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**"Where One Scot Comes, Others Soon Follow":
The 42nd Royal Highland Regiment (Black Watch) And The
Settlement Of The Nashwaak River Valley, 1783-1823**

by

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Dedication

This report is dedicated to the men, women and children of the 42nd Royal Highland Regiment settlement on the Nashwaak River and their descendants who still live there today.

“The 42nd Black Watch”

**There is a valley in the Nashwaak where the Scottish bluebells grow
And the Nashwaak River ripples full of glee.
The first settlers came from Scotland, the land of heatherbloom,
And brought old Scottish glory o’er the sea.
A Highland Scottish regiment, for service to the crown,
Were granted land within the valley green-
The 42nd Black Watch-and they slumber now in peace,
In the valley by the laughing Nashwaak stream.
The kilted pride of bonny Scotland, they left the homeland dear,
And their memory we cherish and we bless.
They must have missed the heather and the winding banks of ayre
And the bluebells of Inverness.
How they longed for bonny Scotland when they cleared the wilderness
And built their homes within the valley green.
But we shall never forget these great Scottish pioneers
In the valley by the Nashwaak stream.
When our country called for soldiers they were ready for the call,
The descendants of those Scottish soldiers grand.
They bid goodbye to dear ones, with cheers they marched away,
And some are sleeping now in No Man’s Land.
They dreamed of old New Brunswick on the battlefields in France,
Gallant laddies from the Nashwaak valley green,
And they carried the dear memory on across the Great Divide
Of the valley and the laughing Nashwaak stream.**

- Caroline Sutherland

Abstract

Following the end of the American Revolution, between April and November 1783, there was a continuous transfer of as many as 50,000 Loyalists from New York to Nova Scotia; of these about half landed in what is now New Brunswick, where they settled mainly along the St. John River and its tributaries. Disbanded soldiers and their dependants represented approximately half of the New Brunswick Loyalist numbers. Among these were approximately one hundred and eleven men of the 42nd Royal Highland Regiment (Black Watch), who elected to take their discharge at the end of the American Revolutionary War, and came with the fall fleet to Nova Scotia. Land was surveyed and laid out in large blocks for the various regiments along the St. John River. On their arrival, the regiments, now disbanded, were each assigned a particular block, with the 42nd Royal Highland Regiment being assigned to a block along the Nashwaak River. Many of the Loyalist settlers were dissatisfied with the quality of their land, and sold or abandoned their lots, while others did not even take possession of the land granted to them. There was considerable mobility within the province as a result, with many settlers searching for better land on which to settle. Over time, distinctive settlement patterns, largely reflecting particular ethnic and religious groups began to emerge. This paper focuses on the 42nd Royal Highland Regiment and their settlement on the Nashwaak; it examines and analyses their experience in trying to forge a settlement out of the then largely forested province of New Brunswick. It also examines and analyses the tendency toward ethnic clustering among some Loyalists. Ultimately this paper shows that the Black Watch settlement on the Nashwaak, much like other settlements in the

province at the time, was under great economic pressure which threatened its survival in the infant province, but that common ethnic background and shared military experience helped the settlement survive and grow.

Preface

In histories of the Scottish presence in the Maritime Provinces, there has been little written about the Scots within the province of New Brunswick. Although, there have been numerous books written on the Scottish influence in Nova Scotia and even Prince Edward Island, books or articles on the Scottish influence in New Brunswick have been few and far between. One of the few books to be written on the Scottish presence in New Brunswick, *And The River Rolled On ... Two Hundred Years on the Nashwaak*, provided me with my initial introduction to the story of the 42nd Royal Highland Regiment (Black Watch) settlement on the Nashwaak River. From there, my great love of Scottish history provided me the impetus to explore their story in greater detail to find out why this group of Scottish soldiers would come to the infant province of New Brunswick and settle in what was then a largely forested and uninhabited province.

Over the course of my research a number of questions arose, among which was why some of the Highlanders left the Nashwaak settlement and moved on to the Miramichi where there was already a thriving Scots community. This question encompassed many other smaller but no less important questions concerning the Nashwaak settlement. To what extent was this settlement a function of ethnicity and to what extent was it a function of the government's desire to settle disbanded regiments in blocks? Or was it simply a function of regimental solidarity? Did the Nashwaak settlement remain a tightly knit community, or tend to fragment? Did economics perhaps triumph over ethnicity? In answering these questions I was able to comment on a number of broad themes which were illustrative of early life in

New Brunswick: early agriculture and the necessity to diversify in order to subsist, the impact of economic pressure on community survival, wage work versus independent work in early New Brunswick. Ultimately my report shows that the Black Watch settlement on the Nashwaak, much like other settlements in the province at the time, was under great economic pressure which threatened its survival in the infant province, but that common ethnic background and shared military experience helped the settlement to survive and grow.

The organizational approach I used for my report, placing the historiography at the end, is, I admit, unconventional. I felt that my report and the reader would be better served if I laid out my thesis and the body of my report first, and then placed the historiography at the end, because it would give readers a chance to reach their own conclusions on the questions I raised before the readers encountered what historians have written on the subject. I also wanted to introduce the Highlanders and their settlement before I turned to what other historians had written. In dealing with the various primary sources I used in researching my report I encountered the usual difficulties with Highland names, and particularly with spelling of patronymics. The same name might appear in three or four different ways- Mc, Mac, or even simply M', followed sometimes by a capital, as in MacDonald, or by a lower case letter, as in Macdonald. The spelling seemed to change with whim or fashion, but I have tried to standardize the names as they appeared most often.

Acknowledgements

In the three years of preparation I put into this report, I received a tremendous amount of support and encouragement from many people, so much so that I feel I can not do proper justice to the support given me. However, I will try, and in an effort to do this I would like to thank the following people:

I would first of all like to thank Courtney Smith for sharing her interest in the bagpipes and all things Scottish with me. That interest rubbed off on me, and helped lead me to research and write this report on a little piece of New Brunswick's Scottish history.

I would also like to thank my supervisor, Professor Stephen Patterson, for the helpful suggestions he provided me whenever I came to him with a question or a problem concerning some aspect of my report. I would also like to thank him for all his patience: I know there were days when he must have been wondering if I would ever finish this report. I also owe a debt of thanks to Professor Gail Campbell, whose initial comments on the essay which this report grew out of helped me out a great deal. Finally, I would like to thank Professor Marc Milner. The feedback he provided me in class and on the essays I wrote for him over the years helped me to become a better writer, and I feel, a better historian. Thank you.

Over the course of my eight years at UNB I have had the genuine pleasure and great fortune to meet and become acquainted with a vast assortment of people, both in residence and off-campus. Many of these encounters have developed into what I hope will be life-long friendships, friendships which I will cherish always. I will take away from my time at UNB, not just a great education, but also great friends who were there with me in the good and bad

times, particularly the past three years when I'm sure they heard me more than once complain about my workload and the preparation of this report. To all of you, thank you. To all of you who lived with me those five great years in Neill House - Vincere Vel Mori!

Finally, I'd like to thank my family whose love and support over these past eight years have kept me on track and made sure I never lost sight of my goals. Even though it may not have seemed it at times, I always appreciated the support you gave me over the years and for that I sincerely thank you.

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Following the end of the American Revolution, between April and November 1783, there was a continuous transfer of as many as 50,000 Loyalists from New York to Nova Scotia; of these, about half landed in what is now New Brunswick, where they settled mainly along the St. John River and its tributaries. Disbanded soldiers and their dependants represented approximately half of the New Brunswick Loyalist numbers.¹ Along with the disbanded provincial corps were two Scottish regiments of the line, the 42nd Regiment of Foot (Royal Highland Regiment), better known as the Black Watch, and the 74th Regiment of Foot (Argyll Highlanders).² Land was surveyed and laid out in large blocks for them along the St. John River. On their arrival, the regiments, now disbanded, were each assigned a particular block, while other blocks were assigned to mingled soldiers and civilians.³ Many

¹Wallace Brown, "Loyalist Military Settlement in New Brunswick," *The Loyal Americans: The Military Role of the Loyalist Provincial Corps and Their Settlement in British North America, 1775-1784* (Ottawa, 1983), 82; City of Fredericton, *The Royal Provincials: Loyalist Regiments in New Brunswick* (Fredericton, 1985).

²Philip N. Katcher, *King George's Army 1775-1783: A Handbook of British, American and German Regiments* (England, 1973), 52; John Prebble, *Mutiny: Highland Regiments in Revolt 1743-1804* (London, 1975), 498.

³K.J. Duncan, "Patterns of Settlement in the East," *The Scottish Tradition in Canada* (Toronto, 1976), 52; Frank Emmerson, *Scots: Peoples of the Maritimes* (Tantallon, N.S., 1987), 34; W.F. Ganong, "A Monograph of the Origins of Settlements in the Province of New Brunswick," *Royal Society of Canada. Proceedings and Transactions*, 2nd Series,

were dissatisfied with the quality of their land, and sold or abandoned their lots, while others did not even take possession of the land granted to them.⁴ There was considerable mobility within the province as a result, with many settlers searching for better land on which to settle. Over time, distinctive settlement patterns, largely reflecting particular ethnic and religious groups, began to emerge.

Scottish Highlanders tended to settle together in groups or small communities. Ethnic clustering occurred not only in the case of the Scottish Highland regiments that settled within New Brunswick, but also with Scottish Highlanders in Upper Canada and Nova Scotia.⁵

10 (1904), 54-55; Elinor Kyte Senior, "Loyalist Regiments After the American Revolution," *Canadian Genealogist*, 2 (1980), 43; W.F. Ganong, *Historic Sites in the Province of New Brunswick* (1899; rpt. St. Stephen, 1983), 125; Norman Macdonald, *Canada, 1763-1841 Immigration And Settlement: The Administration of the Imperial Land Regulations* (London, 1939), 39-68; Esther Clark Wright, "The Settlement of New Brunswick: An Advance Toward Democracy," *The Canadian Historical Association. Reports of Annual Meetings 1944-47* (1944), 58; W.S. MacNutt, *New Brunswick A History: 1784-1867* (Toronto, 1963), 48; R.G. Riddell, "A Study in the Land Policy of the Colonial Office, 1763-1855," *The Canadian Historical Review*, 18 (December 1937), 393; Brown, 82. This same plan for settling the disbanded regiments in blocks was also followed in the other provinces for military expediency and value. Block settlement of disbanded regiments was imperial policy as it was thought that if they were settled together the British government would have a ready force if trouble with the Americans erupted. This plan was later validated with the War of 1812. The policy also rewarded the soldiers' faithful service to the Crown.

⁴Graeme Wynn, "Population Patterns in a pre-Confederation New Brunswick," *Acadiensis* 10 (Spring 1981), 124-139; William D. Moore, "Sunbury County 1760-1830," Unpublished MA thesis, University of New Brunswick (1977), 51; Roger Paul Nason, "Meritorious But Distressed Individuals: The Penobscot Loyalist Association And The Settlement Of The Township Of St. Andrew's, New Brunswick, 1783-1821," Unpublished MA thesis, University of New Brunswick (1982), 156; Ganong, *Historic Sites*, 125-126.

⁵Phyllis R. Blakely, "Loyalist Military Settlement in Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island," *The Loyal Americans* (1983), 72; Esther Clark Wright, *The Loyalists of New Brunswick* (Fredericton, 1955), 196; Brown, 82.

Studies of the Highland settlement patterns by historians such as Marianne McLean, J.M. Bumsted and Charles W. Dunn have examined various aspects of their culture, such as language, their clan system and religion, to try to explain the tendency of Highland Scots to settle along ethnic lines.⁶ This paper focuses on the Black Watch and their settlement on the Nashwaak; it will examine and analyse their experience in trying to forge a settlement out of the then largely forested province of New Brunswick. It will also analyse and examine the tendency toward ethnic clustering among this regiment of Scottish Highlanders and their families who came to New Brunswick as part of the Loyalist migration. To what extent was this pattern of group settlement a function of ethnicity and to what extent was it a function of the government's desire to settle disbanded regiments in blocks? Or was it, perhaps, simply a function of regimental solidarity? Did it remain a tightly knit community, or tend to fragment? Did economics perhaps triumph over ethnicity? The findings of this case study will then be situated within the context of the broader body of literature which concerns itself with settlement patterns. Ultimately this paper will show that the Black Watch settlement on the Nashwaak, much like other settlements in the province at the time, was under great economic pressure which threatened its survival in the infant province, but that a common ethnic background and shared military experience helped the settlement to survive and grow.

⁶Rosemary E. Ommer, "Highland Scots Migration to Southwestern Newfoundland: A Study of Kinship," *The Peopling of Newfoundland* (St. John's, 1977); Marianne McLean, *The People of Glengarry: Highlanders in Transition, 1745-1820* (Montreal and Kingston, 1991); J.M. Bumsted, "Scottish Emigration to the Maritimes 1770-1815: A New Look at an Old Theme," *Acadiensis* 10 (Spring 1981) and *The Scots in Canada* (Ottawa, 1982); Charles W. Dunn, *Highland Settler: A Portrait of the Scottish Gael in Cape Breton and Eastern Nova Scotia* (Wreck Cove, Cape Breton Island, 1991); Frank Emmerson, *Scots: Peoples of the Maritimes* (Tantallon, N.S., 1987).

Before looking at the Black Watch in New Brunswick, one might usefully consider how they came to be there, by taking a brief look at their pre-Revolutionary history. The 42nd Royal Highland Regiment, often referred to as the Black Watch, grew out of independent companies formed to police the Scottish Highlands in the early eighteenth-century. Such policing was necessary since there was much discontent and unrest in Scotland following the Union of the Parliaments of England and Scotland in 1707. By the year 1725, independent companies made up of Highlanders were formed and given the name the Black Watch. The independent companies were mustered by the beat of the drum and were drawn from the various clans of the Highlands, including those that were traditionally enemies of the King of England.⁷ They were subject to martial law and placed under the orders of the Commander-in-Chief in North Britain. In the year of the incident which came to be known as Jenkins' Ear, the King was once again faced with the usual problem of raising battalions to fight Britain's campaigns. In response to a suggestion from Duncan Forbes, Lord President of the Court of Sessions, a Royal Warrant to translate the Black Watch into a regiment of the line was signed by the King in November 1739, and a Letter of Service as Colonel was granted to the Earl of Crawford. In May 1740 the ten companies, consisting of 850 officers and men, were mustered on a riverside field by Aberfeldy, Scotland. The Black Watch was renumbered the 42nd later on in 1751. They received royal designation in 1758. As a British regiment of the line, the Black Watch took part in the American Revolution. They left

⁷The reason given by one government official for including traditionally hostile clan members in the Black Watch was the belief that "they will not only serve well against the enemy abroad, but will be hostages for the good behaviour of their relatives at home, ... it will be absolutely impossible to raise a rebellion in the Highlands." Prebble, 56.

Greenoch, Scotland on 1 May 1776 and arrived in New York in July of the same year. There, under the command of Colonel Thomas Stirling, they fought in battles at Long Island, Harlem Heights, and Fort Washington. In May 1777 they were successful at the battle of Pisquitta, and in September they were victorious at Brandywine and Paoli. In October 1777 the Black Watch won the battle of Germantown which gave the British control of the colonial United States capital of Philadelphia. Colonel Stirling was appointed aide-de-camp to the King, and the command of the 42nd devolved to Major Charles Graham in 1778. They returned to New York when the British retreated in 1778, and won at Freehold. In the spring of 1780 they took part in the siege of Charleston, South Carolina, until its surrender on 12 May. Following this they returned to New York and remained stationed there for the remainder of the war.⁸

The Black Watch was one of the last regiments protecting the embarkation of the Loyalists from New York City. Approximately one hundred and twelve men of the Black Watch, who elected to take their discharge at the end of the Revolutionary War, came with the fall fleet on the vessels *Neptune*, *Mercury* and *Jason*, to Nova Scotia, which at the time included New Brunswick.⁹ Typical of those whom were discharged was Corporal Thomas

⁸Margaret Pugh, "The 42nd Royal Highland Regiment, The Black Watch (Nashwaak)," *And The River Rolled On ... Two Hundred Years on the Nashwaak* (Nashwaak Bridge, 1984), 69-70; "The Black Watch," *Collins Encyclopaedia of Scotland* (London, 1994), 83; Lilian M. Beckwith Maxwell, *An Outline of the History of Central New Brunswick to the Time of Confederation* (Sackville, 1937), 70; J.P. MacLean, *An Historical Account of The Settlements of Scotch Highlanders In America Prior To The Peace of 1783 Together With Notices Of Highland Regiments And Biographical Sketches* (1900; rpt. Baltimore, 1968), 325-338; Katcher, 52; Prebble, 26-38, 496. For a more detailed account of the 42nd's participation in the American Revolution see John Peebles (d. 1824), Notebooks: 1740-1816. The Loyalist Collection, Harriet Irving Library, UNB Fredericton.

⁹PANB, MS3/8 letter, PANB to Margaret Pugh, 1976, re: 42nd Highland Regiment in MC315 Nashwaak Bicentennial Association Collection. The names of the vessels upon

Fraser, who had served in the Black Watch for twelve years. He was born in the Parish of Buleskin, in or near the market town of Inverness, in the County of Inverness, Scotland. At the time of his discharge he was twenty-eight years old, and was a labourer by trade. The date of his discharge was 28 September 1783, and it occurred at Paulus Hook, New Jersey.¹⁰ The majority of the Black Watch received their discharge from Paulus Hook. The date of their discharge can be found in the muster roll of the regiment taken from 25th August to 24th December 1783.¹¹ Upon their discharge, the Highlanders received fourteen days subsistence for the voyage to New Brunswick, and also a spade and an axe, as their future mode of life may have required them.¹² It seems very likely that those discharged came directly to New Brunswick in October 1783.¹³

To facilitate settlement of the Loyalists, almost 1.5 million acres of land, granted between 1752 and 1774 but still unoccupied, were escheated between 1783 and 1788. In

which the regiment sailed appeared in orders dated 28 September 1783, New York. Reference to the names *Mercury* and *Neptune* appear in Esther Clark Wright's *The Loyalists of New Brunswick* on page 92. She describes the *Mercury* as carrying one hundred and fifty-two passengers and the *Neptune* carrying one hundred and sixty-three passengers. No mention is made of the *Jason*.

¹⁰PANB, MS11/9 Typed copy of Corporal Thomas Fraser's discharge paper in MC315 Nashwaak Bicentennial Association Collection.

¹¹PANB, MS2/5 Muster rolls of the 42nd Royal Highland Regiment (Black Watch) in MC315 Nashwaak Bicentennial Association Collection.

¹²PANB, MS11/9 Typed copy of Corporal Thomas Fraser's discharge paper in MC315 Nashwaak Bicentennial Association Collection; letter, Sir Guy Carleton to Brigadier General H.E. Fox, New York, 22nd August, 1783 in William O. Raymond, ed., *Winslow Papers, A.D. 1776-1826* (1901; rpt. Boston, 1972), 124-125.

¹³Pugh, 70.

New Brunswick, divided from Nova Scotia as a separate, largely Loyalist colony in 1784, some 476,000 acres passed into Loyalist hands before 1790. Saint John acted as a funnel, a point of disembarkation through which Loyalists would move to lands in the interior. Loyalist regiments were assigned lands along the St. John River above Fredericton. A plan of the river had been prepared by the Surveyor General of Nova Scotia, Charles Morris Jr., in which the blocks of land reserved for the regiments appeared. Blocks were numbered and assigned to the various regiments soon after their arrival, but the survey lines had not been run, nor were the lots laid out for individual settlers. A warrant of survey was made on April 24, 1784 for Charles Morris, Jr. to survey and lay out a tract of land for the Black Watch. He reported on June 16, 1784, that 20,850 acres were set aside on the Nashwaak River for one subaltern officer, one hundred and forty-one privates, twenty-seven women and thirty children of the 42nd Regiment. The grant was never issued.¹⁴ The season was so far advanced when the troops arrived at Parrtown (Saint John) that the difficulty of transport, combined with uncertainty as to location, led many of the disbanded soldiers to pass the winter at the mouth of the river.¹⁵ Several contemporary observers were highly critical of the way the colonial government was handling the settlement of the Loyalists. The reasons why the Loyalists were prevented from getting settled on their lands were summarized by Colonel Robert Morse:

¹⁴PANB, MS41/43 One subaltern officer, 141 privates, 27 women and 30 children. Land located on the Nashwaak River. 16 June, 1784. Map included. (#77) in MC939 New Brunswick Museum: Additional Loyalist Documents.

¹⁵Graeme Wynn, "A Region Of Scattered Settlements And Bounded Possibilities: Northeastern America 1775-1800," *The Canadian Geographer* 31 (Spring 1987), 320, 324; William O. Raymond, *The River St. John: Its Physical Features, Legends and History from 1604 to 1784* (1910; rpt. Sackville, 1950), 268-269.

“first, their arriving very late in the season; second, timely provision not having been made by escheating and laying out lands; thirdly, a sufficient number of surveyors not having been employed; but lastly and principally, the want of foresight and wisdom to make necessary arrangements and steadiness to carry them into execution.”¹⁶ Land at Saint John was surveyed and divided into lots, which were then assigned in block in the case of disbanded regiments and associates; the men drew for separate lots, and were each given a location ticket, which was held until the grant was issued. The town lots were approximately 50' x 100'. Twenty-eight men of the Black Watch are registered in the town plan for Parrtown and eleven in Carleton. This represented 34 percent of the hundred and twelve who came to New Brunswick. In Parrtown most were situated on Pitt Street and in Carleton they were on St. John's Street and Water Street.¹⁷

At the time of their arrival at the mouth of the St. John the land was covered with a dense growth of spruce trees. The Highlanders proceeded to cut down the trees and clear the land, building log houses to shelter themselves and their families. Every Loyalist upon his arrival received 500 feet of boards and a proportion of shingles and bricks to assist him in building a house.¹⁸ They attempted to establish permanent homes, but in June 1784 a fire destroyed Parrtown forcing the Highlanders to abandon this area and move to the block assigned them on the Nashwaak River, a tributary of the St. John, in York County. Later, the

¹⁶Raymond, ed., *Winslow Papers*, 191.

¹⁷PANB, RG10 RS686 Crown Lands Grant Records; PANB, MS2/4 Historical research pertaining to the activities of the 42nd Royal Highland Regiment in MC315 Nashwaak Bicentennial Association Collection; Ganong, *Historic Sites*, 125; Senior, 37.

¹⁸Raymond, *The River St. John*, 155.

majority of those in Carleton followed to the Nashwaak.¹⁹

Not all the Highlanders were happy to go to the Nashwaak. John Falkner and others sent four petitions in 1785 "praying to be able to resign their right to land taken up for them on the Nashwaak and to receive in lieu thereof ten acres near the town of Carleton in the township of Conway lately escheated at Halifax, and bounded on the northernmost side by John Innis and on the road leading to the Manawaganish." The petitioners sought land near Carleton, arguing that they had already spent what little money they had earned in making themselves comfortable there, and could no longer afford to go up river and resettle.²⁰ After some delay, their petitions were granted on the condition they find vacant lots.²¹

Other members of the regiment were also reluctant to settle on the Nashwaak but for very different reasons from those cited in John Falkner's petitions. One factor involved the location of the granted land on the Nashwaak. Robert McKay and others submitted a petition on March 28, 1785 asking for "ten acres of land aside or joining those of the 42nd Regiment

¹⁹Jonas Howe, "Dugald Campbell's Map," *The New Brunswick Magazine*, 2 (1899), 235; D.M. Young, "Dugald Campbell," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. V, 1801-1820 (Toronto, 1983), 136; Pugh, 70; Maxwell, 70; Raymond, 155.

²⁰PANB, RG10 RS108 Land Petitions. February 19, 1785. The others who signed the petition were Angus McBean, James McDonald, James Forbes, John McKenzie, Donald McDonald, William Munro, Peter Dewar*, Hugh Campbell*, and George MacKinnon and Donald McRaw of the North Carolina Volunteers; PANB, RG10 RS108 Land Petitions. March 18, 1785. The others who signed the petition were Hugh Campbell*, Patrick Dure*, James Forbes, Donald McDonald and John McKenzie; PANB, RG10 RS108 Land Petitions. John Falkner, March 21, 1785; PANB, RG10 RS108 Land Petitions. April 25, 1785. *These petitioners are not on any of the lists found for the Black Watch; they may have been acquaintances of the Black Watch members who did sign the list.

²¹PANB, RG10 RS637 Surveyor General Records. Journals of Proceedings Concerning Land Allotment, 1784-1830.

that resides in Carleton and that has petitioned your excellency for land,"

... finding ourselves incapable of settling on our land at Nashwake upon the account of it being so far from town and to inconvenient to get to our land and ourselves being very poor we found it was out of our power to settle on it therefore ... we think we can make more by that than by our complement at Nashwake as it lays convenient to town and many other advantages that a poor man can live that he cannot at 100 mile from this place ...²²

Fredericton was the nearest town to the Nashwaak grant, twenty miles away. Adding to this was the fact that there were major difficulties in getting supplies up the St. John River to St. Ann's (Fredericton). This is confirmed by a petition from the officers residing at St. Ann's to Major-General Campbell, commanding officer in Nova Scotia. More than 2,000 of His Majesty's faithful subjects would be relieved and aided, the officers pointed out, if his Excellency would be pleased to establish a magazine of provisions at St. Ann's Point. The settlements they were now farming were situated from 100 to 150 miles from the provisions magazine at Fort Howe, and an "infinite variety of inconveniences" resulted from the necessity of sending that distance for their proportion of the Royal Bounty. Dugald Campbell signed the memorial on behalf of the officers, non-commissioned officers and privates of the Black Watch.²³ At the time there were 275 men, women and children settled on the

²²PANB, RG10 RS108 Land Petitions. Robert McKay, March 28, 1785. The others who signed the petition were Angus McKay, Donald McPhadden, Malcolm MacGregor, Donald Ross, John Sutherland, George Matthewson, Francis MacDonald*, Roderick MacKenzie, William McLennan*, William Sutherland, Jas MacLachlan*, David Young*, Donald McPherson*, William McIntosh, Donald Cameron* and John Weir. *These petitioners are not on any of the lists found for the Black Watch; they may have been acquaintances of the Black Watch members who signed the petition.

²³Wright, *The Loyalists of New Brunswick*, 97-98. The Loyalists were given provisions for the voyage to Nova Scotia and one year's provision thereafter. This was extended due to the difficulties and delay in getting the Loyalists settled on their lands.

Nashwaak who were receiving the Royal Bounty of provisions.²⁴ Another factor which may have led to the Highlanders' reluctance to go to the Nashwaak was that the surveys for the blocks along the St. John River system were not completed for two years after the arrival of the regiments.²⁵ By that time, some of the disbanded troops were reluctant to relocate and start over again, as the petitions of 1785 by John Falkner and others, show.

Nevertheless, the majority of the Highlanders left Saint John and travelled up the St. John River to the land allotted to them on the Nashwaak. One of their own officers, Lieutenant Dugald Campbell, planned their settlement and surveyed the land. Campbell was a trained surveyor and compiled the first map of the city of Fredericton.²⁶ The lots surveyed were in the Parish of St. Mary's, on both sides of the Nashwaak River from below the Tay River at the south to above the mouth of the Cross Creek at the north. Below this block on the Nashwaak was the Daniel Lyman grant given to half-pay officers of various provincial

²⁴General return of all disbanded troops and Loyalists settling in New Brunswick, who are now receiving the Royal Bounty of Provisions, November 25, 1785 in Wright, *The Loyalists of New Brunswick*, 249; St. John River (Thos. Knox), 25 September 1784, 12 October 1784 in Ward, Chipman. *Muster Rolls: 1775-1837. The Loyalist Collection*, Harriet Irving Library, UNB Fredericton.

²⁵Edward Winslow was a harsh critic of the government's handling of the land granting to the Loyalists. In a letter to Brook Watson, 12th November, 1784, he wrote "the Muster-masters invariably take notice of the extraordinary delays in making the grants to the new settlers. To investigate the causes of those delays would be an invidious and unpleasant task, but the consequences are serious. Had the lands been laid out immediately on the arrival of the settlers (and this was certainly practicable) fifteen of the thirty thousand people who are now receiving rations of provisions would" [the remainder of the letter is missing]. letter, Edward Winslow to Brook Watson. Halifax, 12th November, 1784 in Raymond, ed., *Winslow Papers*, 247-249.

²⁶*1785-1885 Nashwaak Families* (Nashwaak Bridge, 1986), 20; Young, 135.

corps.²⁷

The Nashwaak River had been important in the St. John River community long before the arrival of the Highlanders. In 1686, Bishop St. Valier visited the river and designated the land at the mouth of the Nashwaak as the Parish of St. Mary's. Not long afterwards, in 1692, Villebon, the Governor of Acadie, built Fort St. Joseph close to the junction of the Nashwaak and St. John Rivers. Around 1695, Louis d'Amours, Sieur de Chauffours, built the first mill on the Nashwaak and cleared 30 acres of land.²⁸ At least one French settler was still on the Nashwaak when the Highlanders came. On September 26, 1787, Francis Nack acknowledged receipt of twenty pounds from Dugald Campbell for four lots of land on the Nashwaak, and three pounds for crops of wheat, rye, corn, barley and potatoes he had raised that year.²⁹ In 1764 the Saint John River Society was created to settle Nova Scotia lands. Beamsley Glasier, one of the society's principal founders, was appointed the society's agent and conducted a preliminary survey of the lower St. John; he liked what he saw. In April 1765, the region, partly through his advocacy, was erected into Sunbury County. Later on in October of that same year, the society received a grant of five townships on the St. John River, comprising about 400,000 acres. In 1766 it was decided to establish a township, to be called Grimross,

²⁷David Dobson, *Directory of Scottish Settlers in North America, 1625-1825* (Baltimore, 1985), 40; Esther Clark Wright, *The St. John River and Its Tributaries* (Wolfville, 1966), 147; D.M. Young, "The Nashwaak Settlements during the Lifetimes of the First Settlers," *And The River Rolled On ... Two Hundred Years on the Nashwaak* (Nashwaak Bridge, 1984), xii; Ganong, *Historic Sites*, 131; Howe, 235; Maxwell, 65; Young, "Dugald Campbell", 135. See appendix II.

²⁸Raymond, 53; Wright, *The St. John River*, 145.

²⁹PANB, RG33 RS98 York County Registry Office Records. Register Book A-1. #187, Francis Nack to Dugald Campbell, 242.

on the site of an old French settlement and to build a saw mill at Nashwaak Falls, present day Marysville. The township of Newton was established at the mill site and Glasier brought five millwrights from Portsmouth, New Hampshire to settle there. This attempt at settlement failed. The mill was uncompleted, and, although a number of settlers were brought out by the proprietors in the following years, the terms of the grants to the society were not met and most of the lands were escheated with the arrival of the Loyalists in 1783.³⁰

The warrant to survey the Nashwaak land was granted August 31, 1785 and the land was granted June 8, 1787. Approximately 11,343 acres of land were granted to Dugald Campbell and his one hundred and eleven associates.³¹ The land was divided into one hundred and eighty-five lots. Dugald Campbell took lot 1, containing 580 acres of spacious intervale at the mouth of the Tay River. He called his estate Taymouth Farm. His brother-in-law, Alexander Drummond, was given lot 185, containing 181 acres. In contrast to these, however, the vast majority of the lots were narrow, all length and no breadth. Indeed, the lots granted to the Black Watch were the smallest granted anywhere outside of a townsite, with some being as small as 42 acres.³²

³⁰D.M. Young, "Beamsley Perkins Glasier," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. IV 1771-1800, (Toronto, 1979), 300; Raymond, 182-183; Wright, *The St. John River*, 145-146.

³¹Of the one hundred and twelve people, there was one commissioned officer, twenty-one non-commissioned officers and drummers, and ninety privates plus twenty-seven women and forty-two children. PANB, MS2/4 Historical research pertaining to the activities of the 42nd Royal Highland Regiment in MC315 Nashwaak Bicentennial Association Collection. See appendix IV for a list of those who received lots on the Nashwaak.

³²PANB, RG10 RS686 Crown Lands Grant Records; PANB, MS11/4 "The 42nd Highlanders of the Nashwaak" by Rolf Munroe in MC315 Nashwaak Bicentennial

Throughout New Brunswick grants were relatively small, the average being 100 acres for a family's head, and 50 acres for each additional member. Military personnel received additional grants, as follows: privates, 100 acres; subalterns, staff and warrant officers, 500 acres; captains, 700 acres; field officers, 1000 acres. Additional allotments could be obtained by those who could afford to pay the quit-rents on a larger grant or who had fulfilled the terms of the first grant. The terms to be upheld for each grant were uniform throughout New Brunswick and were made known to the grantee at the time the grant was given. For each 50 acres, the Loyalist had to clear and cultivate 3 acres if the land was arable, drain the same amount if the land was swampy, sustain three neat cattle if the land was wilderness, or dig a stone quarry if the land was rocky. If the land was unfit for agriculture, a good dwelling house had to be built.³³ Within three years after the grant passed, the Loyalist had to submit proof of his compliance with these terms via the county courts to the provincial council. Most Loyalists received in the vicinity of 200-400 acres.³⁴

The terms to be fulfilled by the Black Watch, as set out in their grant, were much the same as those which had to be followed in the rest of the province. In addition to the terms for the cultivation of their land, the Black Watch had to pay a yearly quit-rent of two shillings for every 100 acres. This payment was to commence ten years after the date of the grant.

Association Collection; PANB, MSII/3 "The Early History of the Nashwaak" by Rolf Munroe in MC315 Nashwaak Bicentennial Association Collection; Young, "The Nashwaak Settlements ...", xii. See appendix III to look at the grant map.

³³In the grant given to the Black Watch the dwelling house had to be at least twenty feet in length and sixteen feet in breadth.

³⁴Robert Fellows, "The Loyalists and Land Settlement in New Brunswick, 1783-190: A Study in Colonial Administration," *The Canadian Archivist*, 2 (1971), 7, 8, 12.

If the rent was in arrears or unpaid for the space of one year from the time it was due, and no development could be found, or if the grant was not registered in the Registry office of New Brunswick within six months of the date of the grant and a docket also entered in the Audition office then the grant was void, and the lands, tenements, and hereditaments granted reverted to the provincial council. The crown also reserved all white pines that were found growing on the grants, and also all mines of gold, silver, copper, lead and coals.³⁵

The labour of clearing the land and getting it ready for the plough was hard and time-consuming, a task for which the hard outdoor life of the Highlands and their experience in the army made the Highlanders ideally suited. In a letter home an English general wrote, "the Highlanders seem particularly calculated for this country ... requiring great personal exertion; their patience, sober habits and hardihood - their bravery, their agility and their dress contribute to adapt them to this climate."³⁶ Felling the trees was only the beginning of the task; the branches had to be lopped off and disposed of; logs had to be cut in lengths and hauled away; the stumps had to be burned or dug out, or hauled out by oxen. There were hazards in this work: the burning of stumps and of the brush frequently resulted in an uncontrollable conflagration, axes slipped, trees fell in unexpected directions, bears attacked.³⁷ Yet, the speed at which forest could be turned into farmland largely determined how quickly

³⁵PANB, MS2/2 Transcriptions of Land Petitions and Land Grants 1785-1787 in MC315 Nashwaak Bicentennial Association Collection. Land grant given to the 42nd Royal Highland Regiment, registered in the provincial council on 16 June 1787.

³⁶Michael Brander, *The Scottish Highlanders and their Regiments* (London, 1971), 161.

³⁷Esther Clark Wright, "Life and Hard Times," *The United Empire Loyalists: Men and Myths* (Toronto, 1967), 79.

pioneer farmers could prosper. Initially, if a man worked full-time at clearing, from four to seven acres a year could be cleared.³⁸ Along with the clearing of the land, the Highlanders set about building their homes.

The first houses were built close to the river. Joshua Marsden, a Methodist missionary to New Brunswick, wrote a description of homes in the region, a description inspired by a journey through Sheffield in the late winter of 1800-1801:

Perhaps more than two-thirds of the settlers in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, at least those in the interior, reside in them (log houses). These sylvan mansions are made of solid trunks of tree thirty, forty or more feet long and from fourteen to eighteen inches in diameter. They are cut down and then roughly squared, after which, they are dove-tailed at the ends, and then laid one upon another, the upper and lower side of the timber only being squared; when they are raised to twelve or eighteen feet, (for they are seldom more than one story high) the rafters are laid on, and these are covered either with birch bark, shingles or rough boards; a door, which sometimes serves for a window too, is made by sawing away an oblong square of the trees which form the walls of the house. The chimney is generally built at one end, sometimes of brick, but more generally of clay and rough stones. The spaces or crevices between the trunks of the trees are filled with moss or clay, but often in so miserable a manner that the wind and snow too pour in from every quarter, and make them in the winter excessively cold, even though they may have half-a-load of wood upon the fire. Sometimes they have partitions of rough boards, and at other times sheets are hung up, to separate the sleeping portions of the mansion from the rest. Two or three men will build a log-house in a few days. They cost little, as most of the materials grow round the spot.³⁹

It is fairly safe to assume that the Highlanders built their log-houses along the same lines. For cooking everyone used a big open fire-place with a trammel or crane on which to hang the kettles and pots. Some had brick ovens built in the chimney, but most of the baking was done

³⁸Peter A. Russell, "Forest Into Farmland: Upper Canadian Clearing Rates, 1822-1839," *Agricultural History*, 57 (July 1983), 327, 329.

³⁹Joshua Marsden, *The Narrative Of A Mission To Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, And The Somers Islands* (1816; rpt. Toronto, 1966), 37.

in Dutch ovens on the hearth. Beds, over time, were made of fir twigs, then straw, then ticks filled with feathers.⁴⁰

The Highlanders, like most newcomers to New Brunswick, became farmers. Contemporary observers provide several descriptions of the land on which they farmed. Patrick Campbell, Dugald Campbell's uncle, travelling in the interior of New Brunswick in 1791 and 1792, described the lands on many parts of the Nashwaak River as being "rich and fertile; the flats extensive and easily improved."⁴¹ Joshua Marsden described the land along the river as "fine tracks of upland and intervalle."⁴² Peter Fisher, New Brunswick's first historian, described the land as "a mixture of good intervalle and high land along its course (*Nashwaak*)."⁴³ The valley along this part of the Nashwaak was narrow, and thus farmland extended back from the river one-third mile or less. The side hills along the river were too rocky. Further back the land levelled off and many had clearings there. Below the mouth of the Tay River the valley gradually became wider and top soil deeper. The land was not all fit for farming as up the river from Taymouth the top soil was shallow; sometimes if one plowed a little too deep, sand would be turned up.⁴⁴

⁴⁰Ibid, 37.

⁴¹Patrick Campbell, *Travels In The Interior Inhabited Parts of North America In The Years 1791 and 1792* (Toronto, 1937), 47.

⁴²Marsden, 65. Intervalles are the floodplain along large rivers. Intervalles are often covered with floodwater in the spring, but make fine farmland once the rivers subside.

⁴³Peter Fisher, *The First History of New Brunswick* (1921; rpt. Woodstock, N.B., 1980), 58.

⁴⁴PANB, MS9/9 James R. Ross Collection in MC315 Nashwaak Bicentennial Association Collection, 6-7.

The nature and extent of any agriculture depends first on the fertility of the soil. Fertility is a function both of the soil base and of the climatic conditions in the area.⁴⁵ Within New Brunswick, precipitation is abundant and grasses grow well. The growing season everywhere is long enough to permit the cultivation of most middle-latitude crops. However, the cool moist climate that characterizes New Brunswick through spring and autumn is a handicap; as well, high temperatures in early spring are frequently followed by bouts of cold, and snowfalls have been recorded in the south of the province during June. In the winter, intense cold and heavy snowfalls are common. Summers are short and at times hot; they are also inclement. Within New Brunswick, there are a number of soils capable of producing good to excellent yields of certain crops. Sometimes these cover extensive areas; more often they extend like thick fingers of ore stretching along intervalles or across country. Under these circumstances nineteenth-century agriculture was almost always a local affair, with farm work being done by the family or with the help of neighbours and the produce being sold locally.⁴⁶ From the descriptions provided by the contemporary observers one is able to see that the land granted to the Highlanders was located along one of the thick fingers of good soil, but not all of the land was fit for agriculture. Several petitions were made by the grantees concerning the quantity and/or quality of the land they had been granted in the Nashwaak area. In a petition of March 30, 1787, John McLeod, John McKay, Roderick

⁴⁵T.W. Acheson, "New Brunswick Agriculture at the End of the Colonial Era: A Reassessment," *Farm, Factory and Fortune: New Studies in the Economic History of the Maritime Provinces* (Fredericton, 1993), 42.

⁴⁶Graeme Wynn, *Timber Colony: A Historical Geography of Early Nineteenth Century New Brunswick* (Toronto, 1981), 12; R. Cole Harris and John Warkentin, *Canada Before Confederation: A Study in Historical Geography* (London, 1974), 193; Acheson, 42-43.

McLeod and Murdock McLeod requested an additional grant, from the unoccupied land near their settlement on the Nashwaak, on the grounds that, owing to the narrowness of the front, they did not have sufficient lands to procure a livelihood for themselves and their families.⁴⁷ In another petition, dated June 13, 1787, Angus McBean and Roderick McLeod, complained that "they had not received their proportion of land (owing to the narrowness of their front) and wish to occupy lot 7 which is unoccupied and adjoins their present lands."⁴⁸ Even as late as 1795 government officials were receiving petitions from the Nashwaak grantees about the narrowness of the land. Petition number 527 from John and James MacDonald said that after clearing their lots on the Nashwaak there was not enough left for cultivation because the lots were too small. They requested new lots on the "Macktuquack or Tay Rivers."⁴⁹ William McLennan, John Sutherland, Hugh Sutherland and John Thompson reported in petition 528 that after ten years of trial, they had found the land unequal to their support and therefore requested land on the "Mactuquack or Tay Rivers."⁵⁰ Robert Sutherland also asked for more land on the Nashwaak for his family.⁵¹

In the time of the Highlanders, as now, agricultural life was governed by the seasons,

⁴⁷PANB, RG10 RS108 Land Petitions. Roderick McLeod, 1787. The official answer was "the disbanded soldiers of the 42nd Regiment who are dissatisfied with their present narrow allotments may dispose of the same and apply for 200 acres each as Loyalists, but can have additional allotments on no other conditions."

⁴⁸PANB, RG10 RS108 Land Petitions. Roderick McLeod and Angus McBean, 1787. The answer was yes if the lot was vacant.

⁴⁹PANB, RG10 RS108 Land Petitions. John MacDonald, 1795.

⁵⁰PANB, RG10 RS108 Land Petitions. William McLennan, 1795.

⁵¹PANB, RG10 RS108 Land Petitions. Robert Sutherland, 1795.

with certain tasks to be done at certain times of the year. As well, certain tasks were to be done by certain family members. Together, the family comprised a labour unit which, in turn, divided the tasks: the wife and daughters did the spinning, gardening and extensive household duties, for example, and the able male children assisted their fathers in field work and frequently "hired out" to neighbours.⁵² Summer was the busy season. The first sign of spring was the beginning of the sap run, usually around the first week of April. The next event was putting the cattle out to graze, which occurred as soon as the snow had melted enough to allow patches of grass to appear. This was an anxious time because the winter supply of hay and grain was running low. Then, with milder weather, the women would shear the sheep and wash, card and spin the wool. They coloured the yarn with such things as butternut bark, sumac, or golden-rod. From the yarn they made much of their clothing.⁵³

Soon came time for plowing. The Highlanders planted with a hoe and cultivated and dug with the same implement. They made their own harrows. Sometimes they purchased iron teeth for these; usually they made wooden ones. The crops planted varied since most of the needs of the household and stock were produced on the farm. The Highlanders sowed their grain by hand, and reaped it with a sickle and cradle. Then they took it to be ground,

⁵²Eric G. Nellis, "Work and Social Stability in Pre-Revolutionary Massachusetts," *Canadian Historical Association: Historical Papers 1981* (1981), 87.

⁵³Terrence Kilbride, "The Process Of Growth And Change In Carleton County, 1783-1867," Unpublished MA thesis, University of New Brunswick (1969), 45; Ferne Coughlan, Evelyn MacKay, Ina MacLaggan, Gracie MacLaggan, compiled by Margaret Pugh, "Nashwaak Bridge," *And The River Rolled On ... Two Hundred Years on the Nashwaak* (Nashwaak Bridge, 1984), 108.

probably at the grist mill near McCallum Brook or the one close to Dunbar Stream.⁵⁴ In addition to the wheat they sowed, the Highlanders also planted potatoes, turnips, carrots, beans, corn, oats and barley. They grew hemp, used for making rope and raised flax and manufactured the linen they used.⁵⁵ Patrick Campbell observed

They had an abundance of stock and crops to supply their wants. Their habitations and inclosures neat, comfortable, and commodious. One of them told me, that one of his fields produced 30 bushels of bear⁵⁶ for every one sown, but that he had given it a little manure, as the soil is somewhat thin and sandy. I have seen other fields of oats, which, they affirmed would return twenty-fold, which I find to be the average increase on this, the St. John's River, in wheat, oats and bear, when no manure is given.⁵⁷

In the fall, along with the harvesting of crops, the pigs were killed and the pork salted for use during the winter. It was also the time for "putting up preserves" and, after the harvest, making repairs to the house and fences.⁵⁸

Jacobina Campbell, one of Dugald Campbell's daughters, kept a diary in which she recorded the tasks carried out by various family members during the year 1825:

27 August- Brøys get in two loads of wheat
12 September- Patrick and Alexander go to the woods

⁵⁴PANB, MS18/8 Copy of a Map of the 'Nashwack' made from a survey by Dugald Campbell, around 1790 in MC315 Nashwaak Bicentennial Association Collection.

⁵⁵Kilbride, 45; Coughlan, 108.

⁵⁶Bear- an old name for barley, retained only in Scotland.

⁵⁷Campbell, 56. Bettye Hobbs Pruitt defines farms that produced fewer than thirty bushels of grain a year as not self-sufficient, and those that produced more than forty-five bushels as enjoying a comfortable surplus. Bettye Hobbs Pruitt, "Self-Sufficiency And The Agricultural Economy Of Eighteenth-Century Massachusetts," *The William And Mary Quarterly*, 41 (July 1984), 349.

⁵⁸Kilbride, 45.

23 September- Francis goes to mill
 26 September- Boys begin to dig potatoes
 06 October- Francis goes to town and to mill
 10 November- Put up the boys bedding curtains
 19 November- Finish Sally's coat
 08 December- Alexander and Ludlow go to mill
 1826
 17 February- Ludlow goes to mill
 13 April- Finish making shirts for Sandy
 22 April- High water
 30 April- High water
 15 May- Begin the garden
 16 May- Sow wheat, plant peas in the garden
 17 May- Plant carrots
 22 May- Plant potatoes in the garden
 06 June- Boys finish planting
 15 June- Ludlow clearing turnips
 19 June- Begin to spin, Patrick sowing buck wheat and turnips
 22 June- Patrick begins to dig his cellar
 25 June- Set out cabbages
 04 July- Boys make cow pen
 12 August- Finish dying yarn
 19 August- Make a hat
 01 September- Patrick gets in Tay wheat
 06 September- Francis goes to the mill with wheat
 07 September- Begin to husk corn
 15 September- Boys have oxen to plough new soil
 21 September- Pull the beans, Ludlow mowing
 07 October- Get in the buck wheat
 16 October- Boys finish the potatoes⁵⁹

The division of tasks between male and female on the farm are effectively illustrated with the passages from Jacobina Campbell's diary: Jacobina made shirts and hats, and did the gardening and the spinning, while the boys sowed and reaped the crops, took them to the mill and tended to the cattle. The passages also illustrate how farm work was governed by the

⁵⁹PANB, MS23/1 Diary of Jacobina Campbell, daughter of Lieutenant Dugald Campbell, Taymouth area, York County; August 1825-November 1843 in MC300 York-Sunbury Historical Society Collection.

seasons. The garden and crops were begun in May, the harvesting and trips to the mill were done in the fall. The months in between October and May were usually idle time for farm work as the weather was too cold and the high water in the spring usually did not subside until May.

In the age of wood, wind and water, technological limitations severely constrained the achievements of the Highlanders. Inefficient plows hampered the farmer tilling his land in the spring; months later the arduous work of harvesting with sickle or scythe limited more extensive cultivation. An acre a day was as much as a man could plow with primitive harvesting equipment; with a cradle, and with skill, he might reap almost twice that area between dawn and dusk. To cultivate much more than twelve or fifteen acres of land required labour beyond that of the farmer and his family.⁶⁰ In addition to the technological limitations, and climate limitations, there were also other hardships which the Highland farmer faced. Patrick Campbell wrote that the Highlanders were "pestered with a small black fly, that totally destroyed their wheat, and hurts other grain for two or three years back;" however, later on he writes that "this year they seem to think they are falling off, and will soon be quit of them."⁶¹ The Highlanders were "acknowledged to be the most prudent and industrious farmers in all this province of New Brunswick, and lived most easy and independent."⁶²

In addition to farming, the Highlanders also fished and hunted for their food. Patrick

⁶⁰ John Douglas White, "Speed The Plough: Agricultural Societies In Pre-Confederation New Brunswick," Unpublished MA thesis, University of New Brunswick (1977), 12; Pruitt, 349; Wynn, *Timber Colony*, 21.

⁶¹Campbell, 47.

⁶²Campbell, 46; MacNutt, 76.

Campbell described the salmon and trout fishing on the Nashwaak as being very good. The river also supplied shad.⁶³ Campbell also wrote about a conversation he had with one of the Highlanders about hunting:

I mentioned to one that I was told every winter they would set out to the distant forests, and continue there for two or three weeks, and sleep on the snow in the same way the Indians do. He said it was very true, and that ne'er a winter since he settled on that river, but he had a thousand weight of moose meat in his house, and that in general they were all so; that a good moose would weigh eight hundred weight and a kerraboo⁶⁴ about four hundred.⁶⁵

White-tailed deer had not yet arrived and when they did the caribou disappeared. Wolves and bears were not numerous in that part of New Brunswick, but partridges were numerous. Hares were also plentiful. In autumn they could kill as many partridges as they pleased. Passenger pigeons were also in abundance, up until the 1880s, and were caught with nets.⁶⁶ Any meat or fish killed in warm weather had to be used up or salted.

According to James Henretta, the farmer's principal objectives were "the yearly subsistence and the long-run financial security of the family unit."⁶⁷ In order to accomplish this, subsistence farmers held another occupation aside from farming. All farmers had to be versatile and willing to perform a variety of tasks. Mixed occupations were common in New Brunswick in the first half of the nineteenth-century. Farmers fished; fishermen farmed. For

⁶³Campbell, 46; MacNutt, 76.

⁶⁴Kerraboo- caribou.

⁶⁵Campbell, 46, 55.

⁶⁶Ibid, 48, 53.

⁶⁷James A. Henretta, "Families and Farms: Mentalité in Pre-Industrial America," *The William And Mary Quarterly*, 35 (1978), 19.

example, until they got their farms going, some Highlanders would go down to the Lyman Grant in the summer and hire for haying, harvesting and sometimes to help clear more land. There was some variability in the amount of time the subsistence farmer devoted to either farm or non-farm work: the size and structure of the farm family would be significant in this regard (more able male children would mean less need for contracted farm help). Soil conditions, farm topography and the tillage to haying to pasture and livestock ratios would also help determine the amount of labour required to operate a farm.⁶⁸ Eric Nellis noted that in a year a rural worker in New England had some 300 working days to fill, and that only about one-half of those were necessary for the operation of the common subsistence farm (including "winter work"). It is not surprising then to find widespread non-agricultural skills and functions among farmers.⁶⁹ The Highlanders, whose heritage embraced seasonal labour in Scotland, found themselves doing the same here.⁷⁰

In many sections of the early nineteenth-century northeast Canadian frontier, agriculture and the lumber industry were closely interconnected. Béatrice Craig described the interconnectedness of the two in New Brunswick as the "agroforestry" system. The "agroforestry" system was the symbiotic relationship that developed where farmers needed the supplementary income from winter work in lumber camps as their farms could not sell enough farm products to provide for their needs; and the lumber industry needed the cheap

⁶⁸Wynn, *Timber Colony*, 22; Nellis, 87, 88; Acheson, 43; Harris and Warkentin, 184; Moore, 73.

⁶⁹Nellis, 89.

⁷⁰Rusty Bitterman, "The Hierarchy of the Soil: Land and Labour in a 19th Century Cape Breton Community," *Acadiensis*, 18 (Autumn 1988), 50.

labour the farmers represented.⁷¹ They were even more interconnected after settlers were forced by circumstances, two in particular, to alter their methods of earning their livelihoods. Napoleon, in agreement with Alexander I of Russia in 1807, closed the Baltic forests to Britain. Now the Royal Navy had to turn to the forests of New Brunswick for its timber. Britain imposed a series of favourable tariffs which were continued after the Napoleonic War into the 1840s. Subsequently, there was an increase in the amount of fir and pine shipped from New Brunswick to Britain - in 1807, 13,938 loads; in 1810, 50,807 loads; and in 1815, 92,553 loads.⁷²

The change to a lumbering economy was well underway when agriculture failed almost completely in the years from 1814 to 1818. The summers of 1814 and 1815 produced below average crops, but it was the years 1816 and 1817 which were disastrous.⁷³ In 1816 it was the end of April before the ice left the St. John River and May 7th before plowing could begin. Throughout the month of May there was frost. On June 7th snow fell all day and did not melt until the 9th. The fall was no better. The ground was covered with snow before the crops could be harvested.⁷⁴ The price of grain went up beyond the ability of the settler to pay. Corn was imported from the southern United States and distributed both in New Brunswick and in the northern United States which had been equally hard hit by the weather. The

⁷¹Béatrice Craig, "Agriculture and the Lumberman's Frontier in the Upper St. John Valley, 1800-70," *Journal of Forest History*, 32 (July 1988), 134.

⁷²Wynn, *Timber Colony*, 29; MacNutt, 150-151.

⁷³Kilbride, 48.

⁷⁴Ibid, 48-49.

following year, 1817, was only slightly better. Snow fell during April. On May 1st the river ice was still thick and it was the middle of May before plowing could begin. The summer was better but a severe frost in early September caused much damage and crops were again poor.⁷⁵

A number of Acts were passed during the First Session of the Sixth General Assembly in 1817 in order to help those affected by the crop failure. The first of these was an Act to prohibit the exportation of corn, meal, flour, potatoes, wheat, rye, barley, oats, bread or biscuit for a period of four months for penalty of forfeit and a fine of 100 pounds. On March 22nd two more Acts were passed to help the settlers. The first of these was an Act to encourage the raising of bread corn on new land. This Act provided a set bounty for every bushel of wheat, rye, Indian corn, buckwheat, barley or oats grown on any new land in the province, within two years of the land having been cleared and the owner having taken a written oath. An Act to provide for the necessities of the province, occasioned by the failure of the late crops was the second Act passed on March 22nd. The government appointed commissioners for each county in the province to inquire into the wants and sufferings of the inhabitants of their respective counties. Then, upon application from the inhabitants, the commissioners were to purchase and provide such quantities of seed wheat, rye, barley, oats, Indian corn or potatoes as were necessary. Six thousand pounds was earmarked to help out with the relief effort for the province, with 1200 pounds of it being set aside for York

⁷⁵Ibid, 49-50.

County.⁷⁶ In 1818 the crops were more normal but the harm done to agriculture was irreparable.⁷⁷ The Act to provide for the necessities of the province was extended.⁷⁸ At a time when agriculture had failed the early settlers, a new way of earning a livelihood had opened to them which was immensely tempting.

The lumber industry offered the New Brunswick farmer the opportunity of off-farm work during the winter, since lumbering was a wintertime undertaking and winter was usually a slow time on the farm. For the part-time lumberman, as most of the farmers were, the comforts of hearth and home were more readily available as he was usually able to return home after a days work rather than staying at the lumber camp.⁷⁹ One former lumberman described the life:

For those who were old enough life meant, at this time, little more than hard work. My father gave his attention to the farm during the summertime. In the winter and spring he was away in the woods, logging or lumbering. This routine was followed by most of the men on the upper St. John; and not a few of them when the long day was over, came home to thresh grain and to attend to the needs of their livestock.⁸⁰

Those farmers who worked in the forests on a part-time basis generally provided their own supplies. The apparent return for the farmer who cut and hauled his own hay up to the

⁷⁶PANB, RG4 RS3 The Acts of the General Assembly of New Brunswick, 1807-1817, 327-329, 333-335, 336-341.

⁷⁷Kilbride, 50.

⁷⁸PANB, RG4 RS2 Journals of The Proceedings of the Legislative Council. Vol. 1817-1830, 555.

⁷⁹Wynn, *Timber Colony*, 54, 62.

⁸⁰Isaac Stephenson, *Recollections of a long life, 1829-1915* (Chicago, 1915), 31-32.

lumber camps was correspondingly high, especially if the cost of his labour was low because there were few other pressing tasks to be done. Many New Brunswick farmers hauled hay, oats, and other supplies into the camps during the winters. Also, farmers could hire their draft animals out to lumbermen so their farms would not have to provide feed for them during the winter.⁸¹

Some contemporary observers saw drawbacks to the lumber industry and the farmer's involvement with it. They believed lumbering was disruptive to close family life in that it took men from their homes for long periods, particularly when the time came that the best timber was only to be found farther up the river; it also promoted habits of drinking and carousing.⁸² J.F.W. Johnston, following his survey of the agricultural capabilities of New Brunswick, wrote on the evils of lumbering in his report, published in 1850. He lamented the fact that farming was considered secondary and subsidiary to lumbering. He wrote, "the ground was cultivated chiefly to raise supplies for the lumberer. As a more respectable pursuit, and as affording the prospect of excitement and adventure, the occupation of lumbering tempted the young men in great numbers from the more sober and monotonous pursuits of agriculture and thus greatly retarded its progress in the province."⁸³ The policies of the government in these years did little to help the farmer and agriculture until the 1850s and 1860s. The influence of the lumber merchants was bent on perpetuating the existing system of supply and demand.

⁸¹Wynn, *Timber Colony*, 22, 71; Craig, 134; Moore, 77.

⁸²W.S. MacNutt, "The Politics of the Timber Trade in Colonial New Brunswick, 1825-40," *The Canadian Historical Review*, 30 (March 1949), 50; Kilbride, 52.

⁸³J.F.W. Johnston, *Report On The Agricultural Capabilities Of The Province Of New Brunswick* (Fredericton, 1850), 51.

They hoped to import all food required for consumption in the province and to export all the timber produced. Thus, no measures were passed which gave any help to agriculture. Under these circumstances one of the persistent problems of pre-Confederation New Brunswick was the province's lack of self-sufficiency in food. This made the province dependent upon imported food.⁸⁴

Despite all its perceived drawbacks, the combination of farming and lumbering offered many advantages to the settler with little cash or credit to his name. Many farmers had settled in areas where farming was difficult, and lumbering offered an additional means of income in the off-season. Wages earned in the woods supplied most of the cash income without which agriculture would have been impossible for many farmers. By combining seasonal employment in field and forest, countless New Brunswick farmers contributed to the development of the province's timber trade while supplementing their own income.⁸⁵

The Highlanders were among those farmers who worked in the lumber industry in the winter. Spruce and pine were the principal softwoods taken. Hemlock trees were felled and the bark was used for tanning leather. A tall, clean tree was marked with a King's arrow for use by the Royal Navy. Only the very best hardwood was taken; logs had to be squared up with an axe, smoothed with a "broad axe," taken to the river, rafted with the spruce and floated to the St. John River or even to the city of Saint John.⁸⁶ Patrick Campbell was

⁸⁴MacNutt, *New Brunswick*, 213; Kilbride, 56; White, ii.

⁸⁵Wynn, *Timber Colony*, 75, 83; Harris and Warkentin, 199; Craig, 137.

⁸⁶PANB, MS9/9 James R. Ross Collection in MC315 Nashwaak Bicentennial Association Collection, 10.

astonished at the size of the timber growing there; he was convinced many of the large pine trees would measure from three to four feet in diameter.⁸⁷ According to Dugald Campbell's map of the Nashwaak settlement, a sawmill and a grist mill had been built by the early 1790s at the mouth of the Dunbar Stream (Campbell called it the Clusastick).⁸⁸ There was also a grist mill on a brook that enters the Nashwaak near Nashwaak Bridge, and a forge, or blacksmith shop in that neighbourhood.⁸⁹ The grist mill may, in fact, have been the one belonging to Alexander Yelden and Patrick McLaggan. In 1787, Alexander Yelden and Patrick McLaggan, members of the 42nd Regiment, petitioned for lots 5 and 6 above the lots belonging to the 42nd Regiment. They had purchased material for a grist mill, which was now ready to be put up. They prayed that they would be granted the land "as they have been at great labour and expense in building and purchasing the materials aforesaid, and particularly as the people on the Nashwaak labour under great difficulties in getting their grain ground, having continually brought it upwards of 20 miles and forced to return, without getting it ground for many weeks."⁹⁰ No evidence of other mills appears until 1816 when one was built

⁸⁷Campbell, 51.

⁸⁸James Bubar, in 1820, petitioned the government for a reserve for mill logs. In his petition he stated he was "the proprietor of a saw and grist mill on the Clusastick, that empties into the Nashwaak." PANB, RG10 RS663A Timber And Sawmill, Petitions, 1817-1865. James Bubar, York County, 1820.

⁸⁹PANB, MS9/9 James R. Ross Collection in MC315 Nashwaak Bicentennial Association Collection.

⁹⁰PANB, RG10 RS108 Land Petitions. #244, Alexander Yelden and Patrick McLaggan, 1787. The answer was given on June 1, 1787. "They will be registered for the lots and when they have erected a mill a grant will be made."

on Mill Brook (then called Agnew's Creek and later Campbell Creek).⁹¹ By 1831, there were five sawmills located on the Nashwaak River. One of these, owned by a McLaggan and McLean, may have been owned by second generation Highlanders. Certainly there must have been second generation Highlanders working in the mills as each mill required an average of ten men to work for them.⁹²

The Highlanders not only engaged in wage work in lumber camps but also worked independently, petitioning for timber licences to cut timber on their own time. Although there is very little information on wages at the time, a letter written by Peter and Margaret McLaggan gives a clue. In the letter, postmarked Fredericton November 22, 1814, written to their daughter and son-in-law in Upper Canada, they write that there were "high wages here at present, from 5 to 7 pounds per month." They also mention that most of the "youngsters follow lumber."⁹³ There are a number of petitions from members of the Black Watch seeking license to cut timber. William Abernathy sought permission "to cut 350 tons of pine timber on the north side of Tay's River" in 1819.⁹⁴ In 1820, he applied for permission "to cut and carry away 400 tons of white and red pine timber from ungranted and unapplied

⁹¹Young, "The Nashwaak Settlements ...", xv.

⁹²C/O 153/3 J. Baillie Miscellaneous Papers 1825-33. Statement of Sawmills and Mill Property in the Province of New Brunswick. 31 December 1831.

⁹³Grace MacMillan Spencer, *A History of Early Boiestown* (Boiestown, N.B., 1987), 5-6.

⁹⁴PANB, RG10 RS663A Timber And Sawmill, Petitions, 1817-1865. William Abernathy, York County, 1819.

for land situated ... in the Parish of Ludlow in the County of Northumberland."⁹⁵ The following year, 1821, he was "desirous to obtain a license to cut and carry away 600 tons of white pine timber from ungranted and unapplied for lands situated on the east side of the River Nashwack commencing in the rear of lot 97 in the 42nd location and to extend south 2 miles and east 3 miles." The licence was issued May 4, 1821.⁹⁶ Others who petitioned for timber licences were Angus McBean, James Ross and Peter McLaggan. Some times they asked for permission to cut near the Nashwaak while other times they asked for permission to cut in Northumberland County.⁹⁷ First generation Highlanders were not the only ones involved in the timber trade, as second generation sons also became involved. Angus McBean had two sons who became involved in the timber trade, John and Richard. Of these two, John was the most heavily involved, procuring three timber licences between 1820 and 1822, for which he cut 2000 tons of timber.⁹⁸ One of these licences was for a partnership with his father, Angus. In 1821, father and son had to pay a bond of 65 pounds each, to cut and carry away 1300 tons of white pine timber.⁹⁹ Peter McLaggan's son, Alexander, and James Ross's

⁹⁵PANB, RG10 RS663A Timber And Sawmill, Petitions, 1817-1865. William Abernathy, Northumberland County, 1820.

⁹⁶PANB, RG10 RS663A Timber And Sawmill, Petitions, 1817-1865. William Abernathy, York County, 1821; PANB RG10 RS663B2a Timber Licenses 1820-1822, 31.

⁹⁷PANB, RG10 RS663A Timber And Sawmill, Petitions, 1817-1865. Angus McBean, York County, 1819; Angus McBean, Northumberland County, 1821; James Ross, York County, 1821; Peter McLaggan, Victoria County, 1820.

⁹⁸PANB, RG10 RS663B2a Timber Licenses 1820-1822, 5, 17, 43.

⁹⁹PANB, RG10 RS663C Timber Bonds, 1785-1870, C15 York County 1822.

son James Jr., were also involved in the timber trade.¹⁰⁰

At first, travel in the settlement was by canoe or foot. Roads were established early in the history of the settlement. Daniel Lyman and Archibald McLean, Commissioners of Roads for the Parish of St. Mary's, reported in 1790, that they "have proceeded at different lines to lay out the road from the ferry at Monkton to almost the upper part of the 42nd settlement four rods wide keeping as nigh the bank of the river Nashwaak as the ground would admit ... and that the inhabitants of the District have worked on the road as the law directs."¹⁰¹ The roads were built by contract and maintained by statute labour. Every man was assessed and could work on the road to pay his tax instead of paying cash.¹⁰² In 1791, Major Murray brought up a petition from the principal settlers on the Nashwaak asking for further assistance to enable them to complete the road from Fredericton to the settlements on the said river. Dugald Campbell signed the petition for the 42nd settlement.¹⁰³ In 1801, during the Fifth Session of the Third General Assembly, 50 pounds was granted for the purpose of opening and repairing the road leading from Fredericton to Miramichi, through

¹⁰⁰PANB, RG10 RS663A Timber And Sawmill, Petitions, 1817-1865. Alexander McLaggan, Kent County, 1820; Alexander McLaggan, York County, 1821; Alexander McLaggan, York County, 1821; PANB RG10 RS663B2a Timber Licenses 1820-1822, 18, 32.

¹⁰¹New Brunswick Court of General Quarter Sessions of Peace (York County). Record of Roads in the County of York: 1789-1862 in The Loyalist Collection, Harriet Irving Library, UNB Fredericton.

¹⁰²Coughlan, 111.

¹⁰³PANB, RG4 RS24 Legislative Assembly: Sessional Records. S5-P12 Petition of the settlers on the Nashwaak River praying for assistance to enable them to complete the road from Fredericton to the settlements on the said river. 28.2.1791-p.210.

the settlements of the river Nashwaak. A further 50 pounds was granted for the purpose of opening and repairing the road from the river Nashwaak to the settlement on the river Miramichi.¹⁰⁴ Dugald Campbell, in 1803, was appointed to view the roads leading from the Nova Scotia line to Saint John and Fredericton, and from St. Andrew's to Saint John, together with the plans of the roads, with such alterations as in his opinion were requisite to more effectually complete the roads of general communication, with an estimate of such alterations, and of the erection of necessary bridges. His report was laid before the General Assembly in February of that year.¹⁰⁵ James McNabb, from the 42nd settlement, was appointed a Commissioner of the Roads for the Parish of St. Mary's in 1814. He served in that position until his death in 1818. Upon his death, Angus McBean took over.¹⁰⁶ During the Fifth Session of the Fifth General Assembly in 1816, the Great Road Bill was passed with amendments. One of the reasons offered in support of the bill was "it would be highly advantageous, not only to the public at large, but also to the settlers on the Nashwaak, that the road from Moncton should be carried so far from the creek that the hills and the side hill road to Weade's may be avoided, which would enable the inhabitants to bring down their hay and other heavy articles to Fredericton with ease and convenience."¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁴PANB, RG4 RS2 Journals of The Proceedings of the Legislative Council. vol. 1786-1816, 254.

¹⁰⁵PANB, RG4 RS24 Legislative Assembly: Sessional Records. S16-R7 Report of Public Commissioner of Roads, Dugald Campbell. 19.2.1803-p.15.

¹⁰⁶PANB, RG2 RS8 Executive Council. Roads and Bridges-Roads Commissioner's Papers 1814-1817, Roads and Bridges-Roads Supervisor's Bonds 1816-1818.

¹⁰⁷PANB, RG4 RS2 Journals of The Proceedings of the Legislative Council. vol. 1786-1816, 484.

Community life centred around the church. While the majority of the Highlanders were originally Presbyterians, the first ministers of religion to visit the Nashwaak were followers of John Wesley, and therefore, some of the Highlanders became Methodists. In 1790, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, an Anglican missionary organization, transferred Reverend Walter Price from Newfoundland to minister to the settlers, and he remained until 1799. Reverend James MacGregor, a Presbyterian missionary at Pictou, visited them in 1805.¹⁰⁸ On December 10, 1821 Jacobina Campbell and her children sold half an acre of land to trustees of the Methodist Society for 5 shillings. The land was to be used to build a place of worship for the use of the British Methodist Conference.¹⁰⁹ Preaching went on in the chapel, as well as in peoples homes. In addition to the preaching by various ministers, prayer meetings were held on a weekly basis in the chapel or in someone's home.¹¹⁰

Although early records of schools have not been found, it may be assumed that the Highlanders did not go without an education. Recommendations and applications for teacher licences have been found for the Parish of St. Mary's. The first application, 15th July 1816, certified that the sum of 30 pounds had been raised by subscription for the establishment of a school in the upper part of the Parish of St. Mary's opposite to Never's Island, where a

¹⁰⁸George Patterson, *Memoir Of The Rev. James Macgregor, D.D., Missionary Of The General Synod Of Scotland To Pictou, Nova Scotia* (Philadelphia, 1859), 346; Coughlan, 108.

¹⁰⁹PANB, RG33 RS98 York County Registry Office Record. Vol. 12, 1819-1823. #2243 Jacobina Campbell and children to Methodist Society, 155-156. Three of the five trustees, Angus McBean, Thomas Fraser and Thomas Fraser, Jr., were Highlanders.

¹¹⁰PANB, MS23/1 Diary of Jacobina Campbell, daughter of Lieutenant Dugald Campbell, Taymouth area, York County; August 1825-November 1843 in MC300 York-Sunbury Historical Society Collection.

schoolhouse had been erected and where Samuel Grant had kept school for some time to the satisfaction of his employers. There were also several applications made to license different people to become schoolteachers in the Parish.¹¹¹ In her diary, Jacobina Campbell notes the commencing of school in 1825 as occurring on October 4, but she does not mention school very often in her diary after this. She and her brothers and sister did not seem to attend school regularly, if at all.¹¹² However, this does not mean that they did not receive an education. Schools were well advanced in Scotland and education was valued, so it may be assumed that education was carried on in the home, if not at a proper school. The fact that Jacobina Campbell could write a diary makes it a fairly safe assumption that she received some form of tutoring.

For entertainment, the Highlanders would often pay visits to their neighbours. Jacobina Campbell was often visiting neighbours or entertaining guests at the Campbell household. She and her guests would drink tea or have a dinner party, staying up all night to play and sing. If the house she was visiting was a long distance from her home, Jacobina would spend the night and return home the next day. The Highlanders also observed certain holidays such as Christmas Day. The Highlanders also frequently went to town.¹¹³ Although

¹¹¹PANB, RG2 RS8 Executive Council. Education - Recommendations and Applications 1816, 1818, 1821. The applications were made June 6, 1816, April 4, 1818, June 15, 1818 and April 9, 1821.

¹¹²PANB, MS23/1 Diary of Jacobina Campbell, daughter of Lieutenant Dugald Campbell, Taymouth area, York County; August 1825-November 1843 in MC300 York-Sunbury Historical Society Collection.

¹¹³Ibid. Although Jacobina does not mention the name of the town, it is fairly safe to assume that it was Fredericton.

Jacobina does not mention why she or her brothers went to town, in all likelihood they went to pick up supplies for the farm or to do some personal shopping. In the final statement of balances due from the estate of the late Duncan McLeod,¹¹⁴ a prominent merchant in Fredericton, to sundry persons, there are at least thirteen members of the 42nd settlement listed. Of all the Highlanders listed, William Abernathy was owed the most, 141 pounds, 9 shillings and 5 pence.¹¹⁵

Several observers provide progress reports on the Nashwaak settlement. Patrick Campbell gave a positive picture of how the Highlanders were getting along in their settlement in 1791-92

I found them happily situated, each on his own property ... Their greatest want, and what they complained most of, was women for their young men; they begged me to recommend some hundreds of them to come, and that they would engage that they should all get husbands, or masters, before they should be three weeks in the country ...¹¹⁶

During the following decade, they apparently made some progress in this regard as many of them were married and had children. Price, the Anglican missionary, gave Edward Winslow a report on the status of the Parish of St. Mary's, which included the Highlanders' Nashwaak settlement, dated August 8, 1803. In his report he writes

The extent of the Parish is twelve miles by thirty. The population is: men 184,

¹¹⁴This Duncan McLeod is not the same Duncan McLeod who was a member of the Black Watch; in fact the Duncan McLeod of the Black Watch was one of the thirteen people who was owed money.

¹¹⁵PANB, RG10 RS637 Surveyor General Records. Statement of Balances which remain due from the estate of the late Duncan McLeod Esquire to Sundry Persons - Fredericton, 24th April 1819.

¹¹⁶Campbell, 55.

women 193, children above ten 235, children under ten 260, slaves 31, Total 903. The state of cultivation is 2,302 acres of cleared land of the best quality. The River Nashwalk running northerly and falling into the St. John is settled about thirty miles from its mouth. On this river there are large Tracts of Interval Lands of the first quality, producing Wheat, Barley, Rye, Indian Corn, peas, potatoes and oats, with large quantities of hay. It is generally thought the low lands in this parish are well adapted for Hemp. In this Parish there are veins of Coal, Iron Ore (both Rock and Bog), Yellow Oaker and Lead, with large tracts of valuable ungranted land.¹¹⁷

Although this report is not strictly written about the Highland settlement, it nevertheless gives great insight into how far the settlers had come by that time, and what natural resources they had at their disposal.

However, Reverend James MacGregor painted a different picture during his visit in 1805:

When I reached the Highlanders, I found they were the remains of a Highland regiment which the British government had settled there at the conclusion of the revolutionary war in America. I found they had been miserably abused in their settlement. The officers got large lots of the best land; the men got lots all length and no breadth. The consequence was, that one-half of the men had to leave their lands and shift for themselves somewhere else. The rest took possession of their lots, some of them for something and some of them for nothing, and thus made a shift to live. Their dispersion disabled them from maintaining a minister of the gospel, and left them as stray sheep in the wilderness. A few of them turned Baptists or Methodists; but the best and the worst of them had continued Presbyterians, but could do little to maintain the gospel.¹¹⁸

As members of the regiment moved on to other parts of New Brunswick, the remaining members bought or were given the land that was left behind. As a result of the land transfers, many of the lots in the Highland settlement were consolidated into large farms

¹¹⁷Reverend Walter Price's Report on the Parish of St. Mary's, York County, August 8th, 1803 in Raymond, ed., *Winslow Papers, A.D. 1776-1826*, 497-498.

¹¹⁸Patterson, 346.

owned by the remaining Highlanders. Although MacGregor may have been exaggerating when he wrote he "found they had been miserably abused in their settlement," there probably is some truth to most of what he wrote. Many of the settlers in the Highland community resented Dugald Campbell's taking for himself the only large block of good land and assigning them unusually small lots which were "all length and no breadth."¹¹⁹ The government, in 1786, permitted the lots belonging to soldiers of the regiment who could not afford to settle upon their land to be divided up amongst the other soldiers who could. Thomas Treblecock, a private in the regiment, petitioned the government in 1786 asking for Governor Carleton to put a stop to these proceedings and to let him take possession of his land. He had been discharged, along with the rest of the regiment, and had drawn a lot of land on the Nashwaak in 1784, but being so poor as not to be able to settle upon it at the time he continued to work in Carleton so as to get a little money to enable him to settle his land. However, when he went up to the Nashwaak to take possession of his land he was informed by the men that the lots had been divided up.¹²⁰ There were several land transactions after this between members of the regiment as men sold or left their lots for what they hoped would be better opportunities elsewhere in the province.¹²¹ One of these transactions was between Robert Sutherland and John McGregor, both members of the regiment. The transaction took place July 10, 1806. Sutherland was indebted to McGregor for the sum of 240 pounds, and

¹¹⁹Young, "Dugald Campbell", 136.

¹²⁰PANB, RG10 RS108 Land Petitions. Thomas Treblecock, 1786.

¹²¹Most of those who left moved on to the Miramichi where there was already a Scottish community established.

therefore sold to McGregor several lots in the 42nd grant - lots 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, and 45, together with all the houses, outhouses, barns, sheds, water, watercourses and fences on the lots.¹²² Several lots were sold a number of times over a forty year span as the settlers tried to consolidate land in order to make larger farms out of the small lots they were first granted.¹²³ One person who did this was Peter McLaggan who bought out six of his fellow settlers to create a larger farm for his family of thirteen children.¹²⁴ Although a number of Highlanders left the settlement, a larger number stayed and prospered.

One of those who prospered in the settlement was Peter McLaggan. On a petition he sent to the government, 14th November 1825, he stated he was 68 years old, married, a native of Scotland who had served his country eight years in the 42nd Regiment and had resided upwards of thirty years in the province of New Brunswick. The petition further stated "that on the land granted to him as a Sergeant in the regiment, he had made extensive improvements having upwards of 60 acres cleared on the said land, and land adjoined the same which he had purchased. In addition he has thirteen children who are capable of rendering him assistance in cultivating the land."¹²⁵ McLaggan was a farmer and a lumberer in his lifetime. He died on the Nashwaak, October 4, 1843, aged 89. His wife Margaret died

¹²²PANB, RG33 RS98 York County Registry Office Records. Register Book E-F 7&8. #138 Robert Sutherland to John McGregor, 266-268.

¹²³PANB, RG33 RS98 York County Registry Office Records. There are several land transactions involving members of the regiment within this series between the years 1786 and 1823.

¹²⁴PANB, MS13/11 MacLaggan (McLaggan) & MacBean (McBean) 1776-1830 in MC315 Nashwaak Bicentennial Association Collection.

¹²⁵PANB, RG10 RS108 Land Petitions. Peter McLaggan, 14th November, 1825.

fifteen years later, January 5, 1858, also aged 89.¹²⁶ Another Highlander who prospered on the Nashwaak, and whose family was closely interconnected with Peter McLaggan's, was Angus McBean. Angus McBean was a Corporal in the 42nd Regiment who received three lots in the initial 42nd grant. In 1792 he purchased lot 15 in Captain Lyman's survey with Solomon Wood. McBean's half was on the east side of the river. However, the lot was insufficient to support his family of four so in 1800 he petitioned for an additional 200 acres of land commencing on the easternmost boundary of lot 15.¹²⁷ Eventually, McBean had four more children with his wife Mary. Two of his sons, John and Martin, married two of Peter McLaggan's daughters, Margaret and Isabel respectively.¹²⁸ Like Peter McLaggan, Angus McBean was both a farmer and a lumberer, and like McLaggan's son Alexander, two of McBean's sons, John and Richard, would also become involved in the timber trade. In his will, Angus McBean bequeathed to his sons John and Richard, his daughters Catherine and Mary Ann, 5 shillings each to be paid out of his personal estate; to his son Martin 5 shares, son Donald 1 share, and daughter Leah 1 share, to be paid out of what personal property of what nature or kind so ever he may be possessed of at the time of his death.¹²⁹ Although the Highlanders, both officers and privates, were rich in land, they were not rich in monetary

¹²⁶PANB, MS13/11 MacLaggan (McLaggan) & MacBean (McBean) 1776-1830 in MC315 Nashwaak Bicentennial Association Collection.

¹²⁷PANB, RG10 RS108 Land Petitions. #621 Angus McBean, 18 October 1800. This was not complied with until 29th September 1809.

¹²⁸PANB, RG18 RS160 York County Council Records. Marriage Register: 1812-1837.

¹²⁹PANB, RG33 RS98 York County Registry Office Records. Register Book #N-18. #5078 The last Will and Testament of Angus McBean deceased. Registered the 14th day of July 1826.

terms as evidenced by Angus McBean's will. What money they came by was put back into their farms and families.

Although the vast majority of the 42nd stayed on the Nashwaak, some did not; dissatisfied with their land they moved on. The Highlanders of the Black Watch were not the only group dissatisfied with how the settlement process was going. Because the surveys of the fourteen regimental blocks were not completed for two years after the arrival of the regiments, many of the disbanded soldiers were reluctant to take up the new locations,¹³⁰ and some regiments refused their allotted blocks altogether. Dissatisfied with the land, many sold or abandoned their lots, often leaving considerable areas abandoned altogether. Most of the large military grants to the regiments were escheated within a few years and regranted.¹³¹ This suggests a high degree of geographic mobility, with people moving in search of better lands and opportunities for trade among other things. But when they moved, they often did so in the company of extended family and friends and settled among people with whom they shared a common ethnicity and background. Some of the most significant of the new settlements were in the valley of the Miramichi, to which considerable numbers (probably fifty families or more) removed from the St. John River and the Nashwaak in 1785-1787. Included in these numbers are some of the Nashwaak settlers of the Black Watch, who relocated there

¹³⁰Supporting this notion are the several petitions of John Falkner et al, 1785 and the March 28th, 1785 petition of Robert McKay et al, who did not want to leave Carleton and offered to resign their claims to the land on the Nashwaak.

¹³¹Fellows, 10; Wright, *Loyalists of NB*, 181-183; Ganong, *Historic Sites*, 126; Maxwell, 65; Senior, 43.

in search of a new start on life.¹³²

Already waiting for the Highlanders on the Miramichi was a sizable community of Scots that had been growing since the late 1760s. On October 31, 1765, William Davidson of Inverness, Scotland, and John Cort of Aberdeen, Scotland, were given a grant for a township on the Miramichi. They settled at Wilson's Point and Davidson started a salmon fishery. Davidson brought over other Scots to help him with his fishery in the years before the American Revolution, and even during the war. They settled on the lower reaches of the river and the bay. Robert Logie and his wife, Margery Hay, of Speyside, Morayshire, Scotland, had come out in 1779 with four children. Alexander Henderson, with his wife and seven children, had come out in 1776, bringing along eight families at his own expense. Also at this time a movement of Scots from St. John's (Prince Edward) Island to the Miramichi began; it continued until some thirty or more families of Scottish descent, were scattered along the river below Wilson's Point.¹³³ These Scots immigrants provided a nucleus of friends and family connections which attracted more Scottish settlement on the Miramichi.

According to Esther Clark Wright, twenty-one men from the Black Watch moved to the Miramichi. This number represented 18 percent of the hundred and twelve who were

¹³²William R. MacKinnon Jr., *Over the Portage: Early History of the Upper Miramichi* (Fredericton, 1984), 2; Ganong, "A Monograph ...", 57; Wynn, "A Region of ...", 324.

¹³³Doreen M. Arbuckle, *The North West Miramichi* (Ottawa, 1978), 39; W.D. Hamilton, *Old North Esk Revisited* (Fredericton, 1988), 159, 304; William Arthur Spray, "Early Northumberland County 1765-1825: A Study In Local Government," Unpublished MA thesis, University of New Brunswick (1963), 3-18 and "William Davidson (John Godsmen)," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. IV 1771 To 1800 (Toronto, 1979), 195-196; Esther Clark Wright, *The Miramichi: A Study of the New Brunswick River and of the People Who Settled Along It* (Sackville, 1944), 20-23; Ganong, "A Monograph ...", 44.

granted land on the Nashwaak.¹³⁴ In their petitions for land grants, these men gave a variety of reasons for wanting to settle on the Miramichi. Duncan McGraw, for example, noted in his petition of 1787 that he had resided on the Miramichi for some time and was desirous of settling there permanently. He pointed out that there was a vacant lot of land, lot 7, on the south side of the river upon which he wished to settle.¹³⁵ Later on in 1790, McGraw again sent a petition requesting land on the Miramichi. He had relinquished his land on the Nashwaak according to the directions given him in order to obtain a lot of land on the Miramichi River; he had, accordingly, removed there about three years since and had made a comfortable settlement. He therefore asked for 25 acres of unoccupied marsh so he could graze his five head of cattle.¹³⁶ George Sutherland also submitted two petitions, requesting land on the Miramichi. On his petition of 1787, Sutherland wrote that

he drew his allotment of land on the Nashwaak - which he improved as far as he was capable - but as many of his countrymen of the said Regiment (*42nd*) went to Merimache he followed them, and being desirous to settle there and fond of the country have discovered that lot 40, formerly located to Andrew Chip is unoccupied ... your memorialist therefore most humbly prays that your excellency will grant him the said lot¹³⁷

By 1790, Sutherland had still not officially received any land on the Miramichi even though he had been living there for the past three years. In his petition of that year he asked for a

¹³⁴See Wright's extensive list of all New Brunswick Loyalists at the back of *The Loyalists of New Brunswick* for more information.

¹³⁵PANB, RG10 RS108 Land Petitions. Duncan McGraw, 1787. His request was complied with.

¹³⁶PANB, RG10 RS108 Land Petitions. Duncan McGraw, 1790. This too was to be complied with.

¹³⁷PANB, RG10 RS108 Land Petitions. George Sutherland, 1787.

vacant lot on the south side of Miramichi Bay, adjoining the land of William McLennan in Milledges' Survey. This time his request was granted.¹³⁸ It would seem by looking at these petitions that, at least when specific vacant lots were available and identified in the petition, the government often granted such requests.

Two other petitions of 1790, made by members of the Black Watch, requested land on the Miramichi, either adjoining or very near that of other members of the regiment who had already established themselves there. Petition 237, signed by Alexander McDonald, Neal McGrath and James Gunn, stated that they were given lots on the Nashwaak but that the lots were too small to make a living from. They therefore requested lots between a lot laid out for David Goodfellow, and that laid out for William McLennan.¹³⁹ This would place them close to George Sutherland. The second petition, from George McGregor, John McGregor, and Alexander Bain, asked for lots 12, 13 and 14 in the Milledges' Survey.¹⁴⁰ These petitions reinforce the notion that the Highlanders, whenever it was possible, relocated close to friends or other Scots when they were looking to start over.

Another member of the 42nd who settled on the Miramichi after receiving a crown grant in 1787, was John Fraser. He lived in what is now Sunny Corner, North Esk Parish. He married Mary Gillis, daughter of Angus and Abigail Gillis, sometime before March 14, 1792. He inherited lot 10 comprising 480 acres in Sunny Corner from his father-in-law and

¹³⁸PANB, RG10 RS108 Land Petitions. George Sutherland, 1790.

¹³⁹PANB, RG10 RS108 Land Petitions. Alexander McDonald, 1790.

¹⁴⁰PANB, RG10 RS108 Land Petitions. George McGregor, 1790.

he still owned this lot at the time of his death in 1823.¹⁴¹

The conclusions suggested by this case study show that the pattern of settlement characteristic of the Black Watch was largely a function of their ethnicity. Although the government's desire to have the disbanded regiments settle in blocks may have facilitated a pattern of settlement characterized by regimental solidarity in the parts of New Brunswick where the land was sufficient to meet the needs of the settlers, this was of limited significance in the case of the Black Watch. The lots granted the Black Watch on the Nashwaak were the smallest granted anywhere outside a townsite; because of the quantity of the land they were given, twenty-one members of the Black Watch moved on to new lands. They could have gone anywhere in New Brunswick, but they chose the Miramichi where there was already a Scottish settlement established with whom they shared a common ethnic background. This points to a pattern of ethnic clustering. These conclusions fit well with the findings of historians who have analysed the settlement patterns of Scottish Highlanders in other regions and other periods.

Rosemary Ommer, in her study, "Highland Scots Migration to Southwestern Newfoundland: A Study of Kinship," examines the effects of kinship on the migration and subsequent settlement of Highland Scots from the west coast of Scotland to Cape Breton and thence to southwestern Newfoundland in the nineteenth-century. She sees kinship as a rationale for the manner in which original Scots immigrants located themselves in the New World. As a result of the legacy of the clan system, Highland Scots defined their social and

¹⁴¹Arbuckle, 45; Hamilton, 159.

economic position through their kinship networks, no matter where they were. One could, therefore, expect to find that Highland Scots would tend to settle in groups of families related to one another, as had been their custom at home.¹⁴² The sentiment of fellowship or clanship was strong in the Highlander. Charles Dunn found that "when people so clannish as the Highlanders arrived in a strange country, they preferred if possible to settle among pioneers who had come from their particular district in Scotland, who spoke their dialect, and who shared the same religious faith."¹⁴³ The importance of strong kinship ties is also a theme that runs through Marianne McLean's study of Glengarry County, Ontario and the Highland Scots who settled there. Those Highland Scots who emigrated to Glengarry from Scotland did so as families, not as individuals who might intend to return to their native country. Most undertook the voyage as part of a group, and both groups and single families travelled to join someone they knew.¹⁴⁴ Once a community of Scots was formed in one area, it then provided a basis of friends and family connections upon which further settlement could build.¹⁴⁵ The Scots community established on the Miramichi by William Davidson provided the basis for the eventual settlement of many of the Scottish Highland Loyalists, including several members of the Black Watch. Although they may have originally gone to the Miramichi looking for new land, once they got there the presence of an already thriving Scottish community most certainly helped induce them to stay.

¹⁴²Ommer, 212-213 .

¹⁴³Dunn, 26.

¹⁴⁴Marianne McLean, 6.

¹⁴⁵J.M. Bumsted, "Scottish Emigration to ...", 67.

The influence of kinship ties can also be seen in the settlement patterns of the Black Watch. Alexander Drummond, although from a different regiment, nevertheless settled with them in Carleton and then followed them to the Nashwaak, following his brother-in-law, Dugald Campbell, and his family wherever they settled. Several father and son combinations settled along the Nashwaak. Although this may be dismissed as simply a matter of them having served together in the Black Watch and then settling together in the grant given the Black Watch, the fact that they remained in the area is evidence that family ties remained strong.

Along with the influence of kinship ties, another factor in the Highland tendency to settle together was their language. The Highland people of Scotland spoke gaelic. This isolated them from other ethnic groups who did not understand the language. T.W. Acheson, in his demographic study of Charlotte County, mentions one community made up entirely of Scottish Highlanders. In 1803 a group of seventeen families of Sutherlandshire Scots accidentally arrived on the St. Croix on their way to North Carolina. They were subsequently given land grants on the high fertile ridges at the back end of St. Stephen parish, some 15 miles from the village. There, in comparative isolation, a Scottish gaelic-speaking community developed. Their settlement was called Scotch Ridge and in the next two generations their offspring created two more settlements on adjoining ridges.¹⁴⁶ The disbanded soldiers of the Black Watch spoke gaelic as well. This may have played a role in the choice of the Miramichi as a place of settlement for those of the Black Watch who were looking for new land. The

¹⁴⁶T.W. Acheson, "A Study in the Historical Demography of a Loyalist County," *Social History/Histoire Sociale*, 1 (1968), 57.

presence of a small gaelic-speaking community may have reminded them of home and induced them to settle there in preference to some other area where there were no Highlanders.

The experience of the 42nd Regiment and their settlement on the Nashwaak provides an excellent illustration of what life must have been like for the Loyalists who came to New Brunswick in 1783. Upon arriving, the Highlanders had to wait up to two years for their land to be properly surveyed and granted to them while the government tried to organize itself and cope with the large influx of Loyalists. During this time, the Highlanders lived in Carleton and Parrtown, trying to survive the cold winter and make enough money to finance their move to and establishment on their granted land on the Nashwaak. Some spent all they had living in Carleton and Parrtown waiting for their land to be granted, not having enough money to move on when the time came. Those who did move on to their lots on the Nashwaak River, then had to perform the labourious and time consuming task of clearing their land and getting it ready for the plough. All the Highlanders initially attempted to be farmers; however because of the size of some of the lots this was not possible for all, at least on the Nashwaak. Those who could not cope, like others in New Brunswick at the time who were given inferior land upon which to make a living, moved on. But they chose to move to the Miramichi not because the land was so much better but because there was a Scottish community already established there. The ones who stayed on the Nashwaak diversified after it became clear that farming alone could not support their families. They went into the booming timber trade, as many early settlers did at the time, with the prudent combination of farming and lumbering offering many advantages to Highlanders with little cash or credit. Through all this the 42nd settlement on the Nashwaak remained a tightly knit community, to which a number of factors

contributed. Many of the original grantees were related; there were fathers and sons, and brothers who served together in the regiment and then settled together on the Nashwaak. Corporal Thomas Fraser and his brother John settled on the Nashwaak together, and upon John's death he gave his lot to his brother. There was also intermarriage amongst the families of the 42nd Regiment; thus, for example Angus McBean's two sons, John and Martin, married two of Peter McLaggan's daughters, Margaret and Isabel. Above all, there was the common ethnic background which was shared by all the soldiers in the regiment. All of these factors helped to keep the Highland community together, despite all the economic pressures on the settlers, so that today there are descendants of the original grantees still living on the same land along the Nashwaak River.

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Appendix I

"FOR THE 42ND"

This is a quiet place.
 Water glimmers through the lace
 of branches, but the river
 is too far off to hear;
 only when the wind is roaring above the valley
 or spades announce
 with ring on rock and thudding sods
 the locking of descendant's limbs,
 is silence broken.
 Imperceptibly, the smoothening stones
 lean down
 over bundles of old, green bones.

No vision or memory
 recalled the seer's prophesy
 when men who stood up on those bones
 tore at tangled barricades,
 smelled sweat of fright and musket-smoke,
 heard clattering roll of fusillades,
 close screams of death
 before they broke
 at Ticonderoga.
 The lament, *Lochaber No More*, lifted and faded,
 a portent on the wind.

Another war, and they returned:
 Long Island, Harlem, White Plains,
 the South ... All that remains
 are the words of history;
 nothing of meadows brushing bare knees,
 the taste of dust on Carolina roads;
 leaping of blood to pipes' sky-piercing vaunting, wild
 short-breathed charge
 in first light of morning;
 campfires at dusk,
 silhouettes moving, talking.

Finally, they settled here;
 cleared land, made families,
 and died.

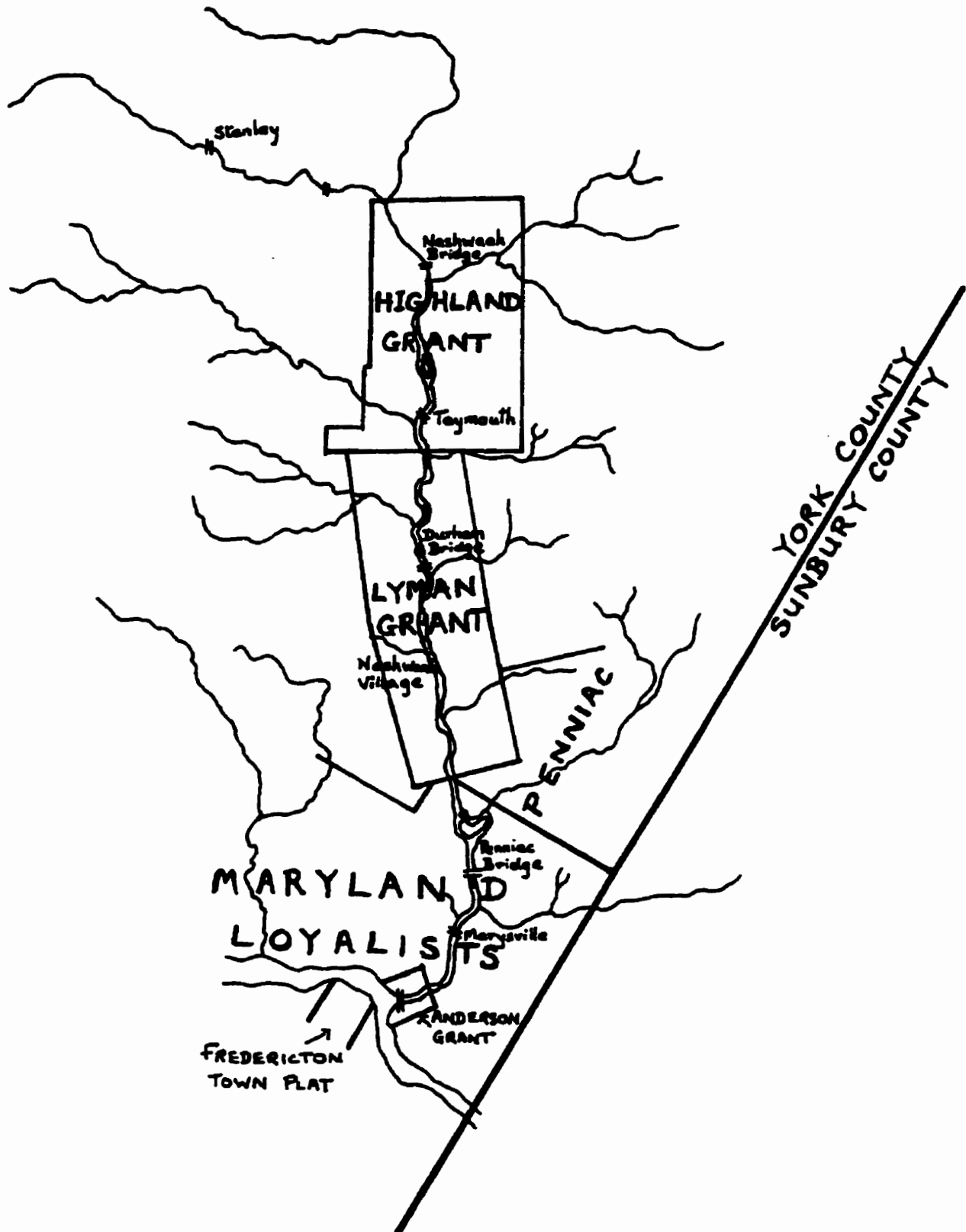
And now, who remembers
 them, or the places whence they came?
 Sea-lochs and glens
 from Wester Ross to The Mearns
 were in their eyes and speech

Leaves drift across the graves;
 there is no way to reach
 back down the years.
 Only their names
 remember.

- Robert Cockburn

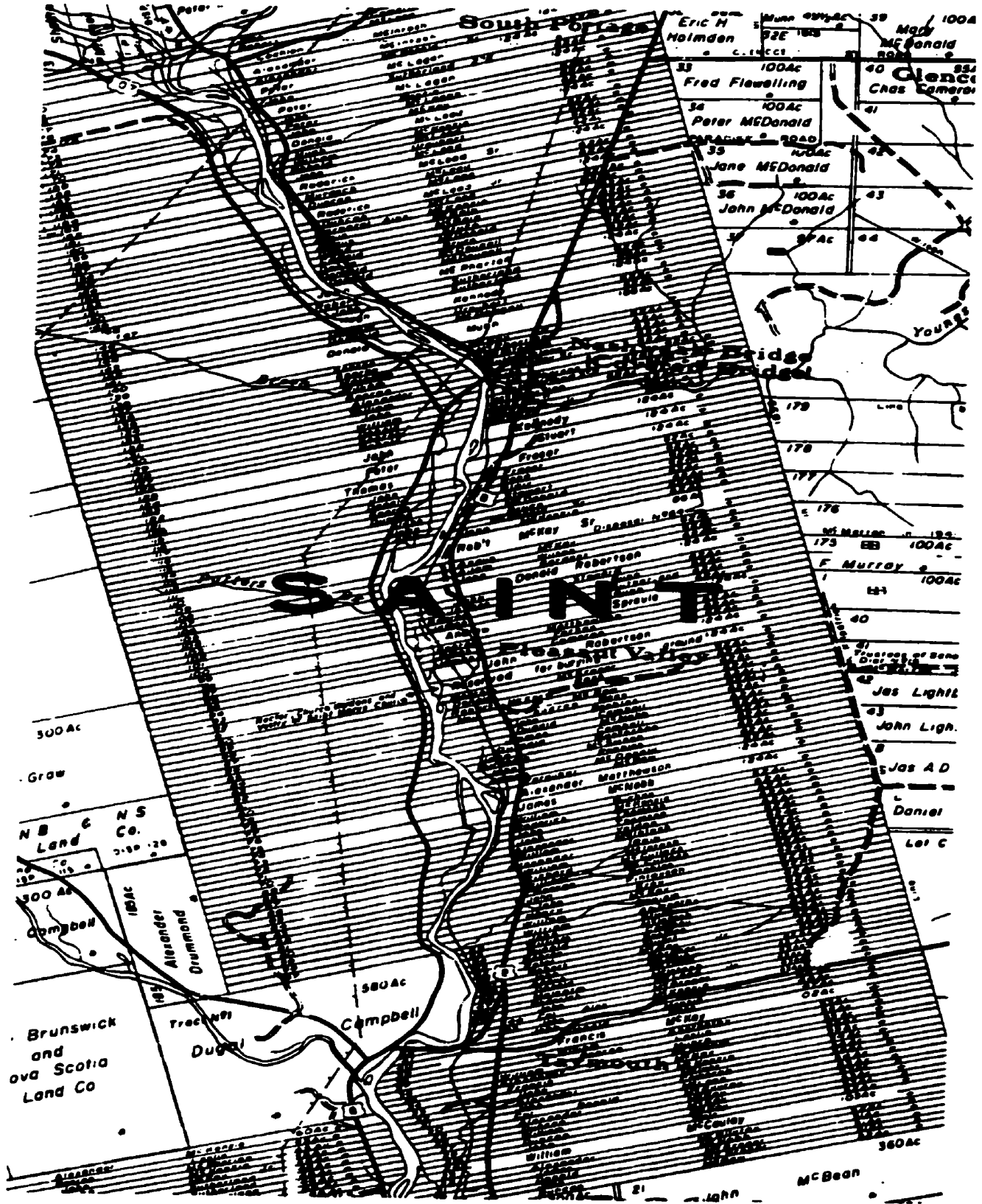
Appendix II

Early Land Grants on the Nashwaak



Appendix III

The 42nd Royal Highland Regiment (Black Watch) Land Grant (Map no. 104)



Appendix IV

Names of the Grantees of The 42nd Royal Highland Regiment on the Nashwaak River*

<u>Grantees</u>	<u>Lot(s)</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>Children</u>
Abernathy, William	38, 57	-	-
Bain, Alexander	66	-	-
Blair, George	117	-	-
Bruce, David	151, 153	1	2
Bruce, John	56, 114	-	-
Buchan, William	72	-	-
Cameron, James	95	-	-
Cameron, John	31	-	-
Cameron, John	184	-	-
Campbell, Lt. Dugald	1	1	-
Campbell, Dugald	54, 82, 84	-	-
Daniels, William	58	-	-
Drummond, Surgeon Alexander	185	-	-
Finlayson, John	61	-	-
Forbes, James	96	-	-
Fraser, John	119	-	-
Fraser, Cpl. Thomas	120, 121	1	2
Gardner, John	50, 106	-	-
Gray, John	43, 60	-	-
Gunn, Alexander	132	-	-
Gunn, James	100, 102	-	-
Kennedy, Hugh	143, 144	-	-
Kennedy, John	122, 125	-	-
Leslie, George	3, 37	-	-
Masterson, John	81	-	-
Matthewson, Sgt. Alexander	75, 76	-	-
Matthewson, George	97	-	-
McBean, Cpl. Angus	49, 154, 155	-	-
McCulloch, Drummer Richard	64	-	-
McCulloch, Drummer William	63	-	-
McCaulay, William	23, 24	-	-
McDonald, Alexander Sr.	113, 178	1	-
McDonald, Alexander Jr.	35	-	-
McDonald, Donald	152	-	2
McDonald, James	78	-	-
McDonald, John	115	1	1
McDougall, Donald	141, 149, 150	1	-

<u>Grantees</u>	<u>Lot(s)</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>Children</u>
McGilvray, Alexander	22, 29	-	-
McGregor, Donald	20	-	-
McGregor, John	16, 19, 45	-	-
McGregor, Malcolm	90	-	-
McIntosh, Alexander	179, 180	1	1
McIntosh, Drummer Lochlan	181, 182	-	-
McIntosh, Malcolm	135, 47	-	-
McIntosh, Sgt. William	55, 65, 67	1	2
McIver, Alexander	32	-	-
McKay, Angus	108	-	-
McKay, Donald	128	-	-
McKay, Duncan	26, 28	-	-
McKay, Francis	34, 39, 40	-	-
McKay, George Sr.	133	-	-
McKay, George Jr.	127, 137	-	-
McKay, Henry	59	1	-
McKay, John	170	-	-
McKay, Robert Sr.	109, 110, 111	-	-
McKay, Robert Jr.	6, 51, 88, 126	1	3
McKay, William	27	1	1
McKenzie, Alexander	2	-	-
McKenzie, Cpl. Alexander	44, 156	1	3
McKenzie, Hugh	167	-	-
McKenzie, John	112	-	-
McKenzie, Sgt. John	5, 33	-	-
McKenzie, Roderick	71	-	-
McLagan, Sgt. Peter	171, 173, 174, 176, 177	-	-
McLean, Cpl. Donald	30	1	3
McLeod, Cpl. Donald	48, 168, 169	1	2
McLeod, Duncan	157, 160	-	-
McLeod, John	164	-	-
McLeod, Malcolm	13	-	-
McLeod, Murdoch	161	-	-
McLeod, Robert	183	-	-
McLeod, Roderick Sr.	162, 163	-	-
McLeod, Roderick Jr.	46, 158, 159	1	2
McLeod, William	166	-	-
McMillan, Miles	14	1	3
McNabb, Sgt. James	21, 73, 74, 83	-	-

<u>Grantees</u>	<u>Lot(s)</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>Children</u>
McPhadden, Donald	10	-	-
McPharlen, George	136	-	-
McPharlen, Sgt. John	4, 147, 148	1	-
McPherson, William	129, 131	1	-
McRaw, Duncan	17, 18	-	-
McRaw, Farquhar	77	-	-
McRaw, Neil	87	-	-
McSween, Murdoch	80	-	-
Menzie, John	42, 172	-	-
Munn, Cpl. Donald	138, 139, 140	-	-
Munro, William	36	-	-
Peebles, George	62, 53	1	2
Peebles, John	79, 85	-	-
Robertson, Donald	104, 105	-	-
Robertson, John	93, 94	-	-
Rose, Donald	118	-	-
Ross, Andrew	86	-	-
Ross, Donald	41, 89	1	2
Ross, James Sr.	12	1	1
Ross, James Jr.	11, 15	-	-
Sproule, Sgt. Andrew	98, 99	1	2
Stewart, Andrew	116	-	-
Steward, John	103	-	-
Stuart, Sgt. Peter	52, 122, 123	1	3
Sutherland, George	101	-	-
Sutherland, Hugh	7, 9	-	-
Sutherland, John	8	-	-
Sutherland, John II	145, 175	-	-
Sutherland, John III	130	-	-
Sutherland, Robert	146	1	2
Sutherland, William	134	1	3
Thomson, Sgt. John	69, 70	-	-
Urquhart, Donald	142, 165	-	-
Weir, John	25	1	2
Wilson, Adam	107	-	-
Yelden, Sgt. Alexander	68	1	1
Burial Ground	91, 92		

*The spelling is as on map no. 104, appendix III.