. G. Patterson, Pictou, pp. 158-60.

104. For comments on variations in urban/rural orientation among different ethnic groups see Appendix 6 below.
105. SRO, GD46/11/7/1, Glasgow Colonial Society Memorial, 1834; PANS, Microfilm Biography, Rev. James McGregor, Diary, pp. 8-15; Anon., Letters from Nova Scotia, pp. 120-25; Rev. G. Patterson, ed., Memoir, pp. 443-44, 457; Johnstone, Catholic Church, I, 384, 478, 501.
106. PANS, MG1, vol. 553, doc. 62, McCulloch to Mitchell, November 6, 1834; M. Whitelaw, ed., Dalhousie Journals, pp. 60-62.
107. S. Moodie, Roughing it in the Bush (2 vols., New York, 1852), I, 14.
108. Rev. G. Patterson, ed., Memoir, pp. 265-66.
109. Idem, Pictou, p. 451.
110. SRO, GD46/11/9/2, extracts from correspondence of Rev. J. Stewart, March - April, 1835; M. Whitelaw, ed., Dalhousie Journals, p. 97.
111. Rev. G. Patterson, ed., Memoir, pp. 137, 168; Rankin, Antigonish, p. 37.
112. PANS, RG20, Ser. A2, McLellan, Niel and Others, 1815.
113. Howe, Rambles, p. 125.
114. Rev. G. Patterson, ed., Memoir, pp. 190, 321-22; Rankin, Antigonish, p. 27.
115. T. Miller, Historical and Genealogical Record of the First Settlers of Colchester County (Halifax, N.S., 1873), p. 76.
116. Rev. G. Patterson, ed., Memoir, p. 191; Johnstone, Catholic Church, II, 69-70; Rankin, Antigonish, p. 27; W. McCulloch, Life of Thomas McCulloch, D.D. (Truro, N.S., 1920), passim.
117. Rev. G. Patterson, ed., Memoir, p. 194; Farnham, "Cape Breton Folk"; Johnstone, Catholic Church, I, 481; Rev. D. MacLeod, ed., Memoir of Norman MacLeod, D.D. (London, 1876), pp. 239-42.
118. "Highland Scots Migration to Southwestern Newfoundland".

119. Rev. G. Patterson, ed., Memoir, pp. 337-38; Rankin, Antigonish, pp. 50-52.
120. Rev. D. MacLeod, ed., Memoir, pp. 239-42.
121. Selkirk, Diary, pp. 197-201.
122. IUP, Emigration, III, 943.
123. Creighton and MacLeod, Gaelic Songs, p. v.
124. McGregor, Maritime Colonies, p. 70. See also Moorsom, Letters, pp. 352-55.
125. Anon., Letters from Nova Scotia, pp. 120-25; McGregor, Maritime Colonies, p. 71; MacDougall, Inverness, p. 385.
126. R.C. MacDonald, Sketches, p. 65.
127. Rankin, Antigonish, pp. 50-51.
128. Table 38 (Appendix 3). Also, Selkirk noted that "Squire" William McKay had established farms for several of his sons (Diary, p. 47).
129. Chapter 3 and Table 37 (Appendix 3) - a case in which heirs jointly sought confirmation of a paternal land allocation.
PANS, MG1, vol. 164B, docs. 8, 9, 11: wills of Alexander McMillan (1816), James Fraser (1818) and Angus McQuarry (1827); in each case the farm was inherited by one son while other sons received money.
130. Anon., General Description, pp. 168-70; Bouchette, British Dominions, II, 54-58; Moorsom, Letters, pp. 68, 75-77.
131. Anon., General Description, pp. 38-40.
132. Ibid.
133. Ibid., pp. 168-70.

Chapter 18

Summary and conclusions

This Highland Scottish community was not an isolated example, even within the relatively small confines of Nova Scotia: the German-speaking settlers of Lunenburg and the various French-speaking Acadian settlement areas were also distinct, culturally and linguistically as well as geographically. The result was that the province was in large measure an example of cultural pluralism.¹ The experience of such groups differed in many respects. There had been an Acadian presence since the early seventeenth century, while the Lunenburg people had been recruited, transported and settled en masse under government supervision. Nevertheless, they, as well as the Highlanders, suggest the importance of community and social tradition in the successful exploitation of the settlement frontier in the New World.

It was long fashionable, following Turner's analysis, to view the North American frontier as inimical to pre-existing institutions; a place where the immigrant, finding himself uprooted and isolated, tended to develop as a rugged individualist who was essentially self-sufficient. More recent analysis has cast serious doubt on the general applicability of such a model: the classic frontiersman has been described as largely a creature of myth, and the role of community among relatively homogeneous social groups is now considered to have been of crucial importance in various areas of the continent. Similarly, it has been pointed out that settlers in Upper Canada, for instance, were by no means completely self-sufficient, since they participated in the general commercial economy soon after establishment.²

A recent study of the channelling of the migration of French

Canadians from Quebec to the western prairies in the 1870s reveals an interesting parallel to the process of Highland migration to Nova Scotia in terms of fundamental motivation. There was a firm adherence to the bonds of society and locale which had evolved in Quebec, and a consequent resistance to mobility beyond the traditional geographic and social environs. There was, however, a persistent pressure of population on the local resource base and a turning towards the prospects of the western frontier. The form this took, encouraged by the Church, was an attempt to transplant the existing society of peasant farmers. Migration and resettlement was therefore seen more as a means of preserving the traditional society than as an opportunity to seek a new way of life. In other words, the process was considered "not as a way of creating a new world but of preserving an old one".³

The operation of such factors of strong social tradition among groups which settled the relatively remote areas of the Atlantic Provinces had such profound effects that their influence on regional society and economy remains strong: "The Atlantic Provinces have long been celebrated by scholars and politicians as containing the oldest pieces in Canada's ethnic mosaic. Few geographers have attempted to elucidate the regional pattern ... yet the cultural survivals and traditions which it indicates embrace a large part of the conservative values resisting or retarding social and economic change in the Atlantic Provinces today. The pattern is virtually identical with the rural population of the region ..." ⁴

In addition, a number of detailed studies, particularly in Newfoundland, have revealed that: "Beneath the ethnic macro-structure of the population of the Atlantic Provinces lies a micro-structure of agnatic kinship, indicated by surname and strongly related to pioneer settlement, land tenure, access to the marine resource, and resettlement ..." ⁵ This has been found to be true

of Acadian, Southern Irish and Highland Scottish communities throughout the Atlantic Provinces, and most notable in the present context is the case of the Highland Scots from western Cape Breton who colonized the Codroy Valley and St. George's Bay in Newfoundland between 1840 and 1880.⁶

Consequently, migration in association with social cohesion was a continuing theme among Highland Scots in the new land. Their tenacity in clinging to their cultural identity was also notable: the Highland Scots of Nova Scotia constitute one of the most conspicuous Canadian examples of the retention of cultural traits, largely as a result of the long survival of the outlook and orientation governing the period of early settlement. Indeed, in the present century many striking parallels have been noted between areas of Highland settlement in Nova Scotia and the crofting communities of the western Highlands.⁷

However, as in Scotland, environmental constraints and economic change have had far-reaching effects on Highland communities in Nova Scotia. The land was not favourable for the maintenance of relatively high population levels, and, after a period of population expansion until about 1880, there was a progressive decline. Rural depopulation was a phenomenon experienced throughout Nova Scotia, but was most pronounced in the area of Scottish settlement.⁸ The traditional economic orientation also became less feasible as agricultural success came to be associated with large-scale operations, mechanization and chemical fertilizers.

In many ways, then, the Highland Scots who settled in Nova Scotia only postponed the effects of the general forces of socio-economic change which were disrupting their way of life in Scotland. Although traditional music and distinctive Highland accents are still to be heard, the use of Gaelic has declined drastically: while just over 12,000 people in Nova Scotia claimed Gaelic as their mother

tongue in 1941, the corresponding figure in 1976 was only 540.⁹ Nevertheless, traditional social values and a strong sense of identity have survived into the last quarter of the twentieth century, despite the effects of rural depopulation over the last century and a substantial reduction in the element of isolation within the last 50 years by means of improved transportation facilities and the introduction of radio and television.

Indeed, so strong is the adherence to traditional values that aspects of modern electronic technology are being exploited to foster the retention of cultural traits: the proliferation of cassette tape recorders has led to the widespread recording of traditional music among these Highland communities. Thus, material adaptation is still promoting the survival of valued social norms, and the informal transmission of traditional culture from adults to children is still to be observed in the homes of Cape Breton Highlanders. Moreover, although the use of Gaelic has greatly declined, its surviving forms are striking illustrations of elements of continuity and stability: distinctive dialects are still associated with different communities, and these distinctions are directly related to the linguistic peculiarities of the areas of origin in Scotland of the original settlers.¹⁰

This continuity of communal coherence is also reflected in the persistence of the phenomenon of chain migration in its classic form, as Highland Scots from Cape Breton contributed to the general trend of migration to Alberta to seek economic opportunities in the 1970s. Personal investigation by the author in one small Cape Breton community has revealed that this form of movement from that locality during the late 1970s was largely directed towards one particular destination in Alberta. The community still comprises almost exclusively the descendants of Highland immigrants of the late 1820s, and this migration was directed and sustained by a network of

contacts based on the ties of kinship and locale.¹¹

While various manifestations of group Highland emigration are still to be found throughout North America, nowhere else has there been such a degree of cultural retention. The Highland settlements located in the United States were, of course, severely disrupted by the events of the American Revolution. Subsequently, the bulk of Highland emigration was redirected to British North America, and the remnants of those settlements were more prone to absorption in the greater society developing around them.

In the Canadian context, it has been observed that Scots were probably less successful in preserving a Scottish way of life in the West. This has been attributed to the comparative paucity of relatively exclusive Scottish settlements, and to a tendency to merge culturally with neighbouring groups, even when the Scots constituted a considerable proportion of a community.¹² Much the same pattern has been described for the area of what is now the province of Ontario, where early group Highland settlement was a notable factor. Aspects of traditional Highland society did, indeed, survive there in the nineteenth century, but the rapidity and scale of immigration from diverse sources, coupled with considerable economic opportunities on several fronts, militated against the maintenance of social discreteness and the preservation of conservative social values.¹³ It may also be noted in this respect that the potential for large-scale commercial farming was a dominant factor in the West.

Such factors obviously influenced other groups, and Mannion's study of Irish settlement areas in eastern Canada has shown how cultural retention can vary as a result of local rural economic opportunities among an ethnic group which has close affinities to the Highland Scots. Thus, in southeastern Newfoundland (an economically marginal area) an Irish community emerged which retained

many aspects of its traditional material and non-material culture. On the other hand, participation in a viable commercial agricultural economy in the Peterborough area of Ontario led to a weakening of traditional social cohesion among Irish immigrants.¹⁴ Consequently, a correlation may be seen between peripheral, economically marginal areas and a high degree of cultural retention among immigrant groups representative of peasant societies such as those of southern Ireland or the Scottish Highlands.

Another example of an economically marginal rural area, but one which was not peripheral, is provided by Compton and Frontenac Counties in Quebec. During the late nineteenth century this area was distinguished by a community of several thousand Gaelic-speaking Highland Scots, existing in strict separation from the dominant French society of the province. However, by the mid-1970s it was represented by less than 100, mainly elderly, survivors among a local population which had become almost exclusively French.¹⁵ In this case, then, there has been actual replacement by a dominant society during the past century. While the expansion of French settlement was certainly not the only factor involved, this instance does indicate the importance of contact and potential competition with other groups.

In the area of the Maritime Provinces such factors of local opportunity and contact were also relevant and probably help to explain why the Highland Scots of Prince Edward Island, for instance, did not exhibit such a high degree of cultural retention as those of Cape Breton, although the former constituted such a high proportion of the pioneer settlers of that island. Indeed, Prince Edward Island as a whole has a higher potential for commercial agriculture, and by the middle of the nineteenth century it alone of the Maritime Provinces had become a net exporter of agricultural produce.¹⁶ Again, being a completely lowland area, there were lesser

physiographic constraints on internal communication, and the element of isolation probably had a consequently lesser influence.

As already noted, circumstances within the principal areas of Scottish settlement in Nova Scotia also varied, so that Pictou County, while remaining a predominantly Highland Scottish area, became increasingly integrated into the greater economy, and provides the foremost example of the speedy attrition of the use of Gaelic. On the other hand, while the remoter areas of rural Cape Breton did not exist in economic isolation, even in the pioneer phase, contact with the greater economy and society was not extensive, and it was possible for a closely-knit Highland community to enter the twentieth century relatively uninfluenced by some 80 years of minimal contact with outside influences.¹⁷

This was one factor contributing to the general phenomenon observed in Nova Scotia at the mid-point of the twentieth century, and complementing the comments on the wider area of the Atlantic Provinces noted above: "As such things go in North America, Nova Scotia might be assumed to have achieved a remarkable degree of integration and uniformity among its people. The many disparate elements incorporated from two centuries of accretion have had fully a century without substantial additions to blend into a smooth cultural mix ... such a blending had not taken place a century ago and is far from complete today."¹⁸

Apart from the French Acadian settlements, the Highland Scottish communities of Cape Breton comprise the most distinctive of these disparate elements. This continued distinctiveness is very largely due to the determined social cohesion maintained by the immigrant ancestors of the present population in the course of the great migration which has been the subject of this study. In this respect it has been argued that the maintenance of social cohesion was a primary goal of Scottish Highlanders involved in the emigration

movement of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, as they sought to preserve essential aspects of their traditional society in the face of progressive disruption by mounting socio-economic pressures.

The necessary basis for the achievement of this goal was a near universal land occupancy. Local strategies, such as moor colonization, evolved to accommodate this, these strategies being generally preferable to extensive involvement in an increasingly urbanized industrial economy. There was, then, a developing propensity to colonize new land within the framework of traditional peasant society, and opportunities to pursue this strategy in North America arose increasingly during the eighteenth century. There were many other contributory factors, including, ultimately, that of outright compulsion. However, during the period under review the Highland emigration movement was essentially voluntary and, indeed, until about 1830, was generally opposed by those who controlled settlement in Scotland.

During the same period Nova Scotia emerged as a particularly suitable destination for this kind of mass peasant movement. Initially, the opening up of the remaining large unpopulated areas of Nova Scotia coincided with the beginnings of large-scale emigration from the Highlands, at a time when the bulk of that movement was about to be redirected from areas of the newly formed United States to remaining areas of British North America. Among the latter areas, Nova Scotia's strategic maritime location on the southern border of the entrance to the Gulf of St. Lawrence rendered it particularly accessible. This relative physical proximity to Scotland was enhanced by strong commercial links, which afforded abundant opportunities for transatlantic transportation in association with extensive organization by specialized emigration agents.

The development of this relative facility of movement was

complemented by a general atmosphere of receptivity in Nova Scotia until the late 1820s. Official attempts to direct Highland immigrants to established settlements occupied by other ethnic groups had little effect, and they enjoyed relatively unrestricted access to the vast undeveloped tracts of the northern mainland and Cape Breton, occasionally assisted by emergency support from official sources.

The system of land allocation was a source of considerable confusion and difficulty, but at least its basis was individual independent occupancy. This was in contrast to the peculiar proprietorial system on neighbouring Prince Edward Island, which seems to have been an important factor in redirecting Scottish emigrants from there to Nova Scotia. Moreover, although other groups were represented in the area of concentrated Scottish settlement, any significant numbers were concentrated in restricted localities, and did not seriously impinge on the homogeneity of the developing network of Highland communities.

Consequently, essential elements of the society of origin were preserved as the immigrants quickly arranged themselves in accordance with transferred bonds of kinship and locale. This relatively rapid and successful colonization of much of the northern mainland and Cape Breton exerted such a powerful attractive influence that Nova Scotia maintained its great popularity as a destination for a considerable time in the face of growing competition from Upper and Lower Canada. However, alternative fields for colonization continued to expand in the 1830s. At the same time, a generally unreceptive attitude in Nova Scotia was accompanied by an apparent exhaustion of the supply of relatively desirable land, and, with the exception of one last wave at the end of the 1830s, the flow of large-scale emigration from the Scottish Highlands to Nova Scotia was over.

In its initial development this extensive Highland group settlement of Nova Scotia conformed to the general pattern noted for other instances of the same phenomenon. However, its long survival as a distinct entity represents the most successful and durable transplantation of Highland society. This points to particularly favourable circumstances attending settlement development in Nova Scotia, on the assumption that the preservation of valued aspects of the traditional society was a general governing factor.

Of fundamental importance in this respect were broad physiographic and economic factors pertaining to similar marginal regions. These factors fostered the development of an economy closely akin to that which had sustained the accustomed social order in Scotland; an economy which could survive the period of initial colonization in the absence of viable alternatives. There were few opportunities for large-scale commercial agriculture, and industrial development was restricted almost exclusively to coal, iron and steel production in the vicinity of Pictou and Sydney harbours. As in Scotland, then, an economically marginal rural area with limited access to the greater economy served to promote cultural retention.

An accompanying factor in such a situation, and one which was already becoming apparent in Nova Scotia by 1830, was that population levels in such regions were subject to fairly severe limitations, beyond which undue strain was likely to be exerted on meagre natural resources. Again, paralleling the Scottish experience, migration developed as a consistent feature of the areas of concentrated Scottish settlement in Nova Scotia, and this strategy has been cited as a necessary contribution to the continuity of such a rural social system where land resources are limited.¹⁹

The Quebec case noted above illustrates how even a marginal rural area can attract members of another group as emigration is taking place among the original settlers. However, the areas of

concentrated Highland settlement in Nova Scotia were not subject to such competition, and the population decline which set in during the later nineteenth century has done little to alter the character of most of those areas, since ethnic geographic boundaries have remained relatively stable and Highlanders have not been replaced extensively by members of other groups. This, of course, is another aspect of the lingering effects of the high degree of cultural pluralism which governed the colonization of the province. Indeed, considering the relative proportion of Highland Scots among the population of nineteenth century Nova Scotia and their concentrated settlement pattern, assimilation by a dominant host society or erosion by a "melting pot" process were not significant factors.

Other general hypotheses such as the roles of community, pluralism and chain migration, though, have proved to be useful conceptual frameworks in dealing with the phenomenon of mass Highland emigration to Nova Scotia, and the potential value of voluminous, apparently unwieldy, local primary sources has been illustrated by the use of a computer to manipulate the diverse forms of information contained in Nova Scotia land petitions. In aggregate these individual testaments provide a valuable supplement to other sources pertaining to the mass Highland movement. In particular, while strongly confirming the tendency to settlement concentration, they reveal the occurrence of Scots throughout the province. Associated with this is the recorded diversity of points of origin in Scotland in conjunction with a considerable range of socio-economic background, although, again, the preponderance of the peasant society of the northwest is confirmed.

However, while relatively few in number, those from other areas and backgrounds made significant contributions to the development of the province. Particularly notable in this respect was the strength of the Scottish contribution to the emergence of a thriving

mercantile community, generally, if often sketchily, known from a variety of sources, and further suggested by the occurrence of a variety of individual examples in the land records. These records have also served to shed additional light on the movement to Nova Scotia from the extreme southwest of Scotland, emphasizing a tendency towards homogeneous group settlement akin to that which influenced the settlement of the Highland majority.

A variety of factors have thus combined to render the name Nova Scotia peculiarly apt even in the late twentieth century, since a distinctive "Scottishness" is still such a prominent feature in the province, and one which is still a vital force.

Notes

1. Anon., Letters from Nova Scotia, p. 102; Haliburton, Statistical Account, II, 172-73; Moorsom, Letters, pp. 256-63, 302-09, 352-55.
2. M.S. Cross, ed., The Frontier Thesis and the Canadas: The Debate on the Impact of the Canadian Environment (Toronto, 1970), pp. 12-22, 59-61, 77.
3. Ibid., pp. 55-58
4. A.G. MacPherson, "People in Transition: The Broken Mosaic", in MacPherson, ed., Atlantic Provinces, p. 59.
5. Ibid., p. 63.
6. Ommer, "Highland Scots Migration to Southwestern Newfoundland".
7. P.M. Hobson, "Population and Settlement in Nova Scotia", Scottish Geographical Magazine, LXIX (1954), 49-63.
8. A.H. Clark, "Old World Origins and Religious Adherence in Nova Scotia", Geographical Review, L (1960), 334-35.
9. Census of Canada: 1941, IV, Table 14; 1976, II, Table 2.
10. Dunn, Highland Settler, pp. 141-42; Ian Fraser, School of Scottish Studies, pers. comm.
11. The Cape Breton source area is Alba, Inverness County, and the

Alberta destination is Medicine Hat.

12. A.R. Turner, "Scottish Settlement of the West", in Reid, ed.,
Scottish Tradition in Canada, pp. 76-88.
13. Harris and Warkentin, Canada before Confederation, pp. 111-30.
14. J.J. Mannion, Irish Settlements in Eastern Canada: a Study of
Cultural Transfer and Adaptation (Toronto, 1974), pp. 51-54.
15. L. Doucette, ed., Cultural Retention and Demographic Change:
Studies of the Hebridean Scots in the Eastern Townships of
Quebec (Ottawa, 1980).
16. A.H. Clark, Three Centuries, p. 114; Easterbrook and Aitken,
Canadian Economic History, pp. 204-05.
17. This aspect is revealed strikingly, for instance, in N. MacNeil,
The Highland Heart in Nova Scotia (New York, 1948).
18. A.H. Clark, "Old World Origins", p. 322.
19. Harris and Warkentin, Canada before Confederation, pp. 105-06.

Appendix 1

Computer analysis: variables list

AGE

001

PERSONAL STATUS

002

1 Single man

2 Single woman

003

1 Head of family - Father

2 Head of family - Mother (widow)

3 Head of family - Eldest son

4 Head of family - Eldest brother

004

1 Minor immigrant now of age

DEPENDANTS

005

1 Spouse

006

1 Single parent

2 Both parents

007

1 Adult male offspring

008

1 Adult female offspring

009

1 Other children

010

1 Other non-nuclear relatives

011

1 Orphans

012

1 Servants

013

1 Others

014

1 Family did not emigrate as a unit

FAMILY SIZE

015

RELATIONSHIPS

- 016 1 Adult offspring settling separately
- 017 1 Related nuclear families accompanying
- 018 1 Related nuclear families emigrated
- 019 1 Related nuclear families following

0

AREA OF ORIGIN

- 020 1 Scotland
- 2 North Britain
- 3 North of Scotland
- 4 South of Scotland
- 5 Highlands
- 6 Western Isles
- 7 Lowlands

COUNTY OF ORIGIN

- 021 1 Aberdeen
- 2 Angus (Forfar)
- 3 Argyll
- 4 Ayr
- 5 Banff
- 6 Berwick
- 7 Bute
- 8 Caithness
- 9 Clackmannan
- 10 Dumfries
- 11 Dunbarton
- 12 East Lothian
- 13 Fife
- 14 Inverness
- 15 Kincardine

- 16 Kinross
- 17 Kirkcudbright
- 18 Lanark
- 19 Midlothian
- 20 Moray
- 21 Nairn
- 22 Orkney
- 23 Peebles
- 24 Perth
- 25 Renfrew
- 26 Ross
- 27 Roxburgh
- 28 Selkirk
- 29 Stirling
- 30 Sutherland
- 31 West Lothian
- 32 Wigtown
- 33 Shetland
- 34 Ross/Sutherland
- 35 Inverness/Sutherland
- 36 Inverness/Ross

ISLAND OF ORIGIN

022

- 1 Lewis
- 2 Harris
- 3 North Uist
- 4 South Uist
- 5 Benbecula
- 6 Eriskay
- 7 Barra
- 8 Skye

- 9 Colonsay
- 10 Iona
- 11 Islay
- 12 Jura
- 13 Mull
- 14 Rum
- 15 Eigg
- 16 Tiree
- 17 Coll
- 18 Canna
- 19 Muck
- 20 North or South Uist
- 21 "Long Island"
- 22 Arran
- 23 Lewis and Harris
- 24 Bute

PARISH OF ORIGIN

023

- 1 Aberdeen (Old)
- 2 Aberdeen (New)
- 3 Aberfoyle
- 4 Annan
- 5 Ardnamurchan
- 6 Assint
- 7 Ballantrae
- 8 Blackford
- 9 Cardross
- 10 Contin
- 11 Craginish
- 12 Cromarty
- 13 Croy

- 14 Dornoch
- 15 Dundee
- 16 Edinburgh
- 17 Elgin
- 18 Falkirk
- 19 Forres
- 20 Gairloch
- 21 Glasgow
- 22 Glenelg
- 23 Greenock
- 24 Haddington
- 25 Inverness
- 26 Kilmalie
- 27 Kilmanivaig
- 28 Kilmorack
- 29 Kiltarlity
- 30 Kirkhill
- 31 Lairg
- 32 Lochbroom
- 33 Paisley
- 34 Perth
- 35 Rattray
- 36 Renfrew
- 37 Sprouston
- 38 Thurso
- 39 Tulliallan
- 40 Urquhart

OCCUPATION IN SCOTLAND

- 1 Baker
- 2 Bricklayer

- 3 Butcher
- 4 Blacksmith
- 5 Other smith work
- 6 Brewer
- 7 Confectioner
- 8 Chair-maker
- 9 Carpenter
- 10 Cooper
- 11 Coachmaker
- 12 Candlemaker
- 13 Cabinetmaker
- 14 Cook
- 15 Collier (miner)
- 16 Cutler
- 17 Dyer
- 18 Distiller
- 19 Engineer
- 20 Farmer
- 21 Fisherman
- 22 Gamekeeper
- 23 Gardener
- 24 Glazier
- 25 Gunsmith
- 26 Harness-maker
- 27 Joiner
- 28 Ironmonger
- 29 Labourer
- 30 Lawyer
- 31 Locksmith
- 32 Merchant
- 33 Merchant - timber

- 34 Merchant - shipping
- 35 Miller
- 36 Millwright
- 37 Minister
- 38 Nailer
- 39 Painter
- 40 Potter
- 41 Ploughman
- 42 Plumber
- 43 Printer
- 44 Quarryman
- 45 Ropemaker
- 46 Saddler
- 47 Shopkeeper
- 48 Shoemaker
- 49 Sawyer
- 50 Shipwright, boat-builder, etc.
- 51 Stone mason
- 52 Sail-maker
- 53 Shepherd
- 54 Sailor
- 55 Slater/shingler
- 56 Tanner
- 57 Tailor
- 58 Teacher
- 59 Upholsterer
- 60 Wheelwright
- 61 Weaver
- 62 Other textile work
- 63 Watch/clock maker
- 64 Clerk

- 65 Servant
- 66 Civil servant
- 67 Emigration agent/promoter
- 68 Physician
- 69 Tradesman
- 70 Estate manager

MILITARY SERVICE

- 025 1 Navy
- 026 1 Army
- 027 1 Militia
- 028 1 Discharged in Nova Scotia

DATE OF EMIGRATION FROM SCOTLAND

029

DATE OF IMMIGRATION TO NOVA SCOTIA

030

TYPE OF EMIGRATION

- 031 1 Unassisted
- 2 Assisted
- 3 Assisted - government
- 4 Assisted - landlord
- 5 Assisted - relatives
- 6 Assisted - communal organization
- 7 Assisted - private organizer
- 8 Assisted - redemptioner

REASONS FOR EMIGRATION

- 032 1 Debt

- 2 Clearance
- 3 Economic distress
- 4 Economic distress - agrarian
- 5 Economic distress - industrial
- 6 Self-improvement
- 7 Joining relatives or friends

PREVIOUS MIGRATION

- 033
 - 1 Within Scotland
 - 2 Within British Isles
- 034
 - 1 West Indies
 - 2 North America
 - 3 United States
 - 4 "Canada"
 - 5 Upper Canada
 - 6 Lower Canada
 - 7 New Brunswick
 - 8 Prince Edward Island
 - 9 Newfoundland
- 035
 - 1 Mainland Nova Scotia to Cape Breton
 - 2 Cape Breton to mainland Nova Scotia
 - 3 Within mainland Nova Scotia
 - 4 Within Cape Breton
- 036
 - 1 Other

DATE OF PETITION

037

DATE OF TICKET

038

DATE OF WARRANT

039

DATE OF LICENCE

040

DATE OF GRANT

041

OCCUPATION IN NOVA SCOTIA

042

- 1 Baker
- 2 Bricklayer
- 3 Butcher
- 4 Blacksmith
- 5 Other smith work
- 6 Brewer
- 7 Confectioner
- 8 Chair-maker
- 9 Carpenter
- 10 Cooper
- 11 Coachmaker
- 12 Candlemaker
- 13 Cabinetmaker
- 14 Cook
- 15 Collier (miner)
- 16 Cutler
- 17 Dyer
- 18 Distiller
- 19 Engineer
- 20 Farmer
- 21 Fisherman

- 22 Gamekeeper
- 23 Gardener
- 24 Glazier
- 25 Gunsmith
- 26 Harness-maker
- 27 Joiner
- 28 Ironmonger
- 29 Labourer
- 30 Land proprietor
- 31 Land administrator
- 32 Lawyer
- 33 Locksmith
- 34 Lumberman
- 35 Merchant
- 36 Merchant - lumber
- 37 Merchant - shipping
- 38 Merchant - fishery
- 39 Miller
- 40 Millwright
- 41 Nailer
- 42 Painter
- 43 Physician
- 44 Minister
- 45 Pioneer
- 46 Potter
- 47 Ploughman
- 48 Plumber
- 49 Printer
- 50 Quarryman
- 51 Ropemaker
- 52 Redemptioner

- 53 Saddler
- 54 Shopkeeper
- 55 Shoemaker
- 56 Sawyer
- 57 Stone mason
- 58 Shipwright
- 59 Sail-maker
- 60 Shepherd
- 61 Sailor
- 62 Slater/shingler
- 63 Tanner
- 64 Tailor
- 65 Teacher
- 66 Tradesman
- 67 Upholsterer
- 68 Wheelwright
- 69 Weaver
- 70 Other textile work
- 71 Watch/clock maker
- 72 Clerk
- 73 Servant
- 74 Civil servant
- 75 Emigration agent/promoter
- 76 Cart-maker
- 77 Plough-maker
- 78 Plasterer
- 79 Surveyor
- 80 Innkeeper

STATUS OF PETITIONER IN NOVA SCOTIA

- | | | |
|-----|---|---|
| 044 | 1 | Employed (labourer, tradesman, etc.) |
| | 2 | Unemployed (Labourer, tradesman, etc.) |
| 045 | 1 | Urban resident |
| 046 | 1 | Tenant |
| 047 | 1 | Landless |
| | 2 | Settled - no details |
| | 3 | Settled - on relative's land |
| | 4 | Settled - on assigned crown land |
| | 5 | Settled - on unassigned crown land |
| | 6 | Settled - on purchased land |
| | 7 | Settled - on land allocated to another
or claimed by another |
| | 8 | Settled - on abandoned land |
| 048 | 1 | Other property occupied |
| 049 | 1 | Other property granted |
| 050 | 1 | Other property purchased |
| 051 | 1 | Other property sold |
| 052 | 1 | Other property abandoned |
| 053 | 1 | Other property given to offspring |
| 054 | 1 | Other property escheated, confiscated, etc. |

TYPE OF PETITION

- | | | |
|-----|---|----------------------------------|
| 055 | 1 | Individual |
| 056 | 1 | Communal - offspring |
| | 2 | Communal - related |
| 057 | 1 | Communal - same settlement |
| | 2 | Communal - same area |
| 058 | 1 | Communal - Scottish |
| | 2 | Communal - same parish of origin |
| | 3 | Communal - same county of origin |
| | 4 | Communal - same area of origin |

059

- 1 Communal - Other immigrant groups
2 Communal - miscellaneous

SEEKING LAND

060

- 1 For initial settlement
2 As additional asset (merchant, etc.)
3 As compensation for the settlement of others

061

- 1 For farming purposes

062

- 1 For non-farming purposes - mill
- 2 For non-farming purposes - saw mill
- 3 For non-farming purposes - grist mill
- 4 For non-farming purposes - saw and grist mill
- 5 For non-farming purposes - lumbering
- 6 For non-farming purposes - quarrying
- 7 For non-farming purposes - mining
- 8 For non-farming purposes - shipbuilding
- 9 For non-farming purposes - fishing
- 10 For non-farming purposes - commerce
- 11 For non-farming purposes - other (pursuit of
trade, craft, etc.)

063

- 1 Location specified - county
- 2 Location specified - district
- 3 Location specified - settlement
- 4 Location unspecified

064

- 1 Location specified - lot unalienated
2 Location specified - lot abandoned, etc.

SEEKING CONFIRMATION OF LAND OCCUPIED

065

- 1 Alone
2 Acting also for relatives
3 Heirs seeking confirmation of paternal holding

SEEKING ADDITIONAL LAND

- 066
- 1 Increasing family
 - 2 Provision for adult offspring
 - 3 Resources of original holding considered inadequate
- 067
- 1 Additional enterprise - farming
- 068
- 1 Additional enterprise - non-farming - mill
 - 2 Additional enterprise - non-farming - saw mill
 - 3 Additional enterprise - non-farming - grist mill
 - 4 Additional enterprise - non-farming - saw and grist mill
 - 5 Additional enterprise - non-farming - lumbering
 - 6 Additional enterprise - non-farming - quarrying
 - 7 Additional enterprise - non-farming - mining
 - 8 Additional enterprise - non-farming - shipbuilding
 - 9 Additional enterprise - non-farming - fishing
 - 10 Additional enterprise - non-farming - commerce
 - 11 Additional enterprise - non-farming - other (pursuit of trade, craft, etc.)
- 069
- 1 Location specified - county
 - 2 Location specified - district
 - 3 Location specified - settlement
 - 4 Location unspecified
- 070
- 1 Location specified - lot unalienated

- 2 Location specified - lot abandoned, etc.

SEEKING NEW LOCATION

- | | |
|-----|---|
| 071 | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1 Increasing family 2 Resources of original holding considered inadequate 3 Moving to join relatives, friends 4 Moving to a less isolated location |
| 072 | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1 New enterprise - farming |
| 073 | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1 New enterprise - non-farming - mill 2 New enterprise - non-farming - saw mill 3 New enterprise - non-farming - grist mill 4 New enterprise - non-farming -
saw and grist mill 5 New enterprise - non-farming - lumbering 6 New enterprise - non-farming - quarrying 7 New enterprise - non-farming - mining 8 New enterprise - non-farming - shipbuilding 9 New enterprise - non-farming - fishing 10 New Enterprise - non-farming - commerce 11 New enterprise - non-farming -
other (pursuit of trade, craft, etc.) |
| 074 | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1 Location specified - county 2 Location specified - district 3 Location specified - settlement 4 Location unspecified |
| 075 | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1 Location specified - lot unalienated 2 Location specified - lot abandoned, etc. |
| 076 | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1 Previous holding - still occupied 2 Previous holding - sold 3 Previous holding - abandoned |

- 4 Previous holding - given to offspring
- 5 Previous holding - returned to government,
confiscated, etc.

SEEKING RESOLUTION OF DISPUTE

- | | |
|-----|---|
| 077 | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1 Division of communal allocation 2 Division of family property 3 Boundaries 4 Land claimed by another 5 Land occupied by another 6 Land allocated to another 7 Land surveyed for another 8 Land granted to another 9 Trying to forestall escheat |
|-----|---|

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION AND SUPPORTING DATA

- | | |
|-----|--|
| 078 | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1 Claims agricultural proficiency 2 Admits agricultural inexperience |
| 079 | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1 Has financial resources 2 Does not have financial resources |
| 080 | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1 Indicates possession of adequate equipment 2 Indicates lack of adequate equipment |
| 081 | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1 Tenant seeking land because lease has expired 2 Settlement delayed until sufficient money
saved |
| 082 | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1 Unable to find unallocated land |
| 083 | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1 Indicates dissatisfaction with location 2 Indicates satisfaction with location |
| 084 | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1 Complains of situation of land |
| 085 | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1 Complains of quality of land |
| 086 | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1 Indicates improvement |

087	1	Indicates improvement - land cleared
088	1	Indicates improvement - buildings erected
089	1	Indicates improvement - crops raised
090	1	Indicates improvement - stock established
091	1	Proposes improvement
092	1	Proposes improvement - land
093	1	Proposes improvement - buildings
094	1	Proposes improvement - crops
095	1	Proposes improvement - stock
096	1	Farming and non-agricultural activity - mill
	2	Farming and non-agricultural activity - saw mill
	3	Farming and non-agricultural activity - grist mill
	4	Farming and non-agricultural activity - saw and grist mill
	5	Farming and non-agricultural activity - lumbering
	6	Farming and non-agricultural activity - quarrying
	7	Farming and non-agricultural activity - mining
	8	Farming and non-agricultural activity - shipbuilding
	9	Farming and non-agricultural activity - fishing
	10	Farming and non-agricultural activity - commerce
	11	Farming and non-agricultural activity - other (pursuit of trade, craft, etc.)

RESULT OF PETITION

- 097
- 1 No official comment
 - 2 Rejected
 - 3 Recommended
 - 4 Referred
 - 5 Approved
 - 6 Warrant, etc. issued
 - 7 Land granted

LOCATION AT TIME OF PETITION

- 098
- 1 Nova Scotia (i.e. not specified at all)
 - 2 Nova Scotia mainland
 - 3 Cape Breton Island
 - 4 Annapolis County (1759)
 - 5 Cumberland County (1759)
 - 6 Halifax County (1759)
 - 7 Kings County (1759)
 - 8 Lunenburg County (1759)
 - 9 Queens County (1762)
 - 10 Hants County (1781)
 - 11 Shelburne County (1784)
 - 12 Sydney County (1784 - Antigonish in 1863)
 - 13 Cape Breton County (1820)
 - 14 Colchester County (1835)
 - 15 Juste au Corps County (1835 - Inverness
in 1837)
 - 16 Pictou County (1835)
 - 17 Richmond County (1835)
 - 18 Guysborough County (1836)
 - 19 Yarmouth County (1836)
 - 20 Digby County (1837)

- 21 Victoria County (1851)
- 22 Colchester District
- 23 Pictou District
- 24 Amherst (including Maccan and the North
Shore from Tidnish to River Philip
- 25 River Philip, Pugwash, Pugwash River
- 26 Wallace, Fox Harbour, Wallace River
- 27 Tatamagouche Harbour
- 28 New Annan
- 29 Earltown
- 30 River John
- 31 Caribou
- 32 Scotsburn (including Hardwood, Rogers and
Scotch Hills)
- 33 Mount Thom, Dalhousie Mountain
- 34 Pictou Harbour
- 35 West River of Pictou
- 36 Middle River of Pictou
- 37 East River of Pictou
- 38 East River of Pictou, West Branch
- 39 East River of Pictou, East Branch
- 40 McLellan Brook, McLellan's Mountain,
Fraser Mountain
- 41 Little Harbour, Merigomish Harbour
- 42 Sutherland River, French River
- 43 Barney's River
- 44 Gulf Shore (Ponds - Cape George)
- 45 Big Marsh, Pleasant Valley, North Grant
- 46 Antigonish Harbour
- 47 West River, Ohio River (Antigonish)
- 48 Lochaber Lakes

- 49 South River of Antigonish
- 50 Pomquet River, Black River
- 51 North Shore (Pomquet Harbour - Havre
Boucher, including "Little River")
- 52 Strait of Canso (Guysborough)
- 53 Chedabucto Bay (Manchester, Guysborough,
Guysborough River, Salmon River, Canso)
- 54 Tor Bay
- 55 Country Harbour
- 56 St. Mary's River
- 57 St. Mary's River, East Branch
- 58 St. Mary's River, West Branch
- 59 Sheet Harbour
- 60 Musquodoboit Harbour
- 61 Preston, Lawrencetown
- 62 Dartmouth
- 63 Halifax
- 64 St. Margaret's Bay
- 65 Chester
- 66 Lunenburg
- 67 Queens County coastal (Liverpool, Port
Mouton, Port Joli, etc.)
- 68 Queens County inland (Caledonia, Pleasant
River, etc.)
- 69 Shelburne, Roseway River
- 70 Yarmouth, Tusket River
- 71 St. Mary's Bay, Sissiboo River
- 72 Digby
- 73 Annapolis Valley
- 74 Minas Basin (Kentville, Wolfville,
Windsor, etc.)

- 75 Rawdon, Gore, Kennetcook, Nine Mile River
("Douglas")
- 76 Shubenacadie River
- 77 Gay's River
- 78 Stewiacke River
- 79 Truro (including Salmon River, Onslow, etc.)
- 80 South Colchester County (Londonderry,
Bass River, Economy, Five Islands)
- 81 Chignecto (Parrsboro, Advocate, River Hebert)
- 82 Margaree
- 83 Inverness, Broad Cove
- 84 Mabou
- 85 Judique
- 86 Strait of Canso (Creignish - Eddy Point)
- 87 River Inhabitants
- 88 River Denys
- 89 St. Peter's, Grand Anse, St. George's
Channel
- 90 Isle Madame (Arichat)
- 91 Grand River, Loch Lomond, Big Pond, etc.
- 92 Mira River
- 93 Sydney, Sydney River
- 94 Boularderie
- 95 St. Ann's
- 96 Baddeck, Baddeck River
- 97 Middle River
- 98 Bras d'Or (Grand Narrows, etc.)
- 99 Ingonish
- 100 Cape North (Aspy River)
- 101 Pictou Island
- 102 Lake Ainslie

103 Not Nova Scotia

104 Bras d'Or Lake

LOCATION OF LAND OCCUPIED

099 (See 098)

LOCATION OF LAND PURCHASED

100 (See 098)

LOCATION OF LAND SOLD

101 (See 098)

LOCATION OF LAND REQUESTED

102 (See 098)

LOCATION OF LAND APPROVED

103 (See 098)

LOCATION OF LAND GRANTED

104 (See 098)

AMOUNT OF LAND OCCUPIED

105

AMOUNT OF LAND PURCHASED

106

AMOUNT OF LAND SOLD

107

AMOUNT OF LAND REQUESTED

108

AMOUNT OF LAND APPROVED

109

AMOUNT OF LAND GRANTED

110

Appendix 2

Computer analysis: coding key

VARIABLE	CARD	COLUMN	LABEL
001	1	10	Age
002	1	13	Singles
003	1	16	Famheads
004	1	19	Novushom
005	1	22	Spouse
006	1	25	Parents
007	1	28	Adultson
008	1	31	Adultdot
009	1	34	Children
010	1	37	Remrels
011	1	40	Orphans
012	1	43	Servants
013	1	46	Others
014	1	49	Famleft
015	1	52	Famsize
016	1	55	Famsep
017	1	58	Withrels
018	1	61	Relsgone
019	1	64	Relscome
020	1	67	Homearea
021	1	70	Homeco
022	1	73	Homeisle
023	1	76	Homepar
024	2	10	Homejob
025	2	13	Innavy
026	2	16	Inarmy

VARIABLE	CARD	COLUMN	LABEL
027	2	19	Militia
028	2	22	Dischns
029	2	25	Emidate
030	2	28	Immidate
031	2	31	Emitype
032	2	34	Emicause
033	2	37	Ukmoves
034	2	40	Formoves
035	2	43	Nsmoves
036	2	46	Othmoves
037	2	49	Datepetn
038	2	52	Datetick
039	2	55	Datewarr
040	2	58	Datelice
041	2	61	Dategrnt
042	2	64	Occinns
043	2	67	Comeoage
044	2	70	Employed
045	2	73	Urbanite
046	2	76	Tenant
047	3	10	Landheld
048	3	13	Propoccd
049	3	16	Propgntd
050	3	19	Propbot
051	3	22	Propsold
052	3	25	Propleft
053	3	28	Propgivn
054	3	31	Proplost
055	3	34	Petindiv
056	3	37	Petrelns

VARIABLE	CARD	COLUMN	LABEL
057	3	40	Petnabor
058	3	43	Petscots
059	3	46	Petother
060	3	49	Landgenl
061	3	52	Landfarm
062	3	55	Landothr
063	3	58	Landlocn
064	3	61	Landlot
065	3	64	Lanconf
066	3	67	Landxtra
067	3	70	Lanxfarm
068	3	73	Lanxothr
069	3	76	Lanxlocn
070	4	10	Lanxlot
071	4	13	Rlocgenl
072	4	16	Rlocfarm
073	4	19	Rlocothr
074	4	22	Rloclocn
075	4	25	Reloclot
076	4	28	Rlocpres
077	4	31	Disputed
078	4	34	Farmexp
079	4	37	Finstate
080	4	40	Equipped
081	4	43	Leaseup
082	4	46	Cantfind
083	4	49	Unsatloc
084	4	52	Unsatst
085	4	55	Unsatqal
086	4	58	Improved

VARIABLE	CARD	COLUMN	LABEL
087	4	61	Cleared
088	4	64	Built
089	4	67	Crops
090	4	70	Stock
091	4	73	Wilimprv
092	4	76	Wilclear
093	5	10	Wilbuild
094	5	13	Wilcrop
095	5	16	Wilstock
096	5	19	Activity
097	5	22	Petrult
098	5	25	Locatpet
099	5	28	Loclndoc
100	5	31	Loclndbt
101	5	34	Loclndsd
102	5	37	Locndrq
103	5	40	Loclndap
104	5	43	Loclndgt
105	5	46	Amlndocc
106	5	49	Amlndbot
107	5	52	Amlndsld
108	5	55	Amlndreq
109	5	58	Amlndapp
110	5	61	Amlndgtd

Appendix 3

Computer analysis: frequency distributions

Table 6

AGE	FREQUENCY	AGE	FREQUENCY
15	1	47	15
16	2	48	22
17	1	49	16
18	6	50	73
19	4	51	8
20	25	52	17
21	141	53	12
22	100	54	16
23	78	55	26
24	86	56	11
25	91	57	7
26	83	58	8
27	83	59	5
28	73	60	61
29	49	61	8
30	133	62	5
31	27	63	9
32	65	64	9
33	26	65	12
34	36	66	4
35	61	67	2
36	49	68	4
37	33	69	2
38	21	70	9
39	22	71	1
40	77	72	4
41	8	74	1
42	16	75	3
43	14	76	1
44	15	79	1
45	25	80	4
46	31	81	1
		88	1

Table 7

PERSONAL STATUS	FREQUENCY
Single male	457
Single female	1
Head of family - father	1842
Head of family - mother (widow)	86
Head of family - eldest son	35
Head of family - eldest brother	11
Minor immigrant now of age	245

Table 8

DEPENDANTS	FREQUENCY
Spouse	1429
Single parent	46
Both parents	5
Adult male offspring	32
Adult female offspring	8
Other children	1660
Other non-nuclear relatives	17
Orphans	7
Servants	3
Others	5
Family did not emigrate as a unit	14

Table 9

FAMILY SIZE	FREQUENCY
1	445
2	192
3	198
4	237
5	231
6	225
7	184
8	171
9	137
10	95
11	64
12	40
13	21
14	7
15	4
17	1
18	1

Table 10

RELATIONSHIP	FREQUENCY
Adult offspring settling separately	51
Related nuclear families accompanying	12
Related nuclear families emigrated	29
Related nuclear families following	7

Table 11

AREA OF ORIGIN	FREQUENCY
Scotland	3155
North Britain	211
North of Scotland	11
Highlands	747
Western Isles	90
South of Scotland	4
Lowlands	88

Table 12

COUNTY OF ORIGIN	FREQUENCY
Inverness	402
Ross	80
Sutherland	133
Inverness or Ross	6
Inverness or Sutherland	8
Ross or Sutherland	46
Argyll	66
Caithness	17
Perth	33
Aberdeen	22
Banff	21
Moray	6
Nairn	3
Angus	5
Kincardine	4
Fife	2
Dunbarton	1
Stirling	6
Lanark	10
Renfrew	7
East Lothian	1
Midlothian	9
Ayr	17
Dumfries	27
Kirkcudbright	6
Wigton	2
Roxburgh	4
Berwick	3
Bute	2
Orkney	2
Shetland	1

Table 13

ISLAND OF ORIGIN	FREQUENCY
Lewis	13
Lewis or Harris	6
North or South Uist	5
Barra	31
Long Island	4
Rum	8
Eigg	4
Canna	1
Skye	2
Mull	2
Tiree	1
Islay	1
Arran	1
Bute	1

Table 14

PARISH OF ORIGIN	FREQUENCY
Craignish	1
Ardnamurchan	42
Glenelg	5
Gairloch	16
Loch Broom	2
Assint	1
Kilmalie	2
Kilmanivaig	2
Urquhart	15
Kiltarlity	6
Kilmorack	7
Kirkhill	2
Croy	1
Contin	1
Cromarty	1
Dornoch	1
Inverness	1
Lairg	1
Thurso	2
Forres	1
Elgin	1
Aberdeen	3
Dundee	4
Perth	1
Rattray	1
Blackford	2
Tulliallan	1
Aberfoyle	1
Cardross	1
Falkirk	2
Edinburgh	6
Haddington	1
Greenock	2
Renfrew	1
Paisley	2
Glasgow	8
Ballantrae	1
Annan	1

Table 15

OCCUPATION IN SCOTLAND	FREQUENCY
Blacksmith	5
Carpenter	6
Cooper	3
Farmer	2
Fisherman	12
Joiner	1
Millwright	3
Minister	2
Shopkeeper	1
Shoemaker	2
Shipwright	1
Stone mason	1
Shepherd	1
Sailor	4
Tanner	1
Tailor	1
Teacher	1
Weaver	3
Textile worker	1
Watchmaker	1
Civil servant	2
Emigration agent	1

Table 16

MILITARY SERVICE	FREQUENCY
Navy	32
Army	165
Militia	59
Discharged in Nova Scotia	20

Table 17

DATE OF EMIGRATION FROM SCOTLAND	FREQUENCY
1750-54	1
1765-69	1
1770-74	17
1775-79	38
1780-84	48
1785-89	37
1790-94	118
1795-99	24
1800-04	624
1805-09	263
1810-14	215
1815-19	642
1820-24	389
1825-29	59
1830-34	9

Table 18

DATE OF IMMIGRATION TO NOVA SCOTIA	FREQUENCY
1765-69	1
1770-74	18
1775-79	19
1780-84	62
1785-89	33
1790-94	81
1795-99	16
1800-04	273
1805-09	127
1810-14	113
1815-19	327
1820-24	267
1825-29	51
1830-34	9

Table 19 (Emigration from Scotland)

DATE	FREQUENCY	DATE	FREQUENCY
1767	1	1802	196
1771	1	1803	219
1772	4	1804	63
1773	7	1805	82
1774	5	1806	49
1775	23	1807	54
1776	7	1808	45
1777	2	1809	33
1778	1	1810	56
1779	5	1811	73
1780	2	1812	35
1782	2	1813	28
1783	13	1814	23
1784	30	1815	114
1785	19	1816	120
1786	9	1817	164
1787	2	1818	109
1788	2	1819	135
1789	5	1820	158
1790	23	1821	109
1791	59	1822	87
1792	25	1823	24
1793	4	1824	11
1794	7	1825	11
1795	5	1826	25
1796	3	1827	10
1797	9	1828	9
1798	3	1829	4
1799	4	1830	3
1800	12	1831	1
1801	134	1832	3
		1834	2

Table 20 (Immigration to Nova Scotia)

DATE	FREQUENCY	DATE	FREQUENCY
1767	1	1802	103
1770	1	1803	103
1771	1	1804	21
1773	13	1805	36
1774	3	1806	21
1775	8	1807	38
1776	6	1808	10
1777	1	1809	22
1778	3	1810	22
1779	1	1811	42
1781	2	1812	19
1783	26	1813	16
1784	34	1814	14
1785	15	1815	57
1786	10	1816	48
1787	2	1817	72
1788	2	1818	63
1789	4	1819	87
1790	11	1820	110
1791	56	1821	88
1792	7	1822	46
1793	3	1823	18
1794	4	1824	5
1795	5	1825	11
1796	3	1826	24
1797	5	1827	8
1798	2	1828	8
1799	1	1830	3
1800	3	1831	1
1801	43	1832	3
		1834	2

Table 21 (Emigration from Scotland - Nova Scotia subfile)

DATE	FREQUENCY	DATE	FREQUENCY
1767	1	1803	199
1771	1	1804	57
1773	7	1805	63
1774	5	1806	38
1775	22	1807	44
1776	7	1808	35
1777	2	1809	20
1778	1	1810	38
1779	5	1811	54
1780	2	1812	32
1782	2	1813	25
1783	12	1814	20
1784	30	1815	105
1785	18	1816	90
1786	8	1817	132
1787	2	1818	99
1788	2	1819	119
1789	5	1820	111
1790	18	1821	99
1791	41	1822	74
1792	14	1823	18
1793	3	1824	5
1794	6	1825	3
1795	3	1826	8
1796	1	1827	8
1797	7	1828	6
1798	2	1829	3
1799	2	1830	3
1800	9	1831	1
1801	126	1832	3
1802	158	1834	2

Table 22 (Immigration to Nova Scotia - Nova Scotia subfile

DATE	FREQUENCY	DATE	FREQUENCY
1767	1	1802	80
1770	1	1803	97
1771	1	1804	17
1773	13	1805	26
1774	3	1806	13
1775	8	1807	30
1776	6	1808	9
1777	1	1809	11
1778	3	1810	14
1779	1	1811	23
1781	2	1812	12
1783	23	1813	14
1784	33	1814	11
1785	15	1815	52
1786	10	1816	33
1787	2	1817	50
1788	2	1818	58
1789	4	1819	71
1790	10	1820	64
1791	51	1821	77
1792	3	1822	30
1793	2	1823	8
1794	3	1824	2
1795	3	1825	3
1796	3	1826	5
1797	3	1827	6
1798	2	1828	5
1799	1	1830	3
1800	2	1831	1
1801	39	1832	3
		1834	2

Table 23 (Emigration from Scotland - Cape Breton subfile)

DATE	FREQUENCY	DATE	FREQUENCY	DATE	FREQUENCY
1772	4	1800	3	1815	9
1775	1	1801	8	1816	30
1783	1	1802	38	1817	32
1785	1	1803	20	1818	10
1786	1	1804	6	1819	16
1790	5	1805	19	1820	47
1791	18	1806	11	1821	10
1792	11	1807	10	1822	13
1793	1	1808	10	1823	6
1794	1	1809	13	1824	6
1795	2	1810	18	1825	8
1796	2	1811	19	1826	17
1797	2	1812	3	1827	2
1798	1	1813	3	1828	3
1799	2	1814	3	1829	1

Table 24 (Immigration to Nova Scotia - Cape Breton subfile)

DATE	FREQUENCY	DATE	FREQUENCY	DATE	FREQUENCY
1783	3	1803	6	1816	15
1784	1	1804	4	1817	22
1790	1	1805	10	1818	5
1791	5	1806	8	1819	16
1792	4	1807	8	1820	46
1793	1	1808	1	1821	11
1794	1	1809	11	1822	16
1795	2	1810	8	1823	10
1797	2	1811	19	1824	3
1800	1	1812	7	1825	8
1801	4	1813	2	1826	19
1802	23	1814	3	1827	2
		1815	5	1828	3

Table 25

TYPE OF EMIGRATION	FREQUENCY
Assisted	1
Assisted - private organizer	2

Table 26

REASONS FOR EMIGRATION	FREQUENCY
Debt	1
Clearance	33

Table 27

PREVIOUS MIGRATION	FREQUENCY
Within Scotland	2
Within British Isles	1
West Indies	1
United States	9
Lower Canada	1
"Canada"	4
New Brunswick	3
Prince Edward Island	88
Newfoundland	1
Mainland Nova Scotia to Cape Breton	83
Cape Breton to mainland Nova Scotia	2
Within mainland Nova Scotia	13
Other moves	2

Table 28

DATE OF PETITION	FREQUENCY
1780-84	11
1785-89	27
1790-94	5
1795-99	2
1800-04	31
1805-09	518
1810-14	572
1815-19	1184
1820-24	940
1825-29	721
1830-34	171
1835-39	108
1840-44	5
1845-49	6

Table 29

DATE OF TICKET	FREQUENCY
1820-24	108
1825-29	12
1830-34	1

Table 30

DATE OF LICENCE	FREQUENCY
1760-64	2
1805-09	1
1815-19	1

Table 31

DATE OF WARRANT	FREQUENCY
1780-84	4
1785-89	10
1800-04	2
1805-09	46
1810-14	265
1815-19	315
1820-24	252
1825-29	452
1830-34	177
1835-39	117
1840-44	5
1845-49	2

Table 32

DATE OF GRANT	FREQUENCY
1800-04	2
1805-09	10
1810-14	140
1815-19	218
1820-24	95
1825-29	395
1830-34	176
1835-39	117
1840-44	5
1845-49	2

Table 33

OCCUPATION IN NOVA SCOTIA	FREQUENCY
Baker	1
Blacksmith	9
Brewer	1
Confectioner	1
Carpenter	20
Cabinetmaker	2
Farmer	2
Fisherman	7
Labourer	3
Lumberman	1
Merchant	26
Merchant - lumber	4
Merchant - shipping	1
Merchant - fish	5
Miller	4
Millwright	10
Physician	6
Minister	17
Quarryman	2
Saddler	2
Shipkeeper	4
Shoemaker	8
Sawyer	2
Stone mason	6
Tanner	1
Tailor	5
Teacher	10
Weaver	1
Watchmaker	1
Clerk	1
Civil servant	15
Emigration agent	7
Cart-maker	1
Plasterer	1
Surveyor	1
Inn-keeper	1

Table 34

STATUS IN NOVA SCOTIA	FREQUENCY
Newly come of age	4
Employed (labourer, tradesman, etc.)	11
Unemployed (labourer, tradesman, etc.)	7
Urban resident	38
Tenant	40
Landless	105
Settled - no details	875
Settled on relative's land	49
Settled on assigned crown land	484
Settled on unassigned crown land	18
Settled on purchased land	194
Settled on land allocated to or claimed by another	115
Settled on abandoned land	5
Other property occupied	20
Other property granted	1
Other property purchased	22
Other property sold	23
Other property abandoned	42
Other property given to offspring	1
Other property escheated, confiscated, etc.	10

Table 35

TYPE OF PETITION	FREQUENCY
Individual	1769
Communal - offspring	42
Communal - related	72
Communal - same settlement	927
Communal - same area	291
Communal - Scottish	1485
Communal - same parish of origin	27
Communal - same county of origin	185
Communal - same area of origin	91
Communal - other immigrant groups	88
Communal - miscellaneous	471

Table 36

SEEKING LAND	FREQUENCY
For initial settlement	16
As additional asset (merchant, etc.)	3
As compensation for the settlement of others	2
For farming purposes	11
For non-farming purposes - mill	10
For non-farming purposes - grist mill	3
For non-farming purposes - lumbering	1
For non-farming purposes - fishing	13
For non-farming purposes - commerce	3
For non-farming purposes - other	4
Location specified - county	82
Location specified - district	100
Location specified - settlement	1495
Location unspecified	664
Location specified - lot unalienated	1
Location specified - lot abandoned, etc.	239

Table 37

SEEKING CONFIRMATION OF LAND OCCUPIED	FREQUENCY
Alone	1466
Also acting for relatives	8
Heirs seeking confirmation of paternal holding	1

Table 38

SEEKING ADDITIONAL LAND	FREQUENCY
Increasing family	11
Provision for adult offspring	14
Resources of holding considered inadequate	21
Additional enterprise - farming	1
Additional enterprise - grist mill	1
Additional enterprise - saw and grist mill	1
Additional enterprise - lumbering	2
Additional enterprise - quarrying	1
Additional enterprise - fishing	2
Additional enterprise - commerce	1
Additional enterprise - other non-farming activity	1
Location specified - county	2
Location specified - district	16
Location specified - settlement	158
Location unspecified	38
Location specified - lot unalienated	1
Location specified - lot abandoned, etc.	5

Table 39

SEEKING NEW LOCATION	FREQUENCY
Resources of holding considered inadequate	45
Moving to join relatives or friends	3
Moving to a less isolated location	2
Location specified - county	3
Location specified - district	1
Location specified - settlement	55
Location unspecified	8
Location specified - lot abandoned, etc.	5
Previous holding still occupied	2
Previous holding sold	1
Previous holding abandoned	4
Previous holding given to offspring	1
Previous holding returned to government, confiscated, etc.	6

Table 40

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION	FREQUENCY
Claims agricultural proficiency	15
Has financial resources	3
Does not have financial resources	61
Indicates possession of adequate equipment	1
Tenant seeking land because lease has expired	5
Unable to find unlocated land	24
Indicates dissatisfaction with location	2
Complains of situation of land	5
Complains of quality of land	46
Indicates improvement	125
Indicates improvement - land cleared	61
Indicates improvement - buildings erected	64
Indicates improvement - crops raised	10
Indicates improvement - stock established	3
Proposes improvement	2
Proposes improvement - buildings	1
Proposes improvement - stock	1
Farming and mill	2
Farming and saw mill	5
Farming and grist mill	5
Farming and saw and grist mill	1
Farming and quarrying	2
Farming and commerce	2

Table 41

RESULT OF PETITION	FREQUENCY
No official comment	825
Rejected	108
Recommended	604
Referred	148
Approved	855
Warrant, etc., issued	612
Land granted	1157

Table 42 (Location at time of petitioning)

AREA	FREQUENCY	AREA	FREQUENCY	AREA	FREQUENCY
103	1	42	19	73	5
1	2	43	9	74	9
2	2	44	114	75	27
3	112	45	2	76	2
5	22	46	95	77	4
6	2	47	8	78	2
10	1	48	6	79	9
12	34	49	17	80	6
16	25	50	2	81	10
22	1	51	6	82	10
23	96	52	4	83	23
24	2	53	21	102	2
25	11	54	1	84	43
26	20	55	3	85	46
27	10	56	25	86	29
29	17	57	1	87	24
30	18	59	3	88	11
31	56	60	14	89	20
101	7	61	1	90	10
32	67	63	53	91	39
33	23	64	1	92	2
34	165	65	1	93	19
35	64	66	5	94	16
36	105	67	3	95	35
37	74	68	5	96	12
38	2	69	10	97	13
39	2	70	1	98	66
40	75	71	6	104	10
41	31	72	19	99	1
				100	1

Table 43 (Location of land occupied)

AREA	FREQUENCY	AREA	FREQUENCY	AREA	FREQUENCY
103	1	42	20	73	2
1	7	43	17	75	27
2	4	44	112	76	2
3	125	45	1	77	2
5	4	46	27	78	1
6	4	47	9	79	2
12	5	48	4	80	2
16	25	49	12	81	8
23	98	50	2	82	13
25	11	51	4	83	29
26	8	52	4	102	3
27	4	53	6	84	61
29	15	54	1	85	49
30	21	55	3	86	35
31	62	56	17	87	23
101	7	57	1	88	19
32	70	59	1	89	24
33	32	60	10	90	2
34	12	61	1	91	38
35	65	63	1	92	1
36	105	65	3	93	20
37	73	67	2	94	20
38	1	68	3	95	32
39	4	69	5	96	11
40	62	71	5	97	15
41	23	72	17	98	73
				104	19

Table 44 (Location of land purchased)

AREA	FREQUENCY	AREA	FREQUENCY	AREA	FREQUENCY
1	1	41	11	83	2
2	1	44	15	102	1
3	17	45	1	84	8
6	1	46	7	85	5
12	1	47	1	86	6
23	9	53	2	87	5
26	2	56	4	88	3
29	2	59	1	89	4
30	2	60	2	91	4
31	2	65	1	93	6
32	7	69	1	94	1
33	1	72	3	95	4
34	5	73	1	96	1
35	9	75	9	97	1
36	2	76	1	98	7
37	8	80	2	104	2
39	1	82	4	100	2

Table 45 (Location of land sold)

AREA	FREQUENCY
1	1
3	3
4	1
23	2
34	1
43	1
44	1
53	1
61	1
75	1
76	1
84	3
87	1

Table 46 (Location of land requested)

AREA	FREQUENCY	AREA	FREQUENCY	AREA	FREQUENCY
1	711	41	44	72	18
2	14	42	25	73	8
3	191	43	24	74	5
4	1	44	123	75	29
5	21	45	11	76	5
6	27	46	87	77	5
9	1	47	16	78	5
10	5	48	10	79	6
11	1	49	62	80	8
12	52	50	15	81	6
16	25	51	36	82	63
22	7	52	7	83	100
23	203	53	18	102	27
24	1	54	1	84	166
25	14	55	3	85	111
26	17	56	47	86	116
27	23	57	12	87	68
28	4	58	1	88	102
29	45	59	1	89	96
30	39	60	22	90	13
31	74	61	6	91	97
101	7	62	7	92	7
32	69	63	2	93	58
33	47	64	1	94	106
34	19	65	5	95	52
35	69	66	1	96	27
36	110	67	3	97	66
37	80	68	5	98	180
38	3	69	10	104	82
39	5	70	1	99	5
40	67	71	6	100	2

Table 47 (Location of land approved)

AREA	FREQUENCY	AREA	FREQUENCY	AREA	FREQUENCY
1	394	41	35	73	8
2	14	42	13	74	5
3	175	43	11	75	29
4	2	44	94	76	4
5	34	45	5	77	1
6	34	46	42	79	12
7	1	47	11	80	9
9	3	48	10	81	3
10	7	49	30	82	47
11	1	50	9	83	68
12	85	51	19	102	27
15	2	52	7	84	129
22	40	53	14	85	94
23	340	54	1	86	92
25	16	56	38	87	57
26	11	57	10	88	86
27	23	58	2	89	78
28	4	59	4	90	13
29	36	60	27	91	65
30	31	61	6	92	2
31	26	62	4	93	53
32	16	63	4	94	87
33	32	64	3	95	44
34	14	65	4	96	12
35	52	66	3	97	59
36	16	67	2	98	128
37	53	68	1	104	59
38	3	69	5	99	5
39	5	70	1	100	2
40	56	72	2		

Table 48 (Location of land granted)

AREA	FREQUENCY	AREA	FREQUENCY	AREA	FREQUENCY
1	5	37	35	66	2
2	5	38	1	67	1
3	126	39	4	68	1
4	1	40	7	72	2
5	22	41	17	73	2
6	30	42	6	75	17
7	1	43	6	76	3
9	2	44	61	79	7
10	3	46	20	80	3
12	57	47	7	82	10
15	2	48	4	83	13
22	39	49	5	102	5
23	237	50	4	84	39
25	9	51	14	85	19
26	8	53	6	86	7
27	17	54	1	87	6
28	3	56	13	88	10
29	17	57	8	89	12
30	13	58	1	90	1
31	8	59	4	91	9
32	6	60	12	93	7
33	13	61	2	94	28
34	2	62	3	95	15
35	17	63	3	96	7
36	8	64	2	97	12
		65	1	98	20

Table 49

AMOUNT OF LAND OCCUPIED (ACRES)	FREQUENCY
1- 49	5
50- 99	10
100-199	103
150-199	12
200-249	84
250-299	24
300-349	28
350-399	15
400-449	12
450-499	12
500-549	26
550-599	5
800-899	2
900-999	1
1000+	4

Table 50

AMOUNT OF LAND PURCHASED (ACRES)	FREQUENCY
1- 49	2
50- 99	3
100-149	12
150-199	3
200-249	9
250-299	4
300-349	5
400-449	1
450-499	1
500-549	8
800-899	1
900-999	1
1000+	1

Table 51

AMOUNT OF LAND SOLD (ACRES)	FREQUENCY
1- 49	4
100-149	1
250-299	1
300-349	4
500-549	1

Table 52

AMOUNT OF LAND REQUESTED (ACRES)	FREQUENCY
1- 49	3
50- 99	6
100-149	44
150-199	17
200-249	125
250-299	32
300-349	47
350-399	14
400-449	28
450-499	16
500-549	62
550-599	4
600-699	1
800-899	5
900-999	1
1000+	7

Table 53

AMOUNT OF LAND APPROVED (ACRES)	FREQUENCY
1- 49	11
50- 99	35
100-149	452
150-199	131
200-249	920
250-299	148
300-349	161
350-399	55
400-449	67
450-499	26
500-549	124
550-599	2
600-699	1
700-799	1
800-899	1
1000+	6

Table 54

AMOUNT OF LAND GRANTED (ACRES)	FREQUENCY
1- 49	5
50- 99	18
100-149	183
150-199	87
200-249	499
250-299	69
300-349	85
350-399	33
400-449	38
450-499	14
500-549	71
550-599	2
600-699	1
1000+	2

Appendix 4

Computer analysis: crosstabulations

Table 55

Designation	Area codes included
Northern Colchester - Cumberland (NCC)	26, 27, 28, 29
Western Pictou - Coastal (WPC)	30, 31, 101
Western Pictou - Inland (WPI)	32, 33
Central Pictou (CP)	34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39
Eastern Pictou (EP)	40, 41, 42, 43
Antigonish West Coast (AWC)	44
Central Antigonish (CA)	45, 46, 47, 48, 49
Eastern Antigonish (EA)	50, 51
St. Mary's River (SMR)	56, 57, 58
Musquodoboit River (MR)	60
Digby (DY)	72
Douglas (DS)	75
Western Cape Breton - North (WCBN)	82, 83, 102
Western Cape Breton - Centre (WCBC)	84, 85
Western Cape Breton - South (WCBS)	86, 87
Southern Cape Breton (SCB)	89, 90, 91
Eastern Cape Breton (ECB)	92, 93, 94
Central Cape Breton (CCB)	88, 98
North-central Cape Breton (NCCB)	95, 96, 97

Table 56

County in Scotland and location requested in Nova Scotia

	NGC	WPG	WPI	GP	EP	AWC	CA	EA	SMR	MR	DY	DS	WCBN	WCBC	WCBS	SCB	ECB	CGB	NCGB
Inverness	1	3	1	41	20	63	25	4	3				25	40	6	5	10	14	3
Sutherland	3	5	14	9	16				1							3			10
Ross	5	10	1	16	2	2	1								1	3		1	3
Ross/ Sutherland	31										4								35
Inverness/ Sutherland				2															2
Inverness/ Ross		6																	6
Argyll	1	1		1	2	4	6						6	1	11	2	8	2	2
Caithness							5		3							1			9
Perth		1	2	2	7		1		1						1				15
Aberdeen	1	1				1													3
Banff		1		1	1				1	1							1		6
Moray	1																		1
Nairn				2															2

Table 56 (continued)
County in Scotland and location requested in Nova Scotia

	NGC	WPG	WPI	CP	EP	AWC	CA	EA	SMR	MR	DY	DS	WGBN	WCBC	WCBS	SCB	ECB	CGB	NCGB	
Kincardine									2										2	
Fife														1		1			2	
Dunbarton	1																		1	
Stirling						1													1	
Lanark	1								1	1				1		1	1		6	
Renfrew	2				1				1										4	
Midlothian		1			1										1				3	
Ayr			2		1											2			5	
Dumfries	3		8		3														14	
Kirkcudbright	1			1															2	
Wigton					1														1	
Bute															1				1	
Orkney							1							1					2	
Shetland		1																	1	
	20	61	28	76	55	71	39	4	13	2	4		31	44	21	17	21	17	18	542

Table 58 (continued)
Parish in Scotland and location requested in Nova Scotia

	NCG	WPG	WPI	GP	EP	AWC	GA	EA	SMR	MR	DY	DS	WGBN	WBC	WBS	SCB	ECB	CGB	NCGB
Inverness				1															1
Croy				1															1
Ratray					1														1
Perth		1																	1
Falkirk						1													1
Edinburgh		1			1										1				3
Greenock									1										1
Cardross	1																		1
Renfrew					1														1
Paisley	2																		2
Glasgow	1								1	1						1	1		5
Thurso																1			1
	4	3		19	7	31	15		3	1				3	3	3	1		93

Table 59

Date of emigration and county in Scotland

	1750-54	1770-74	1775-79	1780-84	1785-89	1790-94	1795-99	1800-04	1805-09	1810-14	1815-19	1820-24	1825-34	
Inverness		1	4	6	3	47	2	91	18	18	67	21	11	289
Ross		1	1					27	11	2	8	11	6	67
Sutherland								4	12	10	54	26		106
Inverness/ Sutherland									6					6
Ross/ Sutherland								43						43
Argyll								1	8	6	9	10	1	35
Caithness											11	1		12
Perth						1		11	2	2	8	2	2	28
Aberdeen										6	11			17
Banff				1					1	4	11	2		19
Moray										2	2			4
Nairn										1	2			3
Angus									1		1	1		3
Kincardine										4				4
Fife										1				1
Stirling									1	3				4
Lanark									2	1	3			6
Renfrew						1		1		3				5
Midlothian								1	1		2			4
Ayr	1								1	3	3	3		11
Dumfries			1					1			8	14		24
Kirkcud- bright										1	3			4
Wigton		1										1		2
Roxburgh										1	2	1		4
Berwick											2	1		3
	1	3	6	7	3	49	2	180	64	68	207	94	20	704

Table 60
Date of emigration and island in Scotland

	1780-84	1785-89	1790-94	1795-99	1800-04	1805-09	1810-14	1815-19	1820-24	1825-29	
Lewis					3	2	1			3	9
Lewis or Harris						6					6
North or South Uist					1						1
Barra					1	1		5	2	7	16
Long Island						1					1
Rum			1				4			1	6
Eigg	1										1
Canna						1					1
Skye								1			1
Mull								1			1
Tiree								1			1
Arran								1			1
	1		1		5	11	5	9	2	11	45

Table 61
Date of emigration and parish in Scotland

	1775-79	1780-84	1785-89	1790-94	1795-99	1800-04	1805-09	1810-14	1815-19	1820-24	
Ardnamurchan				29		4	2				35
Glenelg				1					3		4
Gairloch						10	6				16
Loch Broom						1				1	2
Assint						1					1
Kilmanivaig							1				1
Urquhart						6			4		10
Kiltarlity	2					3					5
Kilmorack		2				1		1			4
Kirkhill		1	1								2
Groy									1		1
Contin	1										1
Cromarty									1		1
Dornoch						1					1
Lairg						1					1
Aberdeen								1			1
Dundee							1		1	1	3
Perth						1					1
Rattray									1		1
Blackford									2		2
Tulliallan									1		1
Aberfoyle						1					1
Edinburgh						1	1		1		3
Greenock						1					1
Renfrew				1							1
Paisley								1			1
Glasgow							2	1	2		5
Annan									1		1
Sprouston									1		1
	3	3	1	31		32	13	4	19	2	108

Table 62

Date of emigration and location requested in Nova Scotia

	WPI	CP	EP	AWC	CA	EA	SMR	MR	DY	DS	WCBN	WCBG	WCBS	SCB	ECB	GCB	NCGB
1765-69	1																1
1770-74		6					1								1	1	9
1775-79		13			2		2			3							23
1780-84	1	6	1			1	2	1	1	1							21
1785-89		5	2	1				2	1		1						12
1790-94	3	2	4	5	39	7		1		3	6	6	1	3	4	5	89
1795-99		3			1	1					4	2		1	1		14
1800-04	3	57	44	125	71	7	17	5	7	1	5	6	4	44	12	5	425
1805-09	3	17	12	31	11	5	15	6	3	1	10	14	22	6	9	1	179
1810-14	8	2	1	8	5	1	3	1	13	1		25	4	9	2	6	91
1815-19	23	12	9	32	23	8	61	16	8	5	3	31	27	17	11	9	305
1820-24	36	9	9	12	27	5	40	6	3	1		6	9	6	14	10	232
1825-29	3	1			2	1					12	5	2		8	9	49
1830-34	2										1	1	1			1	7
	78	105	87	242	147	68	150	37	40	13	17	16	105	120	54	42	1457

Table 63
Date of petition and county in Scotland

	1780-84	1800-04	1805-09	1810-14	1815-19	1820-24	1825-29	1830-34	1835-39	
Inverness	4	9	84	58	125	31	82	4	4	401
Ross			4	25	12	22	12	4	1	80
Sutherland			4	20	47	9	52	1		133
Inverness/ Sutherland					6					6
Ross/ Sutherland			32		13					45
Argyll			6	12	28	10	8		2	66
Caithness			1		12	3	1			17
Perth			3	5	13	5	5	2		33
Aberdeen			2	6	5	8	1			22
Banff			1	6	5	4	5			21
Moray				3	1	1	1			6
Nairn				1	1		1			3
Angus			1	2	1		1			5
Kincardine				2		2				4
Fife					2					2
Dunbarton						1				1
Stirling			1	3	1					5
Lanark			1	1	4	2	1		1	10
Renfrew				2	2	1	2			7
East Lothian									1	1
Midlothian			2	1	2		4			9
Ayr				5	4	7	1			17
Dumfries			1		5	8	12	1		27
Kirkcudbright					1	3	2			6
Wigton				1			1			2
Roxburgh					3	1				4
Berwick						1	1	1		3
	4	9	143	153	293	119	193	13	9	936

Table 64
Date of petition and island in Scotland

	1800-04	1805-09	1810-14	1815-19	1820-24	1825-29	1830-34	1835-39	
Lewis				3	4	5	1		13
Lewis or Harris				6					6
North or South Uist		1	2			2			5
Barra	5	3	3	6	1	12	1		31
Long Island				3	1				4
Rum		1	3	2		1	1		8
Elgg			2	1			1		4
Canna				1					1
Skye			1			1			2
Mull				1	1				2
Tiree								1	1
Islay				1					1
Arran				1					1
Bute				1					1
	5	5	11	26	7	21	4	1	80

Table 65

Date of petition and parish in Scotland

	1800-04	1805-09	1810-14	1815-19	1820-24	1825-29	1830-34	1835-39	
Craignish				1					1
Ardnamurchan	1	32	7	2					42
Glenelg		1		3				1	5
Gairloch			15	1					16
Loch Broom			1		1				2
Assint		1							1
Kilmalie		2							2
Kilmanivaig		1		1					2
Urquhart		2		11	1	1			15
Kiltarlity		2	4						6
Kilmorack		2	2	3					7
Kirkhill			1	1					2
Croy				1					1
Contin		1							1
Cromarty				1					1
Dornoch			1						1
Inverness		1							1
Lairg				1					1
Thurso				2					2
Forres			1						1
Elgin			1						1
Aberdeen			1	2					3
Dundee		1	1	1		1			4
Perth					1				1
Rattray						1			1
Blackford				2					2
Tulliallan				1					1
Aberfoyle		1							1
Cardross					1				1
Falkirk		1							1
Edinburgh		2	1			3			6
Haddington							1		1
Greenock			1			1			2
Renfrew				1					1
Paisley					1	1			2
Glasgow		1	1	3	1	1	1		8
Ballantrae				1					1
Annan				1					1
Sprouston				1					1
	1	51	38	41	6	9		3	149

Table 66

Date of petition and location requested in Nova Scotia

	NGC	WPC	WPI	GP	EP	AMC	CA	EA	SMR	MR	DY	DS	WCBN	WCBC	WCBS	SCB	ECB	CGB	NCCB
1785-89				2						1									3
1790-94					1						1								2
1795-99											1								1
1800-04			3 10							1		1		10	1				26
1805-09	4	57	37	138	53	58	14	3	14	5	4	10	1	7		3	2	7	417
1810-14	1		22	48	6	7	15	10	4	1	12	4	35	27	31	7	15	18	25
1815-19	7	26	19	26	23	27	63	4	20	6		5	78	90	78	75	32	53	8
1820-24	27	23	8	13	19	14	74	22	7	5		6	30	55	50	60	44	93	53
1825-29	48	14	19	57	57	16	17	12	13	3		2	35	51	14	29	47	70	30
1830-34	2			1			3		1			1	6	20	6	22	25	22	17
1835-39									1				4	17	3	10	3	3	12
1840-44													1				1	2	4
1845-49																	1	5	6
	89	123	115	285	159	122	186	51	60	22	18	29	190	277	183	206	170	273	145
																			2703

Table 67
Date of grant and location of grant

	NGC	WPC	WPI	GP	EP	AWC	CA	EA	SMR	MR	DY	DS	WCEN	WCBC	WCBS	SCB	ECB	GCB	NCGB
1800-04											2								2
1805-09	3			4	2	1													10
1810-14	1		1	10	3	39	7	11	4	5		6							87
1815-19	11	12	9	25	9	8	15	4	4	6		8							111
1820-24	2	6	1	3		1	2		1	1		2	2	17	1			3	42
1825-29	27	2	7	22	22	11	12	3	12				1	6	1	1	5	1	135
1830-34	1			2								1	14	12	7	15	22	14	18
1835-39		1							1				10	23	4	6	7	11	77
1840-44													1					1	2
	45	21	18	66	36	60	36	18	22	12	2	17	28	58	13	22	34	30	572

Table 68
Amount of land approved and location approved

	NGC	WPG	WPT	CP	EP	AMC	CA	HA	SMR	MR	DY	DS	WCBN	WCBG	WCBS	SCB	ECB	CGB	NCGB	
1-49				3									1			2	1			7
50-99	1	3		8										2	1	3	3		1	22
100-149	27	21	8	25	10	12	20	8	5	4	2		4	6	10	9	7	2	6	186
150-199	2	1	1	6	1	6	5		2			1	2	11	5	8	13	8	1	73
200-249	22	12	11	30	29	22	23	9	16	6		4	35	66	30	41	45	46	41	488
250-299	6	3		9	3	7	4	5	7	4		4		8	1	2				63
300-349	4	4	3	17	4	1	11		4			4	3	11	2	6		2	1	77
350-399	1	2	3	3	1	2	3		3	1		3		3	1	2			1	29
400-449		1	1	6	4	1	4	2	2	1		1	3	2	1		1	2	1	33
450-499	1			3	1	1				1			1	1			2			11
500-549		1	3	6	4	5	4	1	4	8		7	3	2	2	2	1	2	1	56
550+	1								1	1		1								4
	65	48	30	116	57	57	74	25	44	26	2	25	52	112	53	75	73	62	53	1049

Table 69
Occupation in Nova Scotia and amount of land approved

	1-49	50-99	100-149	150-199	200-249	250-299	300-349	350-399	400-449	450-499	500+	
Merchant	1	2			5		3	1			11	23
Brewer											1	1
Shopkeeper						1					1	2
Minister					1				1		11	13
Physician						1			1		3	5
Civil Servant		2	1			2		1	1	1	2	10
Teacher					3	1	1				1	6
Surveyor		1										1
Emigration Agent					3						3	6
Clerk					1							1
Stone Mason	1		1	1	1					2		5
Quarryman					1							1
Miller										1		1
Millwright		1	1	1	1		1					4

Table 69 (continued)
Occupation in Nova Scotia and amount of land approved

	1-49	50-99	100-149	150-199	200-249	250-299	300-349	350-399	400-449	450-499	500+	
Cabinetmaker					1						1	2
Clockmaker							1					1
Blacksmith			1		2	1						4
Carpenter			1		8				2		1	12
Shoemaker					1		1	1				3
Tanner			1									1
Tailor				1			1					2
Weaver					1							1
Plasterer					1							1
Fisherman												1
Lumberman												1
Labourer	1				1	1						2
Farmer					1				1			2
	1	2	10	4	32	7	8	3	6	4	35	112

Table 70

Previous migration and location requested in Nova Scotia

	NCG	WPC	WPI	GP	EP	AWC	CA	EA	SMR	MR	DY	DS	WCBN	WCBC	WCBS	SCB	ECB	CGB	NCGB
West Indies									1										1
United States			1	2							1		1	1					6
Canadas										1									1
Newfoundland																			
New Brunswick																			
Prince Edward Island	1				2	2	1						5	7	3	6	10	18	4
	1		1	2	2	2	1		1	1	1		6	8	3	6	10	18	4
																			65

Table 71
Single males and date of petition

1800-04	2
1805-09	22
1810-14	39
1815-19	131
1820-24	179
1825-29	75
1830-34	7
1845-49	2

457

Appendix 5

Evidence from the first and second Statistical Accounts of Scottish parishes mentioned in the land records data base and other sources pertaining to Nova Scotia.

Twelve parishes in Annandale, Nithsdale and southeastern Galloway, which supplied emigrants to Maritime Canada in the 1770s and later, furnish a specific example of agricultural and industrial development and interrelationships in an area of the rural Lowlands, remote from the great centres of population but nevertheless influenced by them.

According to the first Statistical Account, the agricultural economy was deeply involved in a process of transformation, in general after 1750 and much more intensely after 1770.¹ Previously, as described for the parish of Troquire, the traditional organization of infield and outfield had prevailed, but in the third quarter of the century enclosure proceeded rapidly throughout the area, accompanied by improved crop rotation, fertilization, and the introduction of more efficient implements, most notably ploughs. Although most of these parishes had substantial areas of non-arable land, they were able to export oats, barley, and sometimes potatoes to England and the growing towns of the Clyde. The one exception was the parish of Sanquhar, where a predominantly highland topography meant that there was very little arable, and the parish had to import regularly. However, the physiography of Sanquhar did render it eminently suitable for stock-rearing, and it was estimated that, by the 1790s, 18,000 to 20,000 sheep were grazed on its hills. Throughout the remainder of the area, climate and topography also favoured stock-rearing, but in the other parishes black cattle were the staple, with sheep barely outnumbering them. These black

cattle also came to form the basis for a thriving export trade, particularly south to England. The raising of pigs for export also rose to prominence in this period.

The exploitation of an expanding market for agricultural produce was encouraged by rising prices for grain and cattle, and the impetus for change was provided primarily by landowners seizing the opportunity for economic advancement. They were responsible for the enclosures, and often improved agricultural practices by example and encouragement, although the fact that at least one parish experienced extensive changes of ownership suggests that success and prosperity were not universal among this group. The system of personal services was abolished, and, with increasing participation in a market economy, money rents became the norm. Moreover, an aspect of these rents which provoked frequent contemporary comment was the fact that they were increasing, often quite dramatically: it was claimed, for instance, that the rental of Troquire parish had risen by about 500% between the early 1750s and the early 1790s as a result of improved production coupled with rising prices.

There were also thriving domestic industries producing linen and woollen goods in this area, and the period was characterized by the increasing size and importance of villages as market centres. Sanquhar, in particular, developed as a base for industrial activity: lead and coal were mined, and woollen stockings were manufactured for export to the American colonies. The stocking industry was apparently ruined by the break with the American colonies, but the mining activities continued to flourish and a carpet manufacture began after the war. In addition, the establishment of a cotton manufacture in another of the parishes is yet another instance of a growing industrial sector. Favourable coastal locations in the area also fostered the development of seaport facilities, most

notably at Dumfries, where an involvement in the tobacco trade developed. Again, the American war dealt a severe blow, but the recession was only temporary since the area, although not in proximity to any large centres of population, was quite favourably situated to distribute its surplus exploitable resources in a number of directions.

However, these advances were not achieved without a fundamental social reorganization, and in some cases apparently considerable social dislocation. The general impression gained from the reports of the first Statistical Account is of a steadily increasing population, although in some parishes there are indications of temporary declines, and in one instance (Glencairn) the opinion is expressed that the long-term trend was probably a slightly declining population. These variations are probably to be accounted for by population redistribution within a general context of population growth. Widespread enclosure to promote more efficient arable farming necessarily involved the elimination of traditional communal practices and the creation of unified farms. Even after enclosure, farms seem to have remained fairly small, but were not sufficient to accommodate the levels of occupancy possible under the traditional system. Consequently, there are references to the prevalence of abandoned dwellings, particularly in the case of Glencairn where there was a conversion of formerly occupied lands to pasture for large cattle herds.

The disposition of displaced elements among the agricultural population could take various forms. Some would be able to remain within the agricultural economy by becoming servants to the holders of large enclosed farms but, since the majority of arable farms in this area seem not to have been very large, and since the farmers were said to employ the labour of their own families as much as possible, opportunities in this direction were probably quite

limited. Many, no doubt, contributed to the growth of villages, particularly those with good employment opportunities. For example, Sanquhar, despite its environmental limitations and the fact that its rural area was given over mainly to sheep-rearing, was estimated to have increased in population from 1,998 in 1755 to 2,600 in 1786. This increase was attributed principally to the success of the mining industry. Outlets further afield which were mentioned included seafaring, enlistment in the army, and agricultural work in England. The latter was said to have been formerly seasonal, but it is possible that it came to assume a more permanent form. There is little mention of overseas migration, although the few references do provide a valuable complement to other forms of evidence.

The impression of dislocation is reinforced by indications that the number of the "poor" was growing. The references are generally vague and in contrast to the general opinion that the quality of life was noticeably improving, as illustrated by improved housing, dress, general cleanliness and health. The discrepancy is probably to be explained by the fact that, while the lot of those who were able to benefit from the prevailing changes may have been improving, that of those who had to adjust to displacement may have been worsening. A telling point is the role which one of the agricultural innovations, the cultivation of the potato, had come to assume in the economy of the area. While some parishes were able to export potatoes, their principal contribution was to provide the basis of subsistence for labourers and the "poor". In this situation, too, the position of the rather better-off could be threatened if the increasing rents sought by the landowners attained levels which the tenants found difficult to support.

Circumstances by the time of the second Statistical Account are typified by the accounts for three of these parishes.² In two of

them the economy remained predominantly agricultural and the process of improvement had radically altered its structure. The number of farms had been greatly reduced, and the capital resources of the operators of the new larger units had fostered impressive production increases as new techniques and machinery came into fuller use. Many former dwellings had been demolished and existing structures were generally of a far superior quality than before, with a concomitantly higher degree of material comfort. These developments were reflected in the recorded demographic statistics which indicate relatively stable population levels, with an actual declining trend in one case.

The third parish had experienced similar advances in the agricultural economy. Widespread enclosure was accompanied by the extension of arable farming to the limits of cultivation, although pastoralism in the form of black cattle rearing remained the staple. However, the population of this parish increased steadily during the first three decades of the century. This was a consequence of the establishment of cotton manufacture in the town of Castle Douglas. There were also two villages in the parish, and by the fourth decade of the century the strictly rural population (which corresponded closely to the total numbers in each of the other two parishes) accounted for less than a quarter of the total. Thus, the population growth was firmly based on non-agricultural economic factors. However, the cotton enterprise failed in 1831 and the population declined slightly over the next decade.

For the Highlands, the evidence of parishes in four general areas which contributed to the emigration to Nova Scotia will be considered - the Outer Hebrides and the Small Isles, the northwest coast of the mainland, the Great Glen, and the Highland Line in Perthshire.

According to the first Statistical Account, agricultural

improvement in the Outer Hebrides,³ with the exception of potato cultivation, seems to have been limited to the efforts of some of the proprietors, the principal tenants (or "tacksmen") and the ministers, who introduced improved crops, stock and equipment. The effects of most of this activity did not extend beyond their individual operations: although there were instances of improved sheep breeds being introduced there are no references to the establishment of large commercial sheep farms. The potato was the one element that was universally adopted, and in the case of the lesser tenantry it was merely added to the traditional system of communal farming which continued in general use with an unmodified technology. Arable farming, indeed, was of minor importance in the local economy except for its provision of the potato as the important new subsistence staple. In the agricultural sector pastoralism, following the traditional pattern of transhumance, was the principal occupation, and the export of cattle remained an important contributor to rent payments.

Throughout the islands another almost universally exploited resource was fish. As well as providing a vital element in the local food supply, the fishery was of considerable commercial importance in the vicinity of Stornoway, while, at the other end of the island chain, the population of Barra conducted a direct trade with the Clyde despite the restrictions caused by the difficulty of obtaining salt.

However, it is significant that the one instance of non-participation in the fishery was said to be due to the extent of involvement in the kelp industry which had already developed. Indeed, it is obvious from the accounts that the latter was well on the way to becoming the mainstay of the local economy, and in some areas it was already the principal provider of rents. Moreover, it was this phenomenon which was responsible for the general resort

by landlords and tacksmen to subdivision rather than to enclosure, although the latter course was being advocated by improvement-minded ministers. In this context it is not surprising to learn that population levels were considered to be rising, and at a rapid rate in some areas. As kelp production increased it was convenient for proprietors to accommodate the growing population by a modification of existing forms of occupancy and husbandry, and at the same time receive increased rents. There was no strong incentive to alter the existing economy and society fundamentally, and on one estate it was said that a program of agricultural improvement came to nought because of the overwhelming attractions of kelp production.

This resistance to basic change was reflected in other areas of economy and society: the use of Gaelic prevailed together with a general inadequacy of educational facilities, and the improvement of internal communications was almost completely neglected. However, isolation was not complete, as shown by the trading links with the south and contact with the fishing fleets. There was also the call of the armed forces. There are references to extensive recruitment in the islands, and this, together with references to some substantial emigration, indicates that, however amenable local policy might be to an abundant population, growth was promoting dislocation.

In the Small Isles circumstances were rather different in that locally adverse conditions prevented the emergence of a kelp industry, while fishing, restricted by lack of equipment and capital resources, was largely pursued only on a subsistence basis.⁴ Otherwise, the economy was similar to that of the Outer Hebrides, with the arable sector generally unable to meet local needs. However, with the lack of opportunities in the fishing and kelp industries, there was greater pressure to reorganize the economy.

This, indeed, was what occurred on Eigg, where the number of tenancies was reduced to eight, the sequel being a substantial out-

migration of former small tenants. On the other hand, the proprietor of Rum was said to maintain such an attachment to his people that he resisted the large-scale introduction of sheep. One consequence of this was that, while having more direct tenants than the other islands combined, Rum had the smallest rental. Under these circumstances, and with a greatly increasing population, the kind of dire poverty observed there at the beginning of the period was not likely to be alleviated, and, even where there was no element of compulsion, dislocation became more likely.

In the second area, represented by six parishes from Craginish to Assynt, the first Statistical Account reveals some marked differences in conjunction with certain common underlying factors.⁵ Craginish, geographically close to the central Lowlands, was yet effectively isolated by the Mull of Kintyre, and the picture presented is of a society which had experienced almost no change at all. Apart from a single improved farm, the traditional system of agriculture prevailed, although some improved implements were evident, and the potato had gained such an ascendancy that it was the sole subsistence of many of the poor. Oat production had also improved, but annual meal imports continued, and, despite a maritime location, little benefit was derived from fishing because of an inability to cope with strong tides and currents.

The next two parishes, Ardnamurchan and Glenelg, were similar in the respect that each had a relatively mountainous and a relatively low-lying area, and in each case the population of the former was predominantly Roman Catholic while the population of the latter was predominantly Presbyterian. Similarly, instances of arable improvement were generally restricted to the lower, more suitable areas, and were conducted by the principal tenants, who were described as "comfortable". However, arable farming was again of minor importance, conducted only "through necessity" and regularly

requiring external supplements. The main preoccupation was the raising of black cattle for export. In Glenelg, sheep had been substituted to a certain extent, but cattle retained their primary role in the Ardnamurchan pastures. The fish resources along the coast were apparently exploited only for subsistence purposes, and the area remained mainly dependent on aspects of the traditional agricultural economy. There was the development of lead mining at Strontian in Ardnamurchan by the York Buildings Company, but this employed mainly imported labour.

In both parishes population was said to have greatly increased, and apparently it was adapting partially by extending settlement and cultivation to higher ground. This process was aided by the use of the potato, which, along with fish, was becoming the staple. However, the position of the smaller tenants was becoming increasingly difficult: although meal prices had not risen as much as cattle prices, the former were considered too dear. Moreover, even if affordable, the importation of meal presented many difficulties - overland supply was impossible and the sea route was very long. The hardship caused by rising meal prices was probably related to the apparent tendency of rents to rise while leases remained short, and there seems to have been a fair amount of discontent. There is only limited evidence of the actual expulsion of tenantry, but both accounts give fairly detailed statistics of emigration. This seems to have drawn considerable numbers from both parishes by the early 1790s, and in both cases the drain was said to have been principally from the more mountainous (and Roman Catholic) sections.

In the last three parishes - Gairloch, Loch Broom and Assynt - there were only scattered areas of good, low-lying arable within a general context of high terrain most suitable for pasture. The fishery, both in its commercial and subsistence aspects, was of considerable importance in all three, with the new centre at Ullapool

located in Loch Broom. Otherwise, cattle rearing remained a principal mainstay of the local economy. Sheep farming had been recently introduced in parts of Loch Broom, involving some social dislocation, but its influence was not yet extensive. Nevertheless, social distress was mounting in each parish as remarkable population increases were noted.

Again, the traditional agricultural economy was little altered except for the universal adoption of potato cultivation. Indeed, potatoes and fish had become the staple diet, since domestic grain crops continued to be completely inadequate and regular meal imports were required, although rising prices made this necessity a great hardship. Higher rent levels were also considered a great hardship by a population of impoverished small tenantry who received very little encouragement to improve their lot. Kinship support and the extension of potato cultivation evidently cushioned some of the worst effects of demographic and economic pressure, but provided no permanent solution. As in other west coast districts, extreme isolation was accompanied by poor educational facilities, widespread illiteracy, and the almost exclusive use of Gaelic (among a population which was almost exclusively Presbyterian). Finally, it may be noted that there is little mention of kelp in these mainland coastal parishes. This may be the result of a tendency to employ labour from the islands.

The Great Glen is also represented by six parishes.⁶ At the southwest end the two parishes of Kilmalie and Kilmanivaig bore many similarities to the west coast parishes just described. Indeed, Kilmalie had a sea coast and fishing was of importance. Otherwise, climate and terrain did not favour arable farming, and food supplies were therefore precarious despite the contribution of the potato. However, sheep farming had been extensively introduced, associated with an extensive disruption of the traditional economy and a

dramatic rise in land values. On the other hand, certainly in Kilmalie, population continued to increase. Traditional cattle farming was still pursued in a quarter of the parish, and the growing village of Maryburgh, close to Fort William, was apparently absorbing many of those displaced by sheep operations. Educational facilities seem to have been rather better than along the coast, and, while Gaelic prevailed, most could speak and write English among a population which contained both Roman Catholic and Presbyterian elements.

The account of the next parish, Urquhart, presents a picture in marked contrast to those already described. Although population and rentals were increasing it was claimed that the lot of the people as a whole had improved, due mainly to a broadly-based agricultural improvement emanating from the active example and encouragement of the proprietors. The more substantial tenants were further encouraged by longer leases, and their agricultural innovations were being adopted among the smaller tenants. Consequently, there was an export trade in both arable and pastoral products.

However, the benefits were not evenly distributed. The parish consisted of Glen Urquhart and Glen Moriston, and arable opportunities were almost exclusively confined to the former. The result was that arable exports came only from Glen Urquhart, while Glen Moriston was able only to become self-sufficient, largely on the basis of the introduction of the potato. It was also in Glen Moriston that the two recorded instances of commercial sheep farming had been set up. So, it is interesting to note that, while the circumstances of the largely Presbyterian population were thought to have been ameliorated, the much greater incidence of "travelling poor" in Glen Moriston was noted. However, the impression of a relatively buoyant economy is heightened by references to the

establishment of a linen manufacture and the commercial exploitation of forest resources (the latter in contrast to the example of the two previous parishes, where accessible wood had already been exhausted).

The last three parishes - Kilmorack, Kiltarlity and Kirkhill at the northeast end of the Glen - were the scene of an extensive and thriving lumbering industry along the rivers Glass and Beaully. This involved not only extraction but also processing in sawmills and the emergence of shipbuilding at Beaully. Otherwise, traditional aspects of the Highland economy, modified by some improvement, were pursued. There were distinctive highland and lowland areas. The highland areas were exclusively pastoral, and harboured predominantly Gaelic-speaking Roman Catholic concentrations. There had been no development of sheep farming and cattle remained the staple of the pastoral economy. Indeed, in some localities it was claimed that sheep stocks had actually declined as a result of enclosure for improved arable farming by substantial tenants. This enclosure movement resulted in the displacement of smaller tenants, but these were accommodated by moor colonization and by wage labour on the new large farms, and the latter also attracted immigrants from neighbouring parishes. This extension of cultivation into marginal land was, as usual, made possible by potato cultivation, which was again the one notable arable change in the higher, pastoral districts, where dependence on imported meal had been greatly reduced.

Nevertheless, the population was growing at a considerable rate, and there were still periodic scarcities despite the fact that the improved arable farms could now produce grain surpluses. Rising rents and prices were prominent in this atmosphere of economic stimulation, which was also manifested in the operation of several distilleries and textile processing concerns. In this context, then, it was possible to state that the people of the area had made

"great advances in civilization", signified by the beneficial influence of the SPCK, increasing literacy, and the more prevalent use of English. However, the social tensions promoted by increasing pressure on local subsistence resources (marked by the moor colonization movement) was further indicated by a growing scarcity of peat for fuel. In addition, the noticeable outmigration of males to seek employment opportunities in the south and in the armed forces suggested a potential for serious social dislocation.

The last area is represented by the four parishes of Aberfoyle, Blackford, Comrie and Rattray, and presents several distinctive social and economic tendencies compared to the other areas discussed. There are no references in the first Statistical Account to a growing population; instead, possible declines are mentioned.⁷ It was in this area that commercial sheep farming had been first introduced into the Highlands, and it already occupied much of the upland pastures. The general enclosure movement had also been in operation, promoted in some instances by the Forfeited Estates Commissioners. However, relative accessibility to the Lowlands helped to foster the development of textile manufacture, particularly of linen, and this was accompanied by a growth of village centres. Proximity to the Lowlands also encouraged movement to external employment opportunities, both permanent and seasonal, so that there were various convenient outlets for displaced elements of the population (including the attraction of the Blair Drummond experiment). This growing contact with the Lowlands is further evident in the decline of Gaelic, which still flourished only in the most isolated localities.

By the time of the second Statistical Account the Outer Hebrides yield fairly consistent evidence of a society and economy beginning to adjust to the consequences of the collapse of the kelp, fishing and cattle industries.⁸ Commercial sheep farming was already noteworthy in some instances, but, for the most part,

vestiges of the old socio-economic order were prevalent. The crofting system was certainly gaining ground rapidly, but communal farms were still to be found. The general opinion was that the bulk of the populace had as yet been little influenced by forces of change except for spatial reorganization brought about by subdivision and the introduction of crofts.

In this context there are references to the maintenance of population pressure on resources accompanied by early marriage and the subdivision of holdings into ever more minute portions. Consequently, subsistence crises constantly threatened many areas as communities stretched their resources to accommodate as many as possible.

In some islands, however, outmigration was noted as having already made a significant contribution to the easing of population pressure, and it is interesting that these references are consistently to overseas migration. This was particularly true of the adjacent Small Isles parish which had experienced a dramatic population decline between 1820 and the mid-1830s.⁹ On the other hand, it was claimed that outmigration had not occurred in some parishes due to an inherent aversion, and even where it was a factor degrees of reluctance were observed.

Along the northwest coast of the mainland there were pockets where the traditional order survived to some extent. However, the process of radical social and economic reorganization had made much greater advances than in the Outer Hebrides: smallholders were crowded into crofting communities along the coast, and the major portion of the land was given over to commercial sheep farming.¹⁰ Otherwise, as in the islands, the material culture of the majority of the population had changed very little and population pressures were continuing to promote subdivision. Again, as in the islands, the exclusive use of Gaelic remained widespread, particularly in the

north. However, the development of steam navigation had already greatly improved coastal communication and there was increasing exposure to contact with the industrial south. In this context it is noteworthy that the outmigration observed in the case of Ardnamurchan, one of the more southerly parishes, was directed towards the lower Clyde as well as overseas.

Along the Great Glen there were again varying local circumstances representing differing stages of social and economic transition. Nevertheless, the new economic order was firmly established, most ostensibly in the form of sheep farms.¹¹ Despite the decreasing availability of land, population was generally considered to be on the increase, following a decline in some instances during the first decade of the century. There are also references to distress and dislocation among smallholders which involved overseas migration as well as short-range movement. External influences were also at work and there are comments upon the decline of Gaelic, improved educational standards, and a growing dependence on imported manufactured goods.

Finally, the parishes lying along the Highland Line in Perthshire provide a striking contrast to the circumstances of the other areas.¹² Here, on the very border of the Highland region, the social and economic scene was more akin to that of a Lowland area. There was obviously a more balanced population since agricultural improvement had not been accompanied by the creation of large bodies of subsistence farmers on very small holdings. The industrial centres of the Lowlands were much more readily accessible from this area, and consequently exercised a strong attraction. In addition, these parishes had themselves experienced a growth of villages in association with the manufacture of textiles, and these small centres attracted migrants from surrounding rural areas.

Closely associated with these developments was a rapid

assimilation to Lowland cultural norms as illiteracy, the use of Gaelic, and the prevalence of Highland dress and manners were seen to be fast disappearing. Such changes evidently extended even to the fundamental social bonds which still flourished in remoter areas; it was noted that the populace was not now so ready to indulge in mutual assistance, and that public relief, formerly shunned, was now widely sought.

Despite this degree of integration into the national economy, however, a long-term process of overseas migration was also observed in this area. Amidst the diversity of Highland experiences in this post-war period the theme of migratory movement, and in particular overseas migration was a common one.

Notes

1. The parishes are Carlaverock, Colvend and Southwick, Drysdale, Glencairn, Hoddam, Kelton, Kirkbean, Kirkgungeon, Lochmaben, New Abbey, St. Mungo, Sanquhar. Statistical Account: II, 125 ff., 339 ff.; III, 347 ff.; VI, 21 ff., 443 ff.; VII, 187 ff., 234 ff.; VIII, 297 ff.; IX, 418 ff.; XI, 383 ff.; XV, 119 ff.; XVII, 98 ff.
2. Kelton, Kirkgungeon, St. Mungo: New Statistical Account, IV, 144 ff., 211 ff., 218 ff.
3. The parishes are Stornoway, Barvas, Uig, Lochs, Harris, North Uist, South Uist, Barra. Statistical Account: X, 342 ff.; XIII, 292 ff., 300 ff., 326 ff.; XIX, 241 ff., 263 ff., 274 ff., 280 ff.
4. Statistical Account, XVII, 272 ff.
5. The parishes are Craignish, Ardnamurchan, Glenelg, Gairloch, Loch Broom, Assynt. Statistical Account: III, 89 ff.; VII, 436 ff.; X, 461 ff.; XVI, 163 ff., 265 ff.; XX, 286 ff.
6. The parishes are Kilmalie, Kilmanivaig, Urquhart, Kilmorack, Kiltarlity, Kirkhill. Statistical Account: IV, 111 ff.; VIII,

407 ff.; XIII, 507 ff.; XVII, 541 ff.; XX, 297 ff., 401 ff.

7. Statistical Account: III, 203 ff.; IV, 148 ff.; X, 113 ff.;
XI, 178 ff.

8. New Statistical Account, XIV, 115 ff., 141 ff., 151 ff., 155 ff.,
157 ff., 159 ff., 182 ff., 198 ff.

9. Ibid., XIV, 145 ff.

10. Ibid.: VII, 45 ff., 117 ff.; XIV, 72 ff., 90 ff., 128 ff.;
XV, 105 ff.

11. Ibid., XIV, 36 ff., 117 ff., 361 ff., 459 ff., 483 ff., 503 ff.

12. Ibid., X, 239 ff., 297 ff., 578 ff., 1150 ff.

Appendix 6

Early Non-Scottish settlement in a Scottish
settlement area of Nova Scotia

In addition to the Scottish material, a selected group of non-Scottish immigrants identified in the Nova Scotia land records was recorded for comparative purposes. This selection consisted of 362 immigrant petitioners of other, non-North American national origins who were resident in, or requested land in, the area of the North Shore of mainland Nova Scotia from eastern Cumberland County to the Strait of Canso. Although this information was not coded, procedures used with the coded data were followed, including the criterion that the petitioner had to state his specific origin. However, it should be remembered that the general comments on representativeness already made in connection with the Scottish data also apply to this material.

As regards countries of origin, 343 were from the British Isles, 18 were from continental Europe, and 1 was from the West Indies. Of those from continental Europe, 12 were from France, 2 from Germany, and 1 each from Norway, Holland, Switzerland and Italy. With the exception of a single case from Wales (a sailor from Pembroke who had been shipwrecked on Prince Edward Island in 1809)¹ those from the British Isles comprised 291 Irish and 51 English. As the latter are the only two relatively high counts, they will be most appropriate for consideration in aggregate, and, since references were mainly to Pictou and Antigonish locations, the figures for those two counties have been isolated for comparison with each other and with the corresponding Scottish figures in terms of location at the time of petitioning and location requested (Table 72).

Table 72
Locations of Scottish, Irish and English petitioners in Pictou County

	Scottish			Irish			English		
	when petitioning	requested	when petitioning	when petitioning	requested	when petitioning	when petitioning	requested	
Pictou County	25	25							
Pictou District	96	203	1	14				5	
River John	18	39	3	5		3		3	
Caribou	56	74	1	1					
Scotsburn	67	69	1	1					
Mount Thom	23	47		3					
Pictou Harbour	165	19	42			10		4	
West River	64	69	1	1					
Middle River	105	110							
East River	78	88	2	3		1			
McLellan's Mountain	75	67							
Merigomish	31	44	2	2					
Sutherland River	19	25							
Barney's River	9	24							
	831	903	53	30		14		12	

Table 72 (continued)
Locations of Scottish, Irish and English petitioners in Antigonish County

	Scottish		Irish		English	
	when petitioning	requested	when petitioning	requested	when petitioning	requested
Sydney County	34	52	12	64	1	5
Gulf Shore	114	123	3	13		
North Grant	2	11		3		
Antigonish Harbour	95	87	59	18	2	2
Ohio River	8	16	3	14		
Lochaber Lakes	6	10				
South River	17	62	2	13		1
Pomquet River	2	15	1			
North Shore	6	36	12	55	1	3
	284	412	92	180	4	11
Total (Pictou and Antigonish)	1115	1315	145	210	18	23

Among the Scottish cases giving a location at the time of petitioning, nearly three times as many were located in Pictou County as were located in Antigonish County. Moreover, the vicinities of the towns of Pictou and Antigonish were prominent, the former having the highest count for Pictou County, and the latter the second highest for Antigonish County. In terms of location requested, the Pictou County figure is rather more than twice that of the Antigonish County figure, which may be largely a reflection of the fact that Pictou County is twice the size of Antigonish County. In both areas the distribution of requests is much more even, with diminished emphasis on the two towns, particularly in the case of Pictou County.

The suggested concentration in and near the towns when petitioning may be explained by a tendency among recently arrived immigrants to congregate there, and the notable concentration in the Pictou Harbour area was probably a result of the fact that Pictou was the principal port of entry. Conversely, the more even distribution of requests may be seen as a result of the dispersal of immigrants among established and developing rural settlements.

Apart from the fact that their numbers are so considerably less than those of the Scots, the Irish exhibit some striking deviations from the general pattern outlined above. Of the 145 for whom a location at the time of petitioning is known, 53 were in Pictou County and 92 were in Antigonish County. In both areas the concentration in the two towns was particularly heavy. The corresponding figures for location requested reveal an overwhelming preference for Antigonish County (180 requests, in contrast to only 30 for Pictou County). Within Pictou County there is no marked clustering, but within Antigonish County the requests cluster along the shore of George Bay between Pomquet and the Strait of Canso. Again, as in the case of the Scots, the requests do not reflect a concentration in the towns.

Table 73

Geographical origins of Irish and English immigrants
by county or area

Irish		English	
North of Ireland	9	North of England	1
Londonderry	2	Cumberland	2
Tyrone	1	Northumberland	5
Donegal	1	Lancashire	1
Waterford	4	York	1
Kilkenny	2	Worcester	1
Wexford	1	Bedford	2
Tipperary	1	Huntingdon	1
Kerry	1	London	1
	22	Surrey	1
		Kent	4
		Hampshire	1
		Devon	1
			22

Table 74

Dates of emigration

	Scottish	Irish	English
1765-69	1	1	
1770-74	7		
1775-79	22		
1780-84	26		1
1785-89	17	2	1
1790-94	61		1
1795-99	6		1
1800-04	391	6	1
1805-09	132	5	1
1810-14	32	7	8
1815-19	224	107	12
1820-24	123	61	7
1825-29	12	13	
	1054	202	33

The English immigrants recorded are so few that a detailed analysis is probably of little value. However, it may be noted that 12 of the 18 whose location at the time of petitioning is known were located in the vicinity of the two towns, while only 6 of the 23 requests referred to the towns.

The available information on the local origins of Irish and English immigrants is recorded by county or area in Table 73. The 22 Irish cases represent a very small proportion of the total sample, but they suggest a relatively restricted distribution within Ireland since they are confined to the north and to the extreme south. The equal number of English cases represents a much larger proportion of the total and, in contrast to the Irish examples, suggests a very widespread distribution. A further point of interest in connection with geographic origins is that five of the Irish cases and an English case stated that they had emigrated initially to Newfoundland.

The recorded dates of emigration relating to the Irish and English cases are compared with the dates of emigration of immigrant Scots requesting land in Pictou and Antigonish counties in Table 74.² The Scottish distribution is in contrast to those of the Irish and English: while the post-war period of 1815-19 was prominent, 65.9% of these Scots had emigrated before 1815, with the highest single count (391, or 37.1%) occurring in the 1800-04 period.

In contrast, the dates for the Irish, although extending from the late 1760s to the late 1820s, produce a pronounced clustering in the post-war years after 1815: 89.6% of the 202 cases emigrated after 1814, and the 1815-19 period alone, with 107 cases, accounted for more than half of the total. The number of dates available for the English is very much smaller, but the distribution is quite similar. While the recorded dates ranged from the early 1780s to the early 1820s, the majority fell within the latter part of the period, with 27 (or 81.8%) having emigrated after 1809. The 1815-19 period

Table 75

Occupations declared by Irish and English immigrants

	Irish	English
Professional	7	
Mercantile	3	2
Managerial (industrial)		1
Agricultural (professed farmer)		4
Skilled trades	12	7
Unskilled labour	2	1
Maritime	3	
	27	15

again yielded the highest count. Furthermore, within these general clusterings certain individual year counts produced notable peaks: among the Irish the years 1817 and 1818, with 30 cases each, accounted for 29.7% of the total; while, among the English, the years 1815 and 1820, with 7 and 6 cases respectively, accounted for 39.4%.

The ages (at the time of petitioning) recorded for 159 of the Irish cases strongly suggest a relatively youthful composition since 78.6% were under 35, 58.6% were under 30, and 29.6% were under 25. The corresponding proportions for the entire Scottish data were 59.4%, 44.0% and 24.0%. The relative numbers involved are quite disparate, but the data pertaining to the family status of Irish immigrants possibly lends some support to this suggestion: of 138 who gave an indication of family status, 48 (or 34.8%) were single. In contrast, the declared single persons among the entire body of Scottish petitioners constituted only 19.8% of those who gave an indication of family status, while in the more restricted area of Pictou and Antigonish counties the proportion was lower still (13.8%).

The corresponding data pertaining to English immigrants are extremely meagre. However, 8 of the 13 ages recorded cluster between 30 and 44, while only 5 of the 23 who gave a family status were single.

Occupations recorded for the Irish and English immigrants are summarized in Table 75. The Irish categories are more numerous and diverse than the English, and provide a range which is rather similar to that produced by Scottish petitioners. The more restricted distribution produced by the English cases notably lacks professional representatives, and 9 of the 15 cases listed are accounted for by 4 farmers and 5 masons.

According to the set of documents consulted, 176 (60.5%) of the Irish and 30 (58.8%) of the English received either approval or

an actual grant as a result of their petitioning. However, it should be noted that the apparently unsuccessful might well have been ultimately successful by means not discernible in this data base, while the apparently successful need not necessarily have taken advantage of a grant or approval.

Among the other nationalities represented, the 12 French petitioners were all located in the North Shore area of Antigonish County between Pomquet and the Strait of Canso. No specific dates of emigration or immigration were recorded, but 4 stated that they had resided in the area since the 1770s and 1780s, while another 4 claimed to have emigrated in the mid-1790s. All 12 received approval or grants.³

The remaining eight cases of other national origins all received approval or grants for land at locations throughout the area,⁴ and the five recorded dates of emigration for this group range from 1800 to 1814. One of the Germans had served in the Royal Navy, while the Norwegian had worked as a stevedore at Pictou. The immigrant from Holland had purchased land in the Philadelphia Grant, but his name (Andrew McCara) suggests that he was not of original Dutch stock.

The presence of these non-Scottish elements may be explained by a number of factors. In the case of the Irish and English the evidence under consideration here suggests a relatively late (post-1814) influx into one of the principal areas of pioneer settlement in the province, and an area which had already been opened up by earlier Scottish immigration.⁵ However, both nationalities had been represented in the area during the earlier phase of settlement, and the factor of military service undoubtedly contributed to this: 11 of the Irish and 8 of the English cited service in the army or navy. Indeed, 3 Irish petitioners had served in the 82nd or the 84th Regiments.⁶ Nevertheless, the majority of recorded dates of

emigration occur between 1815 and 1820, a period for which Martell's data also show significant peaks in Irish and English immigration to Nova Scotia.⁷

The post-war period was one of economic difficulty in the home countries, a factor which exacerbated existing strains caused by the pressures of an increasing population in a general social context of growing industrialization and agricultural reorganization. Such considerations form the basis for Mannion's summary of the background to Irish and English emigration to Newfoundland at the same time,⁸ and these factors were no doubt also of importance in the movement to Nova Scotia.

Indeed, initial migration to Newfoundland produced secondary movement to Nova Scotia, as is shown by some of the present data and by other contemporary sources.⁹ In this context it is noteworthy that one of the two Irish source areas identified in the scanty references to specific origins (the southern) was that which yielded the bulk of the Irish emigrants to Newfoundland.¹⁰ Moreover, while the evidence concerning local English origins does not indicate any particular focus, the individual known to have come via Newfoundland was originally from Devonshire, part of the source area for the bulk of the English emigrants to Newfoundland.¹¹

Consequently, while the present evidence seems to suggest rather more widespread origins than in the case of Newfoundland, there certainly seem to have been common aspects.¹²

The present evidence also lends support to Mannion's contention that Irish and English emigrants of the post-1815 period were not all indigent, but rather comprised a wide range of social and economic backgrounds.¹³ The evidence of the Nova Scotia land records obviously relates to those who were seeking land, usually for settlement, and no doubt many of the Irish were representatives of a displaced rural peasantry seeking a foothold on the land

wherever they could find it, as were so many of the Scottish immigrants to the same area. However, the listing of occupations and other supporting data reveals a range of others with varying means.

There is the professional and mercantile group, based mainly in Halifax, Pictou and Antigonish. Some of these may have been seeking land for personal settlement, but in many cases land was probably being sought as an additional resource, as is hinted by the English immigrant who stated that he would cultivate the land by himself or through servants and associates.¹⁴ Again, some of the diverse trades encountered were ones which it was normal to find linked with agriculture, but others imply a very definite change of occupation in turning to the land. For example, a group of five masons from North Shields probably represent the plight of non-agricultural workers in the post-1815 economic slump.¹⁵ More direct evidence along these lines is provided by 10 tradesmen from Ireland and Scotland who emigrated to Nova Scotia in 1817 in the hope of finding employment. They found, however, that conditions in their trades were worse than those they had left, and petitioned for land on which to settle.¹⁶

Among those with an agricultural background there was also a wide range of circumstances. Representing the more substantial were four immigrants from Kent who described themselves as "practical farmers" provided with the means to carry on agricultural pursuits by approved methods, and who wanted a 2,000 acre block of land "to form a society similar to that in the old country".¹⁷ In contrast to these are four cases (three Irish and one English) who only applied for land after several years of paid labour in Nova Scotia - three as farm servants and one as a gardener.¹⁸ These latter instances suggest a group striving to attain the means to settle independently. This is reinforced by the fact that the gardener

was being joined by his wife and family a full three years after his own emigration. Another two Irish petitioners who were renting land were probably in similar circumstances.¹⁹

Consequently, one of the last areas to be permanently settled, and one which was still in a stage of vigorous development as Scottish settlement expanded, attracted a variety of Irish and English emigrants in the years after 1815, when both Ireland and England were experiencing higher levels of emigration. While the Irish and English requests were quite widely distributed geographically, they do not exhibit preferences in close accord with the Scottish petitioners. This is particularly true of the Irish, who seem to have favoured the eastern portion of Antigonish County, the area in which all the French petitioners were located, and one which does not seem to have been particularly favoured by the predominant Scots.

These indications of a non-Scottish enclave in eastern Antigonish County are amply supported by other evidence. Acadian exiles returned to Nova Scotia from France and St. Pierre et Miquelon from the 1760s on, and Isle Madame, on the south coast of Cape Breton, became one of the principal centres of reception, at the same time developing a strong commercial fishery. From there groups apparently soon moved to the North Shore of the mainland between Pomquet and the Strait of Canso, so that a nucleus of French settlement was established in this area just as Scottish settlement was beginning to expand eastwards from the Pictou area.²⁰

The choice of this particular location was probably largely governed by the strong orientation of the economy of these French settlers towards the commercial fishery, a fact which was particularly emphasized by early nineteenth century observers of the North Shore settlements east of Antigonish Harbour.²¹ The eastern end of mainland Nova Scotia bordering the Strait of Canso presented

relatively few opportunities for the French since much of the area, and most notably the fishing centre of Canso itself, had been pre-empted by settlement of predominantly English origin.²² Consequently, the unsettled eastern coastal strip of Antigonish County, with its sheltered harbours and reasonable proximity to the main centres of the commercial fishery, would be a desirable location for such a group.

The French population of Nova Scotia was further reinforced in 1794: following the capture of St. Pierre et Miquelon many of the inhabitants, including exiled Acadians, were resettled in Nova Scotia.²³ It is very likely that this influx contributed to the eastern Antigonish County settlements. Two years later, a ship bound for New York carrying French royalists and Irish emigrants was diverted to Halifax, where encouragement was offered to settle in Nova Scotia. According to local tradition, this group also settled in the Pomquet to Strait of Canso area.²⁴

The relatively early dates associated with the French petitions identified here are in accord with the other evidence, and, indeed, help to document the poorly recorded immigration of French settlers. Moreover, a possible early Irish component in the population of this area perhaps helps to explain the popularity of the area among the Irish petitioners.²⁵

In more general terms, the pattern of Irish distribution is probably related to the apparently strong element of re-emigration from Newfoundland. Since the Irish in Newfoundland were mainly Roman Catholic,²⁶ in Nova Scotia they might be expected to favour settlement in Antigonish County, which was developing as a Scottish Roman Catholic stronghold in contrast to the overwhelmingly Scottish Presbyterian area to the west. In addition, the importance of the fishery in the area of French settlement in Antigonish County might have attracted such Irish migrants from Newfoundland on the

assumption that their initial migration to Newfoundland had been associated with participation in the fishery there, the pursuit of generations of seasonal and permanent migrants to Newfoundland from southeastern Ireland.²⁷

While this may have been true for a proportion of the Irish immigrants, there were others attempting traditional pioneer settlement at a variety of locations, and independence from established Scottish communities may well have been largely a function of land availability in the vicinity of those communities, considering the generally later arrival of the Irish. Such certainly seems to have been the case of one Irish settlement on the upper Ohio River which is said to have developed in an agriculturally poorer upland area because the more desirable alluvial lands along the valley floor had already been occupied by Highland Scots.²⁸ These circumstances would also, of course, apply in the case of English immigrants, and indeed were of importance in the development of Scottish settlement as successive waves of newcomers found the task of locating vacant land increasingly difficult.

Of the eight remaining cases of other origins, the Swiss representative, a resident of Tatamagouche, was probably a surviving original member of the Montbeliard group which moved from Lunenburg to Tatamagouche in 1771 to settle on the DesBarres estate, particularly since the petitioner's name (Malard) is one of the six Montbeliard family names among the permanent settlers of Tatamagouche.²⁹ The occurrence of the others may be accounted for partly by military service in the British forces (as it seems to have been in the case of one of the German immigrants), or partly by chance circumstances, as in the case of the shipwrecked Welsh sailor noted above.

The latter certainly seems to have been true of the lone Italian, perhaps the most surprising of the occurrences. The land records give no clue other than his name (Antonio Di Biassio), his

Table 76

Population distribution by national origin in 1871 ³⁴

	Nova Scotia	Pictou Co.	Antigonish Co.
Scottish	130,741 (33.7%)	27,165 (84.6%)	11,277 (68.3%)
English	113,520 (29.3%)	1,719 (5.4%)	528 (3.2%)
Irish	62,851 (16.2%)	1,974 (6.1%)	1,692 (10.2%)
French	32,833 (8.5%)	206 (0.6%)	2,729 (16.5%)
German	31,942 (8.2%)	37 (0.1%)	67 (0.4%)
Total population	387,800	32,114	16,512

	Pictou Co.	Pictou Harbour
Scottish	27,165	6,038 (22.2%)
English	1,719	827 (48.1%)
Irish	1,974	871 (44.1%)

	Antigonish Co.	Antigonish Town	North Shore ³⁵
Scottish	11,277	2,604 (23.1%)	821 (7.3%)
English	528	126 (23.9%)	325 (61.5%)
Irish	1,692	534 (31.6%)	415 (24.5%)
French	2,729	7 (0.3%)	2,722 (99.7%)

nationality, and the date of his grant (1827). It is likely, though, that he was the "Antonio" encountered by Lord Dalhousie near Antigonish in 1817.³⁰ This Italian, a veteran of the Napoleonic army, had been engaged as a servant in Rome in 1814 by a Halifax Roman Catholic cleric, and brought back to Nova Scotia. There he was employed in improving the cleric's land, the situation in which Dalhousie found him. Yet again, the exotic origin may be deceptive as in the case of the Dutch immigrant whose name is suspiciously Celtic, or, as in the case of the West Indian, it may merely indicate the relocation of a member of an overseas British mercantile family.

The statistics displayed in Table 76 illustrate various aspects of population distribution by national origin as recorded by the 1871 census, and they lend support to the conclusions drawn from the data cited above. The predominance of Pictou and Antigonish as two of the principal centres of Scottish settlement is obvious, while there are substantial minorities of Irish, English and French origin. The English are much more numerous in Pictou County. On the other hand, the Irish are fairly evenly divided between the two counties, but form a rather higher proportion of the population in Antigonish County. The French are confined almost exclusively to Antigonish County, and the fact that the proportion of the population which they represent is almost twice that for the province as a whole indicates that this county harboured one of the concentrations of French settlement.

The geographical distribution of the various national groups within the two counties also indicates a distinction between the Scots and the others. In the case of Pictou County, relatively high proportions of Irish and English occurred in the developing industrial centres based on Pictou Harbour (Pictou, New Glasgow and Albion Mines), in contrast to the Scots who were much more rural.

In the case of Antigonish County, the town of Antigonish was not an industrial centre and the proportions residing there are much more similar, although the Irish were proportionately rather stronger than the English and the Scots, while the French were barely represented at all. However, the figures for the Pomquet to Strait of Canso area provide the most striking contrasts: this area contained all but a very few of the French, more than half of the English, about a quarter of the Irish, but only just over 7% of the Scots.

Thus, while there were significant intrusions by other national groups in this general area of concentrated Scottish settlement, these others were not distributed evenly throughout the developing network of Scottish rural settlements. The French, indeed, were even more exclusively rural than the Scots, but, having been established at the eastern extremity of the area before significant numbers of Scots had moved east from Pictou, they came to exploit this area relatively independently of the Scots.

The apparently greater tendency of the Irish and English to congregate in the industrial centres is,³¹ of course, scarcely reflected in the earlier data since those centres were just beginning to develop, and pioneer agricultural settlement was the foremost objective of early land acquisition by individuals.³² On the other hand, the earlier indications that they did not conform closely to the Scottish pattern in terms of rural settlement is also supported by the 1871 evidence.³³

In conclusion, while the North Shore of mainland Nova Scotia did develop as one of the distinctively Scottish areas in the Province, a number of factors led to the introduction of a number of other ethnic elements. This in turn fostered the emergence of a distinctive area of predominantly non-Scottish settlement in Antigonish County, so that by 1871 over 30% of the population in

that county was of non-Scottish origin.

Notes

1. PANS, RG20, Ser. A2, John, Benjamin, 1819.
2. In some cases a date of immigration rather than emigration is recorded. However, since the two are closely complementary only the latter category has been used.
3. PANS, RG20, Ser. A2: Rosia, Francis and Others, 1819; Phillipard, Dominique and Others, 1808; Papin, Felix and Others, 1821; Pettipas, John and Others, 1820.
4. Ibid.: Malard, John, 1808; McDonald, Joseph and Others, 1816; McCarthy, Jeremiah and Others, 1828; Tulifson, John, 1825; Trotter, Rev. Thomas and Others, 1827; McCara, Andrew, 1818; Peter, John, 1818.
5. Rev. G. Patterson, Pictou, pp. 46-243; Rankin, Antigonish, pp. 3-46.
6. PANS, RG20, Ser. A2: McGonagle, James, 1809; McKowen, Owen, 1810; Brownfield, John, 1810.
7. Immigration and Emigration, p. 91.
8. "Introduction", in Mannion, ed., Peopling of Newfoundland, p. 5.
For an estimate of the volume of Irish emigration to North America, 1815-20, see W.F. Adams, Irish Emigration, pp. 70-72.
9. Martell's study accounted for immigrants from Newfoundland, and he assumed that these were Irish, citing, for example, Dalhousie to Bathurst, January 2, 1817 (CO 217/98), which referred to 500 destitute young men, mainly Irish, who had arrived at Halifax from Newfoundland (Immigration and Emigration, p. 35). See also Dalhousie to Assembly, February 10, 1818 (PANS, RG1, vol. 305, doc. 122) which concerned relief for distressed emigrants from Newfoundland.
10. Mannion, "Introduction", p. 5.

11. Ibid.
12. Martell concluded that most of the Irish coming to Nova Scotia were from southern Ireland, and that most of the English were probably from southern England (Immigration and Emigration, pp. 8-9). The rather more widespread origins exhibited by the present very limited evidence may be partly a reflection of association with the large-scale Scottish movement to the area, particularly in the case of those from northern Ireland and northern England: there was considerable movement between western Scotland and northern Ireland, and there was some common movement from the Cumberland-Galloway area. Also, of course, Cumberland County (in Nova Scotia) had received substantial numbers from Yorkshire in the 1770s.
13. "Introduction", p. 10.
14. PANS, RG20, Ser. A2, Tupper, James, 1818.
15. Ibid., Thompson, John and Others, 1815.
16. Ibid., Fraser, Walter and Others, 1817.
17. Ibid., Dodd, Robert and Others, 1820.
18. Ibid.: Palmer, John, 1818; Barry, Edward, 1821; Carrol, Patrick, 1814; Campbell, Michael, 1823.
19. Ibid.: Wall, William, 1821; Hayde, John, 1823.
20. Rankin, Antigonish, pp. 376-78.
21. Haliburton, Statistical Account, II, 79; Moorsom, Letters, pp. 333-34.
22. A.C. Jost, Guysborough Sketches and Essays (Kentville, N.S., 1950), pp. 88-91, 110.
23. PANS, RG1, vol. 51, pp. 100-01, 118-20, 160-61, 227.
24. Ibid., pp. 293-94; Rankin, Antigonish, p. 378.
25. Some Irish families are said to have settled at Havre Boucher early in the nineteenth century: PANS, Place-Names and Places of Nova Scotia (Halifax, N.S., 1967), p. 285. See also notes 6, 24.

26. Mannion, "Introduction", p. 7.
27. However, the present meagre data base does not provide evidence of a strong positive correlation between the extreme south of Ireland and the eastern coastal settlements of Antigonish County. On the other hand, Rankin does note that Irish immigrants from Newfoundland did settle at various locations in the county at the close of the Napoleonic Wars (Antigonish, p. 30). In addition, the apparent preponderance of young single men among the Irish from Newfoundland in Halifax is of interest in the context of the age and marital status data already discussed.
28. Rankin, Antigonish, pp. 50-51.
29. Bell, Foreign Protestants, pp. 550-51.
30. M. Whitelaw, ed., Dalhousie Journals, pp. 56-57.
31. Of interest in this respect is the fact that, in 1871, those of Irish origin constituted 39.4% of the population of Halifax, the largest single ethnic group located there (Census of Canada, 1871, I, Table II).
32. However, two of the English at Pictou were the superintendent of the saltworks and another who was digging coal, burning lime and quarrying stone (PANS, RG20, Ser. A2: Goulen, Robert, 1809; Patrick, Ralph, 1812).
33. The 1871 census data also reveal strikingly the religious contrast between the two counties: 82.1% of the population of Pictou County was Presbyterian, while 84.8% of the population of Antigonish County was Roman Catholic (Census of Canada, 1871, I, Table II).
34. Census of Canada, 1871, I, Table III.
35. Based on the census district of Tracadie with the addition of St. Andrews in the case of the French since Pomquet was included in the latter district.

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