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THE LOYALISTS OF CAPE BRETON

The loyalists have been a relatively unknown group among the early settlers of Cape Breton. This is largely because their numbers were not great, they were swamped by the Scottish migration into the island, and because the political and social influence which they wielded in Sydney was destroyed when Cape Breton was annexed to Nova Scotia in 1820.

On the other hand, the loyalists played a key role in the settlement of Cape Breton between 1784 and 1800. County capitals at Sydney, Port Hood and Baddeck, settlements of prime importance in the island's history, were founded by them. They held key offices there and greatly influenced the early political and social development of the island.

Since it deals with a largely unknown period in the history of Cape Breton, this paper, will, of necessity, concentrate largely on the factual reconstruction of the settlement of the island's loyalists. However, an attempt will be made to present an insight into their political and social influence in Sydney until annexation to Nova Scotia.

Between the Fall of Louisbourg in 1758 and the arrival of the first loyalists in 1784, Cape Breton was left undeveloped. Great Britain was unwilling to authorize land grants because mercantilistic theories forbade the development of the island's valuable coal deposits, which might lead to industrial competition with the Mother Country.[1] In 1768 the last troops were withdrawn from Louisbourg for duty in Boston. This left behind about 300 Acadians, mostly on Isle Madame, together with about 400 Newfoundlanders, Irish and "Americans" who were allowed to practise the fishery which required only minimal land use.[2]

The American Revolution made this policy of forbidding land grants

in Cape Breton untenable, as thousands of land-hungry loyalists began to flood into the remainder of British North America. By 1782, so many loyalists were entering Quebec that the military governor, General Haldimand, began to look for suitable locations outside of the province in which to settle them. For information on Nova Scotia he naturally turned to Samuel Holland who had made a survey of Cape Breton between 1765 and 1767. Holland was enthusiastic about the possibilities of the island, "that with a little Encouragement would invite Numbers to become Settlers".[3] Since 1779, he had been involved in surveying land for loyalists in Quebec, and when asked by Haldimand about Cape Breton, he enthusiastically replied that the island would make an admirable "Asylum for the Refugees from the Sea Coasts of the Northern Provinces".[4]

While Haldimand was learning of Cape Breton's possibilities as a loyalist refuge, Abraham Cuyler arrived in Quebec. Cuyler, former mayor of Albany, New York, had led a band of loyalist volunteers in the American Revolution; for his loyalty he had lost £6,000 in real estate alone.[5] In compensation, he was appointed inspector of refugee loyalists in Quebec. Perhaps as a result of discussion with Holland he decided to lead a group of loyalists to Cape Breton.[6]

Cuyler was a man of determination, and soon claimed that he had convinced 3,100 loyalists to come with him to Cape Breton. One of these was Captain Jonathan Jones of the King's Rangers of New York whom Cuyler commissioned to go to Cape Breton and explore likely settlement locations for loyalists.[7] Jones left Quebec in the fall of 1783, but Cuyler, impatient with delay, and likely worried that his plans might fail without personal discussion with government officials, sailed for England early in November.

British officials had already given some thought to the settlement of Cape Breton; Lord North had turned to Joseph Frederick Wallet DesBarres for information. DesBarres had performed a hydrographical survey of the coast of Nova Scotia which he published as the *Atlantic Neptune* in 1783.[8] DesBarres had pointed out to Lord North the island's possibilities as a loyalist settlement.[9]

When Cuyler arrived in early 1784, Thomas Townsend, Lord Sydney, was the home secretary. By then, there were rumours that Lord Sydney was planning a new political division of the Maritimes which would make Cape Breton a separate colony. He was assured by Cuyler that

loyalists were ready to settle there; his only reservation lay in the cost of financing a new colonial establishment. Like North, he turned to DesBarres who assured him that the government of the colony could operate on less than £2,500 per annum, and that the coal supply in Cape Breton could furnish nearby garrisons cheaply, employing loyalists "without burthen to the Public".[10] The argument of settling loyalists at minimal expense appealed to the financially burdened Pitt government and led directly to the establishment of the separate colony of Cape Breton. Sydney gave permission to Cuyler to bring his "Associated Loyalists" to Cape Breton.

Lord Sydney wrote Haldimand to allow the Associated Loyalists to leave Quebec for Louisbourg.[11] Disappointment was in store for Cuyler, however, for only 140 loyalists arrived, the remainder having become discouraged that Cuyler would not be granted permission to settle Cape Breton. The loyalists arrived at the end of October in three vessels, the brigs, *Liberty* and *Saint Peter,* and the schooner, *Sally.* Two of the ships, one of which contained Jones and his followers, landed at Saint Peters; the third with around 40 heads of families continued on to Louisbourg where they met Cuyler. There were only four structures capable of providing the loyalists with shelter in Louisbourg, and the governor of Nova Scotia, John Parr, beset with his own problems of loyalist settlement, could offer them only locks and hinges.[12] Small comfort for this tiny group of loyalists about to face a stormy, damp winter among the ruins of Louisbourg.

In the spring of 1785, the two ship loads of loyalists who had landed at Saint Peters went inland, and under Jonathan Jones established themselves on the Baddeck River. Jones was made magistrate for the Baddeck area and received 2,000 acres of land.

Other loyalists came independently, some directly from the United States. Thus Captain David Smith came in his own ship from Massachuesetts with his wife, one daughter and six sons. This family formed the backbone of settlement at Port Hood. Others stopped first in Nova Scotia before moving on to Cape Breton. A good example is Jacob Sparling who had received land in Shelburne County, and did not arrive in Cape Breton until 1808.[13]

While most of the loyalists clustered around Baddeck, and eventually the North West Arm of Sydney Harbour, smaller groups settled near Ingonish, Port Hood and the Gut of Canso. It is difficult to estimate the

number of loyalists who came to Cape Breton, but using references in the Colonial Office Records and early Cape Breton censuses and militia returns, it seems that no more than 500 such settlers came to the colony.

One reason for the difficulty in estimating the number of loyalists who came to Cape Breton is that DesBarres never sent a record of their names to London. Consequently, settlers' lists include all pioneers. Abraham Cuyler did send in one return of loyalists, however, claiming that there were 121 loyalists with him in Sydney, including 44 adult males.[14] It is possible that the remaining 19 settlers of the 140 he claimed came with him were divided between Saint Peters under Lieutenant Neil Robertson and Baddeck under Captain Jones. Land petition records from Saint Peters and Baddeck certainly fail to point to more than this number. Terrence McCorristine, agent for the loyalists from Quebec claimed that only 37 loyalists (probably adult males) came as a result of Cuyler's efforts, and 24 through the Quarter Master General's Department in Montreal. In all, he estimated only 81 loyalists arrived, though this likely referred only to the Sydney area.[15] If we take Port Hood, the Margaree area, and the Miras together, we might possibly reach 200 people. Richard Brown in his *Cape Breton* (1869) estimated that 800 people arrived,[16] but this number was probably derived from Cuyler's request for provisions for 500 families made in 1784.[17] Together with DesBarres' settlers, it is likely that no more than 300-400 people came to Cape Breton during the first few years of its colonial existence.

Throughout the period of their greatest influence, before 1820, the loyalist families intermarried with a high degree of regularity, even though Scots in large numbers were living nearby. Hence the Harts and the Ingrahams of Margaree intermarried, as did the Ingrahams and Leavers of Baddeck. The Ingrahams and Harts were both Justices of the Peace for their areas, and the Leavers were important merchants. This story can be repeated for the Daisleys and Wilhausens, the Peters and Meloneys, the Peters and the Watsons,[18] the Paynes and the Spencers.[19] Often the families lived distances apart for those days of difficult travel. Yet, their intermarriages were common and resulted in the growth of locally influential families.

The picture painted thus far is that of a small, typically loyalist community, not unlike that of parts of New Brunswick at the period.

However, the loyalists of Cape Breton experienced competition from British settlers early in their history. First, when the lieutenant-governor of the new colony, J.F.W. DesBarres, received his appointment, he collected 129 settlers, including disbanded soldiers and tradesmen who sailed aboard the 600-ton *Blenheim*, arriving at Louisbourg 5 November 1784. There they met Cuyler and his loyalists, then sailed to Spanish Harbour, landing at Point Edward 24 November.[20]

Immediately a dichotomy was established. DesBarres and his settlers organized themselves in the new colonial capital at Sydney; Cuyler and his loyalists were forced to leave Louisbourg for Sydney in the spring of 1785. The enmity between DesBarres and Cuyler, between British and loyalist settler dates from this period. The loyalist hand was somewhat strengthened by the arrival of more of their number, some of whom were of great influence, after 1785. The chief of these was David Mathews, former mayor of New York City. He had lost a good deal of property as a result of the American Revolution and was determined to make up his losses.[21] Mathews was to serve as Attorney-General of the colony and act as senior councillor. Cuyler was Secretary and Registrar. These were the two most influential positions outside of that of lieutenant-governor.

The power of Mathews and Cuyler was also enhanced by the fact that the colony lacked a house of assembly. Britain had decided to wait to grant the assembly until the island should attain a higher population.[22] Hence the executive council became the centre for political expression and a forum for debate. This in turn led to divisions which stymied the work of the colonial executive; it also emphasized the social cleavage already present in Sydney. The composition of the council reflected this division; in 1790 David Mathews and Abraham Cuyler occupied seats along with the loyalist, Ingram Ball, and Benjamin Lovell, the loyalist troop chaplain from Massachuessetts. The non-loyalists were Archibald Charles Dodd who came from England in 1787, Thomas Crawley, former naval captain, and William Smith, surgeon for the 33rd Regiment. In general, the council divided in its opinions between these two groups.

These divisions can best be illustrated with three important examples involving the apportionment of food supplies, the removal of DesBarres, and the development of political organizations in Sydney.

Cape Breton as a small colony was subordinate to Nova Scotia, in that the lieutenant-governor of that province might assume control of Cape Breton if bodily present on the island. As far as supplies for the loyalists were concerned, they were sent to Major General Campbell, commanding the forces in Halifax, for distribution to troops and loyalists. The supplies were in turn sent to Major Yorke of the 33rd Regiment stationed in Sydney. DesBarres, like Thomas Carleton, lieutenant-governor of New Brunswick, objected to this arrangement fearing that it cut into his powers. Moreover, it is possible that DesBarres was trying to supply non-loyalist settlers with food supplies meant for the loyalists alone.[23] This would account for the fact that DesBarres never sent a selective list of settlers to London.

When DesBarres tried to seize control of supplies, open conflict broke out in the colony. Cuyler, Mathews and the loyalists in the Sydney area who came with Cuyler supported Yorke.[24] DesBarres appears to have been backed by a majority of the other settlers. The Council was split; Lovell and Mathews left. When Yorke tried to ease the situation by allowing DesBarres to distribute some of the supplies, Cuyler antagonised him by saying Council was laughing at him for being hoodwinked out of the supplies by DesBarres.[25] Contention rose again, and was calmed only by DesBarres' purchasing supplies on his own account.

These incidents not only widened the division between the loyalists and the other settlers, but led directly to the removal of DesBarres. Cuyler drew up a "Remonstrance and Petition" in which he condemned DesBarres' conduct as "painful to British-born Subjects".[26] He was supported in this by Mathews, Lovell and of course Yorke. This resulted directly in DesBarres' removal.

The squabble over the control of supplies, which was rooted in the two groups that first settled Sydney, led not only to the removal of DesBarres, but to the establishment of rival political organizations within the colony. These organizations developed even though the colony was without a house of assembly, and revealed the split between loyalist and non-loyalist. First, just before DesBarres left Sydney he had unofficially sanctioned the formation of a volunteer militia, mainly for his supporters' protection against the 33rd Regiment. Chief Justice Richard Gibbons[27] used this as the nucleus of a "Friendly Society.. which "held nightly meetings of the lower order of men...."[28] It is

plain that the Society was composed of settlers from the *Blenheim*.

Mathews was behind the formation of another association made up, according to Lieutenant-Governor Macarmick, of "all the principal people, that I might be obliged to fill vacancies out of this society."[29] Macarmick crushed both groups, even though Mathews was infuriated at anyone's impeaching his loyalty.[30] Though the membership of the Attorney-General's group was never spelled out, it would hardly have been composed of the *Blenheim* group whom Mathews described as "the Mob".[31]

A closer analysis of these two groups reveals that not all of the loyalists were followers of Cuyler and Mathews. Generally speaking, those who arrived with Cuyler formed a united group, but those who arrived after 1785, either were not admitted to Cuyler's clique or were won over by DesBarres and his followers. Among these were Ranna Cossit of New Hampshire, the first Anglican minister in Sydney, and William McKinnon who was a southern loyalist. After the removal of DesBarres and the death of Richard Gibbons, Ranna Cossit became leader of Mathew's enemies, and for six years, between 1794 and 1800, these two loyalists fought for political and social control of the colony.

Council was the scene of constant conflicts, and the colony was the despair of its administrators.[32] The second lieutenant-governor, William Macarmick, had to strengthen his position which had been weakened by the dismissal of DesBarres. Consequently, he drove Cuyler from the colony in 1793, greatly diminishing the loyalist influence. However, at Macarmick's retirement in 1795, Mathews, as senior councillor, became adminstrator, dismissing Cossit and his followers from Council. Finally, in 1799 John Murray became administrator and destroyed Mathews' power, dismissing him from his position of Attorney General, and removing his supporters from Council. Cossit and his group supported Murray of course, so that by 1800, when Murray left Cape Breton, Cossit was in effect leader of the Council.

These loyalist divisions affected not only Sydney's political life, but reached into religion and education as well. Since there was no house of assembly in the colony, and since Ranna Cossit was deeply involved in political events in the colony, vestry meetings at Saint George's Church, Sydney's first house of worship, were scenes of deep divisions which generally followed political lines. Entries in the Church Registry, like this one for 13 April 1789, give hints of division:

"At a meeting of the Parish on this Day for the purpose of choosing Church Wardens and vestry men, Mr. More (sic) proposed Mr. D. Mathews Esq'r and Mr. A. Cuyler Esq'r for Ch'h Wardens, the former being unanimously objected to, instead of whom he proposed Mr. Dodd."[33]

Mathews was defeated in his other bid for position of church warden and stopped attending church.[34] In another case, remarks made by members of the rival factions at a church meeting practically precipitated a duel.[35]

In education, Ranna Cossit, as minister was to have charge of choosing teachers, but Mathews and his fellow loyalists refused to send their children to Cossit's teacher, favouring instead a man of the Roman Catholic faith.[36]

These divisions hurt the colony in almost every way until the two chief protagonists, Mathews and Cossit, were removed from the scene, the former by death in 1800, and the latter by Bishop Inglis who made a special trip from Halifax to induce the controversial cleric to leave Sydney where his involvement in politics had become a scandal which might lead people to becoming "Methodists, Catholics, or infidels".[37] Cossit was transferred to Yarmouth.

The removal of these two loyalists coincided with the arrival of the tide of Scottish settlers into the island. Between 1802 and 1820 the population grew from around 2,000 to over 9,000. The loyalists outside of Sydney were swamped by the Gaels, though they continued to retain positions of local influence. Since the Scots were mainly farmers, fishermen or shipbuilders, they were not attracted to town life. Consequently, only a small proportion of them came to Sydney before the development of the coal mines by the General Mining Association in 1827.

However, their presence affected Sydney indirectly. With the arrival of so many new settlers in the colony, a move for a legislative assembly developed led by Richard Gibbons, Junior, son of the first chief justice.[38] In order to achieve their goal, Gibbons and his followers claimed that since the colony had no house of assembly the collection of a duty on rum, inaugurated in 1801, was unconstitutional. However, since the colony needed an income, the simplest answer was the granting of a house of assembly. The followers of Cossit seem to have endorsed Gibbon's movement, while Mathews' group seems to have fallen under the leadership of A.C. Dodd, an Englishman who became

chief justice of the colony. He opposed Gibbons' group, calling them "restless spirits".[39]

The political situation in Sydney after 1802 is thus dominated by Cossit and then Gibbons who were supported by the majority of settlers, and Dodd who seemed to have held the support of Mathews' followers, largely loyalists. As the years went on however, more and more of the loyalists joined Gibbons, so that by 1816 the administrator, Colonel Jonas Fitzherbert declared that Gibbons' support centered on former Americans.[40] If this is true, it is possible that most of the loyalists supported an assembly, and were joining Gibbons.

Matters came to a head in 1816 when Ranna Cossit, Junior, assistant customs collector, and supporter of Gibbons, refused to collect the rum duty. R.J. Uniacke, Junior, the Attorney General, claimed that the move had a wide spectrum of support.[41] Cossit was forced to begin collecting again, but merchants Ritchie and Leaver, who ran the coal mines, refused to pay back duties. The case was taken to court by the Crown, and it was decided that the tax was illegal since the colony had no house of assembly.[42]

The reaction of the Colonial Office was a surprise to the colonists, for instead of granting a house of assembly, it decided to reannex the colony to Nova Scotia. This simply brought all parties together in a display of unity, that Lieutenant-Governor Ainslie said was "Yankee", together with "the refuse of the 3 Kingdoms".[43] Annexation, however, was inevitable, and Lieutenant-Governor Kempt of Nova Scotia arrived in Sydney 16 October 1820 to claim his colony's new possession.

With annexation to Nova Scotia, the importance of the Cape Breton loyalist diminished. Neither of the island's first representatives in Halifax was a loyalist. As time passed, intermarriage between loyalist and Scot dimmed any sense of loyalist exclusiveness. In Baddeck and Sydney a realization of loyalist background remains, but in Sydney the blending of loyalist and "Blenheim" families has resulted in confusion as to just who is a loyalist. The fact that DesBarres and Cuyler kept no records designating loyalists adds to the problem. However, most loyalists are aware of their ancestry. J.G. McKinnon noted that the first two mayors after Sydney's incorporation as a city were both descendants of John Meloney, Sydney's first loyalist settler.[44] Recent publications outline family connections fully and assure a continuing record of loyalist families among Cape Bretoners.[45]

What kind of person was the Cape Breton loyalist? Generally, he was either an official, a farmer or soldier from northern New England. There are few records of first generation loyalists taking part in trade either in running the coal mines, in ship building or in ocean trade. They seem to have come seeking land or office, and it seems that many left in the first difficult years after the establishment of the colony which did not really begin to prosper until large numbers of Scots arrived.

The Cape Breton loyalist does not seem to have been a political innovator. The move for a house of assembly came from Richard Gibbons whose father was a pre-loyalist from Halifax. While the loyalists were intensely politically-minded — men like Cuyler, Mathews, Cossit and McKinnon are prime examples — they seem to have been interested in maintaining their social and political positions rather than in gaining more rights and responsibilities. The chief danger of a house of assembly was that it would lessen their political power.

The preceding may seem a harsh judgement on the Cape Breton loyalists. If the colony had been granted a house of assembly and had not been annexed to Nova Scotia in 1820, it is possible that the factions led by Cuyler and Mathews or by Cossit and Gibbons would have evolved into political parties, allowing Cape Breton to contribute to the growth of British institutions in America. The small colony of Prince Edward Island witnessed the rise of a loyalist society much like Mathews', which was elected to the house of assembly and "prepared the way for the development of democratic government in Prince Edward Island".[46] In Cape Breton where there was no house of assembly, Mathews' and Cossit's groups simply fought to no apparent end to the despair of politician and settler alike.

Despite their small numbers and their eclipse after 1820, the Cape Breton loyalists are of interest, since they found themselves in somewhat different circumstances from their counterparts in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Canada. A grasp of their history contributes to a deeper understanding of that complex creature we call the loyalist.

FOOTNOTES

1 William Knox to William Falkener, 5 July 1804, C.O. 323/176, ff. 234-239.
2 D.C. Harvey, ed., *Holland's Description of Cape Breton Island and other Documents,* P.A.N.S., 1935, p. 10.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 85.

4 Haldimand to Lord Sydney, 25 October 1782, M.G. 21, Q 20, pp. 310-316.

5 A Memorial of A. Cuyler to the Lords Commissioners of Treasury, 30 March 1781, A.O. 13, Bundle 109.

6 Minutes of the Executive Council of Cape Breton (hereafter C.B. B.) 4 July 1789. Investigation into the Conduct of Abraham Cuyler, C.B. B 5, pp. 249-258.

7 Investigation..., 31 July 1789, C.B. B 6, pp. 119-124; Audit Office 13/13, ff. 496-507; L. Labine, *Biographical Sketches of Loyalists of the American Revolution*, Boston: Little Brown, 1864, p.

8 The best study of DesBarres' many accomplishments is G.N.D. Evans, *Uncommon Obdurate: The Several Public Careers of J.F.W. DesBarres*, Toronto: University Press, 1969.

9 DesBarres to Lord North, 16 May 1783, Windham Papers, Additional Manuscripts 37, 890, ff. 28-30.

10 Remarks by DesBarres on a copy of a letter from Evan Nepean (Under-secretary of State) to DesBarres, 2 July 1784, Windham Papers, *ibid.*, f. 36.

11 Sydney to Haldimand, 7 June 1784, British Museum, Additional Manuscripts, 21, 710, pp. 175-176.

12 Parr to Cuyler, 13 September 1784, C.B. A 7, pp. 25-26.

13 E. Jackson, *Cape Breton and The Jackson Kith and Kin*, Windsor: Lancelot Press, 1971, p. 60. Other examples include Joseph Hart, Moses Huel and Ingram Ball who did not arrive in Cape Breton until 1808.

14 Campbell to Sydney, Enclosure in a letter 30 November 1785. N.S. A 107, p. 375.

15 Deposition of Terrence McCorristine, 5 June 1786, C.B. A 3, pp. 101-102.

16 P. 392.

17 [Nepean] to Haldimand, 7 June 1784, M.G. 11, Q 23, pp. 91-94.

18 E. Jackson, *op. cit.*, J.F. Hart, *History of North East Margaree*, private printing, 1963.

19 Women's Institute of Mira Gut, *A Brief History of Mira Gut (1745-1968)*, private printing, p. 9.

20 Notes of Thomas Ashfield (DesBarres' Secretary), DesBarres Papers, M.G. 23, F. 1, Series 4, p. 23.

21 L. Sabine, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, pp. 51-52.

22 R.J. Morgan, *Orphan Outpost: Cape Breton Colony 1784-1820*, PhD. thesis, University of Ottawa, Ch. I.

23 Lord Sydney accused DesBarres of this, and he was probably correct, moral considerations aside. Sydney to DesBarres, 30 November 1787, C.O. 218, vol. 12, ff. 10-12.

24 G.N.D. Evans, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

25 Extract of the Journal of Lieutenant Norford, 20 March 1786, C.B. A 12, pp. 156-165.

26 Remonstrance and Petition of the Principle Inhabitants of the Island of Cape Breton, DesBarres Papers, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, pp. 370-371.

27 Richard Gibbons (-1794), had served as Attorney General of Nova Scotia, before coming to Sydney.

28 Lieutenant-Governor William Macarmick to Evan Nepean, 18 May 1790, C.B. A 17, p. 125.

29 Macarmick to Dundas, 19 May 1794, C.B. A 12, pp. 52-53.

30 Mathews to Macarmick, 13 August 1794, *ibid.*, p. 162.

31 Mathews to E. Nepean, 10 June 1786, *ibid.*, A 3, pp. 105-110.

32 Macarmick retained his position of lieutenant-governor until his death in 1815 even though he left the island in 1795. In the interim the colony was run by administrators who had the same powers as a lieutenant-governor. The third lieutenant-governor, George Robert Ainslie, was appointed in 1815.

33 Saint George's Church Registry, Xavier College Archives, Sydney, C.B., p. 15.

34 *Ibid.*, p. 8.

35 Council, 1 August 1798, C.O. 217, vol. 115, ff. 216-218.

36 Cossit to the S.P.G., 9 March 1796, S.P.G. papers vol. 27, pp. 64-68.

37 Inglis' diary of his visit to Cape Breton 7 July 1805, Inglis Papers, M.G. 23, C 6, vol. 6.

38 Richard Gibbons, Junior, had been captured with his father by a French ship on a voyage to England in 1792. They were taken prisoners to France where Judge Gibbons died in 1794. In 1796, young Gibbons was back in Sydney.

39 Draft of a letter, A.C. Dodd to Swayne, 8 April 1813, Dodd Papers, doc. 84, P.A.N.S.

40 Fitzherbert to Lord Bathurst, 18 May 1816, C.O. 217, vol. 134, ff. 9-10.

41 R.J. Uniacke, Report of the Trial of Ritchie and Leaver, *ibid.*, f. 30.

42 *Ibid.*, f. 33.
43 Ainslie to Henry Goulbourn (private), 15 February 1820, *ibid.*, vol. 138, f. 30.
44 J.G. McKinnon, *Old Sydney*, Sydney: McKinnon, 1918, p. 130.
45 See above, fn. 18.
46 W.S. MacNutt, *The Atlantic Provinces.*

LIST OF CAPE BRETON LOYALISTS

The following list of Cape Breton Loyalists was composed using various documents including victualling lists, correspondence and a few family histories. Since the Cape Breton authorities failed to draw up lists of Loyalists as such, a great deal of cross-checking was necessary. In most cases the author has relied on documentary evidence for names and information. The two exceptions are the names Severance and Sheperd for which there are strong family traditions of Loyalist ancestry but no documentary evidence as yet. The author would appreciate any information available on any Cape Breton Loyalist in order to make this list more complete and exact.

NAME	ORIGIN	LOCATION IN CAPE BRETON	OTHER INFORMATION
ALCOCK, Nathan		North West Arm, Sydney Harbour	23rd Regiment
ALLEN, Jeremiah c.1726-1809		North West Arm, Sydney Harbour	
ANDERSON, John			
ANTELL, John (Major)			
AYMOR, Mary		Sydney	Husband - John
BAINE, John		Sydney	74th Regiment
BALL, Ingram 1752-1807	b.Gloucester, England	Ball's Creek, arrived 1788	Captain 7th Dragoons; Wife & 6 children; Estate Oak Farm, 1000 acres.
BATTERSBY, John		Sydney River	38th Regiment
BEYERS, Jacob			
BLACKEY, John		Sydney	82nd Regiment

BOISSEAU, James E.	South Carolina	Sydney	Estate: Indian Cove, 600 acres — called "Fair Forest"
BRADLEY, Patrick		North West Arm, Sydney Harbour	23rd Regiment
BROOKS, John		Sydney	
BROWN, William		Sydney	Single; carpenter
BUELL, William	Virginia	Baddeck, arrived 1785	Ensign
BUTTERWORTH, William 1786 —		Gut of Canso (Ship Harbour)	Cooper
CAIN,		Baddeck	
CAMERON, John (Lieut.)		Liverpool, N.S. to Spanish River 1783	King's Orange Rangers
CAMERON, Kenneth		Sydney, Little Pond	74th Regiment
CARTER, Joseph 1743 —		Gut of Canso	
CLARK, Peter		Shelburne, N.S. to Englishtown, Leitches Creek	
CLARKE, Job B.	Rhode Island	Sydney	
CLARKE, Joseph (John?)		Sydney	38th Regiment
COSSIT, Ranna (Rev.) — 1815	New Hampshire	Sydney-Louisbourg Road; arrived 1787	First permanent protestant minister in C.B. Wife & 10 Children
CUYLER, Abraham	Mayor, Albany, New York	North West Arm, Sydney Harbour	Estate: Yorkfields
DAISLEY, William	Rhode Island	Cape North	
DAVIS, Benjamin			
DAY, William 1739 —	New York	Sydney; arrived 1785	
DEANE, Nicholas		Sydney	
DENNY, Dennis		Sydney	22nd Regiment
DICKSON, Alexander			
DIXON, Robert			82nd Regiment
EAGEN (EGAN), John			Single; carpenter
ELDER, Alexander			33rd Regiment

Name	Origin	Location	Notes
FENTON, James		Sydney	
FERRES, Joseph (Lieut)	New York	Gabarus, 1784 — 1786	Farmer; blacksmith; carpenter; served in Revolutionary War; Wife & 4 children
FOYLE, Henry		Baddeck	
FRASER, Alex		Sydney	33rd Regiment
FRASER, Colin			33rd Regiment
FRASER, Thomas			33rd Regiment
GARDINER, John		Sydney	74th Regiment
GAY, James			
GOOLD, James 1775 —	States	Baddeck, 1790	
GRANDMEYER, John Christian, 1753 — 1846		North West Arm, Sydney Harbour	Hessian
GRANT, Gregory		Sydney	72nd Regiment
GRANT, Peter	New York		Carpenter
GRAY, Samuel 1776 —		Port Hood	Shoe-maker
HAIRE, Alexander	New York ?	Sydney, Mira	Commissaire of C.B. Loyalists
HAMILTON, John		Sydney	82nd Regiment
HAMILTON, Samuel			
HART, Josiah	Connecticut	Manchester, N.S. to Margaree 1783	
HAWLEY, Mathew (Capt) 1749 —	Connecticut	Guysborough to Port Hood 1789, to Mabou	Cooper
HEFFRON, Michael			Ship pilot in U.S. Revolution
HENRY, John			
HICKEY, Edward		Sydney	
HIGGINS, John (Capt) b. Ireland 1744	New York	Gut of Canso (Plaister Cove)	Land surveyor; School-master; Wife & 2 children
HILL, Robert		North West Arm, Sydney Harbour	Royal Artillery
HOMES (HOLMES), James — 1773 —		Gut of Canso	Farmer
HULL, Henry	Connecticut	Guysborough, Baddeck	

INGRAHAM, Hezekiah 1755 –	Connecticut	Margaree Harbour *via* Hfx., Guysboro 1783	First J.P. at Margaree Harbour
INGRAHAM, James 1780 –		Baddeck, Margaree 1791	Son of Hezekiah; Cooper
JAMES, David		Sydney	7th Regiment?
JEFFERSON, Joseph (James?) 1768 – 1833	Virginia	North West Arm, Sydney Harbour	80th Regiment
JENNER, Thomas			
JONES, David	New York; b. Connecticut		7th Regiment
JONES, Francis		Sydney	
JONES, Jonathan	New York; b. Connecticut	Baddeck	Loyal Rangers; Wife & 5 children
KELLY, John	Pennsylvania		84th Regiment; Single
KING, Ausberry c.1768 –	Virginia	To N.S. 1784 to Gut of Canso, 1797	Farmer
KING, Barry 1768 –		Gut of Canso	
KING, Edward 1770 –	Boston	Mabou	Farmer; single (Married by 1818)
KING, Henry 1762 –		Ship Harbour 1785 *via* N.S.	Farmer; fisherman; married, 7 children by 1818
KING, John			
LARREBY, John 1764 –	New England	Mabou	
LEAVER, John	New York	Baddeck	Wife dead; 7 children
LEITCH, John		Leitches Creek, Bras D'Or	Royal Carolina Regiment
LEWIS, Henry c.1758 –	Virginia	Leitches Creek	
LINDEN, Henry 1763 –		Gut of Canso	Farmer
LLOYD, Pat			
LLOYD, Thomas		Sydney	
LORWAY, Richard 1755 –	Albany, New York	Louisbourg 1781	Single

LOVELL, Benjamin (Rev) 1755 – 1828	Massachusetts	South West Arm, Sydney Harbour	
MCCORRISTINE, Terrence	New York	Sydney	Merchant; Wife & 3 children
MCDONALD, John			
MCGILVERY, Daniel		Low Point, arrived 1785	
MCGREGOR, Daniel	New York		Farmer; single
MCKAY, Robert			
MCKENZIE, Paul			33rd Regiment
MCKINNON, William – 1817	Carolina; b. Scotland	Sydney	
MANN, Isaac	New York	Baddeck, arrived 1785	
MANNING, William 1775 –		Mabou	
MARPLE, Richard		N.E. Margaree	
MARSLAND, William		Sydney	23rd Regiment
MARTIN, John		North West Arm, Sydney Harbour	
MATHEWS, David – 1800	Mayor, New York City	North West Arm, Sydney Harbour	Estate: Point Amelia
MELONEY, John D.	Long Island, N.Y.	Sydney, arrived 1784	Wife & 3 children
MIDDLETON, William			33rd Regiment
MOFFAT, James	Rhode Island	North West Arm, Sydney Harbour	
MOLYNEUX, Stephen		Sydney	
MOORE, Adam		Leitches Creek	
MOORE, George 1748 –	b. Ireland	Great Arichat	10 yrs. as naval officer; single
MOOREHEAD, John		Sydney	
MURRAY, John d. 1797		Sydney	63rd Regiment; son-in-law of D. Mathews?
MUSGRAVE, Bartholomew 1757 – 1837	New York	North West Arm, Sydney Harbour	
NEAL, Henry			
NESTOR, James		Sydney	King's Orange Rangers
O'BRIEN, John		Sydney	

Name	Origin	Location	Notes
OWENS, Francis		Sydney	
PAYNE, P.		Mira	
PERRY, Henry Widimore		Sydney	
PETERS, John (Lt. Col.) 1740 – 1788	Connecticut; J.P. in New York	Baddeck; Upper North Sydney	Wife & 6 children
PLANT, William 1775 –	New York	Upper North Sydney	
RAY, James	New York	North West Arm, Sydney Harbour	76th Regiment
REYNOLDS, Stephen 1763 –		To N.S. 1784, then to Gut of Canso 1797	Farmer
RICHARDS, Jesse		Sydney	
ROBERTS, Henry		Sydney	
ROBERTSON, Neil (Lt.)	New York	St. Peter's; Baddeck; Ship Hbr.	Royal Rangers
ROPER, John 1772 – 1837	Norfolk, Virginia	Port Hood 1788 to Ingonish, 1823	
ROSS, Alexander			33rd Regiment
ROSS, David			33rd Regiment
RUDGE, Benjamin		Sydney	Royal Artillery
SCYTES, D.			
SEVERENCE,		Forchu	
SHANNAHAN, John		Sydney	
SHEPHERD		Mira	
SMITH, David (Capt.) 1742 – 1789	Massachusetts	Port Hood 1786	Wife – Rebecca
SMITH, David 1775 – 1851	Massachusetts	Port Hood	Son of Capt. David
SMITH, Harding 1783 –	Massachusetts	Port Hood	Son of Capt. David
SMITH, Isaac 1780 – 1853	Massachusetts	Port Hood (Also Mabou)	Son of Capt. David; Trader
SMITH, John		Sydney	
SMITH, Lewis 1771 – 1846	Massachusetts	Port Hood (Also Mabou)	Son of Capt. David; farmer
SMITH, Lewis 1777 –		Mabou	
SMITH, Parker 1781 – 1851	Massachusetts	Port Hood	Son of Capt. David; farmer

Name	Origin	Location	Notes
SPARLING, Jacob 1770 –	New York	North Sydney	
SPENCER, John	New Hampshire b. Connecticut	Mira in 1786	
STEWART, John		Sydney	80th Regiment
STEWART, Robert			
STOREY, John		Sydney; Canso	
SUTHERLAND, John		Sydney	7th Regiment
SUTHERLAND, Alex			33rd Regiment
STAFFORD, William	Maryland	Sydney in 1798	
SWAIN, Benjamin		Sydney	38th Regiment
TAIT, David 1740 – 1834	West Florida; Carolina	Sydney; Mira River	Single
TAYLOR, John			
TUTTLE, Ebenezer	New York		Farmer; single
UPTON, John 1751 –		River Inhabitants	Prov. Regiment
WATSON, Daniel W.	New York	Point Edward	
WATSON, John	New York	Sydney	Fisherman; single
WATSON, William 1775 –	New York	Baddeck in 1788	Son of Daniel
WATTS, Hugh	South Carolina	Little Judique to Port Hood, 1784	
WEHMAN, H.			King's Orange Rangers
WHEATON, John 1753 –		Gut of Canso (Plaister Cove)	Trader
WHEELER, Lydia		Baddeck River in 1786	Wife of James Edward Boisseau
WHITNEY, Josiah 1745 –		Gut of Canso	Fisherman; married 1818
WILHAUSEN, Frederick		North West Arm, Sydney Harbour to Englishtown	Hessian (Regt. of Louisbourg?)
WORTH, Benjamin 1754 –	New Jersey	Mabou in 1786	
YOUNG, Reuben 1759		Mabou	