

HIGHLAND  
FAMILY HISTORY  
SOCIETY

# highland family history society



ISSN 0262-6659

Published by  
The Highland Family History Society  
Comunn Sliinntearachd na Gaidhealtach

# comunn sliinntearachd na gaidhealtachd

# JOURNAL

---

Vol. 15 No. 2      February 1997

---

**CONTENTS**

1 Editorial .....  
 2 Influences in Population Movements in the 19th Century Highlands  
 4 Family Tree or Monkey Puzzle? .....  
 5 The Hilton Fishing Disaster .....  
 8 Inverness-shire Monumental Inscriptions .....  
 10 Canada's Highland Regiment Emigrants .....  
 14 Bookshelf .....  
 16 Preserving Family History Through Reminiscences .....  
 17 Help Wanted and/or Help Given .....  
 18 SAFHS 8th Annual Conference .....  
 19 Members' Research Interests .....  
 20 Annual Subscriptions .....  
 21 Queries (754 - 777) .....

(c) 1997 : Highland F.H.S. & contributors

**EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE**

- CHAIRMAN: Neil Murray  
 SECRETARY: Loraine Maclean of Dochgarroch  
 TREASURER: John Durham  
 JOURNAL EDITOR: Jonathan McCall  
 MEMBERSHIP SECRETARY: John Durham  
 SYLLABUS SECRETARY: John McMillan  
 RESEARCH ENQUIRIES: Barbara Tulloch  
 PUBLICATIONS SALES: Hamish MacLennan  
 MONUMENTAL INSCRIPTIONS: Lucille Campey & Sandy Gillies  
 STRAYS COORDINATOR: Mary Murray

All correspondence - c/o Reference Room,  
 Public Library, Farraline Park, Inverness IV1 1NH  
 Please mark each item of business for the attention of the appropriate official.

**SUBSCRIPTION RATES for year 01/09/96 - 31/08/97**

Membership Category	United Kingdom	Overseas
Ordinary	£6.00	£9.00
Family	£8.00	£11.00
Pensioner	£4.00	£7.00
Institutional	£10.00	£13.00

**EDITORIAL**

Jonathan has been busy lately so has achieved nothing of substance on the family history front. I went on holiday in December, a cruise up the Nile, well, a sort of cruise, because of various restrictions we flew here and there a lot and sailed in three different ships. It was okay, if you like that sort of thing: escaping Dingwall's dark, dreich, damp icy world for 12-hours-a-day sunshine above and below the Tropic of Cancer and seeing most of the major treasures of ancient Egypt's monuments with five-star service on the cruiser, ho hum yawn. After talking with a couple of Ruby-Wedding celebrators on the tour with me I realised how boring my family history could be, but was reasonably glad I didn't live in Interesting Times like the husband had been through, as I discovered while writing down the ancestors he knew or could remember.

He is Russian, and knows his father's surname, but that was not his grandfather's, who died shortly before the official outbreak of war in a Stalin purge of some sort and led to his children scattering and their surnames being changed for safety. Father died in Buchenwald. Uncle disappeared fighting the invading Germans in 1941 before the birth of his only child. My friend spent a lot of his teenage years working in coal mines for the German victors in his area of the fighting. All the good stuff of stories, but this lovely man is real! The difficulties we face in tracing Highland ancestry back to before the mid-1700s when wars and famines and careless handling of paperwork obscure things are matched in Tolya's ancestry just fifty years ago and by analogy bring me closer to those ancestors who also lived in Interesting Times.

I love Brenda Douggall Merriman, but don't tell my Small Wife.

Computers: the next time you're wandering in the Web's waves (you'll get used to this alliterative terminology) or surfboarding the Internet or whatever, call on <http://midas.ac.uk/genuki/> and I know you'll be careful of all those slashes and other useful punctuation marks. You'll see a University of Manchester site devoted to British Genealogy which has among other things descriptions and invitations to join several FHSS. We're working on our page just now with the wonderful help of Hugh Reekie in Ottawa. If anyone would like to see our interim page at its temporary location email me for details, I'd like to know how easily you can find it with any search engine and if it matters what platform you use (Apple, PC etc). The point of it is that when we have the site up and running, people out there will access it and join the society because they found out about us there.

In theory, as I can't test it myself, you can now email me at Jonathan.Dingwall@compuserve.com (watch that underline) as well as the official 106205.762@compuserve.com. Nice people have been contacting me that way but I don't want them to be sad if I don't respond when the message seems to need no answer other than with a smile or with publication in the pages of the journal. I do receive the messages and would normally only get back to you if an answer is required. Talking of that sort of thing, you should see the transformation in my co-editor since his Damascus experience with the Internet a month or so ago, he's now desperate to get online and find every Durran in the world ever.

*We trained very hard but it seemed that every time we were beginning to form into teams we would be re-organised. I was to learn later in life that we tend to meet any new situation by re-organising and a wonderful method it can be for creating the illusion of progress while producing confusion, inefficiency and demoralisation.*

Gaius Petronius Arbitr (suicided AD66)

## INFLUENCES IN POPULATION MOVEMENTS

### IN THE 19TH CENTURY HIGHLANDS

from an illustrated lecture given to the Society on 29th October 1996  
by Rob Gibson

Nothing better illustrates the extent of change to the settled Highland population than citing the different conditions of emigrants down the years. For Allan and Flora MacDonald of Kingsburgh, Skye the writing was on the wall for the old way of life in 1773. Their determination to emigrate to the Carolinas was noted by their distinguished visitors, Johnson and Boswell. The tacksman and his family took in excess of £1,000, a considerable sum for its day. They expected an equivalent place in colonial society to that which they had left.

Unlike 99% of Gaels, they were to return to Skye after the colonists rose and Allan took the Hanoverian side and lost. Flora's brief but eternal fame as the aid to Charles Edward Stewart on the hazardous crossing from the Uists to Skye in the wake of Culloden was out of character. Skye was little moved by the Jacobite call yet the aftermath of Culloden was to make every shade of Highland opinion its victim. The calculation of the Kingsburgh MacDonalds in 1773 was that their tacksman status as tenants-in-chief was over. The clan chiefs were becoming lairds bent on maximising estate incomes so the land reorganisations into tiny subsistence crofts made a whole Highland middle class redundant.

The redundancy of the very poor in society was hastened by the lairds' final solution after the disastrous potato famine in 1846 which sealed the fate of a desitute multitude of the very section of Highlanders least likely to have emigrated in the late 18th century. In their rags they made a sorry sight to the customs officers and ships crews who conveyed them to Nova Scotia. Being described as poorer than the poorest Irish beggars illustrates a giant step in influences on population change in three quarters of a century.

Six elements defined the forces at work even before the Jacobite disaster of 1746. The commercialisation of estates, demographic pressures, famine, economic collapse, a new ideology of landlordism and its accompanying clearances of people all provided the cocktail of reasons for major population change.

Work for most Highlanders then meant subsistence farming while some old and some new sources of income were developed; military service, the cattle trade, unregulated whisky production, kelping, fishing and seasonal migration to work in Lowland Scotland.

Given the Highland's less favourable soils and climate it said a lot for a hardy people that they adapted to new crops like the potato, to the discipline of kelping and seasonal migration and the growing threat of the sheep farms. Their landlords were developing unsustainable lifestyles aping the gentry in the capital. Their greed fed on improving agricultural experiments with increasing estate incomes for which sheep farming seemed the ideal solution.

In the period before the ultimate defeat of Napoleon in 1815 it had become quite clear how the Highlands were fundamentally changing. With around 25,000 emigrants in the 18th century, mostly after 1760, a whole class disappeared and former communities lost their natural leaders. The success of many of these removals to the New World merely underlines the Gael's capacity for organisation, enterprise and calculation of the odds against success at home by calling on community and kinship bonds of those already across the Atlantic to their aid. This evidence casts a very different light on the soon to be common criticism of the Celtic laziness and general torpor alleged by lowland "Improvers" from Young and Sellar onwards.

As the sheep frontier spread fear so the whole Highlands began to expect the worst.

In short, emigration before 1815 was far from voluntary, it was both propelled and resisted by the lairds as they saw workforces and their status being undermined. Their parliament passed the Passenger Act of 1803 on spurious humanitarian grounds to try and stem the tide. They didn't see the Highlands as being overcrowded but their concern at losses of men and rent were to be short-lived. The economic collapse of post 1815 plus the demographic surge after the war left their tenantry leaderless and victims to a ruthless push to squeeze the last pennies from dwindling estate incomes.

The harsh winters of 1772-3, 1782-3 and 1801-2 were little spur to emigration, but the agricultural depression and potato blight of 1836 and especially in 1846 had catastrophic outcomes. Desperation replaced calculation and the lairds began to clamour for government assisted emigration to Canada and Australia. They themselves had already begun to clear people by this means. MacLean of Coll assisted 300 souls in 1826 and Lord MacDonald in a desperate gamble with his spiralling debt followed suit with 1,300 from North Uist.

From 1815 to 1850 the "improving" ideology gripped the land. Many old family estates were sold as the lairds became bankrupt. New men rich from commercial and industrial success bought in, and whenever trustees ran estates in between, some of the worst clearances followed. The Passenger Act was repealed as early as 1827. A government report of 1841 enshrined the improving ideology by deeming the Highlands over-populated to the tune of 50,000 people. Sheep farming needed the best land and the other economic activities on the coasts were, to say the least, uncertain.

Despite the natural increase in population which more or less ended during this period, the lairds pushed on with removals though the figures show a very patchy picture from parish to parish. However, government assistance became a major feature as labour was needed in New South Wales. That far-flung destination received 4,000 Highlanders after the harvest failures at home in 1837. In fact two fifths of all Scots emigrants in that period came from the West Highlands.

The Dukes of Argyll and Sutherland lead the way after the potato blight in 1846 with Sir James Matheson, lately opium dealer of Jardine Matheson fame, and Sir John Gordon of Cluny, the richest commoner in Scotland, shovelling out the poor from Lewis and Barra respectively. With government help in lieu of famine relief they could export a man for as little as £1 of estate money. An unprecedented 16,535 people were removed from their meagre holdings from 1846 to 1857. The greatest losses were from Skye, Mull, Tiree, the Outer Hebrides and Applecross, sometimes a third to a half of their people cleared. A major spur to landlord action was the threat of another poor law which would further hit them in the purse.

Population peaked for many Highland parishes even before the potato famine. However, the relative calm of the later 1850s and 60s saw lairdly changes of economic direction. Fluctuations in sheep prices and a rising tide of cheap Imperial imports encouraged the formation of deer forests and even more land was needed in this "rage for sport". Improved transport helped increase the attractions of permanent migration to the industrial towns. Incrementally the annual migrations to work in the lowland harvests, in service or at the east coast fishings increased many crofters dependency on outside market conditions. Again in the agricultural depression of the 1880s, despite the organised resistance to a precarious tenancy system unique in Europe of the so-called 'Crofters' War', emigration continued; indeed was advocated by the Napier Commission in 1883 as a solution to the plight of the poorest tenants.

Scotland's population had grown from its 1750 estimate of 1.25 million to the 1801 figure of 1.6 million, despite significant emigration. It then soared to 4.47 million in 1901 despite 0.5 million Scots leaving for England and abroad from 1861 to 1900. The Highlands and Islands emigrants contributed far higher than the area's per capita share. A representative county, Inverness-shire, had 74,292 inhabitants in 1801, it peaked in 1841 at 97,799 and dropped to 88,015 by 1881.

Push and pull factors were both at work in creating emigration throughout the period. Extensive evidence shows that the landlords' grip on economic, social and political power ensured that the tacksman class calculated correctly that their role was redundant. The tide of sheep and subsistence crofting was in its turn to fall prey, despite the very modest demographic increases at a time of economic collapse, to wholesale depopulation following the near famine of the potato blight in 1846 and the general depression of the 1880s.

A cameo of late eighteenth century attitudes is provided by a minister like the Rev. David Denoon of Killearman in the *Old Statistical Account* in 1790. He wrote, "In the national view the consolidation of farms is still more seriously objectionable..... it compels the aborigines to emigrate friendless and unprotected to other countries .... were it possible to introduce the improvements of modern husbandry (on such new farms) just sufficient to occupy the exertions of the labourer aided by his family, that point would happily combine humanity with public utility and the real interest of the proprietors with the happiness of thousands of their fellow creatures."

However, his eldest son, Hugh Denoon, a former soldier in the American wars induced emigration to serve his land and trading interests in Pictou. His emigrants consisted of many of those cleared from Kilmorack parish in the Chisholm lands near to Beaulieu. His entrepreneurial zeal was closer to the ethos of the age and accurately predicted the response of the Highland lairds who ruthlessly put self-interest before that of their people in estate after estate across the north in the 19th century.

#### Suggested sources:

- J.M. Bumsted, *The People's Clearance* 1770-1815, Edinburgh University Press, 1982
- T.M. Devine, *Clanship to Crofters' War*, Manchester University Press, 1994
- A MacKenzie, *History of the Highland Clearances*, 1883 and Melven Press 1979  
(with very useful parish population figures for 1831 to 1881)

#### FAMILY TREE or MONKEY PUZZLE?

*Requoting from this week's 'Inverness Courier' is this 1927 comment by Edwin Wakeman:*  
I married a widow with a grown-up daughter. My father fell in love with my step-daughter and married her - thus becoming my son-in-law. My step-daughter became my step-mother because she was my father's wife. My wife gave birth to a son, who was of course my father's brother-in-law, and also my uncle, for he was the brother of my step-mother. My father's wife became the mother of a son, who was of course my brother, and also my grandchild, for he was the son of my step-daughter. Accordingly, my wife was my grandmother, because she was my step-mother's mother. I was my wife's husband and grandchild at the same time. And, as the husband of a person's grandmother is his grandfather, I am my own grandfather!

## THE HILTON FISHING DISASTER

(by Jonathan McColl)

*My Small Wife works as a volunteer for a Ross-shire charity called Blythswood which sends Bible tracts to Africa and lorryloads of food, clothes and medical supplies to eastern Europe. Her main task involves her as one of many volunteers who sort the donations of all sorts of everything which people deliver to the organisation in thousands of boxes and poly bags every year.*

*"That's jolly interesting, Jonathan, but have you a point in telling us this?"*

*Yes, of course. When sorting one recent box of brit-a-brac she found a yellowed, creased piece of pencil-written exercise book page and thought I might be interested in it. I was, and here it is.*

### To the memory of my Dear Father & the men who went Down with the *Ella Brewster* on Friday 13 Sept 1912

Fair was the wind with a gentle Breeze Blowing  
When the Boat *Ella Brewster* From Hilton did sail  
With a crew the pride of the village aboard her  
Men who @ Duty's call never would fail

There were sensie & Billie & Phillie & Charlie & Patience  
Though Last was not Least of them all  
Some' of as Brave as e'er sailed the ocean  
Who always were ready when duty did call.

The out journey was accomplished in safety  
With the cargo aboard her she started for home  
While there wives & there mothers there sisters & Brothers  
Are waiting for there Dear ones to come

But alas & alack they are still weary waiting  
Awaiting for them who will never return  
Deep down in the ocean there Bodies Lie Buried  
And nothing is Left for those Friends But to mourn

Between Chancery Point & the Township of Fort George

And there it ends, with that last line at the top of the verso so I know there is no missing page. The spelling and lack of punctuation may suggest youth, but the handwriting of the anonymous poet is clear and well-taught by her schoolmaster.

What was this all about? The local papers told the sad story over the next six weeks:

The fishing boat *Ella Brewster* had been a 16½ foot open-decked sailing boat built in 1904 and she operated out of Hilton of Cadboll beside Balintore on the North Sea coast between the Cromarty and Dornoch Firths. Charlie and Alex (Sensie) Mackay, John Patience, John (Fillie) Macdonald and Hugh (Billy) Sutherland all had shares in her, and so had farmer Jim Brewster which is why she was named after his sister<sup>1</sup>. Four of the families lived close together in Lady Street, and Sensie was not far away on Shore Street. All during the summer of 1912 their little lug-sailed fishing boat was laid up and come autumn she underwent a few repairs from Balintore carpenter William Mackay. In the evening of Thursday September 12th, within only a day or two after he had finished, the five men took her out to fish the Moray Firth. Their normal practice was to use mussels as bait, so after leaving Hilton they all sailed down to the Beaulieu Firth to lift mussels from the middle of the channel opposite Redcastle, which they achieved early the following morning and set sail for home about 10 o'clock in the light westerly breeze, the mussels all stored aft.

They had met three other Hilton boats doing the same thing there and they all set off home, close together until they reached the Chanony Point opposite Ardersier at about noon. By now the breeze had strengthened and was blowing in squalls, but the water was still fairly smooth. The *Ella Brewster* kept to the south side of the firth while the others, one belonging to the Ross family, went up the Black Isle side. The men had noticed a small leak in the bow but it had not seemed significant until they were a couple of miles from the shore in Navty Bay and in about 30' of water when the nose began to drop. John Macdonald was at the bow and suddenly shouted out that water was above the box, that is, about two or three feet above the keel, leaving very little forward freeboard. John Patience and Charlie dropped the sail and rushed forward, and then the stern dropped under the water too but filling fast, she went down by the bow.

They all jumped over the side, wearing their big leather seaboots, but no oilskins. Alex reported to the inquiry that he had made it to a floating oar but swam for another when Patience succeeded in getting a hold on it too. There was no sign of the other three men, but Alex felt someone grab his leg as he was swimming who pulled him under until he could struggle away and grab at the second oar, but by now John Patience had vanished too and he was alone.

Alex Ross in his boat two miles behind, had seen the sail vanish so went quickly to investigate but all he found was the flotsam and the one survivor, Alex Mackay, clinging to his oar and nearly unconscious from drowning and hypothermia. They searched for some time, but finding no-one else they took him home to be looked after.

In a fishing village every journey out is watched nervously by the families, they all have it bred into them that many go to sea and do not return. Even so, the news still hit the town's tiny community very hard, they'd had no such disaster to cope with for generations (the last one was 70 years before) and suddenly there were two new widows, one with two small children, and an old mother and 'delicate' sister all to be looked after in pre-Welfare State Easter Ross. The newspapers described graphically how 'the wives and daughters swooned away; others sat on the ground and wept hysterically; children cried aloud and clung to their mothers - many of whom were dazed with grief - even the old men of the village were in tears.' All the villagers were inter-related so everyone was affected.

An appeal was launched by the Free Church minister and J G Young of Cadboll. Many contributed: the great and good like Lady Munro in Foulis and Andrew Carnegie in Skibo, all

the way through the spectrum of contemporary society to a group of Five Boy Scouts, and in due course nearly £120 was received for distribution to the families affected by the tragedy. The Shipwrecked Fishermen and Mariners' Royal Benevolent Society in London sent £111 'with their usual generosity' which was delivered to the widows and orphans separately.

It was announced at the Fatal Accident Inquiry in Dingwall Sheriff Court on Tuesday October 29th that the bodies of Hugh Sutherland and John Macdonald had been found miles away up both coasts of the Moray Firth, but Charlie and John Patience's remains were never seen again. The jury 'returned a formal verdict, but added that the boat had not been properly inspected after it had been repaired.' The local assumption has always been that the fishers were greedy and had so overloaded the little boat with mussels that it couldn't recover when the leaking bow pulled down the front as well. One story had them setting off without proper caulking, although if correct perhaps that might have come out at the inquiry. My own suspicion is that the leak came from sprung boards, for the lugger had been lying the entire summer on the beach and should have been floated for a week for her timbers to swell, not a mere day, before they set off in her on their final journey.

Because of the subject I had assumed that it was one of the women left behind who sought to relieve the trauma by setting it on paper, and that she was Charlie Mackay's daughter, as she would be unlikely to call her father 'Patience' and the poem is most concerned for the bodies never found. The fishing families are naturally still here in Easter Ross, and they remember the disaster and even some of these verses. It was thus gratifying to discover that Nan-Charlie, whose father was Charlie Mackay, used to write poems. She married, had children, and emigrated to New Zealand where her descendants presumably still live.

The little piece of paper on which the poem is written shows no stains, but we can all be certain that the eyes that viewed it as she wrote were clouded with tears for her lost father.

*Many thanks are due to Dolly Macdonald of Hilton by Cadboll*

*References:*

*Inverness Courier Sept 17th, Oct 1st 1912.*

*Highland News Sept 21st 1912.*

*Ross-shire Journal Sept 20th, Oct 4th, Oct 18th, Nov 1st 1912*

<sup>1</sup> This word unclear.

<sup>2</sup> Sensie is still well known as Alex Mackay's byname. 'Charlie' and 'Patience' in the poem are obvious. John Macdonald's brother was known as 'Billy-bonny' so he was not likely to be called 'Billy' as well, and Finlay was and is a common Macdonald name so 'Fillie' was very likely his byname. That leaves 'Billy' for Hugh Sutherland.

-----0000-----

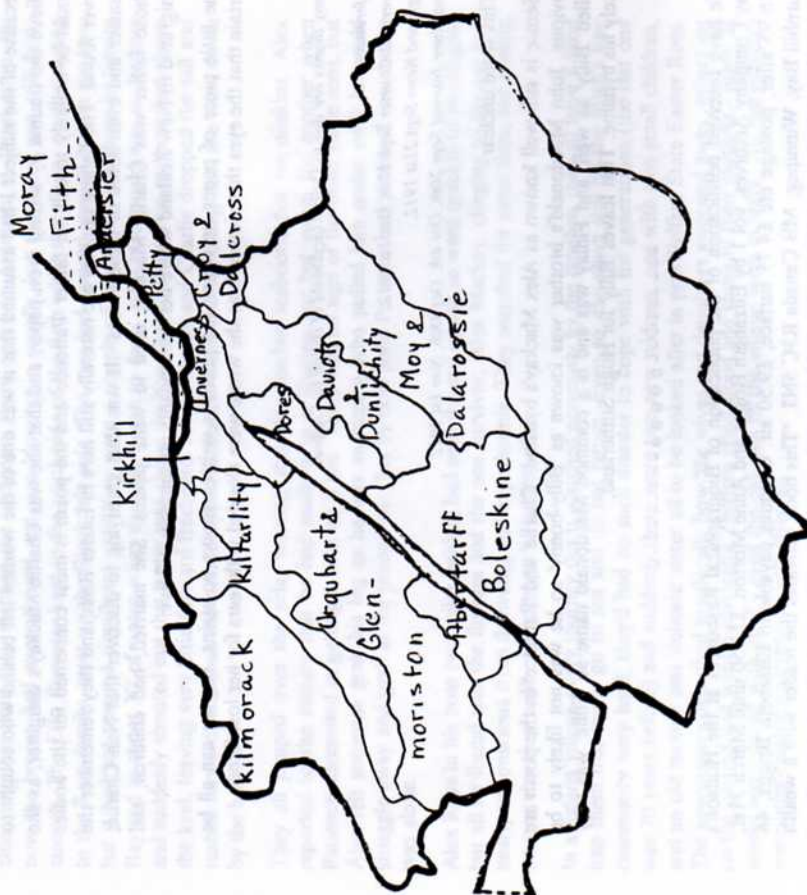
We have received notification of the publication of Biographical Resources at the Hudson's Bay Company Archives, vol 1 by Elizabeth Briggs and Anne Morton. £13.50 until March 31st, £16.95 after, postage etc £4.75 surface, £9.50 air. Cheques payable to Elizabeth Briggs, 46 Burnhill Bay, Winnipeg, MB Canada R3C 5N3. "This book provides the reader with a wealth of ideas for gathering material on shareholders, employees, apprentices and adventurers whose lives linked with the Hudson's Bay Company."

**INVERNESS-SHIRE MONUMENTAL INSCRIPTIONS**

**SCOTTISH GENEALOGY SOCIETY PUBLICATION  
INVERNESS DISTRICT - EAST & WEST**

Edited by Alastair G. Beattie & Margaret H. Beattie

The Scottish Genealogy Society has recently published pre-1855 gravestone inscriptions for burial grounds in parishes within the District of Inverness. The two volumes in this publication which are available for consultation at the Inverness Reference Library (or can be purchased from Scot. Gen. Soc. at:- 15 Victoria Terrace, Edinburgh EH1 2JL at a cost of £7.00 per volume) cover eight parishes in Inverness East and five in Inverness West. Parish locations are indicated on the sketch map shown below.



**Inverness East**

Parish	Burial Ground
Boleskine	Boleskine New Foyers Boleskine Old
Dores	Dores
Inverness & Bona	Tomnahurich Inverness Cathedral Old High Church Greyfriars
Moy & Dalarossie	Dalarossie Moy Isle of Moy
Daviot & Dunlichity	Dunlichity Daviot
Croy & Dalcross	Croy
Petty	Petty Old Breakish
Ardersier	Kirkton of Ardersier Fort George

**Inverness West**

Parish	Burial Ground
Abertarff	Kilchuimen Auchteraw
Urquhart & Glenmoriston	Ceannacroc Dalchriechart Clachan an Inbhir Kilmore Kilmartin Corriemoney
Kiltarity & Convinth	Clachan Comair Mauld Erchless Eskadale Old Kiltarity Tomnacross Glenconvinth
Kilmorack	Mullardoch Struy Kilmorack Beauly
Kirkhill	Wardlaw Kirkton of Bunchrew

**HIGHLAND FAMILY HISTORY SOCIETY PUBLICATIONS**

The Highland Family History Society's work differs from the Scottish Genealogy Society in providing comprehensive coverage of all tombstone inscriptions regardless of age. The Society will be publishing tombstone inscriptions for Old High Church, Inverness this summer and has made a start on recordings at the Greyfriars burial ground. In addition, the Society has also begun to record inscriptions at:- Chapel Yard, Inverness; Old Kilmore; St. Ninian's Episcopal Church at Glenurquhart; Clach Churadain at Corriemoney and Cnocan Burraidh at Drumnadrochti.

## CANADA'S HIGHLAND REGIMENT EMIGRANTS

by Lucille Campey

Britain recognised right from the early days of her Conquest of Canada in 1763 that loyal emigrants were indispensable not just as settlers, but as guardians and protectors of territory. It was therefore no accident that a large proportion of her earliest emigrants were former Scottish officers and soldiers. After serving in one or more of the North American military campaigns they were given free grants of land nearly always located in militarily strategic areas along boundaries and along major rivers and bays.

Highland Regiments which played such a vital part in Britain's war efforts in North America eventually provided the backbone for many of the earliest settlements which lined vulnerable boundary areas. Three Highland Regiments served in the Seven Years War (1756 - 1763) - the Royal Highland Regiment (42nd) better known as "the Black Watch", the Montgomery Highlanders (77th) and the Fraser Highlanders (78th), the latter having played a key role in the capture of Quebec. After the peace of 1763, the Fraser Highlanders were disbanded together with a section of the Royal Highland Regiment.

A great many officers and ordinary soldiers from these disbanded Regiments, who were mainly Highlanders, acquired land in areas near to Quebec and Montreal, on the northern bank of the Saint Lawrence River some ninety miles east of Quebec at Murray Bay, as well as in Prince Edward Island. The *Scot's Magazine* report in 1768 that "A number of Colonel Fraser's late battalion of Highlanders - officers and privates - are preparing to embark for the Island of Saint John [Prince Edward Island] where they all have government land" reflected on-going public concerns over the scale of emigration taking place at the time.<sup>1</sup>

While some of the land granted was in Canada, most of the disbanded soldiers in this early period actually moved to the southern colonies where they settled on the huge tracts of land reserved for their former regiments. Within a few years they drew out further Scottish settlers. Judging from the customs records for 1774 to 1775 - the two years when fairly comprehensive passenger lists are available, North Carolina and New York became the favoured destination of most Highlanders.<sup>2</sup>

The practice of settling loyal people in carefully chosen areas had therefore been tried and tested by the time the government was faced with prospect of relocating the 40,000 refugees who fled from the southern colonies following the end of the American Revolution in 1783. Once again, the overwhelming criterion used in allocating free land was always to encourage settlements in areas which would be vulnerable to attack.

Over half of the refugees were civilians, the remainder consisting of former servicemen from Loyalist Regiments or from British regiments which had been disbanded in North America. Land was granted according to rank, ranging generally from 1,000 acres for officers to 100 acres for privates. Civilians usually got 100 acres for each head of family and 50 additional acres for every person belonging to the family. Not surprisingly, many Scottish soldiers took up the offer of free land and none more so than former members of the Royal Highland Emigrants Regiment.

This Regiment had been formed in 1775 just before the outbreak of the American Revolution by a government anxious to secure the loyalty of the large numbers of Scottish Highlanders who had settled in North Carolina and New York. Having succeeded in enlisting old and new arrivals in the southern colonies, the net was widened to find Highland recruits in Quebec,

Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island. A number of possible motives - genuine loyalty to the Crown, the prospect of steady pay and free land or the fear of retribution if they joined the rebels - led large numbers of Highlanders to enlist in the Regiment which became officially recognised by the government in 1778 when it was designated the 84th Regiment. The Regiment's two battalions saw action in Quebec, Nova Scotia, Carolina and Virginia. When the Regiment was disbanded at the end of the War many servicemen stayed behind to settle on the plots of land allocated to the Regiment in the northern colonies.

Pictou's early settlement history owes much to former members of this Regiment. After their arrival in 1784, they began to clear the land set aside for them along the East River frontages from Pictou Harbour and on the north side of Pictou Harbour.<sup>3</sup> They and the emigrants who had come before them on the *Hector* some ten years earlier soon attracted a good many of their relatives and friends from all parts of the Highlands. By 1802 when the large pre-war influx of emigrants from Inverness-shire, Sutherland, Ross-shire and Perthshire had reached its peak, new arrivals would have found a string of Scottish settlements already established along Pictou's river frontages and shore line as well as at Merigomish and Barney's River further to the east.<sup>4</sup> Even the port of Pictou had a rudimentary organisation to handle the new arrivals:

*"The notice of the arrival of an emigrant vessel brought people from all quarters to enquire for relatives on board, whom they look to their homes, or to find acquaintances or persons from their native districts or even strangers, to whom they would freely extend the same hospitalities".<sup>5</sup>*

The Royal Highland Emigrants Regiment also left its mark in present-day Quebec province. In 1786 ex-soldiers were digging out an important settlement foothold at Chatham on the north bank of the Ottawa River. They were soon joined by large numbers of other Highlanders, mainly from West Inverness-shire, and together they eventually created a major Scottish enclave which took in the four adjoining townships of Chatham, Grenville, Gore and Lachute in Argenteuil County.<sup>6</sup> By 1833 Chatham and Grenville had two stone Presbyterian Churches, Gore had 150 mostly Highland families with a need for a Presbyterian minister who could preach in Gaelic and Lachute had a well-established Presbyterian congregation.<sup>7</sup>

While land grants to Scottish ex-soldiers and civilians often led to these cycles of further immigration from distinct areas of Scotland, only some of the people who got land in the years immediately following the American Rebellion actually stayed in the areas allocated to them. Digby, Nova Scotia had a particularly high percentage of Scottish-born American refugees shortly after the War. However by 1802 many were selling up to take up new farms or to finance their return to Scotland. The group of "gentlemen" formed to organise the land sales who placed an advertisement in a New Brunswick newspaper were clearly hoping to attract fellow-Scots from the Saint John River area:<sup>8</sup>

*"as it is probable that the peace which has lately taken place, may occasion many military and other transient persons to look for settlements ... several gentlemen of that place [Digby] have associated for the purpose of removing such difficulties as are most likely to oppose themselves to new settlers ... they have selected and secured a number of commodious house lots ... a proportion of these adjoining the water are adapted to trading persons - others are calculated for mechanics".<sup>8</sup>*

After the War of 1812-14 when invading armies from the United States had unsuccessfully attempted to push into British North America, the government realised that it needed to strengthen its defences even further. It invested money in new and major fortifications at Halifax, Quebec and Montreal and several Highland Regiments served for many years at one

