

What's in a name? Scottish Settlement and Land Plot Names and Settler Colonialism in
Nineteenth Century Inverness County, Cape Breton.

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Abstract

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The application of place names by Scottish colonizers is a well-studied field. However, those studies focus on the identification and classification of such names, with little emphasis on how these names actually came to exist. This thesis provides an in-depth analysis of those that exist in Inverness County, exploring two types of names: those applied to settlements, settlement names; and those applied by individuals to land granted them, land plot names. Through analysis of land petitions, maps, and post office records, this thesis charts the settlement of places that would come to have Scottish names and the emergence of Scottish settlement and land plot names within Inverness County to demonstrate that these names were introduced as a result of large-scale Scottish settlement. This contrasts with the place names that can be found in other parts of the former British Empire such as Australia, New Zealand and even other parts of Canada where Scottish names came to exist as a result of Scottish colonial involvement as administrators, explorers and cartographers. While both can be seen as part of the process of settler colonisation; the replacement of the Indigenous population, in the case of Inverness County, the Mi'kmaq, with an exogenous one, the Scots, the evidence that has been considered demonstrates that the names in Inverness County are distinct in the sense that they were introduced by the Scots settlers themselves.

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Introduction

In June 1830, forty-nine families left the Isle of Skye aboard a ship heading for Cape Breton, leaving behind a Scotland where the life they knew was altering beyond recognition. Among those on board were John Beaton, Angus Gillis, Archibald Gillis, John Gillis, Murdock Gillis and John MacKinnon, who were travelling with their wives and children.¹ Those aboard the ship, like others making the move across the Atlantic, faced cramped, unsanitary conditions and insufficient food supplies on a journey that would have taken up to two months, arriving at their destination malnourished and carrying contagious diseases like typhus. On arrival in Margaree, they may have thought that the hardest part of their experience was over; however, they were then faced with the task of creating a new life for themselves - clearing land, building homes and finding a way to subsist. These six families settled together to the south-west of Lake Ainslie. However, there they faced another obstacle as strict land policy at the time meant that these poor Scots could not afford to purchase the land that they settled on and, as a result, they became squatters. It was not until the second half of the nineteenth century that the policy was relaxed, and the land became theirs. As the century went on, the settlement grew, with the children of the first generation settling on nearby

¹ A list of those travelling on board was compiled by Alexander Beaton who was head of the party. See: National Archives of Canada, Colonial Office 384, vol 23 pp.300-302 microfilm B-946. Accessible <www.theshipslist.com/ships/passengerlists/beaton1830.shtml> [accessed: March 2020]

land and starting their own families. The settlement became known as Skye Glen, sharing the name of the island in Scotland that the settlers had once called home.

Scottish place names can be found all over the former British Empire as a legacy of Scotland's colonial involvement. This thesis explores the link between Scottish settlement and land plot names in Inverness County, Nova Scotia and the process of settler colonialism.² Scottish names for the purpose of this thesis will be defined not just as those that come from places in Scotland, but as any name of Scottish origin. This thesis will demonstrate that these names came to exist as a result of Scottish settlement within the county.

The research carried out for this thesis is important for a number of reasons. It is the first study of Scottish place names to explore these in depth, as while there have been previous studies of Scottish place names, such as those of Watson Kirkconnell and Alan Rayburn, those studies simply identified their existence without any discussion of the origin of the names.³ This thesis develops on those studies by examining the types of settlers who occupied the places at around the time when the names were introduced with the aim of demonstrating a connection between names and settlers. Moreover, the connection identified between the settlers and the place names will be explored to demonstrate that the Scottish names found in Inverness County differ from such names found in other parts of the former British Empire that exist as a result of Scottish

² The term "settlement name" has been chosen to reflect the fact that settlement had occurred in the areas under discussion, as names were also given to some areas that were unsettled. Land plot names are names that were given by individuals to the land that was granted to them.

³ See: Watson Kirkconnell, "Scottish Place-names in Canada," in *The Scottish Tradition in Canada*, ed., William Stanford Reid (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1976).; Alan Rayburn, "The Transfer of Scottish Place names to Canada," *Names* 47.3 (1999).

involvement in colonial administration. In contrast, this thesis will establish that many of the Scottish place names in Inverness County were provided by the settlers themselves. This thesis also expands on existing studies by examining not only settlement names, but also the names given to land plots, that is the names given by the individuals who petitioned for ownership of areas of land. There is no evidence that these names have been studied previously by scholars, either in relation to Cape Breton, or anywhere else in the British Empire. Furthermore, this research considers the role that Scots played as colonizers, whereas much of the research on Scots as colonizers focuses on those who were wealthy and educated.⁴ The research carried out for this thesis demonstrates the role that poor, illiterate Highlanders played in the process of colonization. Much has been written on Scottish immigration within the British Empire; however, few explore to the role that immigrants played in the colonization of these nations. *Scotland and the British Empire* was an important collection of essays focusing on the role of Scots in the British Empire, exploring many aspects of Scotland's imperial involvement, for example, the role of Scots in the Atlantic slave trade, as missionaries, and within the British Army.⁵ However, the essay that covers Scottish immigration within the Empire examines ethnic identity amongst migrants, focusing on how Scots retained their Scottish identity in their new homes through music, sport, the church and ethnic societies.⁶ It is this aspect of Scottish immigration that is most studied by scholars, with many other works examining

⁴ For example, Andrew Thompson notes that "In the spheres of education, engineering, exploration, medicine, commerce, and shipping, the Scots earned a particularly strong reputation for empire building." See: Andrew Thompson, "Empire and the British State," in *The British Empire: Themes and Perspectives*, ed., Sarah E. Stockwell (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2008), 51.

⁵ John M. MacKenzie and T.M. Devine, eds. *Scotland and the British Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017).

⁶ *Ibid.*

associational culture, such as that of Tanja Bueltmann and Kim Sullivan.⁷ These works link to this thesis as retention of identity and ways of life are critical in the process of settler colonization.

The term settler colonialism was first used in the 1920s when discussing Australia's colonization by the British, in order to differentiate between those who had come to the country as settlers rather than as convicts.⁸ Settler colonialism has only emerged as its own field of study, however, in the last three decades. The decolonization that took place in the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s led to the emergence of new fields of study such as neo-colonialism, internal colonialism, and post-colonialism.⁹ However, these fields differ from settler colonialism as they explore the unequal relationship between colonizers and the colonized. Settler colonialism, on the other hand, focuses more on the physical and cultural replacement of the Indigenous population, although the power dynamics of colonization are still an important feature.¹⁰ The exact definition of settler colonialism provided by scholars differs. Lorenzo Veracini, a leading scholar in the field, defines it as “a specific mode of domination where a community of exogenous settlers permanently displace to a new locale, eliminate or displace indigenous populations and sovereignties, and constitute an autonomous political body.”¹¹ In another article he defines it as “circumstances where colonizers ‘come to stay’ and to establish new political

⁷ See: Tanja Bueltmann, *Clubbing Together: Ethnicity, civility and formal sociability in the Scottish Diaspora to 1930* (Oxford University Press, 2015).; Kim Sullivan, “Scots by Association: Societies and Clubs in the Scottish Diaspora,” in *Modern Scottish Diaspora: Contemporary Debates and Perspectives*, ed., Murray Stewart (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2014), 47-63. Tanja Bueltmann et al, “Associational Culture” in *The Scottish Diaspora*, eds., Tanja Bueltmann et al (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2013), 114-131.

⁸ Lorenzo Veracini, “Settler Colonialism,” in *The Palgrave Encyclopaedia of Imperialism and Anti-Imperialism*, ed., Zak Cope and Immanuel Ness (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 2.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Ibid., 1.

orders for themselves, rather than to exploit native labour.”¹² Patrick Wolfe, who also undertakes work in the area, states in his book *Settler Colonialism* that “Settler colonialism is at base a winner-takes-all project whose dominant feature is not exploitation but replacement.”¹³ For the purposes of this thesis, settler colonialism will be understood as the supplanting the Indigenous population, in this case the Mi’kmaq, by an exogenous one, the Scots, a process that was undertaken with the support of an imperial authority, the British Government.¹⁴ While this process took a number of forms, within this thesis it is physical and cultural replacement through settlement and the act of applying names that will be examined. While this thesis focuses on the role that settlers played in the settler colonial process, it is important to note that this could not have been undertaken without the support of the government.¹⁵

A number of scholars have written on the displacement of Indigenous populations by Scots. Cape Breton is not the only place where Scots were involved in such an act Alan Wilson notes that Scottish, as well as Irish, settlers took part in the destruction of Indigenous communities and cultures globally.¹⁶ Focusing on Cape Breton, in his article “Scots, settler colonization, and indigenous displacement: Mi’kma’ki, 1770–1820, in comparative context,” John Reid explores whether a pattern can be identified in the

¹² Lorenzo Veracini “‘Settler Colonialism’: Career of a Concept,” *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 41:2 (2013): 313.

¹³ Patrick Wolfe, *Settler Colonialism* (London: A&C Black, 1999), 163.

¹⁴ Settlers came from other parts of Britain alongside those from other European countries and the United States, however, Scots are the focus of this thesis.

¹⁵ An example would be the grants of land to settlers by the colonial government, which reinforced the notion that the land belonged to the settlers. Another would be the granting of permission to open post offices, which will be explored later in this thesis, in some cases in areas where settlers had squatted and, on that basis, had no legal right to occupy the land in the eyes of the colonial government.

¹⁶ David A. Wilson, Introduction to *Irish and Scottish Encounters with Indigenous Peoples: Canada, the United States, New Zealand, and Australia*, eds., Graeme Morton and David A. Wilson (Montreal and Kingston, 2013), 17–18.

relationship between Scots and Indigenous populations throughout the Empire, or rather whether these are a subset of Imperial-Indigenous relationships that can be found globally.¹⁷ He concludes that “Scottish-Indigenous encounters thereby emerge as something more closely definable than a mere subset of Imperial-Indigenous relations. But the complexities remain, and – valuable as a global study of the subject might well be – a meaningful historical or historiographical paradigm will surely remain elusive.”¹⁸ He also states that Scottish settlement in Mi’kma’ki irrevocably impacted its environment and the territory of the Mi’kmaw people, noting the role that Scottish Presbyterian ministers played in shaping opinions on the Indigenous population. Furthermore, the Scots’ relationship with Cape Breton’s Mi’kmaq population was commented on by contemporaries.¹⁹ In 1821, Thomas Crawley, Surveyor-General of Cape Breton, described the Scots settling in Cape Breton as “those who regardless of every principle of Justice, would deprive these inoffensive Savages of their Property.”²⁰ One may have thought that the Highlanders who came to Cape Breton would have been more sympathetic to the plight of the indigenous Mi’kmaq given that many of them had themselves experienced being forced off their ancestral lands in Scotland, but they do not appear to have made the connection.²¹

¹⁷ John G Reid, “Scots, Settler Colonization and Indigenous Displacement: Mi’kma’ki, 1770–1820, in comparative context.” *Journal of Scottish Historical Studies* 38.1 (2018): 178-196.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 197

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 198.

²⁰ Crawley to Rupert George, 5 November 1821, RG 1, vol. 430, no. 158, NSARM; as cited in John G. Reid, “Empire, the Maritime Colonies, and the Supplanting of Mi’kma’ki/Wulstukwik, 1780-1820,” *Acadiensis* 38.2 (2009): 85.

²¹ This point was also made by Eric Richards in relation to Scots taking the land of American Indians. See: Eric Richards, *The Highland Clearances* (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 2010), 82. In relation to Australia, Tom Devine also notes “It is indeed a tragic irony that some of the worst atrocities committed against the Australian Aborigines were carried out by Gaels who had left Scotland as their own traditional world of clanship and tribalism disintegrated during the era of the Highland Clearances.”. See: T.M. Devine, *Scotland’s Empire, 1600–1815 The Origins of the Global Diaspora* (London: Penguin, 2003), 289.

Patrick Wolfe highlights, in his article “Settler colonialism and the elimination of the native”, the role that territory plays in this process. He argues that “the primary motive for elimination is not race (or religion, ethnicity, grade of civilization, etc.) but access to territory. Territoriality is settler colonialism’s specific, irreducible element.”²² This is reflected in the case of the Scottish settlers in Cape Breton, as in 1847 the Commissioner of Indian Affairs reported “These lands are eagerly coveted by the Scottish Presbyterian settlers. That the Micmac’s fathers were sole possessors of these regions is a matter of no weight with the Scottish emigrants.”²³ A number of scholars, such as Andrew Parnaby, Rusty Bittermann and Courtney Mrazek, have explored how Scots, in particular those who were squatters, displaced the Mi’kmaq. Andrew Parnaby talks of the disputes between squatters and the Mi’kmaq over land, giving the example of Scots who settled along the Wagmatcook River and Reserve, an area that had been marked as Mi’kmaq territory.²⁴ He states that settlement by Scottish immigrants began in 1811 and by 1837, 13 families had settled in this area.²⁵ Those settlers took the best land from the Mi’kmaq, creating tension between the two groups.²⁶ From 1837 until 1860, colonial

²² Patrick Wolfe, Settler colonialism and the elimination of the native, *Journal of Genocide Research*, 8:4 (2006): 388.

²³ As cited in Andrew Parnaby, “The Cultural Economy of Survival: The Mi’kmaq of Cape Breton in the Mid-19th Century,” *Labour/Le Travail* 61 (2008): 72.

²⁴ Parnaby, “The Cultural Economy of Survival: The Mi’kmaq of Cape Breton in the Mid-19th Century.”, 78. Rusty Bitterman also explores this in his article. He states that “Despite the legal claim of the region’s Micmacs to the lands lying along the lower three miles of the Wagamatcook River and their legal and physical resistance to its loss, squatters overran Indian lands, and subsequently persuaded the government to sanction these new property rights. The intruders contended that the Micmacs were not utilizing their lands and that the squatters’ needs, coupled with their cultivation of the soil, gave them greater claim to the property.” See: Rusty Bitterman “The Hierarchy of the Soil: Land and Labour in a 19th Century Cape Breton Community,” *Acadiensis*, 18:1 (1988): 43-4. Courtney Mrazek also references the encroachment of squatters on Mi’kmaq land. See: Courtney Mrazek, ““after planting their few potatoes they wander about the Island”: The Mi’kmaq and British Agricultural Policies in Nineteenth-Century Nova Scotia,” *Journal of the Royal Nova Scotia Historical Society* 20 (2017): 20.

²⁵ Parnaby, “The Cultural Economy of Survival: The Mi’kmaq of Cape Breton in the Mid-19th Century.”, 78.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

officials stated that, to prevent this happening in the future, the squatters would be removed from the land and that the boundaries of the Reserve would be made clearer.²⁷ However, nothing was done to remove the squatters and in the 1860s, the Government began selling the land to the squatters.²⁸

Turning to consider names originating from Scotland, the name of Inverness County itself is of Scottish origin and was suggested by Sir William Young, the first representative of the County in the House of Assembly, in honour of his native Inverness-shire in Scotland.²⁹ The Act that officially introduced this change also states that “A large proportion of the Inhabitants thereof having originally come from Inverness-Shire, in Scotland, are desirous that the said County should be so called.”³⁰ The name of the County was changed in 1837 from Juste au Corps by Act of Legislature.³¹ However, this did not inform the decision to choose Inverness County as the basis of this thesis. Inverness County was chosen because it is the only county in Nova Scotia where all five types of place names that will be identified later in this chapter can be found. The categorisation of place names will be considered alongside a discussion on pre-existing work on Scottish place names in Nova Scotia and Canada more generally. As has been stated, the county was not known as Inverness until 1837, and in fact, the area only became recognized as a county in 1823 when it was established as District of Juste au Corps of Cape Breton Island. Since this thesis covers the history of the area that would become Inverness

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Ibid., 79.

²⁹ D Campbell and R. A. MacLean, *Beyond the Atlantic Roar: A Study of the Nova Scotia Scots* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's Press, 1974), 65-6. It should be noted that other explanations as to the origins of this name have been given; however, this is the one that is generally accepted amongst scholars.

³⁰ Nova Scotia Legislative Assembly, An Act to change the name of the County of Juste-au Corps to the County of Inverness (31st March 1837): CAP XXX, p.26.

³¹ Ibid.

County throughout the nineteenth century, for ease and clarity, the county will be referred to as Inverness throughout, with the recognition that it was not always known as such.

The second chapter of this thesis examines when settlements that would come to have Scottish names were established and by whom. This is necessary in order to consider the link between Scottish settlement in these places and the names that they would come to have. While no study has explored Scottish settlement in Inverness County in relation to settler colonialism or Scottish settlement names, some scholars have done so for the purpose of establishing trends in Scottish settlement. These studies differ from this thesis as they have tended to focus only on Scottish settlement in one area, while this thesis examines multiple settlement areas in Inverness County. Moreover, these studies focus on who was settling in these areas, with little interest in when settlement took place. Rosemary E Omner used MacDougall's, *History of Inverness County, Nova Scotia*, and the 1861 census to identify the Highland settlers in Broad Cove and Margaree. She did so to demonstrate that they tended to settle alongside other members of their family and those who had been members of the same clan.³² Similarly, Stephen Hornsby used land petitions to build a picture of Scottish settlement on Southwest part of the Margaree River.³³ Like Omner, he did so to demonstrate that Scots settled near members of their extended family, as well as those who came from the same place in Scotland, in this case Strathglass. A combination of Omner's and Hornsby's methodologies have been used in this chapter.

³² Rosemary E Omner, "Primitive Accumulation and the Scottish 'Clann' in the Old World and the New," *Journal of Historical Geography* 12.2 (1986): 131-4.

³³ Stephen Hornsby, "Scottish Emigration and Settlement in Early Nineteenth-Century Cape Breton," in *The Island: New Perspectives on Cape Breton's History 1713-1990*, ed., Kenneth Donovan (Fredericton: Acadiensis, 1990), 63-5.

Based on the details that appear on the Land Grant Index Sheet, the origin of the settlers will be examined within this chapter to demonstrate that, although other groups settled in Inverness County, such as Loyalists and the Irish, the majority of settlers were Scots.³⁴ Following this, a decade by decade analysis of Scottish settlement will show that, as a result of land policy, many Scots did not have Crown land granted to them, opting instead to squat. Chapter two will also explore the role of subsequent generations who expanded the settlements with their own families and, in some cases, were the first to be legally granted the land that the previous generation had occupied through squatting, thereby strengthening the settlement process.

To establish who was settling in these areas, the Land Grant Index Sheets were consulted. Having identified the names of the settlers, when they settled was considered. Stephen Hornsby's Crown Land Grant Map was used as this shows when land was granted in Cape Breton, splitting this into three periods, 1796-1820, 1821-1850 and 1851-1880. From this, it could be determined which primary source was best to use in order to establish where the settlers were originally from, as this differed depending on when the land was settled. For areas settled from 1790 until the 1830, land petitions were used as the land petitions covering this period tended to be handwritten and provided a good deal of biographical information about the petitioner, including when they came to the island and from where. However, land petitions from later periods were pre-printed and those petitioning simply completed a number of sections. Those sections required information relating to the petition, such as the date and the name of petitioner and, as a result, details in relation to where the petitioners had come from could not be obtained from these

³⁴ Drawn in the 1950s using land grants, the Land Grant Index Sheets are marked with the name of the first person to be granted each plot of land.

petitions. For land granted in this later period, the 1871 census was consulted as this provided the place of birth and origin of the individuals listed. This census was chosen as it was more likely that those who had land granted in the 1840s to 1860s were still alive and living on the land in the 1870s than in later decades. Furthermore, because the census lists people regardless of whether they were living on the land legally or not, this provided information on those who did not have their land granted until the late 1870s and 1880s, as many settlers were living on the land illegally before then. The censuses that can be accessed on the Library and Archives Canada website begin with the 1861 census and, while the use of this census was considered, it provided much less information than that of 1871, listing only the names of the heads of households and little biographical information. Families listed in the census were numbered in order of when they were visited by the census taker. These family numbers were a useful tool as they demonstrated whether original grantees still lived on neighboring properties, or if more settlers had come to the area. Secondary sources were also consulted within this chapter to consolidate information that had been gathered from the primary sources.

The third chapter explores the introduction of Scottish names to Inverness County. It charts chronologically the introduction of both Scottish land plot names and settlement names in the County, exploring how and when these names were introduced, and linking the names to the Scots who applied them. The different categories of names are then examined by type, both land plot and settlement, before comparing the two to establish any wider trends in naming. Finally, the names are discussed specifically in relation to settler colonialism, exploring the way in which Scots engaged in this practice, both individually in and groups, as well as considering the multi-generational aspect.

Land plot names will be the first to be examined as these were introduced between 1816 and 1821 and so were applied before names were given to settlements. As land plot names have not been explored previously, a new methodology was needed. To compile a table of land plot names given in Inverness County, the Cape Breton Land Papers, 1787-1843 database was consulted. The table that can be found in Appendix 2 contains the names of the settlers, where they came from, when they arrived in Cape Breton, when the land was granted, the location of the land being granted, and the name that the settler provided. This table provided the basis of the content for this section, with information from chapter two and secondary literature being used to provide context.

Scottish settlement names were officially recognized from the late 1860s onwards. As Scottish settlement names have been previously explored by William Davey, his methodology has been used to identify when these names were officially recognized.³⁵ Davey primarily used maps in order to demonstrate when names began to be used. He also cites the opening of post offices as another factor that led to Scottish place names being officially recognized. As a result, these two types of source were used within this section with brief reference to the Cape Breton Land papers 1787-1843 to demonstrate the lack of Scottish names in the petitions during that period. Within this section, post office records were used to show when post offices were opened, and Library and Archives Canada's Post Offices and Postmasters database was primarily used to compile this information. The Post Office Inspectors' reports for Halifax for the period between 1885-1890 were later accessed. These include the petitions to the Postmaster General from inhabitants making requests to open post offices and the Inspectors' reports that were also

³⁵ William Davey, "Naming Patterns on Cape Breton Island:1820-1890," *Onomastica Canadiana* 80:1 (June 1998): 1-23.

sent to the Postmaster General. The use of settlement names within these records demonstrates that those names were officially recognized by that point. The A.F. Church Maps, named after their compiler, Ambrose Finson Church, are considered to be one of the first comprehensive set of maps for Nova Scotia as they were created using up to date and thorough land surveys. Inverness County's map was published in 1884. The appearance of names on this map demonstrates that they were officially recognized by that point. It should be noted that reference is made to earlier maps to demonstrate the lack of Scottish names recorded on those maps.

The main primary source that was used within this thesis was the Cape Breton Land Papers 1787-1843. These papers are hand-written petitions made by settlers applying for land to be granted to them. The petitions are held by the Nova Scotia Archives and are on microfilm. The archive also has a searchable database on their website that provides some, but not all, of the information given within the petitions.³⁶ These petitions are rich with biographical information on the petitioners who were required to provide information such as their origin and whether they were married with children. One limitation of this source was that it is unclear if those who drafted the petitions were given guidance on the information that should be included. The petitions are formulaic; they all have the same structure and provide the same type of information on the petitioner. If there was an officially defined structure, no evidence of this survives today. However, given how formulaic the petitions are, it can be concluded that there was some form of official guidance on their content. In addition, the land petitions from Upper Canada from this period also follow the same formulaic structure, providing similar

³⁶ As the Nova Scotia archives were closed due to COVID-19, this database has provided the bulk of the information used within this thesis.

information on the petitioners. As this was pre-Confederation, the common thread between the two is that both Nova Scotia and Upper Canada were British colonies. Thus, it appears likely that some form of guidance on the structure of the petitions was provided by the Colonial Office. Further research into land petitions in other parts of the Empire, such as Australia, would be needed to determine whether this was a wider trend. While not vital to this thesis, an insight into the guidance given would provide greater context in relation to the land granting process, identifying the criteria a settler had to fulfil in order to be granted land. Such information was particularly relevant in relation to chapter three as from this it may be determined why land names were provided.

In terms of pre-existing studies of Scottish place names, there are a number of works that explore these in relation to Nova Scotia and Canada more generally. They are Watson Kirkconnell's Chapter "Scottish Place-names in Canada", in *The Scottish Tradition in Canada* and Alan Rayburn's article "The Transfer of Scottish Placenames to Canada". Both works consider Canada as a whole, with a section dedicated to Scottish place names in Nova Scotia, as well as those in the other provinces. In their sections on Nova Scotia, the authors detail how many Scottish place names each province has according to their own classification, and they compare this number to that in other provinces. They then use this information to demonstrate that counties in Nova Scotia have the most Scottish place names. Both scholars point out that the majority of those place names found in Nova Scotia are of Highland origin and both conclude that this is because the Scots who settled in Nova Scotia tended to be Highlanders rather than Lowlanders. Where Kirkconnell and Rayburn's approaches differ is in terms of the categorisation of Scottish place names.

Kirkconnell divides these into five types:³⁷

Category	Examples
(a) Actual place-names from Scotland	Aberdeen, Argyle, Perth, Melrose
(b) Such place-names with an added element	<i>New Aberdeen, Argyle Head, Perth Road, Melrose Hill</i>
(c) Scottish surnames	MacDonald, Currie, Duncan, Ferguson
(d) Scottish surnames with an added element	MacDonald's <i>Corners, Currie Road, Duncan Cove, Ferguson's Falls</i>
(e) New coinages	Skir Dhu ("Black Rock"), Loch Ban ("White Lake"), and Beinn Breagh ("Beautiful Mountain")

Rayburn, on the other hand, provides a different classification of Scottish place names:³⁸

Category	Examples
Actual place names	
Names such as Caledonia, Scotia, Scotland, Alba, Bon Accord	
Names embedded in Titles	Elgin, Dalhousie, Selkirk
Personal names	Fraser, Burns, MacDonald
Ethnic Terms	Scotch corners, Scotstown, Scots Bay

Among scholars, Kirkconnell's classification appears to be the more accepted, with other scholars such as Prentis using that classification when undertaking research into Scottish place names in other parts of the world.³⁹ While both of these classifications have their merits, there are other types of place name that have not been taken into consideration. Kirkconnell's classification does not take into account place names that come from titles, such as 'Dalhousie', nor does he mention ethnic terms such as 'Scotstown' or alternative names for Scotland, such as 'Caledonia' and 'Scotia'. In addition, Rayburn's classification has no mention of names that are Gaelic. Neither

³⁷ Watson Kirkconnell, "Scottish Place-names in Canada," in *The Scottish Tradition in Canada*, ed., William Stanford Reid (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1976), 318.

³⁸ Alan Rayburn, "The Transfer of Scottish Place names to Canada," *Names* 47.3 (1999): 313.

³⁹ Malcolm D Prentis, *The Scots in Australia* (Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 2008) 241-8.

scholar has explained the reason behind these apparent omissions, and they appear peculiar as ethnic terms, names such as Caledonia, and Gaelic names are all undeniably Scottish. Thus, a categorization that is a combination of both of these will be used for the purpose of this thesis.

These categories are:

Category	Examples
Actual place name in Scotland (including names with ‘New’ in front of them)	Aberdeen or Glencoe
Other names for Scotland	Alba
Places named after Scots	Ainslie Point
Ethnic names	Scotsville
Gaelic or Scots words	Ben Noah and Loch Ban

Names with an added element, such as Upper Glencoe, will be classified according to the Scottish element of the name, and so Upper Glencoe would be considered an actual place name of Scotland.

While Watson Kirkconnell and Alan Rayburn’s articles are useful in identifying the existence of Scottish place names in Nova Scotia, they provide only an entry level analysis of these names, as while they establish that the names exist, no further discussion or analysis is offered. This thesis goes further, linking Scottish settlement in Inverness County with the settlement and land plot names that existed there and the settlers who provided those names.

William Davey’s “Naming Patterns on Cape Breton Island” explores the application of names to the island generally, with a section in the article dedicated to

Scottish place names. The article charts the appearance of Scottish place names on maps, noting that few Scottish names appeared on maps until the 1860s.⁴⁰ Davey explores why it took so long for the island's predominantly Scottish population to be reflected in its place names and suggests that this might have been influenced by "native language, settlement patterns and the lack of accurate surveys".⁴¹ While Davey's work examines the origin of some Scottish place names, this is not carried out as extensively as in this thesis and there is limited analysis of the position on a name by name basis.

The settlement names explored in this thesis were identified using Charles Bruce Fergusson's *Place-names and Places of Nova Scotia*.⁴² The map on page 22 demonstrates where these settlements were located. While the majority of settlements were easily identified on the Land Grant Index Sheets, in the case of some settlements, such as Ulva, an island in the Inner Hebrides of Scotland, the name does not appear on maps today and so their precise location cannot be determined and thus the settlers in these areas could not be identified. Furthermore, there are a small number of places that appear to have Scottish names, but it cannot be established that the name is, in fact, of Scottish origin.

⁴⁰ Davey, "Naming Patterns on Cape Breton Island:1820-1890", 14.

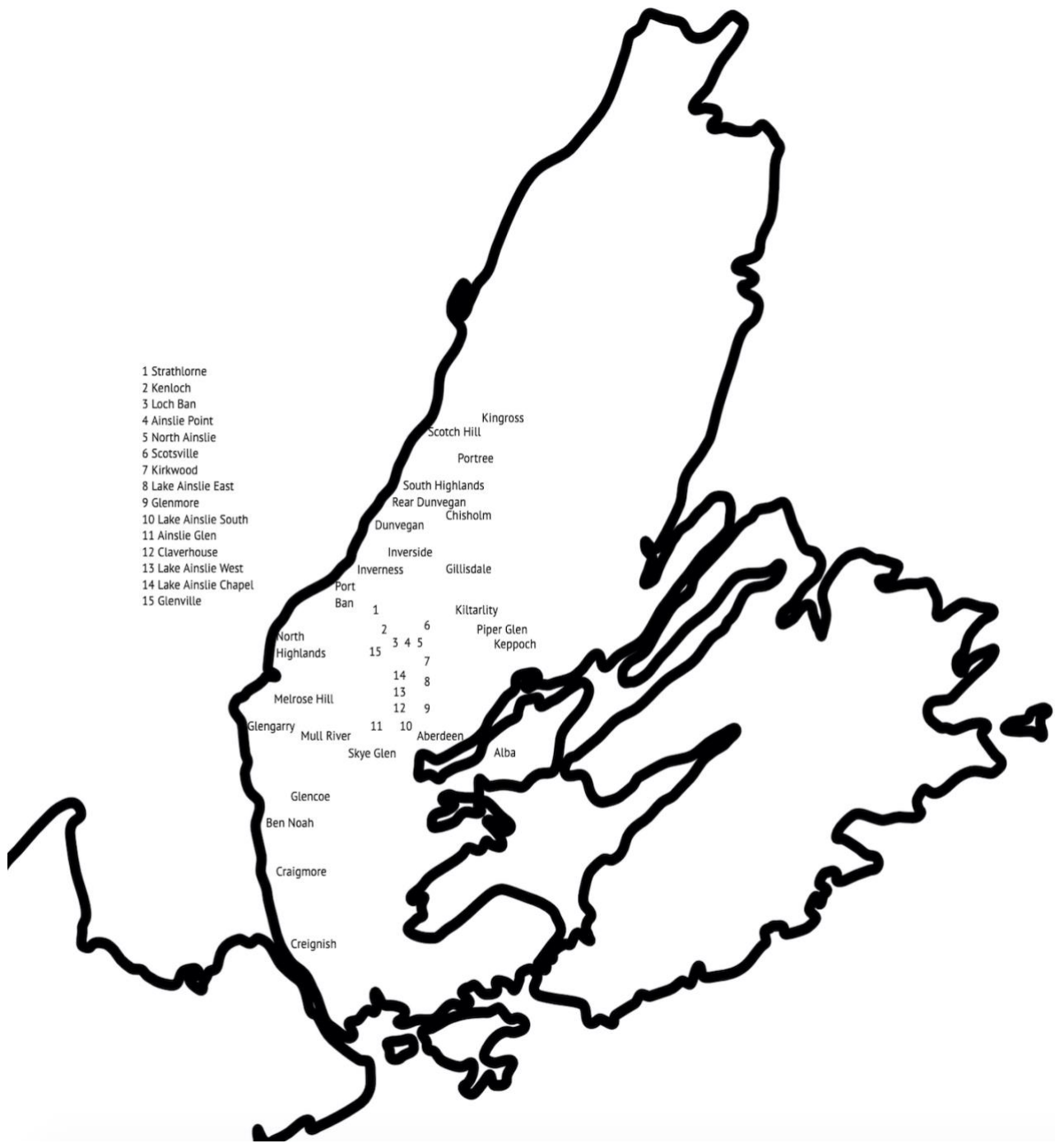
⁴¹ The Scots who settled in Cape Breton spoke Gaelic and as the colonial officials spoke English, there was little communication between them. Davey also states the Scots had little interest in colonial issues and as a result probably were not interested in applying English names to their settlements or having these represented on English maps. However, he believes that they would have had Gaelic names for the settlements. Settlement patterns are another factor that Davey provides as a reason why it took so long for these names to appear. He notes that settlers were spread out over a wide area and as a result, only a small number of communities were formed or were given names. The first settlers settled on land on the coast and along rivers, as this was prime farming land. However, later arrivals found that the front lands had been taken and had to settle on the back lands. Finally, Davey notes that poor land surveys meant that the Scottish population of the island was not accurately reflected. He notes that surveyors could not keep up with the growing population's demand for surveys and when Cape Breton was annexed by Nova Scotia, they found that the land records for the island were inadequate. Furthermore, strict land policy meant that, from the 1820s onwards, many Scots could not afford to petition for land, instead opting to squat illegally on Crown land. Estimates suggest that in 1837 and 1860 squatters were settled on half of the land on the island. With no legal right to the land, surveys did not reflect the numbers living on the island until the second half of the nineteenth century. See: Davey, "Naming Patterns on Cape Breton Island:1820-1890", 11-14.

⁴² Charles Bruce Fergusson, *Place-names and places of Nova Scotia* (Halifax: PANS, 1967).

Lewis Mountain, for example, was said to have been named after settlers, however, as the identity of the settler is not clear, there is no definitive evidence that Lewis Mountain was named after a Scot. As a result, names such as these have not been included in this thesis. However, as 39 settlement names of Scottish origin are explored within, this is a sufficiently large sample to accurately demonstrate the links between Scottish settlers and the settlement names that came to exist there.

While the majority of settlement names remain the same across all sources, one case differs. Kenloch, as it is known today, is written as Kenock on the Land Grant Index Sheets and Kinloch in *MacDougall's History of Inverness County*. As Kenloch is the name by which the place is known today and this is also the name given in Charles Bruce Fergusson's *Place-names and Places of Nova Scotia*, the most recent of the three sources considered, the decision has been made to refer to this settlement throughout as Kenloch.

Figure 1 Map showing the locations of the settlements being studied within this thesis



Much has been written by scholars on the application of place names by colonial officials, governments and cartographers to areas in the countries that they were colonizing. These names were used to assert the dominance of colonizers and to mark those places as theirs. Much of the work in this area appears to focus on colonial place names in Africa, with some scholars exploring the use of these when writing about the post-colonial removal of such names. Nna O Uluocha is one such scholar. She argues that the changing of Indigenous place names “demonstrates pseudo psychological sense of superiority over the colonized people.”⁴³

While the use of names by colonizers to assert their dominance appears to have been widely researched in relation to the colonization of African nations, there appears to be less comment in relation to other colonized areas. Matthew H Edney talks of the creation of a map of New England by John Smith. In the early seventeenth century, John Smith was tasked with creating a map of Indigenous settlements in New England. Having created the map he sent it to Charles I, the future king of England, Scotland and Ireland,

⁴³ Nna O Uluocha, “Decolonizing place-names: Strategic imperative for preserving indigenous cartography in post-colonial Africa,” *African Journal of History and Culture* 7.9 (2015): 185.; Other scholars who explore this idea in relation to Africa are Magudu Snodia et al and Hélène d’Almeida-Topor. Magudu Snodia et al argue in their article that renaming communities and farms after places in the United Kingdom, such as Kensington and Cotswold, was an effective way for settlers to establish and preserve white British rule in Zimbabwe, making it clear that they were in control.⁴³ In addition to this, the colonizers also changed the names of streets, schools and offices. See: Magudu Snodia et al, “Political Dialoguing Through the Naming Process: The Case of Colonial Zimbabwe (1890-1980)”, *The Journal of Pan-African Studies* 3.10 (2010): 23.; Hélène d’Almeida-Topor in her chapter discusses a similar use of names by colonizers to assert their dominance, this time in the form of street names. In French speaking sub-Saharan Africa, cities kept their names, however, the streets within them were renamed to commemorate events or French political or military figures. d’Almeida-Topor argues that “by according a key place to colonial players, active in the local arena, the contemporary urban toponym has contributed to fixing the image of French domination over the indigenous populations, a colonisation that was present in daily life.” Although this example relates to colonization undertaken by the French rather than British, it demonstrates a wider trend in this use of names by colonizing nations. See: Hélène d’Almeida-Topor, “The Colonial Toponymic Model in the Capital Cities of French West Africa,” in *Place Names in Africa: Colonial Urban Legacies, Entangled Histories*, ed., Liora Bigoned. (Switzerland: Springer, 2016), 93-104.

asking him to “change their barbarous names, for such English”.⁴⁴ All the settlement names that were provided were of British origin; something that Edney argues is an “obviously imperialistic act”.⁴⁵ While few of these names exist in New England today, the naming of those places was a clear attempt by the colonizers to impose rule in the colonized area. Catherine Nash examines how Gaelic place names in Ireland were changed by the British to English language names following the union of 1801.⁴⁶ While the Gaelic names continued to be used by the Irish in an act of defiance, she argues that the changing of these names by the British was clearly an act of “colonial cultural and political subordination.”⁴⁷

Some work has been produced on this function of naming in relation to Scottish names. Alyson L. Greiner and Terry Jordan-Bychkov examine this idea in relation to Scottish place names in Australia in their article “Scottish Migration to the Eastern Australia Outback”. They discuss the suggestion that, unlike other countries that Scots immigrated to, Scottish places names in Australia, especially in the Outback, are hardly representative of where Scots settled within the country.⁴⁸ The authors attribute this to the fact that many Scottish names that were given to land in Australia were provided by explorers, who came across the land but did not settle there.⁴⁹ Malcolm Prentis also provides this as an explanation as to why there are so many Scottish place names in Australia, adding to this the fact that many of the early governors and surveyors of

⁴⁴ Matthew H Edney, “The Anglophone Toponyms Associated with John Smith’s Description and Map of New England,” *Names* 57.4 (2009): 190.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶ Catherine Nash, “Irish Placenames: Post-Colonial Locations,” *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 24. 4 (1999): 457-480.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 461.

⁴⁸ Alyson L. Greiner, and Terry Jordan-Bychkov, “Scottish migration to the Eastern Australian Outback,” *Scottish Geographical Magazine* 113.3 (1997): 165.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 166.

Australia were also Scots.⁵⁰ This example demonstrates the way in which Scots, through imperial involvement, used place names to claim areas as their own. As has been stated, in many areas where Scottish place names are found, there is no evidence of Scottish settlement and, on that basis, the use of those names may be viewed as an attempt to create a link between Australia and Britain, rather than to mark the fact that Scottish migrants settled there. Michael Vance is the only scholar who has commented on this function of the allocation of place names in relation to Canada. In his book *Imperial Immigrants: The Scottish Settlers in the Upper Ottawa Valley, 1815-1840*, Vance discusses the way in which British, including Scottish, place names were given to settlements in the Upper Ottawa Valley in an attempt to link the region to the wider British Empire.⁵¹ Vance argues that as these names existed before any settlers arrived there, they can be viewed as a way in which Britain tried to assert its colonial dominance over the region, rather than a result of the later migration there.⁵²

Thus, it is clear that the application of names by colonial officials, governments and cartographers to assert dominance and mark land as belonging to the colonizing nation is a field that is well-researched as an aspect of settler colonialism. By contrast, the application of place names by settlers has been seldom commented on by scholars. It is clear that in Inverness County a different class of people were applying names as here it was the everyday people who were bestowing these names. However, in other parts of the

⁵⁰ Prentis, *The Scots in Australia*, 245. Tanja Bueltmann also sites this as one of the reasons why Scottish place names exist in New Zealand. See: Tanja Bueltmann, *Scottish Ethnicity and the Making of New Zealand Society, 1850 to 1930* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2011), 60.

⁵¹ Michael E Vance, *Imperial Immigrants: The Scottish Settlers in the Upper Ottawa Valley, 1815-1840* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 2012), 41-7.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 42.

British Empire, names were provided by colonial officials, governments and cartographers, a group typically made up of the upper classes.

Existing historiography on Scottish settlement in Cape Breton provides the background to this research. One scholar who has undertaken a great deal of research in this area is the geographer Stephen Hornsby. He notes that migration in general is not a topic that is greatly focused on by geographers, making research like his a unique take on British migration from a geographer's perspective.⁵³ Scholars who have written on this subject paint a similar picture when discussing Scottish settlement in Cape Breton. They agree that Scottish emigration directly to Cape Breton began in 1802, although some Scots who originally settled in Nova Scotia and on Prince Edward Island but were unhappy or disillusioned with their life there, and subsequently settled on Cape Breton Island, since the late eighteenth century.⁵⁴ They also note that the majority of Scottish settlers came from the Western Highlands and Islands.⁵⁵ The early Scottish arrivals chose to settle along the coast and inland, along lakes and river valleys.⁵⁶ Those who arrived in the late 1810s and 1820s tended to be better off and settled on the front lands where the land was better for farming.⁵⁷ Their experience was starkly different to that of later Scots emigrants, who were forced to take land in the rocky backlands and struggled to make a living there, often having to seek additional employment to survive.⁵⁸ As Hornsby argues, Scots came to

⁵³ Stephen Hornsby, "Migration and Settlement: The Scots of Cape Breton," in *Geographical Perspectives on the Maritime Provinces*, ed., Douglas Dayed (Halifax: Atlantic Nova Print, 1988), 15.

⁵⁴ DC Harvey, "Scottish Immigration to Cape Breton". *Dalhousie Review* 21.3 (1941): 315.; Stephen Hornsby, "Scottish Emigration and Settlement in Early Nineteenth-Century Cape Breton", 49.

⁵⁵ Lucille H Campey, *After the Hector: The Scottish Pioneers of Nova Scotia and Cape Breton, 1773-1852* (Toronto: Natural Heritage Books, 2007), 81.; Hornsby, "Scottish Emigration and Settlement in Early Nineteenth-Century Cape Breton", 56.

⁵⁶ Campey, *After the Hector: The Scottish Pioneers of Nova Scotia and Cape Breton, 1773-1852*, 71.; Hornsby, "Scottish Emigration and Settlement in Early Nineteenth-Century Cape Breton", 56.

⁵⁷ Campey, *After the Hector: The Scottish Pioneers of Nova Scotia and Cape Breton, 1773-1852*, 68-9.

⁵⁸ Hornsby, "Scottish Emigration and Settlement in Early Nineteenth-Century Cape Breton", 69.

Cape Breton in hope of a better life, but later emigrants found themselves not much better off than they had been at home.⁵⁹

While scholars agree that Scots tended to settle with others they already knew, Stephen Hornsby and Lucille H Campey explain settlement patterns in different terms. Hornsby argues that while Scots tended to live as a nuclear family unit, kith and kin would live nearby as well as other families they had travelled to Cape Breton with, occupying land side by side if this was available.⁶⁰ He demonstrates this using a map of settlement along the Southwest part of the Margaree River, that shows the land granted from 1826-31 with the names of the settlers and where they came from in Scotland.⁶¹ It can be seen that those with the same surnames occupy land beside one another and while the settlers are from different parts of Scotland, the majority came from Strathglass. Campey, on the other hand, draws attention to the role that religion played in Scots settlement, noting that the areas of Malagawatch, River Denys and Whycocomagh all became “major centers of Scottish Presbyterianism”, tending to suggest that Scots would also settle among those who shared the same religion.⁶² Hornsby and Campey’s views are not mutually exclusive as members of Scots families are likely to have shared the same religion as their relatives, as well as other members of their community at home.

Scholars also comment on how Scottish settlers obtained land in Cape Breton. Hornsby notes that early settlers had no legal right to land as “between 1790 and 1817 the Colonial Office in London discouraged settlement in Cape Breton, allowing free land

⁵⁹ Stephen Hornsby, *Nineteenth-century Cape Breton: A Historical Geography* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992), 68.

⁶⁰ Hornsby, “Scottish Emigration and Settlement in Early Nineteenth-Century Cape Breton”, 63.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 65.

⁶² Campey, *After the Hector: The Scottish Pioneers of Nova Scotia and Cape Breton, 1773-1852*, 113.

grants of Crown Land only to loyalists and disbanded soldiers or leases to tenants at will.”⁶³ The social and economic instability that followed the Napoleonic War led to the Government changing their approach, and from 1817 onwards free grants of Cape Breton land were made.⁶⁴ The policy before then meant that for a large number of Scots who settled in Cape Breton, obtaining land legally was not an option and many squatted illegally on Crown land.⁶⁵ The land policy was tightened again in 1827 when in an attempt to attract settlers with capital to the colonies, the government began auctioning land rather than granting it for free.⁶⁶ However, with land being sold for around £25 per acre, the prospect of owning land was out of the reach of the poor Scots arriving in Cape Breton and Hornsby estimates that by 1837, 20,000 of the 35,000 people living in Cape Breton were illegal squatters.⁶⁷

The history of settlers in the County of Inverness specifically is a subject that few appear to have studied. John L MacDougall’s *History of Inverness County, Nova Scotia* is the only work that focuses solely on the history of the county. It explores many aspects of the county’s history including religion and farming. MacDougall discusses the experience of settlers and, in relation to the Scots, he argues in a similar vein as Hornsby, Campey and D.C. Harvey, that they tended to come from the Highlands and Islands and that direct migration from Scotland to Cape Breton was predated by indirect migration by those who came from Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island.⁶⁸ He notes that the majority

⁶³ Hornsby, “Migration and Settlement: The Scots of Cape Breton”, 19.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Ibid., 20.

⁶⁸ John L MacDougall, *History of Inverness County, Nova Scotia* (Belleville: Mika Publishing, 1922), 4.

of Scots settlers were illiterate and that many only spoke Gaelic.⁶⁹ Furthermore, MacDougall states that all of the settlers were religious and that there was no tension between Catholics and Protestants as there was in Scotland, because the unwritten law in Inverness County was to “live and let live.”⁷⁰ The second chapter of MacDougall’s book gives an overview history of Cape Breton from the original Mi’kmaq inhabitants until the late nineteenth century. The third is a brief history of Inverness County, detailing how it was created and given its name and providing biographies of some notable people in the county’s history.⁷¹ The District Sketches that make up the majority of the book are of particular relevance to the research that has been carried out for this thesis. These 29 sketches examine the settlement of the places detailed in each sketch, providing information on the families who came to settle there. MacDougall’s book was written in the 1920s, meaning that it is now outdated. Moreover, it is a text intended to record the local history, rather than one based on academic research and there are no citations for the information provided. In the preface of the book, MacDougall states that he initially set out to record the history using documents, however a lack of public and private documents meant that he had to revise this idea. Another issue he encountered was that many of those involved in early years of settlement were no longer alive so he could not discuss their experiences with them. As a result, the book is based on his own knowledge of the history of Inverness County, as a local, with input from others from different parts of the county and province. Much of the information provided is in keeping with the picture of settlement in Inverness County that can be gleaned from the Cape Breton Land Papers.

⁶⁹ Ibid., 6.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ Ibid.

However, due to a lack of referencing, only information that can be verified through primary sources has been drawn on. The next chapter of this thesis will explore the settlement of the areas that would come to have Scottish names.

Chapter Two

The settlement of Inverness County during the Nineteenth Century

This chapter will examine the settlement of places within Inverness County that would come to have Scottish names. The Scottish settlement names that exist there were identified and categorized in the introduction to this thesis, and this chapter will demonstrate that Scots made up the majority of those settling in these areas and even in areas that originally had other types of settler, such as Loyalists, Scots would later come to dominate. As a result, those settlement names may be viewed as existing as a result of Scottish settlement. The introduction to this thesis demonstrated that most of the research undertaken by scholars on place names has explored the application of these names by colonial officials, governments and cartographers in order to assert their dominance and ownership of the countries they were colonizing. Alyson L. Greiner and Terry Jordan-Bychkov have noted in relation to Australia that the Scottish place names there are hardly representative of the locations where Scots settled.¹ Like Malcolm Prentis, they maintain that names also appear to have come about as a result of Scottish involvement in colonial administration in roles such as governors, cartographers and surveyors, rather than as a consequence of Scottish settlement there.² As a result, there are some places in Australia with Scottish names where few or no Scots settled.³ Tanja Buelmann has considered

¹ Alyson L. Greiner and Terry Jordan-Bychkov, "Scottish migration to the Eastern Australian Outback," *Scottish Geographical Magazine* 113.3 (1997): 165-6.

² Malcolm D Prentis, *The Scots in Australia* (Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 2008), 244-5.

³ Alyson L. Greiner, and Terry Jordan-Bychkov give the example of Ayr, located in Queensland, where only one epitaph bears the name of a Scot, himself a native of Dumfries rather than Ayr. They note that higher numbers of Italians, Danes and Germans could be found in Ayr. See: Greiner, and Jordan-Bychkov, "Scottish migration to the Eastern Australian Outback", 166.

Scottish place names in New Zealand, in particular those in the Otago Region, in her study of Scottish ethnicity.⁴ She states that those names were introduced in part because of a need for places to be identified, and suggests that, similar to the position in Australia, the fact that many of the cartographers and surveyors in New Zealand were Scots played a role in the introduction of these names.⁵ Even in other parts of Canada, Scottish place names pre-date Scottish settlement.⁶ Thus, it is clear that the position in Cape Breton may be viewed as different as the names exist there as a result of Scottish settlement, rather than just Scottish colonial involvement in the area. Building on this idea, in areas that were initially dominated by other groups, such as Loyalists, it will be demonstrated that Scottish settlement took place in these areas in later decades. An in-depth examination of Scottish settlement will be undertaken, exploring the trends in settlement and issues related to settlement, such as squatting, to provide a full picture of Scottish settlement in the areas that would come to have Scottish place names. This chapter will explore the period from 1780 until 1840 as this was the period when the majority of the settlement took place in Cape Breton more widely. The table in Appendix 1 provides information on settlers in the area who appear on the Land Grant Index Sheets. These are a series of maps that show the first settlers to be granted land in these areas. The information in this table has been compiled using the Cape Breton Land Petitions, Robert J Morgan's List of Cape Breton Loyalists, and MacDougall's History of Inverness County, Nova Scotia. The settlers listed in table 2.1 were also identified using the Land Grant Index Sheets;

⁴ Tanja Buelmann, *Scottish Ethnicity and the Making of New Zealand Society, 1850 to 1930* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2011), 60.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Michael Vance's argument relating to Scottish place names pre-dating Scottish settlement in the Upper Ottawa Valley has been addressed in the first chapter of this thesis. For more information see: Michael E Vance, *Imperial Immigrants: The Scottish Settlers in the Upper Ottawa Valley, 1815-1840* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 2012), 41-7.

however, the information on these settlers has been compiled using details from the 1871 census, as the land petitions for these settlers did not provide the relevant information. This table has been kept separate from that in Appendix 1 because, while some of the information it provides is similar, it builds a different picture of Scottish settlement in the areas that would come to have Scottish names.

The majority of those who settled in the areas that would come to have Scottish names in the 1780s and 1790s were Loyalists. They were people who stayed loyal to the British Crown during the American Revolution and, after Britain's defeat, left the United States to resettle in places like New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and Cape Breton.⁷ Loyalists were given free grants of land on Cape Breton Island.⁸ Most had land granted to them soon after their arrival. They can be found in the places that would come to have Scottish names that were settled during this period, such as Glengarry, Portree and Glendyer. For example, Williard Crowel, from Massachusetts, settled in what would become Glengarry. He came to Cape Breton in 1811 and was granted land in 1815.⁹ In other cases, there are a number of years between the Loyalists' arrival in Cape Breton and when they were granted land. Other Loyalists were not granted land until decades after they came to the island. Three brothers, David, Parker and Lewis Smith, came to the Island from Cape Cod, Massachusetts around 1789; however, David and Parker were not granted land until 1808 and Lewis does not appear in the petitions until 1815, but this petition refers to him having

⁷ For more information on Loyalists in Cape Breton, see Robert J Morgan, "The Loyalists of Cape Breton," *Dalhousie Review* 55:1 (1975): 5-22.

⁸ Hornsby notes "between 1790 and 1817 the Colonial Office in London discouraged settlement in Cape Breton, allowing free land grants of Crown Land only to Loyalists and disbanded soldiers or leases to tenants at will". See: Stephen Hornsby, "Migration and Settlement: The Scots of Cape Breton," in *Geographical Perspectives on the Maritime Provinces*, ed., Douglas Day (Halifax: Atlantic Nova Print, 1988), 19.

⁹ Nova Scotia Archives. Cape Breton Island Petitions, 1787-1843. 1815, Williard Crowel, Cape Breton no. 1121, mf. 15792.

already received 400 acres at Mabou.¹⁰ Given that Loyalists were allowed free land grants, they would not have had to squat illegally on land, unlike other settlers who did not qualify for free grants or could not afford to purchase land. The reason for this gap appears to be that they came to the island as children with their families, so did not need to petition for land on arrival as they presumably lived with them. Despite being children, they still appear on Robert J Morgan's list of Cape Breton Loyalists, presumably as their father was one and because they had spent some of their lives in the American Colonies.¹¹

While Glengarry, Portree and Glendyer were originally populated by Loyalists, there is evidence to suggest that Scots settled directly in both Glengarry and Portree in later decades. Murdoch MacPherson, a native of Lochaber, settled at Mull River in 1823 before moving to what would become Glengarry sometime later.¹² Furthermore, there is evidence of Scots going to North East Margaree, the area where Portree is located. For example, Daniel Carmichael, a native of Oban, came to the Island in 1810, he originally settled in Victoria County before moving to what would become Portree with his family in the 1820s.¹³ John MacDonald, from Skye, also came to the area that would become Portree in 1828.¹⁴ This demonstrates that, while Scots were not the first settlers to come to these areas, they did settle there in later periods and this may explain why the settlements came to have Scottish names.

¹⁰ Nova Scotia Archives. Cape Breton Island Petitions, 1787-1843. 1808 David Smith, Cape Breton no. 445, mf. 15789.; Nova Scotia Archives. Cape Breton Island Petitions, 1787-1843. 1808 Parker Smith, Cape Breton no. 447, mf. 15789.; Nova Scotia Archives. Cape Breton Island Petitions, 1787-1843. 1815 Lewis Smith, Cape Breton no. 1232a, mf 15793.

¹¹ Morgan, *The Loyalists of Cape Breton*, 21.

¹² John L MacDougall, *History of Inverness County, Nova Scotia* (Belleville: Mika Publishing, 1922), 261.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 437.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 439.

The Irish make up a small number of settlers in these areas. An Irish man, James Whitehead, was granted land in what would become Glendyer in 1807.¹⁵ A later petition states that Whitehead was a native of Kilkenny, Ireland and had migrated with his parents to Halifax in 1785 before coming to Cape Breton in 1789.¹⁶ Two Irishmen settled in what would become Glengarry in 1795.¹⁷ However, they were not granted land until 1819 and 1820, so presumably squatted on the land for 25 years until it was legally granted to them.¹⁸ There is no other evidence of Irish settlement in these areas apart from three Irishmen who settled in there the 1820s and 1830s, one to the north of Lake Ainslie, another in Mull River and the third in Melrose Hill.¹⁹

Scottish settlement in the areas that would come to have Scottish names began in 1798. From this period onwards, Scots made up the majority of the settlers and most came from the Western Highlands and Islands of Scotland. This is hardly surprising given that it is generally accepted amongst scholars that immigrants from these parts of Scotland made up the majority of Scottish settlers in Cape Breton, a fact that was also commented on by contemporaries.²⁰

¹⁵ Nova Scotia Archives. Cape Breton Island Petitions, 1787-1843. 1807 James Whitehead, Cape Breton no. 340, mf. 15789.

¹⁶ Nova Scotia Archives. Cape Breton Island Petitions, 1787-1843. 1815 James Whitehead, Cape Breton no. 1245a, mf. 15793.

¹⁷ Nova Scotia Archives. Cape Breton Island Petitions, 1787-1843. 1819 Dennis Murphy, Cape Breton no. 2255, mf. 15796.; Nova Scotia Archives. Cape Breton Island Petitions, 1787-1843.; John Hammond, Cape Breton no.1152, mf. 15792.; Nova Scotia Archives. Cape Breton Island Petitions, 1787-1843. 1820 John Hammond, Cape Breton no. 2366, mf 15797.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ MacDougall, *History of Inverness County*, 40.; Charles Bruce Fergusson, *Place-names and places of Nova Scotia* (Halifax: PANS, 1967), 427.; MacDougall, *History of Inverness County*, 562-3.

²⁰ Hornsby cites two letters between colonial officials to highlight this fact. See: Stephen Hornsby "A Historical Geography of Cape Breton in the 19th Century," (PhD Thesis, University of British Columbia, 1986), 48.; Furthermore, J. M. Bumsted notes that in the period he is studying, the majority of Highland immigrants were from the Western Highlands and Islands. See: J. M. Bumsted "Scottish Emigration to the Maritimes 1770-1815: A New Look at an Old Theme," *Acadiensis* 10.2 (1981): 74. See also: Lucille H Campey, *After the Hector: The Scottish Pioneers of Nova Scotia and Cape Breton, 1773-1852* (Toronto: Natural Heritage Books, 2007), 81.

Some of those who settled in the first areas of settlement such Craigmore, Creignish and Dunvegan settled in the last few years of the eighteenth century and the first few years of the nineteenth. However, land was not granted to them until 1818 onwards, in some cases 20 years after they had arrived on the island. These grants of land correspond with the relaxation of land policy in 1817.²¹ The settlers presumably squatted on the island before this as they did not qualify for free land grants and could not afford to pay for land. However, there is evidence that, during this period, some Scots could afford to buy land. Allen McDonald, from Uist, was granted land in what would become Craigmore in 1808.²² Others petitioned together in order to share the cost. In 1803, Angus McIsaac, Donald McIsaac, Sr., Allan McIsaac, Hugh McDonald, Donald McDonald, Hector McKinnon, Hector and Alexander McLean, and Angus Gillies petitioned together for land in what would become Inverness.²³

In the period between 1815 and 1820, the majority of those who came to the island had land granted to them within a year of their arrival. Donald McLellan, for example, came to Cape Breton from Scotland in the autumn of 1819 and was granted land in what would become Dunvegan in 1820.²⁴ The ease with which Scots had land granted to them can be seen as resulting from the relaxation of land policy on the Island during this

²¹ Stephen Hornsby notes that early Scottish settlers had no legal right to land as “between 1790 and 1817 the Colonial Office in London discouraged settlement in Cape Breton, allowing free land grants of Crown Land only to Loyalists and disbanded soldiers or leases to tenants at will”. See: Stephen Hornsby, “Migration and Settlement: The Scots of Cape Breton,” in *Geographical Perspectives on the Maritime Provinces*, ed., Douglas Day (Halifax: Atlantic Nova Print, 1988): 19.

²² Nova Scotia Archives. Cape Breton Island Petitions, 1787-1843. 1808 Allen McDonald, Cape Breton no. 403, mf. 15789.

²³ Nova Scotia Archives. Cape Breton Island Petitions, 1787-1843. 1803 Angus McIsaac & others, Cape Breton no. 94, mf. 15788.

²⁴ Nova Scotia Archives. Cape Breton Island Petitions, 1787-1843. 1820 Donald McLellan, Cape Breton no. 2480, mf. 15797.

period.²⁵ As has been previously stated, prior to 1817 settlement for the most part was discouraged with grants only being given to Loyalists, disbanded soldiers or leases to tenants at will. As the Napoleonic Wars ended in 1815, Britain found itself in socially and economically unstable.²⁶ This led to the government changing their view on immigration, now encouraging it as a way to decrease population, thus, taking some of the pressure off the economy.²⁷ As a result, at the request of the Colonial Office in London, land policy in Cape Breton was relaxed, to make land ownership more accessible.²⁸

After 1820, the majority of Scots who settled on the island were squatters. Some Scots were granted land in this period, such as Alexander and Angus Campbell, from Lochaber, who were granted land in what would become Glenville in 1824.²⁹ However, evidence suggests that many of the Scots who came to Cape Breton after 1820 were never legally granted land. In 1827, the Colonial Office replaced the land policy that had been introduced in 1817 with one in which land was auctioned off.³⁰ The auctioning of land presumably led to the cost of this increasing, and as a result many Scots who came to the island during this period would not have been able to afford to buy land and instead squatted illegally on Crown Land.³¹ The areas that would become Mull River, Gillisdale,

²⁵ D Campbell and R. A. MacLean also note that in 1817 there was an observable increase in the population which correlated with an increase in petitions. See: D Campbell and R. A. MacLean, *Beyond the Atlantic Roar: A Study of the Nova Scotia Scots* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's Press, 1974), 66.

²⁶ It should be noted that this did not prevent those who were not able to petition for land from settling on the Island, instead they did so as squatters.

²⁷ Hornsby, "A Historical Geography of Cape Breton in the 19th Century," 83.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ MacDougall, *History of Inverness County*, 292.

³⁰ Rusty Bitterman, "The Hierarchy of the Soil: Land and Labour in a 19th Century Cape Breton Community," *Acadiensis*, 18:1 (1988): 39.

³¹ D Campbell and R.A. MacLean note that the change in land policy in the late 1820s made it harder for arrivals from this period on to have land granted to them. As well as, buying land they also had to pay an immigrant tax of five shillings meaning a large number of them had to work for a few years before being able to purchase land. See: Campbell and MacLean, *Beyond the Atlantic Roar*, 95.; Hornsby states that at this point land was being sold for about £25 per acre, making land ownership inaccessible for the poor Scottish arrivals. See: Hornsby, "Migration and Settlement: The Scots of Cape Breton", 19.

Glencoe, Alba, Skye Glen, Ainslie Glen, Claverhouse, Port Ban, and Piper Glen, as well as what was already known as Lake Ainslie, were all settled by those who appear to have been squatters as they themselves were never granted land. Other areas, such as what would become Ben Noah, and Melrose Hill, were granted in the 1830s; however, it is not known when these areas were first settled. It may be the case that the 1830s was the period in which settlement first occurred, and this is why land was granted then, or it could be that settlers squatted on the land for a period before this was legally granted to them. Kenloch was settled in the 1810s and early 1820s; however, the land there was not granted until the 1830s, so in the case of this settlement it is clear that the settlers were originally squatters.

Squatters can be identified if there is a period of more than a year between settlement on the island and the grant of land.³² In other cases, they can be identified as the land that they settled on was never granted to them, and their sons or even grandsons were the first to own the land legally. Evidence of this can be seen in the areas that would become Alba, Piper Glen, Glencoe, Scotsville, Port Ban, Chisholm, Ainslie Glen, the East and South of Lake Ainslie. For example, Hugh McDonald settled to the east of Lake Ainslie in 1821; the Tiree native was never granted land himself, however his sons Archie and Neil were.³³ Hugh MacEachen from Mull settled in what would become Alba in 1828,

³² Analysis of the Cape Breton Island petitions 1787-1843 demonstrates that from the second half of the 1810s, after land policy had been relaxed and before it was strengthened again in the late 1820s, the average period between a settler arriving on the island and being granted land was a year. Any settler who has a period significantly longer than this between arrival and land granting can be assumed to have been a squatter. This rule obviously does not relate to those who were children when they arrived in Cape Breton, or those who settled somewhere else on the island prior to petitioning for the land in question.

³³ The names given in MacDougall's *History of Inverness County, Nova Scotia* match with the names of grantees in the area listed on the Land Grant Index Sheets. Hornsby's *Land Grant Map* shows that land in the area was not granted until the period between 1851-80 and it would make sense that his sons, by this point, would be of age to petition for their own land.

but was never granted land, however his son Alexander was. In the case of Loddy McKinnon from Skye, it was not his son but his grandson Hector who was granted the land that his grandfather settled on in the 1820s.³⁴ In some cases, it was the settler's eldest or only son who was granted land, because as the eldest and a male they would have inherited their father's land. In other cases, such as the case of Murdoch Kennedy, who settled to the north of Lake Ainslie, not only was his eldest son granted land, but his younger sons were as well. This was presumably because with the eldest son inheriting the family land, the younger sons needed their own land to live on and raise their families. In other cases, it was just the younger sons of the family who were granted land. This was perhaps because the eldest would inherit the family's land, regardless of whether it had been legally granted or not, but the younger sons would need to acquire land of their own.

What is clear is that in the 40 or so years of Scottish settlement in Inverness County, there was only a period of 5 years, from 1815 to 1820, when all of the Scots who came to the areas being examined in this chapter had land granted to them legally. There are, of course, examples of Scots having land legally granted to them outside this period; however, for the most part, Scots who settled here were squatters, some for a few years after arrival, but in many cases for the rest of their lives. Squatting was a major problem faced by the Colonial Government and it is estimated that by 1837, 20,000 of the 35,000 people living in Cape Breton were squatters.³⁵ The situation was not advantageous for either the Government or the squatters themselves.³⁶ For the Government, the high number of squatters undermined its legal authority.³⁷ Squatters, on the other hand, had no

³⁴ MacDougall, *History of Inverness County*, 469.

³⁵ Stephen Hornsby, "Migration and Settlement: The Scots of Cape Breton", 20.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ *Ibid.*

legal rights over the land that they settled on when it came to matters such as preventing trespassers or selling their land.³⁸ From the 1850s onwards, the Government made various attempts to incentivise squatters to apply for land grants.³⁹ However, these did not completely eradicate the problem and squatting continued to be an issue well into the twentieth century. To the Government, squatting demonstrated a lack of respect for authority; however, the approach of the colonial officials in Cape Breton was never to prevent squatting. From a colonial perspective, squatting also demonstrated a lack of respect for the land that belonged to the Mi'kmaq, with some Scots squatting on land that had been reserved for the Indigenous population.⁴⁰ The Scots had contempt for the Mi'kmaq people and perhaps felt that they had more right to this land as Cape Breton was overseen by their government and not by the Mi'kmaq. In 1837, colonial officials on the island decided that those squatting on land reserved for the Mi'kmaq should be removed from that land.⁴¹ However, this plan was never implemented and, instead, the Mi'kmaq land was eventually sold to the settlers in the 1860s.⁴² The fact that the squatters were

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ In 1859 they began surveying all occupied land on the Island. They requested that squatters applied for the land they were occupying to be granted asking them to pay 1/9 for every acre in the next year. While many squatters were willing to pay for their land, in order to have legal rights for it, the majority could not afford to do so. In 1867 the government were still owed \$50,000 by 2075 squatters. In 1870 the government reduced the price per acre to 20 c per acre. This allowed some to pay for their land, however, the government continued to increase the amount per acre every year and by 1875 it was 44c by acre which, for many, meant they could not afford to do so. In 1879 the government again changed the criteria for purchase stating that if they had lived on the land for 15+ years and had paid for their land in full by May 1st 1880 they could pay 20c per acre. This meant that many more squatters were able to pay for and get legal ownership of their land. See Hornsby, "Migration and Settlement: The Scots of Cape Breton", 199-203.

⁴⁰ While there is no evidence of the Scots squatting on land reserved for the Mi'kmaq in the areas that are being examined in this chapter, there is evidence of Scots doing so elsewhere in Inverness County and on Cape Breton so widely. For more information on Scottish settlement on Mi'kmaq land in the Wagmatcook river and valley see: Bitterman, "The Hierarchy of the Soil: Land and Labour in a 19th Century Cape Breton Community", 33-55.; Andrew Parnaby, "The Cultural Economy of Survival: The Mi'kmaq of Cape Breton in the mid-19th century." *Labour/Le Travail*, 61 (2008): 69-88.

⁴¹ Parnaby, "The Cultural Economy of Survival: The Mi'kmaq of Cape Breton in the mid-19th century", 78.

⁴² Ibid.

allowed to stay on the land and were eventually allowed to buy it demonstrates that the colonial officials favoured the Scots over the Indigenous population. It appears that the Scots did not see legally granted land as necessary when starting a new community in Cape Breton. Later analysis in this chapter will demonstrate that Scots tended to settle with those with whom they were familiar. While some Scots were granted land with or beside people they knew, in many cases groups chose to squat illegally together on Crown land. Scots settled in these areas, built houses and formed a community, all without any legal right to the land, demonstrating that ownership of the land was not essential to the growth of new communities.

There are some areas in Inverness County where there is evidence of Scottish settlement, however, it is unclear when that settlement took place. To establish a picture of settlement in the areas that would become Kiltarlity, Kingross, South Highlands, North Highlands, North Ainslie and Keppoch, census data has been used. All those who settled in these areas are listed in the census as being born in Scotland or Nova Scotia but of Scotch origin.⁴³ There are clear trends as to where the settlers in each area were born as in Kiltarlity, North Ainslie and South Highlands the majority of settlers are listed as being born in Nova Scotia but of Scottish origin, whereas in Kingross, North Highlands and Keppoch, the majority of settlers are listed as being born in Scotland. This shows that in Kiltarlity, North Ainslie and South Highlands, land was granted to the second-generation settlers. It may be the case, as has been seen in other areas, that their fathers were never

⁴³ While someone's place of birth is undeniable, their origin appears to be determined by that of their father, in cases where both parents have the same origin this is just applied to their children; however, when the origin differs the father's appears to be applied to the children. The example of the Magher family demonstrates this, James Magher, born in Nova Scotia is of Irish origin, whereas his wife, also born in Nova Scotia, is of Scotch origin. Their four children, Marey S, Marey J, Daniel and Catherine are all listed as being of Irish origin, taking after their father.

granted the land legally and the family squatted there until the land was granted to the sons. However, that is not to say that in the areas where the first generation were legally granted land, squatting did not also take place. Many of those who are listed as being born in Scotland have children who, when the census was taken in 1871, are in their late 20s or 30s and were born in Nova Scotia. This suggests that those Scots must have immigrated to Nova Scotia in the 1830s and 1840s to have children of that age who were born in Nova Scotia. Hornsby's Land Grant Map demonstrates that in all five of the areas referred to, the land was not legally granted until the period between 1851 and 1880. This suggests that it is likely that first generation settlers who were eventually granted land had squatted for at least the first 10 to 20 years after they arrived on the island. There are also clear trends in terms of religion. In Keppoch, all the settlers are listed as Catholic, whereas in South Highlands, all of the settlers are listed as Church of Scotland. In Kingross, all settlers are listed as Presbyterian, except one who is listed as Baptist. Trends in religion such as this may demonstrate settlement of Scots from similar areas in the Western Highlands and Islands as there were regional variations when it came to religion in Scotland during this period.⁴⁴ Even if this is not conclusive evidence of Scots settling with those they knew from home, it demonstrates that Scots tended to settle with others who at least followed the same religion.⁴⁵ Even in the areas where more than one religion is

⁴⁴ Michael Kennedy states that "The majority of the Highland immigrants to Cape Breton came primarily from the Catholic mainland of Scotland, from the Catholic islands of Barra and South Uist. A slightly smaller proportion came from the Protestant islands of Skye, North Uist, Harris, Lewis, Tiree, Mull, Coll, and Rum. These old world regional and religious affiliations were strongly maintained in Cape Breton as they were in other North American Highland settlements." See: Michael Kennedy, "Gaelic Nova Scotia an Economic, Cultural and Social Impact Study (Curatorial Report #97)." Nova Scotia Museum (2002): 25.

⁴⁵ Lucille H Campey notes that religion played a role in Scottish settlement. For example, she notes that the areas of Malagawatch, River Denys and Whycocomagh all became "major centers of Scottish Presbyterianism" that tends to suggest that Scots would also settle amongst those who shared their religion.

present, like Kiltarlity, North Ainslie and North Highlands, there is a largely even split between the two religions. For example, in Northern Highland, two of the settlers are listed as being Catholic and the other two are listed as being Church of Scotland. The settlement of those who followed different religions in one area does not disprove the argument that Scots settled with those of the same religion. Given that in both the cases referred to, there were similar numbers of each religion, it is clear that here Scots were still settling with those of the same religion. As has been stated, there were regional variations when it came to religion in the Western Highlands and Islands during this period, and on some islands two religions were present. It may be the case that the settlements where two religions were present in Cape Breton were made up of those who came from the same part of the Highlands.

Analysis of census records indicates how settlements expanded over the course of the nineteenth century. In some areas, such as South Highlands, Kiltarlity, Keppoch, and North Ainslie, the settlers listed on the Land Grant Index Sheets as settling beside one another are listed together in the census. This demonstrates that the settlement had not expanded since the first settlers arrived. Whereas in the other areas, such as North Highlands and Kingross, the settlers are much more spread out within the census, although some are listed together.⁴⁶ In areas where the first settlers were more spread out, it appears that further settlement had taken place. This increase in settlement may be due to the

For more information see: Campey, *After the Hector: The Scottish Pioneers of Nova Scotia and Cape Breton, 1773-1852*, 113.

⁴⁶ The family numbers provided within table 2.1 indicate whether these settlements had grown in numbers or not. Families within the census were numbered in the order in that they were visited, this is known as their family number. The census taker would have visited houses in the order in that they came to them. In those that expansion has not taken place, the family numbers of those listed on the Land Grant Index Sheets, can be seen to be all one after another or close to one another. On the other hand, in areas where settlement has increased the family numbers of the first settlers are more spread out, although some of the first settlers are still listed one after another.

children of first generation settling on the family land or land nearby when they were old enough to do so. For example, in the case of John McArthur and Flora McLean, who were settlers in North Highlands, they are listed on the Land Grant Index Sheets as living on land beside one another, whereas in the census there is another family listed as living between them. This demonstrates expansion of the settlement, but also shows the expansion of families as it is a Ranald McArthur who has settled between them. Ranald McArthur is listed as a native of Scotland and is a Catholic like John McArthur, so based on these factors and their shared surname, it would be reasonable to assume that Ranald is the son of John McArthur. There are two other McArthur families listed after John McArthur and, based on the similarities in terms of place of birth, religion and surname it is likely that they are also the sons of John McArthur.

When looking at Scottish settlement in the places that would come to have Scottish names, it is clear that many Scots settled with those from similar places and, in some cases, also travelled over with them.⁴⁷ In the case of Skye Glen, six of the seven settlers there came from the Isle of Skye in 1830. They can be found on the list of emigrants from

⁴⁷ Both Rosemary E Ommer and Stephen Hornsby have identified a similar pattern in settlement. Rosemary E Ommer explains how the Highlanders who settled in both Cape Breton and Newfoundland recreated the clan networks which they had been a part of in Scotland. In the case of Cape Breton, she uses the example of the Broad Cove/Margaree area in Inverness County. Her research found that many of the settlers here were members of Clan Ranald. She notes that the settlers were not only related by clan ties but also by family ones. Of the 188 adult males who came to the area in the early 1800s, 134 were related kin; accounting for 71%. She argues that the recreation of these clan networks was not accidental, rather a conscious decision to preserve the clanship. See: Rosemary E Ommer, "Primitive Accumulation and the Scottish 'Clann' in the Old World and the New," *Journal of Historical Geography* 12.2 (1986): 131-4. Hornsby makes a similar point arguing that while Scots tended to live as a nuclear family unit, kith and kin would live nearby and Scots tended to settle with those they had made the journey across the Atlantic with, opting to live side by side if this was an option. He uses a map of settlement along the Southwest part of the Margaree River, Inverness County, to illustrate this argument. It charts the land granted from 1836-31 noting the names of the settlers and where they came from in Scotland. The maps show those with the same surnames occupying adjacent land and although the settlers came from a number of places in Scotland, the majority originated from Strathglass. See: Hornsby, "Scottish Emigration and Settlement in Early Nineteenth-Century Cape Breton", 63-5.

Skye to Margaree in 1830 compiled by Alexander Beaton, the head of the party who travelled together, and sent to Honourable Charles Grant M.P. in London.⁴⁸ John Beaton, Angus Gillis, Archibald Gillis, John Gillis, Murdock Gillis and John MacKinnon are all listed as travelling together to Cape Breton.⁴⁹ On arrival, they settled together in the area that would become known as Skye Glen.⁵⁰ There is also evidence to suggest that those who travelled together from different parts of the Highlands settled in the same place on arrival. Four of the five Scots who settled in Alba did so in 1828. All of these settlers came from the Islands of Mull, Skye and Tiree in the Hebrides.⁵¹ As they all arrived in the same year from islands that were close to one another, it is likely that they travelled to Cape Breton together and decided to settle together on their arrival.

Settling together can also be identified among families. Three brothers Allan, Donald, and Archie McKinnon, from the Isle of Muck, settled together to the east of Lake Ainslie in the 1820s.⁵² Similarly, six McMillan brothers, also from the Isle of Muck, sailed from Tobermory on the *Commerce* in 1822 and settled together in the area that would become Glenmore.⁵³

From the settlement patterns that have been identified here, it is clear that Scots tended to settle with those from the same place in Scotland, or at least those with whom they had made the journey across the Atlantic. This demonstrates that Scots chose to settle with those with whom they were familiar. Being so far from Scotland, settling with those

⁴⁸ National Archives of Canada, Colonial Office 384, vol 23 pp.300-302 microfilm B-946. Accessible <www.theshipslist.com/ships/passengerlists/beaton1830.shtml> [accessed: March 2020]

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ MacDougall, *History of Inverness County*, 464.

⁵¹ MacDougall, *History of Inverness County*, 461.

⁵² Ibid., 515.

⁵³ Ibid., 511.

who had a similar experience and were used to a similar way of life would have made the transition easier.

The location of settlement in the areas that would come to have Scottish names, took place first along the coast, as well as around lakes and beside rivers. These areas continued to be popular until the 1820s when settlement began to move further inland. This pattern of settlement follows the trends identified by scholars such as Douglas F. Campbell and R.A. McLean specifically in relation to Inverness County, as well as by Stephen Hornsby and Lucille H Campey when examining Scottish settlement on Cape Breton more generally.⁵⁴

The second generation of settlers, both those born in Scotland to the first settlers and those born after their parents had crossed the Atlantic, played an important role in developing the settlements. In many cases, it was the second generation who were the first to have the land that their family had settled on legally granted to them. Furthermore, the second generation played a part in the expansion of the settlements, with many choosing to settle on their family's land, or on land nearby, when they began their own families. This demonstrates that settler colonialism was a multi-generational process that extended beyond the first generation of settlers. That generation began the process by settling on the land, and in some cases having the land legally granted to them. Subsequent generations continued the process, occupying the land owned by previous generations, in many cases having this land legally granted to them, and expanding the settlements by taking over further land with their own families.

⁵⁴ These trends were discussed in more depth within the introduction to this thesis.

To summarise, the majority of those who settled in the areas that would come to have Scottish place names were natives of Scotland or born in Nova Scotia to at least a Scottish father. Some areas were initially settled by Loyalists in the 1780s and 1790s; however, in these areas there appears to have been a later settlement of Scots in the 1820s. Scottish settlement began in 1798, and from this time onwards, Scots made up the majority of those who settled in the places that would come to have Scottish names. Many of these Scots squatted on the land that they settled on, either for a few years after their arrival, or for the rest of their lives, with their sons or grandsons being the first members of their family to have land legally granted to them. Analysis of the 1871 census demonstrates how these settlements expanded, showing that they grew in part as a result of the children of the first settlers starting their own families and moving onto land of their own. An examination of settlement patterns also demonstrates that Scots tended to settle on land beside those they knew, whether that be those from the same island or village in Scotland, members of their family, such as siblings, or even those with whom they had made the journey across the Atlantic. While it was the first generation who were involved in the initial settlement, the role of the second generation should not be overlooked. In many cases, it was this generation who were the first to have their families' land legally granted to them and they were also involved the expansion of the settlements. This demonstrates that settler colonialism in Inverness County was a multi-generational process that extended beyond initial Scottish settlement. Scots made up the majority of settlers in the areas being studied here, settling on what was once Mi'kmaq land. In this regard, Scots were not just supplanting the Mi'kmaq by settling on their land, but they were also replacing their communities with their own. The existence of Scottish settlers

in these areas presumably played a part in the choice of names. This contrasts with many of the places with Scottish names in other countries that were part of the British Empire as those names appear to have come about more as a result of Scottish colonial involvement rather than immigrant settlement. However, analysis of when these names came into use will provide a better picture of the role that settlers played in the naming of these places and will be the focus of the third chapter of this thesis.

Table 2.1 Census information for settlers in Keppoch, Kingross, Kiltarlity, North Ainslie,
North Highlands and South Highlands.

M: Married
W: Widowed

Area	Name	Place of birth	Religion	Origin	Age	Marital status	Family	Family no.
Keppoch	Duncan Gillis	Scotland	Catholic	Scotch	50	M	Effy (born in Nova Scotia)	97
Keppoch	Donald Gillis	Scotland	Catholic	Scotch	52	W	Archibald (14), John (12), Donald (10), Andrew (8), Angus (6), Duncan (5)	98
Kiltarlity	Angus Gillies/ Gillis	NS	Catholic	Scotch	65	M	Catherine (55), John (27), Angus (25), Jessie (30), Sarah (28), Missah (26), Ann (20)	57
Kingross	Roderick McKenzie	Scotland	Presbyterian- C of FP	Scotch	65	M	Wife- Hannah (60), John (37, Farmer), Isabella (38), Ann (35), Mary (24), William (25, farmer)- all children born in NS	81
Kingross	John McLeod	Scotland	Baptist	Scotch	59	M	Wife- Christina (56) Murdoch (21, Farmer), Donald (18), Isabella (33), Jessy (10)	
Kingross	Archibald Stewart/ Stuart	Scotland	Presbyterian- C of FP	Scotch	68	M	Ann (65), Christina (35), Allan (27, farmer), Anna (25), Alexander (23, farmer), John (13)	79

Kingross	Kenneth McDearmid / McDermid	Scotland	Presbyterian- C of FP	Scotch	38	M	Jessy (38, born NS) Annie (9), Catherine Ann (6), Sarah Jane (4), Alex (3), John Archibald (1)	28
Kingross	Peter Ross	Scotland	Presbyterian- C of FP	Scotch	56	M	Flora (50, born in Scotland), Donald (22, farmer), Isabella (18), John (15), Margaret (12), Murdock (10)	20
Kingross	Roderick McLeod	Scotland	Presbyterian- C of FP	Scotch	50	M	Mary (47, Scotland), Malcom (21, farmer), Catherine (19), William (18, Farmer), Murdock (16, Farmer), Angus (15, Farmer), Flora (14), Christina (13)- All children born in NS	3
Kingross	Donald McKenzie	Scotland	Presbyterian- C of FP	Scotch	61	M	Mary (58, Scotland), Donald (29, farmer), John (26, farmer), Kenneth (19, farmer), Christina (22), Ann (18)	2
Kingross	Alexander McKenzie	Scotland	Presbyterian- C of FP	Scotch	65	M	Sarah (60, Scotland), Mary (28), Kenneth (27, Farmer), Ephemy (26)	74
Kingross	Murdock McLean	Scotland	Baptist	Scotch	49	M	Catherine (49, Scotland), John (29, farmer), Catherine (24),	75

							Mary (19), Euphemia (19), Nehemiah (12), Isabella (10), Ellen (7) Jenet (3), Ann (6 months)	
Kingross	William McKay	NS	Presbyter ian- C of LP	Scotch	62	M	Jenet (60, Born Scotland), John (38, farmer), Kenneth (31, farmer, married), Alexr (23, farmer), Elisa (19), Mary (26, Married), Ann (26, married), William (4), Robert (10 Months)	78
Kingross	Malcolm McKinnon	Scotland	Presbyter ian- C of LP	Scotch	51	M	Effy (48, Scotland), Angus (27, farmer), John (27, farmer), Catherine (17), Niel (15)	16
Kiltarlity	John McGregor	NS	Church of Scotland	Scotch	72	M	Flora (70)- Born in Scotland Alex (27) Isabella (25) Murdock (25) Donald (23) Mary (26) Jessie (19) Malcolm (17)	47
Kiltarlity	John McGregor	NS	Church of Scotland	Scotch	31	M	Ann (24)	49
Kiltarlity	Hugh Gillies / Gillis	NS	R Catholic	Scotch	44	M	Ann (45), Mary (19), Catherine (15), Peter (13)	50
Kiltarlity	Murdock McLean	NS	Church of Scotland	Scotch	28		Catherine (54)- Born in Scotland and widowed	53

Kiltarlity	Alexander McDonald	NS	Catholic	Scotch	33	M	Wife-Margaret (22), Allan (2 months), Isabell (68)- Mother? Widowed, born in NS, Lucy (40), James (21, farmer), Malcolm (35, Carpenter), Neil (37, Carpenter), Rory (24, servant)	55
Kiltarlity	John McLellan	NS	Catholic	Scotch	37		Sister? Mary (51)	60
Kiltarlity	Allan A Cameron	NS	Catholic	Scotch	30	M	Mary (30), Lauchlin (2)	48
Kiltarlity	Angus Gillies/ Gillis	NS	Catholic	Scotch	65	M	Catherine (55), John (27), Angus (25), Jessie (30), Sarrah (28), Missah (26), Ann (20)	57
North Ainslie	Alexander Docherty/ Doharty	NS	Church of Scotland	Scotch	52	M	Margaret (40), Malcolm (12), George (10), Mary Ann (9), Margaret Ann (7), Flora Catherine (5), Elizabeth (3), Catherine (6 months)	40
North Ainslie	Hugh McKenzie	NS	Roman Catholic	Scotch	65	W	Hector (30, farmer), Elizabeth (14), Allan (17)	39
North Ainslie	William Dunbar	NS	Presbyterian	Scotch	50	M	Jessie (35)- wife Jessie Ann (15), Johau Elizabeth (13), Margaret Jane (11), Christina (9), Mary (7), Hugenia (5),	41

							John James (3), Thomas Hugh (6 months). John Dunbar (38, Mill right)	
North Ainslie	John Dunbar	NS	Presbyterian	Scotch	38		Shown as living with above	
North Highlands	John McArthur	Scotland	Catholic	Scotch	82	M	Mary (84), Catherine (40), Christy (30), Mary (18) - Mary and Christy born in NS	108
North Highlands	Flora McLean	Scotland	Church of Scotland	Scotch	68	W	Donald (26, farmer) Rose Sara (21) both married- to eachother? Allan (6 months)- all born in NS	106
North Highlands	Allan McDonald	Scotland	Roman Catholic	Scotch	60	M	Ann (50), James (22, Farmer), Allan (17, farmer), Angus (19, farmer)- 3 sons born in NS	74
North Highlands	Donald McLean	Scotland	Church of Scotland	Scotch	68	M	Mary (55)- Born In NS, Mary (35), Niel (26, Farmer), Margaret (31), Flora (22), Rory (19, Farmer), Donald (16), Jane (13)- Born NS	21
South Highlands	Charles McKinnon	NS	Church of Scotland	Scotch	34	M	Flora (34) - two children poss Johny (4), Flora (2)- all listed under John McKinnon (68, Scotland, W)	34

South Highlands	Alexander Fraser	Scotland	Church of Scotland	Scotch	69	M	Jessee (66, Scotland), Neill (33, farmer) married to Rachael (23) Mary (32, W), Jessee McLean (2)	32
South Highlands	Allan McQuarrie	NS	Church of Scotland	Scotch	62	M	Mary (65, Scotland), Catherine (33), John G (28, merchant), Allan (24, farmer), Robert Glazebrooke (15, C of E, English), Mary McKinnon (3)	31
South Highlands	Archibald McKinnon	NS	Church of Scotland	Scotch	35	M	Mary (26) Johny (4), Flora (2)- all listed under John McKinnon (68, Scotland, W)	34

The settlers on these tables were identified as the first settlers in these areas using the Land Grant Index Sheets. The 1871 Census was then used to find further information on the settlers. A number of the settlers who appeared on the Index sheets could not be found within the census and as a result have been omitted from the tables.

Chapter Three

The introduction of Scottish settlement and land plot names during the Nineteenth Century

This chapter examines the introduction of Scottish names in Inverness County during the nineteenth century.¹ This covers names that were given to the areas of land granted to individuals, as well as the names that were given to settlements where groups of settlers lived.² This aspect of naming is important as it provides a clearer picture of the role that settlers played in the introduction of Scottish names to Inverness County.

The chapter will first chart chronologically the emergence of Scottish names in Inverness County, with the first section of the chapter exploring land plot names, as these were first to be introduced. Much work has been carried out on Scottish place names, both in Cape Breton specifically, but also in Canada and the British Empire more generally, such as that of Watson Kirkconnell and Malcom Prentis. However, no evidence has been found to show that the specific act of naming a piece of land that was granted to an individual has been studied in relation to Cape Breton, nor in relation to the wider British Empire.³ As a result, the section on land plot names will examine where the practice of individuals naming their land may have come from, and to what extent Scots took part in

¹ As was noted in the introduction to this thesis, Inverness County was not known as such until 1837. This chapter covers the history of the area that would become Inverness County from the start of the nineteenth century, before the area had even been designated as a county. A county was first established in 1823 as the District of Juste au Corps of Cape Breton Island. The area will be referred to as Inverness County throughout for ease.

² Names applied to land by individuals for the purpose of this thesis will be referred to as 'land plot names'.

³ See: Watson Kirkconnell, "Scottish Place-names in Canada," in *The Scottish Tradition in Canada*, edited by William Stanford Reid, 311-321. (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1976).; Malcolm D Prentis, *The Scots in Australia* (Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 2008) 241-8.

this practice, before exploring whether, as a consequence, this may be seen as a Scottish practice, and finally, outlining the period in which this practice occurred in Inverness County. The first section of this chapter will conclude by looking at how the names given to land plots can be linked to the Scots who settled in Inverness County, demonstrating that these names were introduced as a result of Scottish settlement. The second section of this chapter will examine the names that were given to settlements, as these names emerged after land plot names, appearing in sources from the 1860s onwards. As the introduction of settlement names to Cape Breton has been previously examined by both William Davey and Alan Rayburn, their methodology will be used to demonstrate when these names were officially recognized, meaning that they appear within contemporary sources such as post office records and maps.⁴ Following a brief examination of Scottish settlement names, or the lack of these, in the Cape Breton Island Papers, 1787-1843, that section will chart when these names were officially recognized, using those sources, as well as examining how the existing names of some settlements were changed to Scottish names through the use of legislation. Finally, how settlement names can be linked to those who lived in the settlements will be explored. The third section of the chapter will examine the different types of names applied by Scots, both in relation to areas of land granted to individuals and to settlements, before comparing these. Identifying types of names is important in establishing trends in the types of names applied and whether any of the types of name were more popular than others. Finally, the act of naming will be explored in relation to settler colonialism in Inverness County, demonstrating how Scots were

⁴ See: William Davey, "Naming Patterns on Cape Breton Island: 1820-1890", *Onomastica Canadiana* 80.1 (1998): 1-25.; Alan Rayburn, "The Transfer of Scottish Placenames to Canada" *Names* 47.3 (1999): 313-323.

involved in this process, both as individuals and in groups, as well as the multigenerational aspect.

Names applied to land granted to an individual - land plot names

An examination of the Cape Breton Island petitions (1787-1843) reveals that a small number of settlers already had provided a name for the land they were petitioning for. There are two petitions from Inverness County that explicitly state what the name was intended for – those of Peter Grinton and Norman McPheron. Grinton’s undated petition states that his farm would be called Grangemouth.⁵ McPheron’s petition states that his farm is called Loch Ban.⁶ These are the only petitions to state what the names were for, making it likely that some of the names that were provided within the petitions were intended for farms. However, not all land that was granted was intended for farming, with fishing and town lots also being petitioned for.⁷ As this cannot be said definitively, these names will be referred to as land plot names for the purpose of this thesis. The land plot names were usually written on the front of the petition where the basic information such as the petitioner’s name, the location of the area of land and the acreage was recorded. If a petitioner provided a land plot name, it was noted there and not elsewhere within the petition. The petitioners did not provide any explanation as to why they had chosen a particular name.

⁵ Nova Scotia Archives. Cape Breton Island Petitions, 1787-1843. n.d. Peter Grinton, Cape Breton no. 3332, mf. 15800.

⁶ Nova Scotia Archives. Cape Breton Island Petitions, 1787-1843. 1821 Norman McPheron & others, Cape Breton no. 2756, mf. 15798.

⁷ For example, in 1805 Andrew Marsha petitioned asking for a fishing lot. See: Nova Scotia Archives. Cape Breton Island Petitions, 1787-1843. 1805 Andrew Marsha, Cape Breton no. 207, mf. 15789. Furthermore, in 1812 Thomas Carrol petitioned for a Town lot. See: Nova Scotia Archives. Cape Breton Island Petitions, 1787-1843. 1812 Thomas Carrol, Cape Breton no. 790, mf. 15791.

Land plot names have not previously been studied. Government papers from the time do not offer any explanation as to the origins of the practice of naming land plots. Furthermore, no evidence has been identified by scholars of individual settlers naming land elsewhere in the British Empire.⁸ However, this practice is likely to have been influenced by the custom of house naming that was used in many European countries, including Britain. Prior to the introduction of street names and numbers by an Act of Parliament in 1765, individual houses had names rather than numbers to distinguish them from one another.⁹ Following the 1765 Act, house names were still used in Britain alongside street names and numbers, but this was mainly a practice of the upper classes, who owned their own homes, whereas the lower classes rented their homes and therefore had no control over what the properties were called. Scholars such as Elizabeth Cromley have suggested that this practice may have influenced other nations as she argues that the naming of buildings in New York may have been inspired by the practice in Britain.¹⁰ It is possible that this custom was introduced in Cape Breton by settlers from Britain in the form of land plot naming.

In Inverness County there were six groups of people who provided land plot names within their land petitions: the Scots, Irish, English, Nova Scotians, Cape Bretoners, and Prince Edward Islanders.¹¹ Of the 122 petitioners who provided a name for their land, 63.1 percent were Scottish; 17.2 percent were Irish; 5.7 percent were Nova

⁸ The lack of evidence of land naming elsewhere is not to say that the practice did not take place, but it suggests that scholars are yet to comment on this practice or that there is no evidence.

⁹ House of Commons, Postage Act 1765 (10th October 1765).

¹⁰ Elizabeth C. Cromley, *Alone together: A history of New York's early apartments* (Cornell: Cornell University Press, 1990), 143.

¹¹ It should be noted that in other counties in Cape Breton it is predominantly the Scots and Irish who provide land plot names. However, names are also provided those from other locations including a number from other European nations, such as settlers from Germany and Sweden as well as those from the United States and Upper Canada.

Scotians; 1.6 percent were Prince Edward Islanders; 1.6 percent were from Cape Breton; 0.8 percent were English; and the remaining 9.8 percent do not list a place of origin within their land petitions.¹² These percentages demonstrate that it was largely the Scots who engaged in this practice and it is likely that a large number of the petitioners from Nova Scotia or Prince Edward Island may have been of Scottish descent, as both places had initially been more popular destinations for Scottish immigrants.¹³ However, some Scots who had initially emigrated to, and settled in, Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island migrated to Cape Breton Island in the late eighteenth century and early nineteenth century as they were unhappy or disillusioned with their existing life and situation.¹⁴ There is evidence to suggest that some of those who settled in Inverness County from Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island were of Scottish origin. For example, John McIntyre Sr petitioned for land in 1819, naming it Borrithy.¹⁵ His petition states that he was a native of Scotland but had lived on Prince Edward Island for 25 years before coming to Inverness County.¹⁶ Stephen O'Henly was granted land in Judique in 1819 and he named this John's Hill.¹⁷ His petition states that he was born in Nova Scotia to Scottish parents.¹⁸

¹² The origin of some of those who do not provide this within their petition can be inferred based on the land plot name they provided as some of them provided land plot names that are based on places in Scotland and Ireland. Despite this evidence these petitioners have still been categorized as their origin being unknown.

¹³ J. M. Bumsted, "Scottish Emigration to the Maritimes 1770-1815: A New Look at an Old Theme," *Acadiensis* 10.2 (1981): 66; Lucille H Campey, *After the Hector: The Scottish Pioneers of Nova Scotia and Cape Breton, 1773-1852* (Toronto: Dundurn, 2007), 71.

¹⁴ DC Harvey, "Scottish Immigration to Cape Breton". *Dalhousie Review* 21.3 (1941): 315.; Stephen Hornsby, "Scottish Emigration and Settlement in Early Nineteenth-Century Cape Breton," in *The Island: New Perspectives on Cape Breton's History 1713-1990*, ed., Kenneth Donovan (Fredericton: Acadiensis, 1990): 49.

¹⁵ Nova Scotia Archives. Cape Breton Island Petitions, 1787-1843. 1819 John McIntyre Sr, Cape Breton no. 2208, mf. 15796.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ Nova Scotia Archives. Cape Breton Island Petitions, 1787-1843. 1819 Stephen O'Henly, Cape Breton no. 3313, mf. 15800.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

Furthermore, some of the names provided by settlers from Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island also indicate that those settlers may have been of Scottish origin. Patrick Morrison was granted land in Mabou in 1820, and named it Uist.¹⁹ Although, his petition states that he was born on Prince Edward Island, the name Uist suggests a connection, probably through one or both of his parents, to the Hebridean island.²⁰ Saint John's Island, as it was known before it was renamed Prince Edward Island in 1798, was particularly popular with immigrants from the Hebrides, a cluster of Islands off the West Coast of Scotland, where North and South Uist are located.²¹ For example, in 1772, 214 Scots from South Uist, Barra, Eigg and mainland West Inverness-shire emigrated to St John's Island to avoid pressure from the local landowner to convert from Catholicism to Presbyterianism.²² Morrison's petition states that he had lived on Cape Breton Island for 17 years. As he was 23 when he petitioned, he would have arrived on the island at the age of six in 1803, at a time when Scots were re-settling there from Prince Edward Island.²³ When Morrison was old enough to petition for land, he may have chosen the name Uist as this could have been where his parents had come from, but this cannot be known for certain.

Given that more than half of those who provided names in petitions for land in Inverness County were Scottish, or of Scottish descent, the act of naming the land they had been granted may be viewed as a commonly Scottish practice. Although there were

¹⁹ Nova Scotia Archives. Cape Breton Island Petitions, 1787-1843. 1820 Patrick Morrison, Cape Breton no. 2515, mf. 15797.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Bumsted, *The People's Clearance: Highland Emigration to British North America, 1770-1815*, 70.

²² Campey, *After the Hector: The Scottish Pioneers of Nova Scotia and Cape Breton, 1773-1852*, 60; Bumsted, *The People's Clearance: Highland Emigration to British North America, 1770-1815*, 57.

²³ Nova Scotia Archives. Cape Breton Island Petitions, 1787-1843. 1820 Patrick Morrison, Cape Breton no. 2515, mf. 15797.

also a small number of English settlers who petitioned for land in Cape Breton between 1816 and 1820 who also provided land plot names within their petitions, only one of those petitioners settled in Inverness County. Therefore, while the English also engaged in the practice of land naming, it appears that they only did so in small numbers, presumably owing to the fact that significantly fewer English were petitioning for land in Cape Breton in comparison to Scots.²⁴ While it is clear that, in the case of Inverness County, land naming was a common practice among Scots, this cannot be seen as uniquely Scottish. Of course, this observation cannot be applied to other counties in Cape Breton without further research, as this thesis uses Inverness County as a case study.

The period when the practice of naming land in petitions was common is another area that requires further study. Land plot names were given within the petitions for land in the area that would become Inverness County between 1816 and 1821. Settlement began on the island in the second half of the eighteenth century and continued well into the nineteenth century and thus it is interesting to consider why the practice of naming land in petitions only took place in such a brief part of what was a long period of settlement. The answer may lie in the increasing ownership of land during this period. As outlined in chapter two, land policy was relaxed in Cape Breton in 1817 to make ownership more accessible to those who had immigrated to the island. Before this, land had been granted to disbanded soldiers and Loyalists for free, or to those who could afford to pay, and some arrivals, including many Highland Scots, did not fall into these categories. This resulted in some of those who came to the Island before 1817 squatting

²⁴ An analysis of the Cape Breton Island Petitions demonstrates that of those who stated where they had immigrated from only 2% stated they had come from England in comparison to the 30% who stated they had come from Scotland.

on land. On that basis, the practice of settlers providing names as part of their land petitions appears to coincide with the change of land policy that enabled more settlers to own their land legally. 40 percent of the individuals who provided a name for the land that they were petitioning for stated that they had come to the island earlier than 1816.²⁵ This demonstrates that the practice was not just popular with those who came to Cape Breton between 1816 and 1821, the period when names appear within the petitions, but also with those who arrived before 1816. This indicates a correlation between the relaxation of land policy and the appearance of names within the petitions. In chapter two it was explained that the period between 1815 and 1820 was the only time when land was consistently granted to Scots. While some Scots were granted land before 1815 and after 1820, many who came to Inverness County after then became squatters.²⁶ It could be the case that the names that were noted in the petitions had been in use by the squatters before 1815 but were only reflected in the petitions granted from 1815, as this was when the Scots were able to apply for land. Furthermore, there is no evidence to suggest that the practice of land naming continued after 1821.

²⁵ 51 of the 122 petitioners who gave land plot names had resided on the Island since at least 1815. 54 of the 122 petitioners who gave land plot names came to the Island in 1816 or later. The other 18 did not give an indication as to how long they had lived on the Island or state something vague like “many years”.

²⁶ As was discussed in chapter two, the length of time that those Scots squatted varied, with some only squatting for a few years after arrival before eventually having their land legally granted, and others squatting for the rest of their lives and it was their sons, or even grandsons, to whom the land that they lived on was eventually granted. It should be noted that not all Scots settlers who had a long period between arriving on the Island and having land granted to them. Some have a long period between arriving and granting as they came to the island as children and initially lived with their parents. For example, Colin Chisholm Jr’s 1819 petition states that he has lived at Long Point for 17 years. His petition states that the 22-year-old lives with his father. Nova Scotia Archives. Cape Breton Island Petitions, 1787-1843. 1819 Colin Chisholm Jr, Cape Breton no. 2101, mf. 15796. In another case the reason is that they are petitioning for ownership for the land that was granted to their late husband. Abigail Whitehead had lived on the island for 30 years when she petitioned for land. However, the reason for this that she is petitioning for the land that belonged to her late husband James. An 1815 petition states that James had this land granted to him when he arrived in Cape Breton in 1789. Nova Scotia Archives. Cape Breton Island Petitions, 1787-1843. 1820 Abigail Whitehead, Cape Breton no. 2564, mf. 15798.; Nova Scotia Archives. Cape Breton Island Petitions, 1787-1843. 1815 James Whitehead, Cape Breton no. 1245a, mf. 15793.

A clear link can be established between the land plot names and the individuals who provided these given that both the name of the petitioner and the land plot name are stated within the petitions. Thus, these names are a product Scottish settlement on what had been Mi'kmaq land rather than due to Scottish involvement in colonial administration. Furthermore, naming of land that was granted to an individual can be seen to demonstrate their ownership and emphasizing that the land no longer belonged to the Indigenous Mi'kmaq.

*Names applied to settlements*Table 3.1 Table of information relating to the emergence of Scottish settlement names.

Name	post office opened	Church Map	Name Changed from	Year name changed
Skye Glen	prior 1868	Y		
Strathlorne	prior 1868	Y	Broad Cove Intervale	1879
Dunvegan	prior 1868	Y	Broad Cove Marsh	1885
Lake Ainslie South	prior 1868	Y		
Lake Ainslie West	prior 1868	Y		
Lake Ainslie East	prior 1868	Y		
Scotsville	1869		Outlet Lake Ainslie	1883
Mull River	1870	Y		
South Highlands	1876			
Glencoe	1882	Y	Turk Settlement	1872
Glengarry	1883	Y		
Kingross	1884			
Loch Ban	1885	Y		
Lake Ainslie Chapel	1885	Y		
Glenville	1886			
Creignish	1889	Y		
Inverness	1891			
North Ainslie	1891			
Kirkwood	1891			
North Highlands	1892			
Alba	1893		Boom	1893
Craigmore	1893			
Port Ban	1893	Y		
Claverhouse	1896			
Piper Glen	1896			
Aberdeen	1899			
Scotch Hill	1901			
Ainslie Glen	1904	Y		
Ainslie Point	1910			
Melrose Hill	1911			
Gillisdale	1911			
Portree	1912			
Keppoch	1912			

Kiltarlity	1913			
Rear Dunvegan	1913			
Chisholm	1922			
Inverside	1923	Y		
Ben Noah		Y		
Glenmore		Y		
Kenloch				

Information compiled using Libraries and Archives Canada's Post Offices and Postmasters database (RG 3, series B-2 and D-3), The Statutes of Nova Scotia from, 1872, 1879, 1881, 1883, 1885 and 1893, and the Topographical township map of Inverness County Nova Scotia [cartographic material] : from actual surveys made, and engraved by and under the direction of A.F. Church, (Bedford, N.S. : A.F. Church, 1884).

William Davey and Alan Rayburn note that before 1880, few Scottish names for settlements appeared on maps of Cape Breton. They provide three reasons for this: poor land surveys; the language barrier due to the fact that many Scots still only spoke Gaelic; and the fact that settlements were spread out all over the Island.²⁷ For the majority of the nineteenth century, settlement extended across rural areas and, as a result, many communities were not officially named, as names were not needed to differentiate settlements.²⁸ Furthermore, the fact that many Highlanders squatted illegally on Crown land meant that official records did not reflect the extent of the population on the island.²⁹ William Davey surmised that the names applied to settlements on the island would have been used locally before they were officially recognised.³⁰ Indeed, Malcolm Prentis, whose research focuses on Australia but is still relevant to what was happening in Cape

²⁷ For more on this argument see: Davey, "Naming Patterns on Cape Breton Island:1820-1890",11-14.; Rayburn, "The Transfer of Scottish Placenames to Canada", 316.

²⁸ Davey, "Naming Patterns on Cape Breton Island:1820-1890", 15.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Ibid.

Breton, notes that squatters were “naturally prolific in bestowing place names”.³¹ His work reveals that in areas where there were high numbers of squatters, a significant number of names of Scottish origin can be found.³² While those who have studied this in relation to Canada suggest that further research on the matter is needed, it is likely that local usage of settlement names pre-dates their appearance on maps.³³

This section will chart the emergence of Scottish settlement names throughout the nineteenth century. As post office records and maps were identified by Alan Rayburn and William Davey, who have previously examined this subject, as the best sources to chart the emergence of names, these sources will be the main focus of this section. The key information from these two sources, as well as local Acts, have been compiled in table 3.1. A brief examination of the Cape Breton Island Petitions will be undertaken to demonstrate that, while a number of English language names were introduced during the period that these petitions cover, only one of those names is of Scottish origin. As it is difficult to trace the local, more informal, usage of settlement names, what will be discussed here is when the names were officially recognized, in other words, when these started to emerge in contemporary sources, such as maps and post office records, against the background that they may well have been used locally prior to this. The publishing of the A.F. Church Maps and the opening of post offices led to settlement names being officially recognised.³⁴ The post office records begin in 1868, coinciding with the Post Office Act passed in the same year. This Act repealed the laws relating to the postal service in individual provinces in order to merge postal services of the former colonies

³¹ Prentis, *The Scots in Australia*, 246.

³² Ibid.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Rayburn, “The Transfer of Scottish Placenames to Canada”, 316.

and regulate the service.³⁵ For post offices that opened before 1868, the opening date is simply listed as “Prior 1868”. The A.F. Church Maps are considered to be the first extensive maps of Nova Scotia that accurately represent Scottish settlements.³⁶ Inverness County’s map was completed in 1884. While other maps were created between the beginning of the nineteenth century and the publishing of the A.F. Church Map for Inverness County in 1884, few Scottish names appear on these maps and thus the decision has been made not to consult all of them.

Only one Scottish settlement name appears in the Cape Breton Island Land Papers that span the period from 1787 until 1843. Evidence demonstrates that names were given to places in Inverness County by British colonial officials in the early days of settlement, as is shown by the appearance of names such as Broad Cove, Long Point and Low Point within the land petitions.³⁷ However, none of the names used were Scottish and this demonstrates that such names were recognized at a later date. No names of Scottish origin appear on John Purdy’s 1814 map of Nova Scotia and part of New Brunswick.³⁸ The only name that would come to be applied to settlements and that appears within the petitions

³⁵ The Post Office Act, 1867, and the general regulations founded thereon (Ottawa: G.E. Desbarats, 1868), 3.

³⁶ William Davey cites the A.F. Church Map and as well as MacKinlay's Map of the Province of Nova Scotia including the Island of Cape Breton compiled in 1861. He argues that these maps were accurate as they were created using up to date and thorough land surveys. See: “Davey, Naming Patterns on Cape Breton Island:1820-1890”, 14

³⁷ The name Broad Cove first appears in an 1803 petition. See: Nova Scotia Archives. Cape Breton Island Petitions, 1787-1843. 1803 Angus McIsaac & others, Cape Breton no.94, mf. 15788. The name Long Point first appears in a petition in 1803. See: Nova Scotia Archives. Cape Breton Island Petitions, 1787-1843. 1803 Peter Gillies, Cape Breton no. 78, mf. 15788. The name Low Point first appears in the petitions in 1803. See: Nova Scotia Archives. Cape Breton Island Petitions, 1787-1843. 1803 Phinias Sunderland Cape Breton no. 116, mf. 15788.

³⁸ This is noted by Davey. See: Davey, “Naming Patterns on Cape Breton Island:1820-1890”, 8.

is Lake Ainslie.³⁹ This name first appears in the petitions in 1819.⁴⁰ Lake Ainslie was named in honor of George Robert Ainslie, a Scot who was Lieutenant Governor of Cape Breton from 1816 to 1820 and, although a good deal of Scottish settlement took place in the area surrounding the lake, the use of this name, for the most part, pre-dates Scottish settlement in the area.⁴¹ On that basis, this name may be viewed as existing as a consequence of Scottish involvement in colonial administration in Cape Breton, rather than as a result of Scottish settlement there. However, at this time the lake appears to have been referred to interchangeably as Lake Ainslie and Lake Marguerite. Marguerite is used on Haliburton's Map and within the land petitions to refer to the river that is now known as Margaree River. The name Margaree appears to have derived from the French Marguerite. Furthermore, it is referred to as 'L. Ainslie or Marguerite' on Haliburton's Map of Nova Scotia from 1829.⁴² Marguerite was the French name given to the lake and while it was still in use at that time, the fact that the lake was provided with a British name suggests a desire by the British colonial authorities to assert ownership over this space. This use of place naming mirrors the way that the practice was used by the British in other parts of Canada and the British Empire.⁴³ The previous chapter demonstrated that, while

³⁹ Other settlements were named in honor of George Robert Ainslie, such as Ainslie Point, but these names were not used during this period.

⁴⁰ The first petition in which the name appears is that of Alexander Gillies; Nova Scotia Archives. Cape Breton Island Petitions, 1787-1843. 1819 Alexander Gillies, Cape Breton no. 2134, mf. 15796.

⁴¹ Chapter two showed that the area surrounding Lake Ainslie did not begin to be populated by Scots until the 1820s. See: Appendix 1 for full list of settlers in settlements with the name Lake Ainslie.

⁴² Thomas Chandler Haliburton, *A New Map of Nova Scotia Compiled from the Latest Surveys expressly for the historical and statistical account of Nova Scotia*. (Halifax: Howe, 1829).

⁴³ Michael Vance explores how British names were applied to settlements in the Upper Ottawa Valley. These names were applied before any British settlement had taken place in those areas, and as a result, he argues that the names were applied by officials to indicate that the land now belonged to Britain. See: Michael E Vance, *Imperial Immigrants: The Scottish Settlers in the Upper Ottawa Valley, 1815-1840* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 2012), 41-7. Furthermore, Snodia et al argue that the application of British names to communities in Colonial Zimbabwe was one of the ways in which the white minority asserted their authority, signaling that they were now in charge. See: Magudu Snodia et al, "Political Dialoguing Through the Naming Process: The Case of Colonial Zimbabwe (1890-1980)," *The Journal of Pan-African*

some Scots settled in places that would come to have Scottish names in the first two decades of the nineteenth century, the majority settled from the 1820s onwards. The fact that the majority of these Scottish place names were not used during the first 20 years of the century adds weight to the argument that the names came into existence as a result of Scottish settlement, on the basis that Scottish names appeared after Scots had settled in these areas.

Within the Cape Breton Island Land Papers appear the petitions of some of those who settled in areas that would come to have Scottish names. As they were yet to be named, these areas are referred to by reference to the place or places that they are closest to, or that they lay between. For example, petitions for the area that would become Craigmore describe the land being requested as being either near Long Point or between Long and Low Point.

Although the Cape Breton Island petition database contains petitions dated until 1843, few cover the period from 1830 onwards, with only 54 of the 3340 petitions being from this time. As a result, there is no evidence of Scottish names being introduced in Inverness County until the beginning of the Post Office records in 1868. It should be noted that six of the post offices were opened before 1868, however, the exact year when this occurred is unknown as post office records only began in 1868.

In order to open a post office, a petition had to be sent to the Postmaster General from the inhabitants of the settlement, together with a report from the Post Office

Studies 3.10 (2010): 17-30. Similarly, Catherine Nash explores how the British replaced Gaelic names with English ones in Ireland following the Union of 1801. This is something she argues was an act of “colonial, cultural and political subordination”. See: Catherine Nash, “Irish Placenames: Post-Colonial Locations,” *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 24. 4 (1999): 457-480.

Inspector for Nova Scotia.⁴⁴ The 1868 Post Office Act stated that among the powers of the Postmaster General was the ability to establish and close post offices, as well as to appoint and remove or suspend Postmasters.⁴⁵ The petitions from the inhabitants make the case for why a post office was needed and state where the nearest post office was located, as well as who they are recommending for the position of Postmaster for the proposed post office.⁴⁶ In many cases, they also included the signatures of those who inhabited the settlement.⁴⁷ The Post Office Inspector's report stated the location of the proposed post office, the type of settlement (usually either fishing or farming), how many families it would accommodate, how much the post office was expected to make per annum and which route the post office would be served by.⁴⁸ Many also include a small map to demonstrate the location of the proposed office. Both the petitions to open post offices and the Post Office Inspector reports, like the land petitions, are very formulaic, and this suggests that there was official guidance on the wording and structure of these documents.⁴⁹

As has been previously noted, Alan Rayburn and William Davey state that it is difficult to track the local usage of the settlement names before these were officially recognised. However, the petitions to open post offices that were submitted by inhabitants state the name of their settlement, confirming that this was the name by which they knew

⁴⁴ See: Post Office Inspectors' Reports Halifax, 1885-1886 (RG 3, Series 6, Vol. 155); Post Office Inspectors' Reports Halifax, 1888-1889 (RG 3, Series 6, Vol. 157); Post Office Inspectors' Reports Halifax, 1889-1890 (RG 3, Series 6, Vol. 158).

⁴⁵ The Post Office Act, 1867, and the general regulations founded thereon (Ottawa: G.E. Desbarats, 1868), 4.

⁴⁶ See: Post Office Inspectors Reports.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

it, although it is not clear from the petitions whether the settlers had chosen this name themselves.

In Watson Kirkconnell's analysis of the role that government officials played in the application of names to areas and post offices, he notes that they tended to choose names of politicians and other public figures as a way to commemorate them.⁵⁰ He points out that this was in contrast to the names chosen by settlers, and he offers the example of a settlement in Victoria County, Ontario populated by Highlanders who wanted to name their settlement Caledonia.⁵¹ They were overruled by the Government which instead called the settlement Eldon after the Lord Chancellor.⁵²

It is interesting to observe that post offices were opened not only in areas occupied by legitimate settlers, but also in areas occupied by squatters. According to post office records, Skye Glen's post office was opened before 1868. However, Skye Glen was settled in 1830 by squatters. Hornsby's Land Grant Map, referred to in the previous chapter, shows that the land in Skye Glen was not granted until the period between 1851 and 1880, and this may suggest that a post office was opened in the area before those who lived there were legally entitled to the land. It is unclear exactly when the land in Skye Glen was granted, as the first settlers in the area were squatters and the petitions of the later generations who applied for land do not appear in Cape Breton Island Petitions, 1787-1843, database as these applications were made in a later period. Furthermore, the letters requesting the opening of a post office reviewed for this thesis did not contain

⁵⁰ Kirkconnell, "Scottish Place-names in Canada", 319.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Ibid.

indication of whether the inhabitants had a legal right to the land.⁵³ By contrast, Dunvegan was settled in the second half of the 1810s and the Scots who settled there appear to have had their land legally granted to them subsequently and were also provided with a post office that was opened prior to 1868. Furthermore, no post office was ever opened in Ben Noah, where all the settlers had their land legally granted to them in the 1830s, and that further supported this argument. Many of the places where post offices were opened before 1868 are listed on Hornsby's Land Grant Map as land being granted in the period between 1851 and 1880, demonstrating that these places were originally populated by squatters. This is an interesting decision as, during this period, the Colonial Government was trying to incentivize squatters to apply for grants. It seems anomalous that the Government would allow a post office to be opened in an area populated by squatters, as being allowed to establish such a useful amenity might have been seen by the squatters as an indication that their illegal occupation of the land was acceptable to the Government. A possible explanation for the decision to allow post offices to be opened in an areas occupied by squatters may be that the Government was trying to incentivize the inhabitants to apply for grants of the land. By demonstrating that they were prepared to recognize the areas as settlements, even though the occupants were there illegally, the government may have hoped to reassure the squatters that they were unlikely to be removed from the land as the settlements were viewed as permanent.⁵⁴ The sense of security that this would have provided may have encouraged settlers to apply for legal ownership of their land.

⁵³ See: Post Office Inspectors' Reports Halifax, 1885-1886 (RG 3, Series 6, Vol. 155); Post Office Inspectors' Reports Halifax, 1888-1889 (RG 3, Series 6, Vol. 157); Post Office Inspectors' Reports Halifax, 1889-1890 (RG 3, Series 6, Vol. 158).

⁵⁴ This aspect of the relationship between post offices and settlements has not been explored by scholars.

Inverness County's A.F Church Map was published in 1884, leading to more Scottish settlement names being officially recognized.⁵⁵ On the map are 17 of the 39 Scottish settlement names that would come to exist in Inverness County. This demonstrates that those 17 names were officially recognized and used by that point. Nine of the 17 settlements that appeared on Inverness County's A.F Church Map had post offices that were opened before the map was created.⁵⁶ Of the remaining eight, six had post offices that opened after 1884, two of which, Loch Ban and Lake Ainslie Chapel, were opened within a year of the map's creation, while the other two places that appear on the map, Ben Noah and Glenmore, did not have post offices. Furthermore, of the places that do not appear on the map, only two of these, Scotsville and Loch Ban, had post offices when the map was created. This demonstrates that there was a correlation between the opening of a post office and a place having a recognized name and thus appearing on the A.F. Church Map.

⁵⁵ It is interesting to note that a number of scholars argue that the act of creating maps was a way in which colonial officials asserted British dominance, in a similar way to the use of names. This is discussed both in relation to Canada, but also within the wider British Empire. Mathew Edney explores this practice in relation to India and his appears to be one of the major studies in this field, with many scholars making reference to this when discussing the practice in relation to their own research. He notes that the British mapped 'their' India, the one they 'perceived and governed'. See: Matthew H Edney, *Mapping an Empire: The Geographical Construction of British India, 1765-1843* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 2.; Daniel Clayton explores this in relation to Vancouver Island noting that maps, as well as the application of names, played a fundamental role in the taking of Indigenous land by the British and making it their own. See: Daniel Clayton, *Islands of truth: The Imperial Fashioning of Vancouver Island* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1999), 245.; Discussing about the role of maps in colonization more generally, J. Brian Harley states that "land was claimed on paper before it was occupied". See: J. Brian Harley, "Maps, Knowledge, and Power" in *Geographic Thought: A Praxis Perspective*, eds. George Henderson, and Marvin Waterstone, (New York: Routledge, 2008), 132. D. W. Meinig explores this in relation to the colonization of what would become North America. He argues that even the lines on maps, used to separate the different areas of the continent, are indicative of colonization as this partitioning was done with little thought for the Indigenous population. See: D. W. Meinig, *The Shaping of America: A Geographical Perspective on 500 years of history, vol. 1: Atlantic America, 1492-1800* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), 232.

⁵⁶ These settlements are Dunvegan, Glencoe, Glengarry, Mull River, Lake Ainslie Chapel, Lake Ainslie East, Lake Ainslie South, Lake Ainslie West, Skye Glen, Strathlorne.

During the same period that the Scottish names of settlements were being officially recognized through the opening of post offices and their appearance on the A.F Church Map, the inhabitants of other settlements were using legislation to change their names from non-Scottish to Scottish ones. Between 1872 and 1893, six settlement names were changed from non-Scottish to Scottish ones by this route. Alba, for example, was originally called Boom, before the name was changed in 1893.⁵⁷ Furthermore, Broad Cove Intervale became Strathlorne in 1879.⁵⁸ The Bills that eventually led to the Acts were introduced into the Legislative Assembly by one of the Members who represented Inverness County.⁵⁹ When the names of places changed, so too did that of the post offices located there. Post office records reveal that a letter would be sent from the Post Office Inspector to the Postmaster General in Ottawa advising of the name change. In most cases, the extent of the information provided within the Acts is the original name of the settlement and the proposed replacement name.⁶⁰ However, in the case of the Act that changed the name of Boom to Alba, the boundaries of the settlement are also provided. In some cases, the names that were replaced, such as Broad Cove Intervale and Outlet Lake Ainslie, were based on the area where the places were located. For example, Outlet Lake Ainslie, now Scotsville, sits on the Southwest Margaree River, an outlet from Lake Ainslie. The names Broad Cove and Lake Ainslie both pre-date, for the most part, Scottish settlement in these areas.⁶¹ As noted above, if there was not a name for the area in which

⁵⁷ See Figure 3.1.

⁵⁸ See Figure 3.1.

⁵⁹ During this period, each county had two Members of the Legislative Assembly representing them.

⁶⁰ For example, the Act which changed the name of Turk Settlement to Glencoe simply states:

“Be it enacted by the Governor, Council, and Assembly, as follows:

1. The settlement known as ‘Turk Settlement’ in the County of Inverness, shall hereafter be called and known by the name of ‘Glencoe’”.

⁶¹ As has been demonstrated, the name Lake Ainslie was first used within the petitions in 1817 and although there is evidence of some Scottish settlement prior to this, the majority of settlement in the area

a petitioner was petitioning for land, the location provided was where the area was near or between. It may be the case that these settlements were given their original names as a result of their proximity to Broad Cove and Lake Ainslie, perhaps by surveyors, but as the settlements expanded, it was decided that the name should be changed. The choice to rename places using Scottish names demonstrates that the predominantly Scottish population in these areas wanted to live in a place with a Scottish name and when given the opportunity to do so, they re-named their settlements accordingly.

While local Acts changed the names of these six settlements officially, there is evidence of those names being used prior to their official change. Scotsville Post Office was opened in 1869.⁶² However, on Inverness County's A.F. Church Map, created in 1884, the area is referred to as Outlet. Moreover, the Act that changed the name of Outlet Lake Ainslie to Scotsville was not passed until 1883 and this suggests that when the area was still officially known as Outlet Lake Ainslie, it may also have been known locally as Scotsville. In the case of other places that had their names changed, the post offices located there were known by the original name until the name was changed by an Act. For example, Alba's post office was known as Boom until the settlement name was changed by local Act in 1893. The reason for this change is not noted within the Act.

The Scottish settlement names that existed in Inverness County continued to be officially recognized through the opening of post offices until the 1910s. A further 25 were opened in the four decades after the A.F. Church Map was published in 1884. Three

took place in the 1820s. The name Broad Cove appears in the Land petitions as early as 1803, demonstrating that this name was also in existence prior to Scottish settlement. The first petition the name Broad Cove appears in is that of Angus McIsaac and others. Nova Scotia Archives. Cape Breton Island Petitions, 1787-1843. 1803 Angus McIsaac & others, Cape Breton no.94, mf. 15788.

⁶² See Figure 3.1.

Scottish settlement names that came to exist in Inverness County were never officially recognized by opening a post office, with only two of these appearing on the A.F. Church Map. How the remaining name, Kenlock, became known and used officially is unclear.

Although a clear link can be established between land plot names and those who introduced them due to their appearance in the land petitions, it is harder to establish such a link in the case of settlement names.⁶³ However, there is some evidence that links the Scottish settlers in these areas to the names that the settlements were eventually given. The names applied by individuals to the land that was granted to them appear to have influenced settlement names. In 1819, Jane McEachren petitioned for the land that had been granted to her late husband, giving it the name Craignish.⁶⁴ The land was located between Low Point and Long Point, where the community of Creignish is located today. This may indicate that the settlement name chosen was based on a variation of the land plot name given by Jane McEachren in 1819. Furthermore, two Scots petitioned for land on the east side of Lake Ainslie in 1821, both providing Loch Ban as a name.⁶⁵ In the case of Norman McPherson, he gave Loch Ban as the name of his farm, and in the case of Robert McLeod, he named his land 'Loch Ban'. As Loch Ban is the name given to the north-east part of the lake, and these names were given to land on the east of the lake, this may show that the place names were influenced by the land plot name provided by Scots who settled in the area. The origin of the Scots settlers can also be seen to have influenced

⁶³ As was stated earlier in this chapter, those who have written on the subject note that it is hard to demonstrate that these names were used locally prior to their appearance on maps and the opening of post offices. Nevertheless, they argue that it is likely the names were being used locally, often in Gaelic, before being officially recognized, as they must have come from somewhere. See: Davey, *Naming Patterns on Cape Breton Island: 1820-1890*, 15.

⁶⁴ Nova Scotia Archives. Cape Breton Island Petitions, 1787-1843. 1819 Jane McEachern, Cape Breton no. 2198, mf. 15796.

⁶⁵ Nova Scotia Archives. Cape Breton Island Petitions, 1787-1843. 1821 Norman McPherson & others, Cape Breton no. 25756, mf. 15798.

the choice of names. Skye Glen, for example, was settled by a group from Skye and this strongly suggests that the settlers named the settlement after the place in Scotland from which they had come.

This section has illustrated that official recognition of settlement names took place between the late 1860s and the 1910s, although in some cases these were officially recognized before that, but the precise year that this occurred is unknown as post office records only began in 1868. Regardless of the exact year of official recognition, it is clear that Scottish naming post-dated Scottish settlement in the county. Those who write on the subject, such as Stephen Hornsby, argue that largescale Scottish immigration to Inverness County ended in the 1840s and, as has been stated, Scottish place names were not officially recognized until the 1860s onwards.⁶⁶

Types of names

Types of land plot names applied by individuals

Names from places in their homeland were the most popular amongst the Scots when naming the land that had been granted to them. Many of the places that land was named after are located in the Western Highlands and Islands of Scotland. These include Staffa, the name of an island located in the Inner Hebrides, Glenfinnan, which is a village in the Western Highlands, and Uist, after one of the two islands in the Outer Hebrides. This is hardly surprising given that this part of Scotland was where the majority of the Scots who

⁶⁶ Hornsby states that Scottish immigration to Cape Breton ‘virtually ceased’ as a result of the potato famine that hit the island in 1845. See: Stephen Hornsby, “A Historical Geography of Cape Breton in the 19th Century” (PhD Thesis, University of British Columbia, 1986), 72.; D Campbell and R. A. MacLean note that large scale Scottish immigration had ended by 1843. See: Campbell and MacLean, *Beyond the Atlantic Roar*, 99.

came to Cape Breton were originally from.⁶⁷ As a result it may be concluded that the Scots settling there named their plots after the places in the Western Highlands and Islands from which they had come. The popularity of some names may be seen to demonstrate this further. For example, Arisaig and Moidart were given three times as a or as part of land plot names in Inverness County petitions.⁶⁸ This begs the question why some names more popular than others. A likely answer is that the Scots were naming the land after where they had come from and that many Scots had come from these areas during this period.

Two McDonalds petitioned for land on the south-west branch of the Margaree River in 1817.⁶⁹ Allan McDonald, a native of Scotland, named his land Glen Moidart, and John McDonald, a native of Inverness-shire, Scotland, named his land Kinlock Moidart.⁷⁰ Glen Moidart, a hill, and Kinlock Moidart, a settlement, are located near each other in the Moidart region of the Highlands. The similarities in surnames, land plot names, when and where they applied for land, suggest that these two settlers may well have been related.

Names from areas of Scotland outside the Western Highlands and Islands were also given by Scots to the land that they had been granted. Peter Grinton petitioned for land “above the forks”, naming it Grangemouth.⁷¹ His undated petition states that he is

⁶⁷ Those who research Scottish settlement in Cape Breton note that this is where the majority of settlers were from, something that was also commented on by colonial officials at the time. See: Campey, *After the Hector: The Scottish Pioneers of Nova Scotia and Cape Breton, 1773-1852*, 81.; Hornsby, “Scottish Emigration and Settlement in Early Nineteenth-Century Cape Breton”, 56.

⁶⁸ See: Appendix 2.

⁶⁹ Nova Scotia Archives. Cape Breton Island Petitions, 1787-1843. 1817 Allan McDonald, Cape Breton no. 1674, mf. 15794.; Nova Scotia Archives. Cape Breton Island Petitions, 1787-1843. 1817 John McDonald, Cape Breton no. 1688, mf. 15794.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ Nova Scotia Archives. Cape Breton Island Petitions, 1787-1843. n.d. Peter Grinton, Cape Breton no. 3332, mf 15800.

from Falkirk, Scotland, which is located near the town of Grangemouth.⁷² It appears that Grinton chose to name his land after a place near where he had lived before he immigrated. In the case of other settlers, there is not such clear evidence that the names that they chose for their land were related to the places from which they had come. John Chisholm, who petitioned for land at Low Point in 1819, having lived on the island for 18 years, named his land Glasgow.⁷³ Another Scot, David McPherson, petitioned in the same year and also named his land Glasgow.⁷⁴ As these petitions simply state that the petitioners were from Scotland, rather than a more precise location, it is not possible to determine exactly where they came from; however, a number of other petitions do state that petitioners are natives of Glasgow.⁷⁵ On that basis, it is feasible that Chisholm and McPherson were natives of Glasgow and chose to name their land after their home city. Furthermore, in 1816 Alexander McEachran named his land Largo.⁷⁶ Largo is a parish in Fife on the east coast of Scotland. The land petitions from between 1817 and 1819 show that a small number of petitioners were natives of Fife.⁷⁷ McEachran's petition only states that he came from Scotland but given that settlers were coming from Fife during this period, it may be the

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ Nova Scotia Archives. Cape Breton Island Petitions, 1787-1843. 1819 John Chisholm, Cape Breton no. 2102, mf. 15796.

⁷⁴ Nova Scotia Archives. Cape Breton Island Petitions, 1787-1843. 1819 David McPherson, Cape Breton no.2242, mf. 15796.

⁷⁵ Two petitions state that the petitioners were originally from Glasgow. James Rae's petition states that he was a native of Glasgow, Scotland. Nova Scotia Archives. Cape Breton Island Petitions, 1787-1843. 1814 James Rae, Cape Breton no. 1077, mf. 15792.; 3 Patrick McNiel's petition also states that he was born in Glasgow, Scotland. Nova Scotia Archives. Cape Breton Island Petitions, 1787-1843. 1815 Patrick McNeil, Cape Breton no. 1234, mf. 15792.

⁷⁶ Nova Scotia Archives. Cape Breton Island Petitions, 1787-1843. 1816 Alexander McEachran, Cape Breton no.1384, mf. 15793.

⁷⁷ Two petitions from this period state that the petitioners were originally from Fife. PANS 1781, Andrew Moore's petition states he was born in "Fife Shire" in Scotland. Nova Scotia Archives. Cape Breton Island Petitions, 1787-1843. 1817 Andrew Moore, Cape Breton no.1781, mf. 15794.; James Brown's petition states that he is a native of Fife, Scotland. Nova Scotia Archives. Cape Breton Island Petitions, 1787-1843. 1819 James Brown, Cape Breton no. 2081, mf. 15796.

case that McEachran was from there and that influenced his choice of name. Donald McLellan who was granted land at Broad Cove in 1820, named his land Bal Umbie, presumably after Ballumbie, near Dundee on the east coast of Scotland.⁷⁸ As has been indicated, petitions rarely state specifically where in Scotland petitioners were from. However, one 1818 petition states that the petitioner came from Dundee, demonstrating that those from that part of Scotland did come to Cape Breton. Thus, it is feasible that McLellan also came from this area and named his plot after his home.⁷⁹

Other Scots opted to use their surname, with an added prefix, when naming their land. For example, Donald Beaton, who petitioned for land in Judique in 1816, named his land Strath Beaton.⁸⁰ Strath is the Scots word for large or wide river valley and is often an element of Scottish place names. Thus, this name may be taken to mean the river valley belonging to the Beatons. Another example is Donald McEachran, who was granted land at Low Point in 1817, having been there since 1798, and named his land DunEachan.⁸¹ Dun is the Scottish Gaelic word for fort, so this name may be taken to mean Fort Eachan.

Gaelic names were also used, and this is not unexpected as that was the language spoken by the majority of Scots who came to the island. Gaelic was widely spoken in Cape Breton as a result of Scottish immigration there, as is commented on by a number of scholars.⁸² Donald Chisholm was granted land at Long Point in 1819, having lived in

⁷⁸ Nova Scotia Archives. Cape Breton Island Petitions, 1787-1843. 1820 Donald McLellan, Cape Breton no. 2480, mf 15797.

⁷⁹ William Leslie's petition states that he emigrated from Dundee two years before. Nova Scotia Archives. Cape Breton Island Petitions, 1787-1843. 1818 William Leslie, Cape Breton no. 1951, mf. 15795.

⁸⁰ Nova Scotia Archives. Cape Breton Island Petitions, 1787-1843. 1816 Donald Beaton, Cape Breton no. 1256a, mf. 15793.

⁸¹ Nova Scotia Archives. Cape Breton Island Petitions, 1787-1843. 1817 Duncan McEachran, Cape Breton no. 1700, mf. 15794.

⁸² Michael Kennedy notes that "Cape Breton would prove to be the most staunchly Gaelic district of the large eastern Nova Scotian Gàidhealtachd". See: Michael Kennedy, "Gaelic Nova Scotia an Economic, Cultural and Social Impact Study (Curatorial Report 97)." Nova Scotia Museum (2002), 24.; Jonathan

Cape Breton for 18 years, and he named his land Croch Gean.⁸³ Croch means hanging in Gaelic and Gean meaning a wild cherry, suggesting that the name may have been influenced by the type of fruit growing in the area.

There are a number of Scottish land plot names for which the meaning is not clear. As many of the immigrating Scots would have been illiterate, they often had their petitions written by a Notary or Justice of the Peace, who may not have been familiar with the spelling of Gaelic or Scottish place names. Often names that are not spelt exactly as they sound were spelt incorrectly, for example Borrodale is written within the petitions as Boreadale, Ballumie as Bal Umbie and Glen Fruin as Glanafrain.⁸⁴ In other cases, the name itself is clear but the basis on which that name was chosen is not. For example, Angus McIntyre, a Scot, petitioned in 1819, giving the name Newtown, that could be seen to mean new town.⁸⁵ In another example, John McNiel, a native of Scotland, who petitioned in the same year, gave the name Boar, perhaps after an animal seen on the land

Dembling comments on the uniqueness of Cape Breton within the Scottish diaspora, noting that it is the largest Gaelic speaking area outside of Scotland. See; Jonathan Dembling, "You play it as you would sing it: Cape Breton, Scottishness, and the means of cultural production," in *Transatlantic Scots*, ed., Celeste Ray (Alabama: University of Alabama Press, 2005), 180-97.; D Campbell and R. A. MacLean note that the Highlanders who came to Inverness County were "largely Gaelic speaking". See: Campbell and MacLean, *Beyond the Atlantic Roar*, 69.; Ian McKay states that Gaelic was brought over by Scottish settlers and was widely spoken in Northern Nova Scotia, particularly rural Cape Breton. It was the language commonly used for sermons and many books were published in Gaelic. See: Ian McKay, "Tartanism Triumphant: The Construction of Scottishness in Nova Scotia, 1933-1954." *Acadiensis* 21.2 (1992): 7.

⁸³ Nova Scotia Archives. Cape Breton Island Petitions, 1787-1843. 1819 Donald Chisholm, Cape Breton no.2101a, mf. 15796.

⁸⁴ Terrence Punch highlights this as also being common when it came to Irish land plot names. While he does not explore land plot names themselves, he does give a list of the Irish settlers who petitioned for land and includes the names that they gave for their land. After a number of these names he gives the name of the place he thinks they come from. For example, Peter Burke, a native of Ireland, was granted land in 1818 giving the name Mockhill. Punch writes "either Mothel in Co. Waterford or Mothell in Co. Kilkenny intended" demonstrating where he interprets this name to have come from. See: Terrence Punch, *Erin's Sons: Irish Arrivals in Atlantic Canada, 1761-1853* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 2008).

⁸⁵ Nova Scotia Archives. Cape Breton Island Petitions, 1787-1843. 1819 Angus McIntyre, Cape Breton no. 2207, mf. 15796.

itself.⁸⁶ Some names, however, cannot be explained and Crunnochae, Sand Egg and Ario Owlien are three examples for which no evidence can be found to determine what the names mean. It may be the case that they were written down in a way that led to their meaning being obscured or they may be historic place names or Gaelic words that cannot be traced today.

Interestingly, one Scot chose the name of a place in Ireland for his land. In 1819, Ronald McDonald provided the name Ballina Mona to the land for which he was petitioning. Ballinamona is located in County Waterford, Ireland. As petitioners were not required to provide an explanation as to why they had chosen a particular name, it is not possible to establish what motivated McDonald's choice.

Types of names applied to settlements/areas

The most popular type of settlement name was those named after places in Scotland. The majority of these names came from places in the Scottish Highlands, in particular Inverness-shire and the Western Highlands and Islands. Some names came from cities in the Scottish Highlands, such as Aberdeen and Inverness. The names of villages in the Highlands were also popular with Kiltarlity, Glengarry and Glencoe being some of the settlement names that appeared in Inverness County. Others came from islands, in particular those to the West of Scotland, such as Skye and Mull. Only one settlement in Inverness County was named after a place outside the Highlands, this is Melrose Hill, named after Melrose, a town located in the Scottish Borders. It appears that these names

⁸⁶ Nova Scotia Archives. Cape Breton Island Petitions, 1787-1843. 1819 John McNiel, Cape Breton no. 2236, mf. 15796.

may have been influenced by where the settlers were originally from. For example, Skye Glen was settled by a group of Scots from Skye.⁸⁷

The second most popular type of settlement names were those that were named after Scots. These take two forms, those named after Scottish settlers and those named after Scots involved in colonial administration. For example, Kingross was named after Angus Ross, a Skye native who was said to have been one of the first permanent settlers in the area.⁸⁸ The nickname King was given to Ross as he prospered in Cape Breton.⁸⁹ Furthermore, a number of settlement names in Inverness County include the name Ainslie, such as North Ainslie and Ainslie Point. As already noted, these are named in honour of George Robert Ainslie, a Scot who was Lieutenant Governor of Cape Breton from 1816 to 1820.⁹⁰

Gaelic or Scots names were applied to some of the settlements in Inverness County, such as Ben Noah and Loch Ban, Ben being Gaelic for mountain and Loch is Gaelic for lake. The use of Gaelic names is hardly surprising given that the majority of the Scots who settled in Inverness County only spoke Gaelic. Only two ethnic names were given to settlements in Inverness County. These were Scotsville and Scotch Hill. The least popular type of name in Inverness County was those that are other names for Scotland. The only name of this kind to appear in the county is Alba, which means Scotland in Gaelic. The name of the settlement was changed from Boom to Alba in 1893.

⁸⁷ See Appendix 1.

⁸⁸ Charles Bruce Fergusson, *Place-names and Places of Nova Scotia* (Halifax: PANS, 1967), 33.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

⁹⁰ Fergusson, *Place-names and Places of Nova Scotia*, 3.; Fergusson, *Place-names and Places of Nova Scotia*, 186.

When comparing the names applied to both areas of land belonging to individuals and areas where groups of people settled, it is clear that the most popular type of name was those of places in Scotland. It appears that the choice of these names was influenced by the origin of the settlers, as evidence reveals that Scots settlers chose names based on the place in Scotland that they had come from. Gaelic and Scots names, as well as places named after Scots, were also popular. Interestingly, the most popular type of name in Inverness County differs from that identified by those who have written on the Scottish place names in Canada more generally, as well as in other parts of the British Empire. Malcolm Prentis and Watson Kirkconnell both identify that Scottish personal names are the most popular place names.⁹¹ Indeed, Kirkconnell acknowledges that Nova Scotia does not follow this trend as names that come from places in Scotland are the most popular here.⁹²

The introduction of Scottish settlement and land plot names demonstrates that was happening in Inverness County was deeper than just the supplanting of the Indigenous population. Scots settling there overwhelmingly chose names of Scottish origin, whether those of places in Scotland, the names of Scots or names in their native languages. Not only had the settlers taken land that belonged to the Indigenous people, but they reinforced the process of settler colonization by giving areas of land and settlements names of Scottish origin. These had significance to them but had no meaning or connection to either the land or the Mi'kmaq.

⁹¹ Malcolm Prentis notes that the most common type of Scottish place name is personal names making up half of those found in Australia. See: Prentis, *The Scots in Australia*, 246.; Kirkconnell notes that in all provinces, apart from Prince Edward Island and Nova Scotia, Scottish surnames are more as place names than names that come places in Scotland, making up over 70% of the Scottish place names in six provinces. See: Kirkconnell, "Scottish Place-names in Canada", 312.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 318.

Settler colonialism

An analysis of the introduction of Scottish settlement and land plot names in Inverness County reveals that this was an aspect of the settler colonization process that was engaged in by Scots, both individually and within groups. This was an individual practice in the sense that some Scots applied Scottish names to the land that was granted to them, while groups of Scots also participated in this practice as Scottish names were applied to settlements populated by immigrants from Scotland.

The multi-generational element of this aspect of settler colonialism is also clear. It was the first generation of Scots settlers who applied settlement and land plot names. In the case of names applied by individuals to the land granted to them, there is clear evidence of their role in the selection of names as the settlers' choice of name appears in the land petitions. Furthermore, while there is no evidence to demonstrate when settlement names were first used, and those who have written on the subject confirm this, they argue that it is likely that such settlement names were used informally before being officially recognized.⁹³ Therefore, although it is not possible to say conclusively which generation introduced the Scottish settlement names, there is certainly a possibility that those names were introduced by the first generation of Scottish settlers.

Subsequent generations played a role in solidifying this process. In the case of the names that individuals gave to the land that they were granted, there is a lack of evidence to show that these names were used by the subsequent generations on the basis that the source of information about such names is exclusively the land petitions themselves.

⁹³ Davey, "Naming Patterns on Cape Breton Island: 1820-1890", 15.

However, this does not exclude the possibility subsequent generations did continue to refer the land by the names provided by the original petitioners, even on an informal basis.

Furthermore, some of the names applied by individuals appear to have then influenced the naming of settlements within the county, which may demonstrate that names originally applied to area of lands by individuals continued to be used by subsequent generations.

In the case of settlement names, the period in which these names were officially recognized again demonstrates the importance of the role of the second, and in some cases the third, generation of settlers in these areas in the process of settler colonialism. Although it is likely that settlement names were used locally by the first generation of settlers, it is during the period in which the second and third generations lived in the areas that names came to be officially recognized. Moreover, the changing of names from non-Scottish to Scottish ones, such as the change from Boom to Alba, also took place in the period during which the second generation would have been living in these areas. This makes it clear that colonization was a multigenerational process that continued beyond the first generation of settlers.

Conclusion

It is clear that Inverness County is a unique example as the Scottish settlement and land plot names that exist here are a result of Scottish settlement and this contrasts with many of the names found in the former British Empire that were introduced through Scottish involvement in the process of colonization in the roles of administrators, cartographers, and explorers. The settlement being explored in this thesis can be characterized as part of the process of settler colonialism as it saw the replacement of the Indigenous population, the Mi'kmaq, with an exogenous one, the Scots. It is important to note that this process did not start and end with the initial settlement of Scots on Mi'kmaq land, but carried on with subsequent generations continuing and reinforcing it.

An analysis of settlement in the places in Inverness County that would come to have Scottish names has demonstrated that these places were overwhelmingly settled by Scots and that areas initially settled by Loyalists later saw Scottish settlement. A further examination, using maps, post office records and Acts, of when the names were introduced has revealed that these settlement names were officially recognized in the decades after initial settlement, building on the argument that they were introduced as a result of Scottish settlement.

The settlement patterns in Inverness County identified within this thesis mirror those established by scholars who have studied settlement patterns such as Douglas F. Campbell and R.A. McLean, as well as Stephen Hornsby and Lucille H Campey, who explore Scottish settlement in Cape Breton more generally. As is also noted by scholars, in particular Hornsby, many of these Scots were squatters. In fact, there was only a 5-year

period, from 1815-1820, during which Scots were consistently being granted land. Although there are examples of those who were granted land outside of this period, the majority of arrivals before and after appear to have squatted on land.

Land plot names do not appear to have been previously identified or studied, either in relation to Cape Breton or elsewhere in the British Empire. The practice by individuals of naming the plot of land granted to them seems to have been influenced by the British custom of house naming. Land plot names appear in the petitions from 1816 to 1821, coinciding with the relaxation of land policy in 1817 that led to an increase in Scots being granted land. While Scots were not the only group to provide land plot names, they made up the majority of those who provided names within their petitions. Land plot names add another layer to the settler colonization process that took place in Inverness County as, not only were the settlers replacing the Indigenous population physically, they were also providing their own names for areas of land that would have had no meaning or significance to the Mi'kmaq, as is the case with any act of renaming by colonizers.

An examination of the types of both settlement and land plot names introduced in Inverness County by Scottish settlers demonstrated that names taken from places in Scotland were the most popular. This contrasts with the most popular Scottish place names identified by scholars. Malcolm Prentis identified that in Australia the most popular type of names were personal names. Similarly, Watson Kirkconnell found that in all provinces apart from Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island, Scottish surnames were the most popular place name.

The multi-generational aspect of the settler colonialism process has also been identified as it was subsequent generations which expanded the settlements. In this regard,

Scots were not just supplanting the Mi'kmaq by settling on their land, but they were also replacing those communities with their own. Furthermore, in many cases, it was the second and third generations who had their families' land legally granted to them. Land granting signified that the land now belonged to them, making the replacement of the Mi'kmaq official. Land plot names were applied by the first generation of settlers and there is little evidence to demonstrate that these names were used by subsequent generations. This, however, does not mean that the names were not used, even informally, by subsequent generations. Given that some of these names also became settlement names, in the case of Craignish and Loch Ban, it is clear that these names were still used in some capacity by later generations.

Moreover, settler colonialism was engaged in by Scots both individually and as part of a group. Individuals applied names to the land that had been granted to them, and names were also applied by groups to the areas of land that they had settled on together.

This thesis brings a different perspective to pre-existing work on the role of Scots in the British Empire, demonstrating that it was not just educated, well off Scots who were colonizers: in Inverness County were settlers who were poor, and illiterate also fulfilled this role.

To summarize, the Scottish settlement and land plot names that exist in Inverness County differ from place names found in other parts of the former British Empire as they were introduced by the Scots who settled there, rather than by colonial officials, governments and cartographers. While it is likely that many of the names of Scottish origin that can be found in other counties in Nova Scotia were also introduced there by the Scottish settlers, particularly in those that saw high numbers of Scottish settlers like

Pictou and the other counties on Cape Breton Island, further research would be needed to confirm this.

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Appendix 1 Settlers in places that would come to have Scottish names in Inverness County

Y: Yes

Y(P): Yes they are counted as Loyalists as their parents were

Name	Place	Year settled	Year granted	Origin	Loyalist	Additional relevant information
John Hammond	Glengarry	1795	1820	Monoughan, Ireland		
Dennis Murphy	Glengarry	1795	1819	Wexford, Ireland		
John Larraby	Glengarry		1809	New England	Y	
Williard Crowel	Glengarry	1811	1815	Massachusetts	Y	
William Watts	Glengarry	1785	1818	Dorsetshire	Y (P)	
William Dryer Sr. & William Dryer Jr.	Glengarry		1814			
Hezekiah Ingraham	Portree	1791	1816- additional land	Hartford, Connecticut	Y (P)	Sons John Lewis and James also granted land
Irada Hart	Portree	1783	1808	Hartford, Connecticut	Y (P)	
John Crowdis	Portree		1810	England/ English descent		
Patrick Cody	Portree		1824			
Duncan McEachran	Craigmore	1798	1817	Moidart, Scotland		
John McEachern	Craigmore	1798	1818	Moidart, Scotland		
Ranald McEachern	Craigmore		1820	Pictou, Scotch Parents		
Donald McEachern	Craigmore	1801		Moidart, Scotland		
Donald McDonald	Craigmore	1802	1815	Scotland		
George White	Scotch Hill		1790			

James McDonnell	Scotch Hill		c1830	Morar, Scotland		
Murdock McNeil	Scotch Hill			Barra		
John McMaster	Creignish	1802	1819	Moidart, Scotland		
Donald McMaster	Creignish	c1803	1820	Moidart, Scotland		
Allen McDonald	Creignish		1808	Uist, Scotland via PEI		
Donald McIsaac	Inverness	1802	1803			Petitioned together
Angus McIsaac	Inverness	1802	1803			Petitioned together
Allan McIsaac	Inverness	1802	1803			Petitioned together
Hector McKinnon	Inverness	1802	1803			Petitioned together
Roderick McLean	Inverness	recently arrived	1811	Scotland		Asks for land beside McIsaacs
James Whitehead	Glendyer	1789	1807	Kilkenny Ireland, via Halifax		
David Smith	Glendyer	c1789	1808	Cape Cod	Y (P)	Brothers
Parker Smith	Glendyer	c1789	1808	Cape Cod	Y (P)	Brothers
Lewis Lambert Smith	Glendyer	c1789	1815	Cape Cod	Y (P)	Brothers
Donald Kennedy	Dunvegan	c1810	1816	Scotland		
Neil McLellan	Dunvegan	1815	1816			
Angus McLellan	Dunvegan	1819	1820	Scotland		
Alexander McDonald	Dunvegan	c1804	1819			
Flora McGregor/McGrigor	Port Ban		1819			Granted land after husband James drowned in Spanish River, March 3rd 1819

John McLeod	Rear Dunvegan		1814	Scotland		
William Hindle	Rear Dunvegan	c1813	1819	England		
Donald McLellan	Rear Dunvegan	1819	1820	Scotland		
John Crowdy	SW Lake Ainslie	1815	1820	England		Colonial Secretary
Charles Edward Leonard	SW Lake Ainslie	1810	1820	New Brunswick		Customs officer
John McDonald	Between Lake Ainslie West and Lake Ainslie Chapel		1825	Scotland		
Captain Ranald McDonald	Between Lake Ainslie West and Lake Ainslie Chapel		1822			
Murdoch Kennedy	N Lake Ainslie - Strathlorne, Ainslie Point, North Ainslie	1812	N	Canna, Scotland via Antigonish		Sons John (eldest) David and Michael granted land
Patrick Walsh	N Lake Ainslie-Strathlorne, Ainslie Point, North Ainslie			Irish		
Donald McLean	N Lake Ainslie-Strathlorne, Ainslie Point, North Ainslie	1820	N	Isle of Rum		Eldest Son Lauchlin granted land
Roderick McLean	N Lake Ainslie-Strathlorne,	1822	N	Isle of Rum		

	Ainslie Point, North Ainslie					
Allan McLean	N Lake Ainslie-Strathlorne, Ainslie Point, North Ainslie	1828	N	Isle of Rum		
John McKinnon	N Lake Ainslie-Strathlorne, Ainslie Point, North Ainslie		N	Isle of Coll		
John Kennedy	N Lake Ainslie-Strathlorne, Ainslie Point, North Ainslie		1826			
John McKinnon	Inverside			Nova Scotia		
John McLellan	Inverside	1818	1819	Scotland		
Hugh McDonald	E Lake Ainslie-Kirkwood	1820	N	Isle of Muck		
Malcolm, Duncan, Neil, Donald, Angus and Donald McMillan	E Lake Ainslie-Glenmore	1822	N	Isle of Muck		Brothers. Their sons, Hugh and Donald were granted land
William Hamilton	E Lake Ainslie					
Allan McKinnon	E Lake Ainslie	c1820	N	Isle of Muck		Brothers. Sons (includine eldest) granted land.
Donald McKinnon	E Lake Ainslie	c1820	N	Isle of Muck		Brothers. Sons granted land.

Archie McKinnon	E Lake Ainslie	c1820	N	Isle of Muck		Brothers. Never married
Hugh McDonald	E Lake Ainslie	1821	N	Tiree		Sons Archie and Neil granted land
John McLean	Kenloch		1834			
Donald McIsaac	Kenloch	1810	1834	Scotland		
Catherine McIsaac	Kenloch	<1821	1834			
John McIsaac	Kenloch					
Farlane McFarlane	Mull River	1820				
Allan Campbell	Mull River	c1820		Mull		
John Livingstone	Mull River	1824				
John McMillan	Mull River			Lochaber, Scotland		
John Wright	Mull River			north of Ireland'		
Robert McKnight	Melrose Hill		1836	Ireland		
David and William McKeen	Melrose Hill		1836	Nova Scotia		
Lauclin McKinnon	Melrose Hill		1836			
Loddy McKinnon	Ainslie Glen	early 1820s	N	Isle of Skye		Grandson granted land
John McMillan	Ainslie Glen		1859			
Catherine McDonald	Ainslie Glen		1861			
Gillis, John and Peter Gillis	Gillisdale	early 1820s		Morar, Scotland		
Angus Nicholson	Alba	1828		Skye		
Neil Campbell	Alba	1828		Mull		

Hugh MacEachen	Alba	1828		Mull		Eldest Son Alexander granted land
Archibald Kennedy	Alba	1828		Tiree		Eldest Son Donald granted land
John Campbell	Alba			Scotland		
Thomas Perry	Glenville	during revolutionary war	1820	U.S	Y (P)	
Robert Candall	Glenville		1821			
Alexander and Angus Campbell	Glenville		1824	Lochaber, Scotland		
Peter Smith	Skye Glen				Y (P)	
John Beaton	Skye Glen	1830		Skye		
Angus Gillis	Skye Glen	1830		Skye		
Archibald Gillis	Skye Glen	1830		Skye		
John Gillis	Skye Glen	1830		Skye		
Murdock Gillis	Skye Glen	1830		Skye		
John MacKinnon	Skye Glen	1830		Skye		
Angus Walker	Claverhouse	c1830		Uist		
John Walker	Claverhouse	c1830		Uist		
John McDonald	Claverhouse	c1830				Sons Angus (1870), Donald and Allan(1871) granted land
Archibald Campbell	Scotsville	1830	N	Skye		Son John Charles inherited farm and had land granted
Archibald McKinnon	Scotsville	1865	N			Only Son Donald granted land

Donald McDonald	Ben Noah		1834			
Malcolm Gillis	Ben Noah		1834			
Duncan McMaster	Ben Noah		1836			
John McDonald	Ben Noah		1839			
Mary McEachren	Glencoe	1843		Eigg		
Donald Campbell	Glencoe	1843		Lochaber, Scotland		
Hugh McIsaac	Glencoe	1843		Eigg		Son John granted land
Roderick McDonald	Glencoe					
Hugh Stewart	Piper Glen	1843	N	Moidart		Eldest Son John granted land
Lachlin Jamison	Piper Glen	1846		Canna		
Kennish McKenzie	Piper Glen	1846		father native of Gairlock		
Peter Coady	Chisholm		1848			
Judith Coady	Chisholm		1836			
John McMillan	Ainslie Glen		1859			
Thomas Archibald	Aberdeen		1862			
Hector McKinnon	Lake Ainslie South		1872			
Angus McSwain	Lake Ainslie South		1874			
Allan McKinnon	Lake Ainslie South		1872			

These settlers were identified from the Land Grant Index map. Information on where they came from, when and land grants was gathered using The Cape Breton Island Land Petitions, 1787-1843, Morgan's List of Cape Breton Loyalists and MacDougall's *History of Inverness County*.

Appendix 2 All land plot names applied by individuals to the land granted to them in

Inverness County

CB number	Name	Origin	Land location	Name	Type of name	Year arrived	Year granted
1256a	Donald Beaton	Scotland	Judique	Strath Beaton	Place in Scotland	c1805	1816
3332	Peter Grinton	Falkirk, Scotland	"above the forks"	Grangemouth	Place in Scotland		
1688	John McDonald	Inverness Shire	SW Margaree	Kinlock Moidart	Place in Scotland		1817
2174	Miles McDaniel	Ireland	Mabou River	Balina Kilty	Place in Ireland		1819
1681	Donald McDonald	Scotland	Broad Cove	Blaen			1817
1698	Collin McEachern	Scotland	Gut of Canso	Mongastle			1817
1963	Allan McDonald	Scotland	Broad Cove/ Grand Judique	Auchedy	Place in Scotland		1818
1879	William Chisholm	Scotland	Gut of Canso	Aigish	Place in Scotland		1818
1981	John McEachern	Scotland	Long Point	Craig Inis	Scottish prefix		1818
2208	John McIntyre Sr	Scotland	Broad Cove	Borrithy			1819
2196	John McDougald	Scotland	Mabou	Boredale	Place in Scotland		1819
2400	Angus McCormick	Scotland	Long Point	Ario Owlien			1820
2176	Alexander McDonald		Broad Cove	Duran			1818
2028	Michael Mullens		Low Point	Mount Uniacke	Place in Ireland		1818
2199	John McEachern		Mabou Harbour	Upper Barns			1819
2175	Miles McDaniels		Margaree	Killiberos			1819
2450	Hugh McKay		Gut of Canso	Scourie	Place in Scotland		1820
2242	David McPherson	Scotland	Gut of Canso	Glasgow	Place in Scotland	many years'	1819

2311	Martin Butler	Ireland	Low Point	Bally Nagget/Ragg ed	Irish prefix	c1820	1820
2565	Thomas Whitty	Ireland	SW Branch of Mabou	Framore	Place in Ireland	c1820	1820
2140	James Grant	Inverness Shire	Gut of Canso	Dyke	Place in Scotland/ Gaelic word	c1819	1819
2117	John Dumphy	Ireland	Low Point	Mary Park		c1819	1819
2195	Donald McDougald	NS	SW Lake Ainslie	Dulwick	Place in England	c1819	1819
3313	Stephen O'Henly	NS to Scottish parents	Judique	John's Hill		c1819	1819
2131	Charles Fraser	Scotland	Broad Cove	Lovat	Scottish surname	c1819	1819
2132	Donald Fraser	Scotland	Broad Cove	Nom		c1819	1819
2134	Alexander Gillies	Scotland	Broad Cove	Banff	Place in Scotland	c1819	1819
2191	Ronald McDonald	Scotland	Lake Ainslie	Tulloch	Place in Scotland/ surname	c1819	1819
2133	Neil Fullarton	Scotland	Malagowecht , St George's Channel	Knoll of Arran	Place in Scotland	c1819	1819
2270	George Ross	Scotland	River Dennis	Strath Oakhill	Scottish prefix	c1819	1819
2201	Ronald McEachern	Scotland	SW Lake Ainslie	Arisaig	Place in Scotland	c1819	1819
2099	Thomas Carroll	Ireland	Low Point	Kilkenny	Place in Ireland	c1818	1819
2118	Martin Dumphy	Ireland	Low Point	Bally Kan	Irish prefix	c1818	1819
2250	Mathew Matticks	Ireland	SW Margaree River	Wexford	Place in Ireland	c1818	1819
2540	James Roach	Ireland	Low Point	Castle Hyde	Place in Ireland	c1818	1820
2122	John Falt	Lunenburg, NS	SE Mabou	Lunenburg	Place in NS	c1818	1819
1969	John McDonald	Scotland	Chimney Corner/ Margaree River	Glen Morgan		c1818	1818

1961	Allan MacDonald	Scotland	Mabou	Kilbar	Place in Scotland	c1818	1818
2447	George McKay		Gut of Canso	Lothwick		c1818	1820
2015	Charles McQuarie	Argyle Shire, Scotland	Gut of Canso	Sandernish		c1817	1818
1895	John Dugan	Ireland	Margaree River	Wingal	Irish surname	c1817	1818
2260	John Park	NS	Margaree	Wentor		c1817	1819
2231	Hector McNeil	Scotland	Mabou	Kilbar	Place in Scotland	c1817	1818
2215	Hugh McKinnon Jr	Scotland	Broad Cove	Braewick	Place in Scotland	c1817	1819
2236	John McNeil	Scotland	Little Mabou Harbour	Boar		c1817	1819
2102	John Chisholm	Scotland	Low Point	Glasgow	Place in Scotland	c1817	1819
2189	Michael McDonald	Scotland	Mabou Harbour	Kilban	Scottish surname	c1817	1819
2194	Angus McDougal	Scotland	SE Lake Ainslie	Glenfinnon	Place in Scotland	c1819	1819
2180	Angus McDonald	Inverness, Scotland	Mabou River	Lynn	Surname	c1816	1819
1615	Thomas Fitzpatrick	Ireland	Mabou	Ireland's Eye	Country	c1816	1817
1859	Patrick Burk	Ireland	Low Point	Mockhill	Place in Ireland	c1816	1818
2273	Michael Sheehan	Ireland	Mabou	Ross	Irish place or surname	c1816	1819
2069	Martin Barron	Ireland	Margaree River	Lis Duggan	Place in Ireland	c1816	1819
2115	Andrew Doran	Ireland	Port Hood	Ferns	Place in Ireland	c1816	1819
2172	Malcolm McAskill	Island of Rum, Argyle Shire, Scotland	Gut of Canso	Berries		c1816	1819
2185	Hugh McDonald	PEI	Judique Shore	Hollow		c1816	1819
1678	Donald McDonald	Scotland	Mabou Shore	Blane		c1816	1817

1674	Allan McDonald	Scotland	SW Margaree	Glen Moidart	Place in Scotland	c1816	1817
1739	Archibald McLellan	Scotland	SW Margaree	Stoble		c1816	1817
1740	Donald McLellan	Scotland	SW Margaree	Kintock Bannock		c1816	1817
2004	Hugh McMaster	Scotland	Big Judique	Glengarry	Place in Scotland	c1816	1818
2000	Ranald McLean	Scotland	Broad Cove	Arisaig	Place in Scotland	c1816	1818
2190	Ronald McDonald	Scotland	Broad Cove/ Mabou	Ballina Mona	Place in Ireland	c1816	1819
2158	John Keith	Scotland	SE Mabou	Bonhill	Place in Scotland	c1816	1819
1839	Catherine Beaton		Mabou	Luine	Place in Scotland	c1816	1818
1603	Daniel Conway	Ireland	Low Point	Goodwin's Garden		c1815	1817
2258	Patrick O'Brien	Ireland	Margaree	Glyn Mahon	Place in Ireland	c1815	1819
1738	Alexander McLellan	Scotland	SW Margaree	Leonard	Surname	c1815	1817
1741	Niel McLellan	Scotland	SW Margaree	Stoel	Surname	c1815	1817
2207	Angus McIntrye	Scotland	Mabou Harbour	Newtown		c1815	1819
2295	Alexander Beaton		Cape Mabou	Fort William	Place in Scotland	c1815	1817
2390	Ebenezer Leadbeater (Leadbetter e)	NS	Mabou Harbour	Staffordshire	Place in England	c1814	1820
2144	William Hindle	England	Broad Cove	Norwich	Place in England	c1813	1819
1929	William Harrington	Kilkenny, Ireland	SW Margaree	Kilkenny	Place in Ireland	c1813	1819
1748	John McMullen	Scotland	Gut of Canso	Garvan	Place in Scotland	c1813	1817
2528	Daniel O'Connor	Ireland	Port Hood	Drumna Quoile	Place in Ireland	c1812	1820
1999	Niel McKinnon	Scotland	Margaree/ Broad Cove	Strath Aird	Place in Scotland	c1812	1818
1901	Edward Fling	Ireland	SW Margaree	Knockahead	Place in Scotland	c1811	1818

2516	William Mortimer	Ireland	NE Branch of River Margaree	Paisley	Irish surname	c1811	1820
1728	Hugh McKinnon	Scotland	Between Margaree and Broad Cove	Keil	Place in Scotland	c1811	1817
1685	John McDonald	Scotland	Cape Mabou	Kinlock	Place in Scotland	c1811	1817
2225	Donald McMullen	Scotland	Little Judique	Glanafraim	Place in Scotland	c1811	1819
2070	Alexander Beaton	Scotland	Cape Mabou	Auch Lochart	Scottish Prefix & surname	c1810	1819
2254	John Mullin	NS	Mabou	Mullengar	Place in England	c1809	1819
1989	Mary McIntire		Mabou/Broad Cove	Glencoe	Place in Scotland	c1809	1818
1384	Alexander McEachran	Scotland	Mabou Harbour	Largo	Place in Scotland	c1808	1816
1953	John Livingstone	Scotland	Low Point	Staffa	Place in Scotland	c1808	1818
2316	John Cameron	Scotland	SW Mabou River	Crunnochae		c1808	1820
1956	Miles McDaniel	Ireland	Margaree	Kimmolin Ford		c1807	1818
2515	Patrick Morrison	PEI	SW Mabou River/ Mabou Harbour	Uist	Place in Scotland	c1807	1820
2240	Donald McPhee (McPhie)	Scotland	Low Point	Kintraw	Place in Scotland	c1807	1819
2420	Ronald McDonald	Scotland	Mabou River	Arisaig	Place in Scotland	c1806	1820
2319	Ronald McDonald	Scotland	Port Hood	Sand Egg		c1806	1820
2418	Roderick McDonald	Scotland	Gut of Canso	Drumy Voi		c1804	1820
2422	Thomas McDonald	Scotland	Great Judique	Craig Moone	Scottish prefix	c1803	1820
2487	Donald McMaster	Scotland	Low Point	Moone		c1803	1820
2327	John Chisholm	Inverness, Scotland	Long Point	Kulbie		c1802	1820
2411	James McDonald	NS	Grand Judique	Baillie	Scottish surname	c1802	1820

1988	Ann McInnis	Scotland	Long Point	Croch Guard		c1802	1818
2101	Colin Chisholm Jr	Scotland	Long Point	Culore		c1802	1819
2197	James McEachern	Scotland	Long Point/ Low Point	Ashery		c1802	1819
2198	Jane McEachern	Scotland	Long Point/ Low Point	Craignish	Place in Scotland	c1802	1819
2101a	Donald Chisholm	Scotland	Long Point	Croch Gean		c1801	1819
2186	James McDonald	Scotland	Grand Judique	Moidart	Place in Scotland	c1800	1819
2223	John McMaster	Scotland	Low Point	Moidart	Place in Scotland	c1800	1819
1726	Donald McKinnon	Scotland	Broad Cove	Talavard		c1797	1817
1761	Donald McPherson	Scotland	Gut of Canso	Balclunie	Place in Scotland	c1797	1817
2543	Abigail Whitehead		Mabou	Ramoth Gilead	Biblical	c1790	1820
1924	Alexander Graham	CB	Big Judique	Bel Graham	Scottish surname	Birth- 1798	1818
1979	Donald McEachern	Judique	Great Judique	Loch Leven	Place in Scotland	Birth- 1794	1818
2091	John Cameron	Scotland	Gut of Canso	Creiff	Place in Scotland	atleast 1811	1819
2476	Alexander McLellan	Scotland	Broad Cove	Balmackie	Place in Scotland	1819	1820
2477	Angus McLellan	Scotland	Broad Cove	Bal Ellan	Place in Scotland	1819	1820
2480	Donald McLellan	Scotland	Broad Cove	Bal Umbie	Place in Scotland	1819	1820
2220	John McLellan	Scotland	Broad Cove	Glasna Cardock	Place in Scotland	1818	1819
2211	Hugh McKay	Scotland	Gut of Canso	Skowrie	Place in Scotland	1818	1819
1913	Archibald Gillies		Judique	Aberfoil	Place in Scotland	1818	1818
2209	Roderick McIsaac	Scotland	Gut of Canso	Friack		1817	1819
2549	Robert Sinclair	Pomone one of the Orkney Islands	Mabou Harbour	Mary Vale		1814	1820

1700	Duncan McEachran		Long Point	DunEachan	Scottish Prefix & surname	1798	1817
2756	Norman McPheron	Scotland	East Lake Ainslie	Loch Ban	Place in Scotland		1821
2756	Robert McLeod	Scotland	East Lake Ainslie	Loch Ban	Place in Scotland		1821

Information compiled using The Cape Breton Island Petitions 1787-1843 online database. Public Archives
of Nova Scotia, RG 20 Series B.