TRANSPORTATION IN NORTHERN CAPE BRETON
by R.H. McDonald
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Introduction

The story of transportation in northern Cape Breton is a tale of courage, hardship and ingenuity. No other area of Nova Scotia presented greater challenges to the development of transportation than the harsh topography of the highlands of Cape Breton Island.

Its surface consists of parts of a high upland with, in some places, fringes of a much lower coastal plain. It meets the ocean in cliffs as much as 1,500 feet high and, here and there, in shallowly submerged landscapes which present long curving beaches. Streams have cut deeply into the plateau areas in comparatively recent geological times, so that steep-walled valleys with rounded shoulders are characteristic.¹

For years nature reigned supreme over the futile efforts of man. Isolation characterized the area until well into the twentieth century. Only with the technological advances of modern times were the highlands finally conquered and opened for the rest of the world to enjoy.

This study will concentrate upon developments which occurred in the area now included within Cape Breton Highlands National Park. (See Figure 1) A complete overview of the major events in the transportation history of the region will be provided. Land transportation, in particular, will be discussed although the role of coastal shipping will not be overlooked. Special emphasis will be placed upon the construction of the Cabot Trail and the importance of this highway in the transportation history of northern Cape Breton.
Early Transportation in Northern Cape Breton, 1700-1880

Travel in northern Cape Breton throughout the nineteenth century was difficult if not impossible. Fred Williams, of the Cabot Archives in Neil's Harbour, described the hardships involved.

The history of travel in northern Cape Breton is a chronicle of long, arduous, often tragic journeys. Written and oral records are checkered with vivid descriptions of travellers who found themselves pitted against rough terrain, heavy seas or the mad temper of the weather. These travellers were forced by the sparcity of ports or habitations to endure outrageous conditions when often what was at stake was sheer survival.1

Given the severe hardships of road travel, almost all communication in the early days was by water. Even this, however, was extremely dangerous due to the rugged coastline and unpredictable weather. Transportation of any type was impossible in the winter when heavy snows and drift ice completely paralysed the region.

The earliest road in Cape Breton dates from the eighteenth century when Count Raymond constructed a road from Louisbourg to St. Peter's2 (known in the eighteenth century as Port Toulouse). Little improvement took place over the ensuing years even after the British takeover in 1758. When Cape Breton became a separate colony in 1784, some hope was held out for improved communications, particularly when tax revenue began to flow into the treasury from the coal mines. Such hopes were dashed, however, as unscrupulous administrators appropriated the funds for their own purposes. Richard Brown, as early historian of Cape Breton, has shown that "all the revenues of the Island, together with an annual sum of 2000 voted by Parliament, were swallowed up in
the payment of the salaries of officers whose duties were in many cases purely imaginary, leaving nothing for the construction of roads and other necessary works". The result of all this mismanagement was that there were not more than ten miles of passable road on the Island by 1800.

The hardships endured by early travellers are almost unimaginable today. On land, the first roads were narrow trails blazed from one settlement to another. These trails were extremely rough and crooked, and it was a long time before all the stumps were removed. "When the first wagons were used", W.R. Bird commented, "notches were often cut in the larger stumps to let the hubs of the wagon wheels pass through". So difficult were the early routes, that practically all travel was by water. For that reason it was the land around the coast, harbours and lakes that was first settled since it allowed at least limited communication with the outside world. For those who chose to settle in the "back lands" life was more difficult.

For settlers in the back lands journeys to market could be most exhausting. Where streams were available, birch-bark canoes were used, but there were many portages. In many cases products of exchange were carried on the human back. It was nothing unusual, writers of the nineteenth century say, to carry a burden of one hundred and fifty pounds for six or seven miles in the depth of a cold and stormy winter with snow knee-deep at every step. There were men who could walk with a half barrel of salted herring under each arm. Women were known to walk over a pole across a deep and rapid stream carrying a barrel of meal on their backs.

By the early nineteenth century settlers began to arrive in ever increasing numbers. Settlements appeared throughout the island, including such northern locales as Chéticamp, Pleasant Bay, Dingwall, Cape North and Ingonish. One of the largest settlements was at Chéticamp where, by 1809, about two hundred and fifty descendants of Acadian exiles lived. Many of the earliest accounts of travel in the region deal with the Chéticantis and the Catholic missionaries who cared for their spiritual needs. Early access to the Chéticamp region was
almost entirely by water. Even this, however, was extremely dan-
gerous, especially during fall storms. One of the first mission-
aries to Chéticamp and Maragre, Father Lejamtel, came close to
loosing his life several times. "I always try to take care of
these missions early", Lejamtel commented in 1813, "for naviga-
tion is always dangerous on these shores about the time of the
equinoctial wind and afterwards. I risked my life several times
in my early years when I was not acquainted with the place ...
I took the resolution never again to embark in the autumn
unless it were to save my life from some other menace". 6
Partly to alleviate this danger and partly to allow more regular
access, a trail was blazed between Margaree and Chéticamp by
1823. Judge Marshall mentioned this road saying that it was
about six miles in length and "passable for foot passengers". 7

This primitive trail appears to have been the first road
into what may be called the "north country" of Cape Breton.
(See Figure 2) Similar development did not take place on the
Atlantic side of the northern peninsula at this time. The only
communication between the growing communities of Aspy Bay and
Ingonish was by water. E.E. Jackson described a marriage in
1814 between a girl from Ingonish and a boy from Aspy Bay.

Pioneer John's eldest son, James, married Mary Jackson
in St. George's Church, Sydney, on August 15, 1814.
Sydney was the closest Anglican centre to their home and
the wedding party had to journey there by boat. The
ceremony was only the culmination of many such trips,
however. Mary's family had lived at Ingonish for about
a year prior to the arrival of the Gynn's at Aspy Bay
and since there was no trail over the mountain between
the two settlements, James courted her by sailboat. 8

Things changed very little over the next twenty years. When
Rev. John Stewart, the first Presbyterian minister at Aspy Bay
arrived in 1835 there was no road to the community. Stewart
travelled to "so inaccessible a place" by schooner from North
Sydney. 9

Little money was allotted for the improvement and maintai-
ence of Cape Breton's roads in the first half of the nineteenth
century. E.M. Dodd, the Member of the Legislative Assembly from Cape Breton, commented in July of 1844 that the roads on the Island "were so bad that travelling in a carriage was impossible". That same year a petition was received to construct a new road between Margaree and Cheticamp. It is quite possible that this involved repairing and improving the old trail which would have deteriorated significantly by this time. In the end £15 was approved for the project. Obviously, this small sum did little to radically improve transportation in the area. In 1850 Inverness roads were reported "miserably bad". Most of the problems stemmed from insufficient funding. An Inverness report of 1856 stated "that it is utterly unable to keep roads fit to travel on with only £500 a year ... a bridge built at Mabou four years previously was sunk so low on its foundations that the tide flowed over it a foot in depth - the bridge had cost £400." Things seemed to go from bad to worse. In 1857 a mild winter spoiled many roads and "Inverness highways were so bad that all carriage travel was impossible in the spring".

Given the condition of the roads on the St. Lawrence side of the northern peninsula of Cape Breton and the scarcity of roads on the Atlantic side, it is not surprising that at mid-century most travelling was still by water. Small coastal schooners were frequently used in this context. Another, less well known type of vessel, used in coastal transportation at this time was the "barra boat". A.A. Johnston in his History of the Catholic Church in Eastern Nova Scotia described a trip by Catholic priests to Cape North in 1853 by "barra boat". "Barra boats are large enough to carry ten to twelve men", one authority reported, "are extremely sharp, fore and aft, and have no floor, but rise with an almost flat straight side, so that a transverse section somewhat resembles a wedge". Travel by water, however, even at the best of times could be gruelling. On the trip back from Aspy Bay, for example, the priests were delayed by a head wind from reaching Neil's Harbour and when they finally arrived late "they had to remain there
all night in the boat exposed to heavy rain". The next day, because of unfavorable weather conditions, the boat had to be rowed twelve miles to Ingonish. Such experiences were quite common for travellers in those days.

The second half of the nineteenth century saw improvement and expansion of the road system in northern Cape Breton, particularly on the Atlantic side. The roads, better described as paths, appeared slowly during the 1850s. A path was cleared from St. Ann's to Bay St. Lawrence in 1850. By 1853 a road from Aspy Bay to Ingonish was opened at a cost of £140. Yet, one really wonders about the quality of these early trails. When the Rev. Donald Sutherland settled at Aspy Bay in 1860, there was not a carriage or a carriage road in the area. "All travelling had to be done either on foot or on horse-back, over mountains or bridgeless rivers, or by boat from bay to bay", commented J. Murray. The lack of good roads caused great hardship to the local populace, particularly in winter, when travel by sea was almost impossible. Typical of the hardships were those experienced by local clergymen.

One day, in the middle of a violent winter, an urgent sick call came (to Ingonish) from Cape North, 30 miles distant. The supplicant was old John Fraser, a convert to the Catholic faith. Father Donald and a sturdy guide set out immediately on snowshoes. The way was over crags and cliffs and trackless mountains. In many places the guide had to cut tracks with an axe to save them from tumbling headlong to eternity. After dark they came upon an Indian camp where they spent the night. Early the next morning they set off again with another Micmac guide. The second day's experience was even worse than the first, and the two guides gave out-fell by the way utterly exhausted. Father Donald proceeded along, and reached the sickbed ... he used to say that he never got over that trip.

Transportation improvements came slowly in the years after mid-century. Mud paths rather than roads were all that existed in the area in the early 1860s. By Confederation, however, some development began to take place. The Assembly Journals for 1867 show that "there was £200 spent on the road from Cape
North to Ingonish, £40 from the Southern Bay to Donovans, £40 from Clyburn's to Roper's Brook, £40 from Smith's to Roper's, and £40 from Roper's to Burke's". All of this indicates the growing economic maturity and importance of the area by this time. Despite these improvements, however, travel still was dangerous, especially in winter. A Mrs. Mary Brown died on a trip from Ingonish to Cape North during a severe snowstorm. Her death sparked a controversy over transportation in the area and contributed to the establishment of a house of refuge between the two communities.

... on the thirteenth of December, Mrs. Mary Brown... of Ingonish, and Mr. Samuel Gwinn...left...for Cape North, to visit her sick daughter there. On the road the party was overtaken by a violent snowstorm. At a point called Black Brook, Mrs. Brown, overcome by fatigue and exposure, lost all power to continue the journey and died suddenly ... This is another evidence of the need of a house of refuge on the lonely dismal road that the traveller follows on his way from Ingonish to Cape North.22

Judith Campbell maintains that the isolation of the communities of Ingonish, Neil's Harbour and Cape North was largely due to the "physical barrier of Cape Smoky". For years it was a "psychological deterrent" as well as a physical barrier to travel in the region. A narrow dangerous foot path had been blazed over the mountain but for most people it was too treacherous. There was no decent road over Smoky until 1874 when a carriage road was finally completed. Father Felix van Blrik, the resident priest at Ingonish, informed a friend late in 1874 that "the road over Smoky Mountain being now completed I can proceed by wagon to any part of Cape Breton".25 For all intents and purposes a road now stretched from Sydney to Cape North. Nevertheless, travel was still restricted. Paul Shute described the situation.

Travel has improved but the condition of these roads was never very good. The road from Ingonish to Cape North passed over the bogs and barrens of the highlands. They were wet during most of the year excepting a brief dry season in late summer. Corduroy bridges were often rotted away and one could get lost in a swamp.26
To alleviate the hardship and danger of travelling in northern Cape Breton, the government decided to support a number of rest stations, called "half-way houses", at strategic points along the trails. In discussing the half-way house, indeed in discussing transportation at this time, one must distinguish between developments on the Atlantic side as opposed to those on the St. Lawrence side of the northern peninsula. There was no overland link between the two regions with the result that they developed completely independent from each other. It was the Atlantic side which first attracted government attention. In 1858 Godfrey Hynds and twenty-seven others from Ingonish petitioned for a relief station at the base of Smoky. This petition fell on deaf ears but public pressure grew in the 1860s as the communities expanded and the hardship increased. The government finally committed itself to a policy of establishing "half-way houses" to provide food and shelter to the weary traveller as well as a changeover point for the local mail routes. In 1868 the government built a "half-way house" on the road from Ingonish to Cape North, about a mile inland from Neil's Harbour. It was built under contract to John Munroe and John MacLeod for the sum of $1,301.14 and it opened for business in 1870. Over the years the MacPherson family ran the operation and acted as hosts for an annual salary of $300.00. The head of the family, George MacPherson, was a well known and respected figure in the community. Many of the older inhabitants of the area still tell stories of encountering old George MacPherson on their travels. The "half-way house" functioned as an important link in the communications of the area until the beginning of the First World War.

The "half-way house" was a welcome relief to the tired traveller over the years. "A more human provision has never been enacted anywhere", commented a school inspector in 1891; "the sight of the Halfway house cheers the weary wayfearer, more than language can express". An excellent description of the house has been provided in a recent article by Kenneth
MacKinnon:

A traveller approaching the Halfway House from any direction would see a fairly large two-storey, gable-ended house facing towards the Atlantic Ocean...

In front of the house was a vegetable garden where the MacPherson's grew their yearly supply of potatoes, turnips and carrots. Across the road and behind the house were the barn, stable and pigpen...There were four bedrooms upstairs and a bedroom, kitchen, pantry, living room and another bedroom downstairs. The rooms, in the style of the region, had low ceilings to conserve heat. The living room had a long wooden table where meals were taken...31

The halfway house at Neil's Harbour was not the only one to be built in northern Cape Breton. Public pressure also developed in the communities on the Gulf of St. Lawrence side for similar services. As mentioned earlier, a road had been constructed as far north as Chéticamp by mid-century. Over the ensuing years, a foot path was extended from Chéticamp to Pleasant Bay. It was an extremely dangerous trail for those on foot or horseback and it couldn't accommodate wagons or carriages. The need for an adequate rest station was obvious.

The first halfway house on the Saint Lawrence side of the northern peninsula was constructed in 1878 at Fishing Cove, midway between Pleasant Bay and Chéticamp.30 Rod Fraser received $20.00 to maintain the house during its first year of operation. By 1892 the subsidy had increased to only $30.00. The smallness of the subsidy indicates a much smaller operation than was the case with the Neil's Harbour house. In 1902 a second halfway house was built at Cap Rouge.31 Between 1902 and 1925 M. and A. Aucoin received $30.00 a year from provincial authorities to maintain it. Both of these houses were of invaluable assistance to stranded travellers and mailmen over the years. Without them, many lives would have been lost on the desolate trails of northern Cape Breton.

The halfway houses greatly facilitated postal service to the northern communities of Cape Breton. Prior to 1840, there had been no postal delivery at all north of St. Anns.34 By
the 1850s, service had been extended as far as Ingonish. The mail was delivered from St. Anns to Ingonish by horseback or on foot once a week. Aside from the fishing fleet, this was the only regular connection with the outside world. The establishment of the halfway house at Neil's Harbour greatly facilitated deliveries to the north country. Service improved tremendously by 1890 when post offices were set up in houses or businesses about three miles apart and a driver took the mail daily over Smoky to Ingonish and on to Cape North and Bay St. Lawrence.\(^{35}\)

Improved postal service followed a similar pattern on the St. Lawrence side of the northern peninsula. In 1868 a post office was established at La Pointe to service the needs of Cheticamp.\(^ {36}\) Regular delivery to the north was difficult. Finally, in 1876 a post office was opened in Pleasant Bay.\(^ {37}\) Angus MacLean was the first mailman in the area. His son remembers when "his father walked to Cheticamp once a week and returned carrying the mail in a sack on his back; not as arduous a task as it might at first seem since there were often no more than one or two letters to be transported".\(^ {38}\) Old Mr. MacLean used a team of Newfoundland dogs in the winter, often hitching as many as four to the sled after a heavy snowfall. When the halfway house became operational, the task of the mail carrier became much easier and safer. In the comfort of the halfway house, mail was exchanged between the carriers from Pleasant Bay and Cheticamp.

While the appearance of the halfway houses greatly improved travel conditions in the north country, the roads themselves continued to cause problems. Between 1873 and 1887, during the tenure of the Rev. Peter Clark, a carriage track was opened between Cape North and Ingonish.\(^ {39}\) Clark was the first resident of Aspy Bay to own a wagon and thus was the first to benefit from the new road. Even with the opening of this new road many problems remained.

The ease of movement which accompanied the creation of the new byway, however, was present only during the late spring, summer and fall. Once the snow came, only
the hardiest individuals could travel the overland routes and even they found it heavy going on snowshoes...When the heavy pack ice drifted into shore in January, the people of the northern cape were isolated...until March or April. For this reason, the settlers were careful to complete all preparations for winter by that time; they made their last rip to North Sydney for supplies in December and, with few exceptions, did not leave their own community again until spring.

The road between Cape North and Ingonish was a constant source of complaint. A disgruntled traveller commented on the condition of the road in 1881:

From the halfway house to Black Brook is nearly five miles, the most of this road, if called a road, is over a low rocky bottom over which flows a copious stream of water at nearly all seasons of the year, excepting a short space of dry season. During summer this is one of the worst roads in the Dominion. It is particularly dangerous at this time of year (December) for man or beast, as most all the corduroy bridges are broken down and a traveller cannot see where to put his foot. It is estimated that $1,000. be required to make a good road to Ingonish.

Unfortunately, little was done over the next few years to improve the situation. The North Sydney Herald lamented in November of 1883: Why in the name of common sense our worthy MPP's have not done something toward making a passable road between Ingonish and the Halfway House is something we cannot conceive...

One of the reasons for slow progress on roads was the rather ineffective and corrupt bureaucratic machinery set up to oversee it. Road construction and maintenance were closely controlled by the provincial politicians in Halifax. As Fred Williams commented, "patronage and highways have been traditional bedfellows".

Initially, commissions were given to a local foreman and he was responsible for hiring workers and overseeing the job. Statute labour was another method used many years ago. Statute labour decreed that every man under sixty had to give free labour on the road according to the valuation of his property. Unpropertied men had to work for a number of days in lieu of a property assessment. Work was done by hand and horse and drag and could
only be executed during the summer. Roads were necessarily crooked because the terrain had to be followed picking the best route as work progressed. The concern and dedication for the local people seem to have been the key elements in road construction and maintenance. Since local roads were of vital concern to the communities well-being, people were vigilant as to their condition. J.L. MacDougall, the historian of Inverness County, emphasized this fact in discussing road improvements.

Our ancestors were far ahead of us in the matter of road husbandry. If they saw a piece of road giving way they would rush to save it; when they saw the drains filling up, they would clean them out; they would keep the track clear in winter, as much as possible; and they would perform their "Statute Labour" with honest patriotism. No shirking, no marking of time. They knew no science, they had not the skill for road-making which the more modern world deems necessary, but they did their best... Indeed, without this local assistance, it is doubtful if even the limited progress achieved by the 1880s would have been possible.
By the last quarter of the nineteenth century, transportation in northern Cape Breton had improved to the point where people were able to visit the area for reasons other than business. With the appearance of Charles Warner's, Baddeck and That Sort of Thing in 1874, the unique attractions of Cape Breton Island became widely known. Over the ensuing years, a small trickle of tourists began arriving on the island to enjoy its envigorating climate, breathtaking scenery and famous fishing streams. While Warner's book related mostly to the Bras d'Or Lake region, it encouraged outsiders to discover for themselves the other attractions of the Island. It was only a matter of time before the particular attractions of the northern part of the Island became well known. While access to this region was by both road and water, it presented a special challenge to the small number of tourists venturing into the area.

As already stated, roads to Cape North from the Sydney area had been constructed by the 1880s. (See Figures 3, 4 and 5) In many cases, however, these roads would better be described as paths. In many sections travel was restricted to foot or horseback. Good carriage roads were definitely at a premium. One of the first accounts of a tourists' adventure into the "north country" appeared in 1886. In that year, an American by the name of C.H. Farnham travelled to Cape North. His comments provide us with an indepth view of travel conditions at that time. To begin with, he reported that very few travellers ventured into the area. This was mainly due to the condition of the road which was totally unsuitable for carriage traffic between Ingonish and Aspy Bay.
For about twelve miles the route was a bridle path, partly over swamps, partly up and down the beds of stoney brooks. We were on top of the barren plateau of Cape Breton, a mossy burned, desolate region where bare, bleached skeletons of trees shake in the wind, and the huckleberry alone struggles over the rocks. It is wearisome to pick your way for miles in such ground, jumping from bog to bog, stone to stone, or walking single poles laid as bridges over peat holes.

Over the next fifteen years, the number of travellers and tourists visiting the region continued to grow slowly. Their accounts provide us with the best descriptions available of travel conditions. One adventurous Canadian reported in 1889 that the road over Smoky was "perilously narrow". His main complaints, however, were reserved for the stretch of road from Neil's Harbour to Ingonish. Nevertheless, the fact that he attempted to make the trip in a wagon indicates that some improvement had taken place since C.H. Farnham had made the trip.

A few miles further on, however, we entered a bog, and came within a little of staying in it. Happily, we encountered a native rider, who, though seeming rather proud than otherwise, was good enough to tell us that by unharnessing our horses and taking them round through the bush we might manage to pull our wagon across the slough. We attempted with partial success, to carry out his advice. The bush-path was discovered, and our horse landed on terra firma, but our driver, in his praiseworthy solicitude for the wagon, treading between and not upon the slender timbers, with which indifferent local charity had bridged the gulf, was fished up in a muddy condition...

Despite all these hardships, our weary traveller still found the trip more than worthwhile. As a matter of fact, he claimed that the scenery was "unsurpassed, perhaps on the whole continent".

Improvements continued to be made to the roads over the next few years. By 1891 a wagon road been constructed over Smoky "although it was only wide enough to accommodate one wagon at a time". John Gunn, the local school inspector, commented in 1891 that an "excellent road" had been recently finished between Ingonish and Aspy Bay. Gunn's impression was
not shared, however, by J.W. Longley who made the trip in 1892. To begin with he was very concerned about the trail over Smoky which he described as being "wide enough for a horse and carriage to pass, and a foot or two on either side to spare, and not any more". This was especially unnerving on the steep face of the mountain with a sheer rock face on one side and a straight drop to the sea of a thousand feet on the other. Even while hugging the rock face the wagon was still within two feet of the sheer drop. Once over Smoky, the road from Ingonish to Cape North was just as difficult as far as Longly was concerned. "The roads in the main are bad", he concluded, "and under certain circumstances dangerous". Nevertheless, Longley felt the beauty of the trip more than compensated for the hardships.

To conclude. Let me say a word to the romantic traveller in search of the beauties of nature and yearning for rustic grandeur. When visiting Cape Breton be not content with the tame beauties of the usually travelled routes. Be bold. Starting from Baddeck, journey northward until Cape Smoky has been passed and Ingonish Bay lies in sight. Let the journey be made when the weather is fine, when the sun is bright and when summer mists throw their mystic haze over earth and sea and sky.

Improvements continued to be made to the road system in the northern region partly because of local needs and partly out of a desire to attract tourists. (See Figures 7, 8 and 9) In 1893, a trail was blazed eastward from Pleasant Bay to Victoria County. While the trail could not accommodate wagons and was unusable for most of the year, it did provide some access to the more remote areas. Nevertheless, travel over the mountains of northern Cape Breton was a dangerous undertaking even at the best of times. George MacLean, a local resident, recalls one incident, late in the century, when a woman died on a trip from Pleasant Bay to Cape North.

In the main, construction improvements centered on the more travelled routes. The fame of the area as a tourist's paradise continued to grow. J.M. Gow described its potential in 1893;
...the island stands unrivalled in the eastern part of America as a summer resort. The scenery, the climate, the position, and the historic interest attaching to this part of the Dominion, are unequalled. This is just beginning to be known, or, at all events to be realized. And it cannot be said that the people have done a great deal to make it known. Strangers have come in some way or other to find it out for themselves, ...Tourists have been flocking in considerable numbers to the island during the present summer...As a country for tourists and health-seekers, the island needs development...The whole country needs to be opened up and brought within the limits of rational and convenient travel.13

Development was essential if the island hoped to maximize the benefits of potential new industry. This was especially the case with the road system. Even Gow, despite his enthusiasm, was forced to admit that the Aspy Bay-Ingonish road was "in places, simply desperate".14

Transportation improvements came slowly to northern Cape Breton. (See Figures 10, 11 and 12) Frank Bolles described a hazardous trip over Smoky in 1894;

We had rounded one shoulder of the mountain where the edge of the road had slipped down four or five hundred feet into a brook bed, leaving only room for a wagon to pass between the unguarded edge of the ravine and the gravel bank which rose from the road on its other side. A horse having already plunged down there, I, even on my own feet, did not like the sensation of passing this spot.15

Despite the dangers and the hardships, the attractions of the northern peninsula continued to draw visitors. Writers, such as Thomas Mulvey, persisted in extolling the virtues of the area.

Where to take a holiday, where to escape the ever increasing hurry of city life, where to restore the depleted energy which modern progress requires, - are yearly questions...Perhaps the most interesting part of our country to the student of our history, the lover of picturesque nature, and the seeker of freedom and recreation is that little island which forms the north-easterly corner of Canada - Cape Breton...

The most interesting parts of the island, however, lie north of Sydney-Ingonish, Smoky Cape and North
Cape in particular... If you wish to see the most beautiful scenery in the island, you must drive. The road is not the best and the journey is tedious, but the best of the scenery can be viewed in no other way...16

Isolation continued to characterize life in northern Cape Breton at the turn of the twentieth century. A recent study has concluded that this isolation was a mixed blessing. "While it allowed them to retain their cultural modes, and particularly their language", the study commented, "it was also a cultural and economic handicap. The lack of transportation and communication facilities was a factor in shutting them off from current literary and scientific advances made elsewhere".17 When roads were closed by rain or snow, water transportation was the only means of travel in the area. In many ways it was more pleasant and reliable than road travel but its chief drawback was its limited season. When winter storms and heavy pack ice moved along the Cape Breton shore, coastal shipping came to a halt.

The prime means of moving both people and goods in northern Cape Breton in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century was the coastal boat. As far back as 1827, small coastal schooners and trading vessels visited the northern parts of the island.18 One of the first regular packets in the coastal trade between Dingwall and North Sydney was the Flying Robin, built in 1882 by John Fitzgerald of Dingwall.19 Other vessels such as the Mary Jane and the Abbie Jane plied similar routes. These vessels performed an essential function for the local populace in that they enabled them to ship their produce to market and return with needed supplies. These small coastal vessels sailed between northern Cape Breton ports and St. Pierre, Newfoundland and the Sydneys.

Regular shipping service to the northern area was really inaugurated with the advent of the coastal steamship. On the Atlantic side of the island there were two chief routes. The first originated in Halifax, stopped at North Victoria ports
such as Ingonish, Neil's Harbour and Meat Cove and terminated in western Newfoundland. A regular fortnightly service was provided during the ice free months of May to December. The first steamer on this route was the Harlow. From 1888 to 1911 she travelled this route on a regular basis. Subsequent steamers on this route were the Seal (1912-1920), Princess (1920), Stella Maris (1921-1926), Sable I (1926), and the Sambro (1927).

Of all the steamers on this run, the most famous was the Harlow. Since she was the first to inaugurate the service, her importance is obvious. A visitor to the area in 1889 commented on the Harlow's schedule. "Newfoundland being the goal of the Harlow's ambition", he commented, "she simply contented herself with a shriek of warning at one or two ports of call, and standing well of in the roadstead, awaited the coming of the little boats which were to bear away such passengers as necessity compelled to land in them". The first arrival of the Harlow on this coast caused quite a stir. M.W. Morley commented upon its early history in 1905:

The Harlow carries a siren which once was the cause of great consternation along this lonely coast, for the boat and her siren came without warning; and the people one night were terrified by a wild and awful yell as of some frightful demon rushing in front of the sea. They are said to have fled inland and remained in the forest trembling through the night, until daylight gave them the courage to creep forth and question the source of the frightful noise. Unexpectedly to hear the Harlow's siren along that lonely shore might well cause a thrill to any nerves.

The usefulness and importance of the coastal steamer was apparent to all. Public pressure quickly demanded improved service. In 1893, J.M. Gow commented upon the need for a "proper steamer service" to the northern region. Finally in 1902, a new steamer route was inaugurated.

The new freight and passenger service was based in Sydney and operated weekly service to Ingonish and Neil's Harbour and semi-weekly service to Meat Cove. After 1908 service was twice weekly every Tuesday and Friday with stops at Bay St. Lawrence,
White Point, Neil's Harbour, Ingonish and St. Anns. The first vessel on this run was the Weymouth. She was in service from 1902 to 1911. She was replaced by the Aspy I (1911-1924), Aspy II (1926-1930), and the Aspy III (1930-1964). The Aspys were the most famous of all the coastal boats in this part of Cape Breton. Their route was well established by 1911.

The Aspy would make four runs a week. On Monday she would leave Sydney to stop at Englishtown, North River, North and South Gut, Saint Anns and Eels Cove, now known as River Bennett, also Breton Cove. From there she would return to Sydney to unload and leave for further north. Tuesday morning she would sail to Ingonish Ferry, Ingonish Beach, North Ingonish, then to Neil's Harbour, White Point, Dingwall and Bay Saint Lawrence. Tuesday evening she would return and dock at White Point where she would spend the night. Wednesday morning she would return to Sydney calling at the above ports of call to pick up passengers. On Thursday she would repeat the same trips.

For thirteen years, the Aspy I provided outstanding service to the people of northern Cape Breton. (See Figures 16 and 18) Built in Shelburne in 1909, the Aspy was 113 feet long, 35 foot beam and 215 tons. She was owned by the North Shore Steamship Co. of Sydney and was operated by a crew of twelve. In addition to her regular service, the Aspy acted as an excursion boat for special events and went to the aid of striken vessels in distress. In 1915, for example, she succeeded in freeing the schooner Mary F. Fleming which ran aground at Ingonish and in 1921 she stood by the S.S. Volunda when she struck near Neil's Harbour. She was both a lifeline and a lifesaver for the local communities. Then in August of 1924 disaster struck. On the return trip from Bay St. Lawrence a terrific gale forced her aground near Long Point. While the ship was a total wreck there was fortunately no loss of life. With her demise, an institution disappeared from the scene.

Two years later another smaller vessel, the Aspy II, was placed on the run. (See Figures 19 and 20) Some of the ports of call on the northern run did not have harbours deep enough to permit the ship's entry. As a result, the Aspy would anchor
off in the stream while small boats from the local community ferried passengers and freight ashore. It was 1933 before the harbour at Dingwall, for example, was dredged sufficiently to allow entry. Late fall and early spring were particularly busy times for the coastal steamers with the result that the crews worked round the clock to bring in essential supplies. The "Aspys" became household names along the Atlantic coast of Cape Breton Island. Their importance to the isolated communities north of Smoky cannot be overestimated.

The development of coastal shipping on the St. Lawrence side of the island followed a similar pattern to that of the Atlantic. At first coastal schooners and trading vessels serviced the area. In 1886, Father Fiset organized a regular service between Pictou and Chéticamp. This was supplemented in later years as the gypsum trade expanded. Eventually, gypsum boats such as L'Amthyst established regular service between Chéticamp and Montreal. Around the turn of the century, coastal steamers, such as the Kinburn and the Bras d'Or, established regular runs to Chéticamp, Pleasant Bay and other northern ports. (See Figure 17) As a result, the people of these outports came to depend on these vessels for food, clothing, hardware and other items ordered on previous visits. This service was particularly important to those living north of Chéticamp since no reliable road existed northward until 1928. Often, the steamers had to anchor offshore, as was the case on the Atlantic coast, while smaller boats transported goods and passengers to and from the shore.

With the onset of the twentieth century, pressure continued to develop for improved transportation of all types. The road system, in particular, needed improvement. (See Figures 13, 14 and 15) C.W. Vernon commented in 1903 that while northern Victoria county was not "easy of access" no other part of Cape Breton could "compare with it for beauty of scenery". Another traveller, M.W. Morley, saw similar rewards and hazards in 1905. While the road over Smoky had been improved, Morley's
chief criticism was of the stretch from Ingonish to Aspy Bay which was "so stoney and weatherworn that part of the time we preferred to walk". He elaborated on its condition:

Soon there were no more barley patches and the road dwindled to a mere track where the horse waded up to his middle in grass, everlasting, and golden-rod, and finally plunged into the dismal swamp that crosses the country here. We laboured for several miles through as desolate a region as one need care to know. It was for the most part an alder-chocked swamp, the road cut through a solid wall of gloomy green, the wheels oftentimes hubdeep in mud, while stones in the ruts constantly canted the wagon to one side or the other...We named this charming road the Melancholy Way of the Alders...We met no one, and so we shall never know what would have happened if we had, in that narrow alley where one could scarcely have pulled out of the deep ruts even if there had been any place to pull to.30

If the roads on the Atlantic side of the island were in need of repair, those on the Saint Lawrence side were no better. Some improvement was made in the Chéticamp area when a new fifty foot steel and iron bridge was built over Little River in 1901. Nevertheless, the road system still left something to be desired when the first automobile arrived on the scene in 1908. Owned by the local doctor, Louis Fiset, it was impossible for him to utilize the car as much as he hoped since the roads "were no more than dirt tracks". The appearance of the automobile, however, signaled the arrival of a new era and new pressures for improved road transportation in northern Cape Breton.

On the Atlantic coast, pressure began to mount for improvements to the road over Smoky. A single lane carriage track was simply no longer adequate particularly for medical emergencies. Doctors often had to risk their lives in an attempt to reach patients north of Smoky. Since the road could not accommodate more than one vehicle at a time, it was the custom to stop at the telegraph station on the south side of the mountain and contact the northern station to indicate one's intention to cross Smoky. Travellers would wait at either station until word was received that the trail was clear. Sometimes, however,
problems arose.

Dr. Bethune remembers one occasion on which the system failed, however, and he and his father came face to face with another wagon on the mountain. Because it was impossible to turn around and neither horse could back up, they were forced to pull one wagon over to the far side of the path and unhitch the second horse from his harness. The animal was then inched past the first wagon and its sulky was drawn behind it manually. This done the Bethunes rehitched their horse and both parties proceeded on their way.34

Hugh MacLennan described the road over Smoky as "not really any worse than the dried out bed of a mountain stream except in places where it was a narrow ledge cut out of a cliff with a sheer drop of more than 1,000 feet on the seaward side".35 This made the road dangerous enough in daytime but at night it was positively trecherous. MacLennan remembers one incident where the lights on his uncle's car failed and when he opened the door to check the cause, found himself hanging over the precipice. "If he hadn't been holding on to the door", MacLennan commented, "he would have gone down, 1,200 feet to the beach".36

The appearance of the automobile made the journey over Smoky more hazardous than it had ever been before and necessitated improvements. (See Figure 21) The Reverend Jack MacDonald, for example, burned out low gear in an attempt to cross Smoky and had to coast back down the way he had come. Unafraid, he turned the car around and backed his way up the mountain.37 Tales of adventure and improvisation abound in connection with early motor trips over Smoky. Judith Campbell discusses one of many in her study of the region:

The Model "T" figures in another tale of nerve told by Mrs. J. Kerr of Sydney. Since these cars were equipped with brakes only on the rear wheels, plus an external contracting transmission brake (both of dubious effectiveness), Mrs. Kerr's in-laws were in the habit of cutting a spruce tree at the summit and tying it to the back of the car so that the branches dragged backwards all the way down the mountain and aided in preventing the car from speeding out of control.38
The advent of the automobile placed tremendous pressure upon the road system of the province. To meet the new challenges, a re-organization of the antiquated bureaucratic machinery was clearly in order. As mentioned earlier, most of the roadwork in the nineteenth century had been done by voluntary labour. Eventually, government commissions were introduced. According to Reverend Donald MacDonald, these commissions were very important on the local level.

It was a great matter to get a commission...to improve the road. The commissioner in charge would usually give word to the neighbours indiscriminately when and where the money was to be expended, so that all could have a chance to earn some cents at least. A few days pay for a good worker would to as high as 65 cents and some boys as low as 30 cents or 25 cents a day...

By the end of the nineteenth century, "statute labour" was introduced in the province. Every man under the age of sixty was required to give free labour according to the value of his property. A youth of sixteen had to work for only a day or two while a farmer had to give as many as five or six days. At this time, the municipalities were responsible for highways and bridges. By 1920, however, the Provincial Government had taken over all the highways and ended the requirement for "statute labour".

While the creation of the Department of Highways led to tremendous improvements, the impact upon northern Cape Breton was much less obvious. Other areas of the province came first and as a result, the "lion's share" of expenditures in the early 1920s went elsewhere. A series of letters to the Victoria News in 1922 lamented the local situation. One correspondent reported that the road between Ingonish and Neil's Harbour was in "terrible condition". This was especially serious for medical services in the area.

We see quite a lot in the Victoria News about a hospital in Victoria County. Now suppose we should need to go to a hospital from Cape North, how are we
to get to Baddeck should there be one there? We haven't got roads in summer time that we could take anyone over there who would be in need of a hospital; and in winter, judging from our mail service the last winter it would take a patient many moons to get there. So the only way we can get a sick person away from here would be by S.S. Aspy to the well-known hospital in North Sydney...42

The situation was just as bad in the Chéticamp area. Between Chéticamp and Pleasant Bay, there was a "narrow foot path over the mountains".43 At the best of times, it was treacherous. J.L. MacDougall described the trail in 1922 as "a mountain road, not yet passable by a carriage" which ascended the highlands at Cap Rouge by a "steep grade".44 A similar type of trail linked Pleasant Bay to the Cape North district of Victoria County but it had "some of the bad features of the latter emphasized".45 For all intents and purposes, Pleasant Bay was isolated from the outside world. Aside from the coastal steamers, contact was severely limited.

Over these roads, the mode of travel is on foot or on horseback. When the snows of winter have covered the country to a depth of several feet, snowshoeing becomes the only means of communication with the surrounding settlements. In the spring and summer and before the autumn storms become frequent the situation is relieved by coastal steamers that make weekly trips, and by motor-boats that run easily and quickly to and from outside points.46

The problems of Pleasant Bay were not unique in northern Cape Breton. By the mid-1920s it had become apparent to all that substantial improvements to the transportation system were needed if the region was to progress.
Construction of the Cabot Trail, 1924-1934

It did not take long for public pressure to manifest itself on the question of improved transportation for northern Cape Breton. (See Figure 24) In January of 1924, a motion was passed in Victoria County Municipal Council urging the construction of a highway loop around the northern portion of Cape Breton Island. Its passage marked the beginnings of the campaign which eventually led to the construction of the Cabot Trail.

Moved by S.S. Burke, seconded by Robert J. McLeod and passed; that in the opinion of the Council now convened that we urge upon the Provincial Government at Halifax the dire necessity of opening up or connecting the County of Inverness and Victoria by opening up the road from Big Intervale, Cape North, to Pleasant Bay, Inverness County, hence over the Cap Rouge Mountain and on to Chéticamp. There is only 14½ miles of road now in this section that does not permit of automobile travel. This road would no doubt be the most popular drive in eastern Canada. The loop drive from Point Tupper around our picturesque island would appeal to everybody as an ideal drive. If this road was completed and linked up with the County of Inverness, it would prove a valuable asset to both counties. It would enhance in value all properties along this line. It would put this part of our country in a similar position as if a railway were built, for during the summer months, scores of people would avail themselves of the opportunity of this beautiful drive, thereby leaving a lot of money along the route of their travels.¹

This motion, along with letters urging the matter were forwarded to provincial authorities for their consideration. Fortunately, the project was well received in Halifax. Within a year the "Provincial Loan (Highways) Act, 1925" was passed.² This act authorized the expenditure of $70,000.00 for the "building (of)
a highway from Cap Rouge to Cape North". At long last, it appeared that the dreams and hopes of northern Cape Breton were finally going to be realized.

Work began on the new highway almost immediately. Aside from the obvious improvement in land transportation, the road was seen as a means of capturing the rising potential of the tourist industry. This potential had been recognized by Provincial authorities in 1923 when a special Tourist Investigation Committee of the Nova Scotia Assembly recommended the creation of a Provincial Tourist Association. According to that Committee, tourism in Nova Scotia was "an important item of business, even at the present time", and they were "impressed and enthusiastic regarding the possibilities for much greater development in the immediate future". To tap this potential, the Committee recommended improved tourist facilities and highways. The Cabot Trail should be seen as part of the overall government effort to stimulate tourism throughout the province. The concept of a circular route in Cape Breton had many advantages in attracting visitors to the island. According to Henry Russell "little incentive exists for making the trip to the northern extremity of the island, even if the thrill of motoring over Cape Smoky and the beauties of the Ingonish Valley and Aspy Bay are known, for the motorist must return along the road on which he went out". "Unless the attraction at the outer end of a blind route is exceedingly great", Russell concluded, "few motorists will be drawn there".

Work on the first section of the Cabot Trail from Chéticamp to Pleasant Bay was in high gear by 1926. According to Judith Campbell, gangs of men, many of them locals, were hired to work with picks and shovels to cut the road bed for the Trail. Eventually "Swedish miners came from northern Ontario and took complete charge of the dynamiting which was necessary at first", but "they were later replaced by local men operating gas shovels and drills". It was back breaking work for the
small wage of $1.25 per ten hour day. Fortunately, there were no serious accidents despite the dangerous nature of the work. Joe Daley, a local resident, remembers the construction:

I worked on the Trail right up there to MacKenzie mountain. That was hard up there. You have the French mountain first and then a stretch on top and then MacKenzie. It was unbelievable, the blasting and Jackhammering, the work that was done there. It was mostly built by people around here, around the Trail in the different communities. They brought in some of the key men, engineers and that but as far as ninety per cent of the work, it was the local men who built it.¹⁰

By the fall of 1927, the first phase of the construction of the Cabot Trail was completed. Department of Highways crews finished almost eight miles of new road during the short work season from June to November. More than $24,000.00 was expended on construction that year.¹¹ In total, more than twenty-four miles of highway had been constructed between Chéticamp and Pleasant Bay. For the first time, a motor car was able to make a trip as far north as Pleasant Bay. The honour of making this first trip by car went to J.D. Moore of Sydney who arrived in Pleasant Bay to visit relatives.¹²

Over the next few years, improvements continued to be made on the new road. (See Figures 23 to 30) The efforts of the Department of Highways were applauded by the newly founded Cape Breton Tourist Association which felt that the new route would "provide one of the most delightful scenic drives east of the Rocky Mountain region".¹³ Unfortunately, progress on the final link in the northern highway circuit between Pleasant Bay and Big Intervale slowed considerably by 1930 partly because of high construction costs and partly because of economic problems associated with the onset of the depression. The engineering problems connected with the road over North Mountain were considerable. "Beyond Pleasant Bay there is as yet nothing but a bridle path - almost a terra incognita", the Cape Breton Tourist Association commented in 1930, "but the Government of Nova Scotia is now constructing a new motor highway through
this wilderness and when this is finished, one will be able to encircle the entire Island...such a motor outing will have no peer in all the American realm".  

Funding for the final link in the circular highway had become a problem by 1930. Fortunately, arrangements were worked out with the Federal Government under the Unemployment Relief Plan to complete the project. Ottawa hoped that the project would provide some relief for unemployed coal miners from industrial Cape Breton. By September of 1931, the contract had been awarded. The Minister of Highways, Percy Black, stated in the press release that "on the construction of a road to close a gap between Pleasant Bay and Big Intervale, Cape North, Victoria County, where nothing but a footpath has ever been provided, 250 men will be employed...of this number 200 will be taken from the unemployed men registered in the industrial areas of Cape Breton, and the other fifty will be recruited among the sparse population of the district in which the road is to be built".

Construction of this final link was undertaken as much for the development of the tourist industry as it was to provide relief for the unemployed. The Sydney Post was quick to realize its importance:

Workmen have commenced operations on the last link of the round Cape Breton highway...With the completion of this bit of highway automobiles may leave Sydney, motor over Cape Smoky through Victoria County, cross the top of the island and return by way of Inverness. The Provincial Government has long planned to complete this highway chain, and the announcement from Halifax that work has been started was greeted with enthusiasm here...it is hoped that path through the wilderness will be opened this Fall and by late next year the road will be passable to automobiles. Completion of this unit of the trunk highway will open up for travellers that which is conceded the finest scenic section of Eastern Canada.

Tourism was becoming big business in Cape Breton. The Sydney Post ran a special tourist edition in July of 1931 promoting
the attractions of the island. The edition began with a message from the Premier, Gordon Harrington, on the increasing importance of tourism to the province. "Tourist travel has already become one of the more important activities on this continent and competent observers agree that the major development is yet to come", the premier commented; "the Government this year has made a strong effort to direct widespread attention to Nova Scotia as a land for summer travel and although world conditions are not favourable, we anticipate a substantial tourist traffic".

Detailed descriptions of the various tourist attractions on Cape Breton Island were presented in the special edition. Northern Inverness and Victoria County both received acolades. Inverness County was characterized as the "Norway of Eastern Canada" while Ingonish was "the most beautiful single spot on earth". Since good highways are essential for successful tourism, they also came in for scrutiny. In general, the article concluded that "the highways throughout the northern part of Cape Breton have been improved". Good motor roads linked Baddeck and the Sydneys to the region north of Smoky. The new gravel highway north to Pleasant Bay also came in for praise. Nevertheless, even though there had been improvements, driver caution was still urged, particularly on tricky sections like Cape Smoky. "There is nothing really dangerous to a careful driver", the paper commented, "and he must be a careful driver who climbs Smoky for the reckless speedster has no chance at all".

The difficult work of constructing the final link in the circular highway over North Mountain continued throughout 1932. (See Figures 31 to 35). Almost $140,000.00 was expended by the Department of Highways on the project. Despite unfavourable weather in the fall, the new highway, officially named the "Cabot Trail", in honour of the explorer John Cabot, was ready for opening on 15 October 1932. The opening ceremony was highlighted by the explosion of a powder charge by Premier Gordon
S. Harrington to remove the last rock barrier on the highway. (See Figure 36) To the Reverend R.L. McDonald of Inverness went the honor of driving the first car over the completed Cabot Trail. A new era had been inaugurated for northern Cape Breton. The hopes and ambitions cherished in this region for years had finally been realized. Its significance was reflected by the Sydney Post which commented that "the opening of this road will add materially to the many inducements which Cape Breton already holds out to tourists, a majority of whom seek that quiet beauty and peace which this island affords".

While the Cabot Trail was a tremendous improvement, traveling in northern Cape Breton still retained its challenges and adventures. (See Figures 37 to 42) Anselme Boudreau of Cheticamp, for example, made the trip from Cheticamp to Dingwall in November of 1932. The trip by car took eleven hours and "there was nothing unusual in the time required for the journey". The completion of the Cabot Trail had been a significant engineering achievement. The country through which it was constructed was among the roughest in eastern Canada. Hairpin turns, steep grades and precarious overhands, however, could not be eliminated entirely. The Nova Scotia Relief Map and Directory for 1934 described the trail as one of the "most thrilling and scenic drives in Eastern Canada". Nevertheless, caution was emphasized. "In our opinion, "the Directory reported, "inexperienced or timid drivers should not take this drive; and under no circumstances should the drive be taken unless your brakes are working perfectly and your car working well in low gear".

Stories abound about the adventures of travelling over the Cabot Trail in its early years. The Cheticamp to Pleasant Bay section was particularly trying for inexperienced drivers. Judith Campbell reports on a number of incidents in her history of the region.

Johnny Roach remembers being summoned to the aid of drivers who froze at the wheel while trying to negotiate the road over the mountain, in which cases
the nervous driver would slide into a passenger seat while the amused Johnny guided the car safely down the hill. Connected with this, he reminisces that the most peculiar thing I have ever seen was two men and two women going up Cap Rouge Mountain. One woman was running ahead of the car to see the curves, and there were two men running behind the car with big rocks in their hands in case the car stalled (and began to roll backwards).

The best description of the original Cabot Trail is provided by R.W. Cautley, an engineer in the employ of the National Parks Branch of the Department of the Interior. (See Appendix A) In September of 1934, Cautley made a detailed survey of the Cabot Trail as part of an assessment of the potential of the area for the creation of a National Park. (See Figures 43 to 58) He maintained that the outstanding feature of the area was the "coastline scenery and the Cabot Trail as a means of seeing it". Cautley travelled extensively over the entire Cabot Trail. The section from Chéticamp to Pleasant Bay was first examined. In many ways, Cautley felt that this was the most dangerous section of the trail, containing "many prohibitive grades of from 12% to 17%. Substantial improvement of this section was definitely needed. Cautley described the road in detail:

From Chéticamp bridge the Trail follows the coast for five miles. This part of it is a strictly single track road, with a few turning out places, and numerous grades of from 10% to 15%. At the end of the above five miles, the Trail turns sharply inland in a steep-sided gully and for 0.55 miles climbs on grades from 15% to 17%. At mile 4.80 the Trail is on the edge of a cliff about 40 ft. above sea level...in 2.1 miles the Trail rises...1,220 feet...From mile 6.90 to mile 11.60 the Trail follows the top of the mountain without much change in altitude. From mile 11.60 to mile 12.05 it descends by grades of at least 12% to a bridge across Fishing Cove River. From mile 12.05 to mile 12.45 the Trail ascends by excessive grades of at least 12%. From mile 12.45 to mile 16.65 the Trail continues along the top of the mountain, sometimes level and at other on easy grades. From mile 16.65 to mile 18.25 it descends a crooked narrow road, on grades
from 12% to 14%, to a bridge across MacKenzie River. From mile 18.25 to mile 19.95 the Trail is along the shore and quite good. Cautley had a better opinion of the other sections of the Trail. While the section from Pleasant Bay to Cape North included a number of grades up to 12½%, it was "well built of material which provides good traction". The Trail from Cape North to Ingonish was "generally narrow, crooked and not in a very good state of maintenance" but improvements could easily be made, Cautley concluded, at reasonable costs. Such was not the case, unfortunately, with the Cape Smokey section. "The trail over the Smokey is both steep and narrow", Cautley commented, "and will require considerable improvement".

Regardless of the drawbacks of the Cabot Trail, there is no denying that it was a tremendous improvement over what had existed in the past. Aside from its obvious impact upon tourism, the Trail had a tremendous influence upon the local communities themselves. Judith Campbell commented that "with this modernization of the road system came the possibility of easy intercommunication for the local people". Joe Delaney, a local resident, re-emphasized this point. "Like I was saying", he commented, "the Cabot Trail created not only wonders for each family but for the area as a whole. It also made a big change for the people here themselves - they got to know each other more..." The Cabot Trail had overcome the isolation which had characterized the region for generations. By 1934, the "North Country" was on the verge of a new era.
The Cabot Trail in the Modern Period, 1934-1967

R.W. Cautley's inspection trip of 1934 climaxed many years of campaigning in Nova Scotia by local residents for a National Park. As early as 1914, Mr. H.F. McDougal had suggested that land in the Bras d'Or Lakes region be set aside for park purposes. Over the ensuing years various sites throughout the province were proposed. By 1928, the first specific recommendations concerning northern Cape Breton were presented. In February of that year, Mr. S.P. Challoner contacted federal authorities advocating "that the whole northern portion of Cape Breton Island lying to the north of a line from Indian Brook on the east coast to Chéticamp on the west coast, exclusive of the farms and villages along the coasts, should be established as a National Park". This recommendation was supported by the Cape Breton Tourist Association, Glace Bay Board of Trade, Baddeck Board of Trade, North Sydney Board of Trade and the South Cape Breton Fish and Game Protective Association. It quickly became one of the leading proposals for a National Park, due partly to the vigorous endorsement and leadership provided by F.W. Baldwin, the member for Victoria in the Nova Scotia Assembly.

By 1934, the number of potential sites for a National Park in Nova Scotia had been reduced to four - (a) northern Cape Breton (b) Blomidon (c) a site near Yarmouth (d) Louisbourg-Gabarus Bay area. When Cautley visited Nova Scotia in the fall of 1934 he toured all four sites. In the end, however, he came out strongly in favour of the site in Northern Cape Breton. Several reasons were offered:

(1) The site includes outstanding scenic attractions
of rugged coast line and mountain grandeur which is the best of its type within the Province of Nova Scotia.

(2) The approaches to the Park site pass through magnificent scenery of an entirely different kind which is unsurpassed anywhere and which adds greatly to the value of the site itself as a potentially world famous tourist resort.

(3) The geographical location of the proposed site is such that the stimulus to the general tourist business of Nova Scotia...will benefit a larger number of people in the Province than the adoption of any other available site...

(4) It is the only area of anything like the proposed size which can be established as a National Park in Nova Scotia without sacrificing the developing of natural resources within the site which might be a source of greater revenue to the people of Nova Scotia than any which the establishment of a Park may be expected to provide...

(5) Owing to the large area of the proposed site, and its wild character, it will make a splendid wild life sanctuary...

(6) Finally, I respectfully submit my opinion that a Cape Breton National Park of Canada would prove to be a successful national venture; that it has within itself the requisite elements of a National Park; that it would attract an ever-increasing number of tourists...and that it will be a source of pride, as well as profit, to the people of Nova Scotia...

Cautley's recommendations were well received in Ottawa and by June of 1936 final arrangements had been completed with provincial authorities. The creation of Cape Breton Highlands National Park on 23 June 1936 marked the beginnings of a new era for the residents of northern Cape Breton.

The Cabot Trail had been a critical factor in swaying Cautley's decision in favour of the Cape Breton site. While its potential to promote tourism was tremendous; nevertheless, improvements were needed. One of the best descriptions of the Trail at this time was provided by Gordon Brinley in his book, *Away to Cape Breton*, which was published in 1936. Like Cautley before him, Brinley began at Chéticamp and circled the Trail from west to east. This was by far the safest route since it gave one "the inside of the road practically all the way".
The importance of the "inside track" was particularly relevant for the trip as far as Pleasant Bay. The ten miles from Chéticamp to Cap Rouge included "several of the worst hairpin turns of the whole trip". So narrow and treacherous was this stretch that the motorist was encouraged to get an early start so as to lessen the chances of meeting a car coming in the other direction. Brinley described this hazardous part of the journey in some detail.

We drive along the levels of a beach...Abruptly there rises before us the first steep ascent of the Cabot Trail. We must take what looks like a footpath. And I see that after the first rise, the trail runs along the mountain side half way between the water below and sky above;...Oh, a horse and buggy coming up. What in the world shall we do? The horse is skittish...The man gets out and runs to the horse's head. A young mother, holding a little child, looks up at us out of eyes wide with apprehension. Mercifully there are a few extra feet of siding. The man leads his horse gently out of the middle way and holds him as Dan lets in the clutch and inches Sally (name of car) past so quietly that the horse does not plunge...Anyway I'm glad we are going north and have the inside of the road...(encounter a truck)...All of a sudden the truck starts downward...Skillfully the young driver draws it up besides us with a possible six inches of margin between the wheels and the unfenced outside edge of the trail... The trip around the Cabot Trail caused considerable apprehension for inexperienced drivers. Brinley likened it to feeling like "a fly on a windowpane". Nightmares of blown tires or mechanical failures haunted the squeamish traveller as they inched their way around hairpin turns and struggled up steep mountainous grades. Speed was out of the question. "Five to seven miles an hour" was normal for the Cap Rouge section, according to Brinley, while "at best only twelve to fifteen miles an hour" was possible.

Once Pleasant Bay was passed, the road improved substantially, even the section over North Mountain. "Constant attention has been given to the road", Brinley commented, "it widens and is excellently built". Stone walls had been erected along the outside edge of the roadway to reassure the nervous driver.
Once over North Mountain the most dangerous sections of the trail had been left behind. Unfortunately, road maintenance in this area was not what it should have been. "Road looks neglected; it is very rough", Brinley lamented; "culverts and bridges though patched, appear shakey...the road grows terribly rough with ruts of caked mud, loose stones and gravel". From Neil's Harbour to Ingonish, the road was in reasonably good shape but Brinley, like Cautley before him, felt the section over Cape Smoky was hazardous. "The road has become so ticklish and so winding", Brinley reported, "that we have to watch the unguarded sides of it every second". Its surface was "crumbly and uneven".

Accounts such as Brinley's, made it obvious that highway improvements were necessary if the potential of the area was to be realized. (See Figures 59 to 68) As a matter of fact, R.W. Cautley had emphasized this point in his report by making his recommendation of the Cape Breton site conditional on improvements to and reconstruction of certain sections of the Cabot Trail. The message was not lost on federal authorities who almost immediately embarked upon an ambitious highway improvement program. Jacques Pleau in his "History of Pleasant Bay", provided an overview of the work undertaken.

A program of reconstruction was undertaken in 1936 and carried on for the next four years. The work entailed major revisions in the route at Cap Rouge, French Mountain and MacKenzie Mountain in the western side of the park. The elimination of the tortuous climb over French Mountain in favour of a new route up the valley of Jumping Brook was a major achievement. The grade down MacKenzie Mountain to Pleasant Bay also was modified, and a lookout established near the summit. Improvements to a two-mile stretch of road north of the park boundary at Ingonish Beach improved the entrance to the park.

Work on the highway improvements began almost immediately after the opening of the National Park. "The season is getting on and unless we are able to get the location survey under way within a short time", department engineers warned, "it will be
difficult to make any showing this season in connection with any new construction work that may be undertaken.\textsuperscript{16} Speed was of the essence. "It is proposed to spend a certain amount of our appropriation under the Special Supplementary Estimates 1936-37 in getting this work started during the present season", government officials commented, "but, of course, nothing can be done in the way of actual construction work until the location survey has been made and approved.\textsuperscript{17} Fortunately, some work was undertaken that first construction season. F.H. Williamson reported on progress up to January of 1937.

(1) General maintenance of existing Cabot Trail. Repairing bridges, grading, etc. 60 miles
(2) Reconstruction Cabot Trail, Section 2 - 8.5 miles. Relocation and right-of-way clearing, 8.5 miles. Rocking and grading, 1 mile. Stripping muskegs and drainage.
(3) Reconstruction Cabot Trail, Section 4 - Aspy Bridge to Pleasant Bay, reconstruction, 3 miles: rock work, 1 mile; widening and grading, 2 miles.
(4) Field work in connection with relocation survey of section 5, Pleasant Bay to Chéticamp - 22.5 miles.\textsuperscript{18}

Significant alterations and relocation of the original Cabot Trail can most easily be seen by comparing aerial photographs of the highway taken in 1936 and 1947.\textsuperscript{19} The most dramatic improvements took place on the Saint Lawrence side of the Park. A new park entrance was constructed further up the Chéticamp River, with main access through the Rigwash Valley. From Presqu'ile to Cap Rouge, the new trail was much closer to the water than the original. The old entrance to the Cabot Trail had been at the mouth of Chéticamp River over "Le Buttereau Bridge".\textsuperscript{20} (See Appendix B) This bridge had been first constructed around 1880 but it had been destroyed several times over the years by heavy pack ice. When the new park entrance was constructed in 1937, the old bridge became superfluous. It was finally dismantled after the Second World War.

The creation of the National Park and the improvements associated with it, resulted in a dramatic increase in the number
of tourists visiting the area. 21 By April of 1938, the Federal Government was prepared to call for tenders for the reconstruction of two of the most difficult sections at Cap Rouge and MacKenzie Mountain. Fundy Construction Company was the successful bidder and by August of 1938, at least $180,000. had been spent on the improvements. 22 A report on progress was submitted to Ottawa in January of 1939.

Work on the Cap Rouge Section was continued up to December 17th and on the MacKenzie Mountain Section up to December 21st...Field work in connection with the location between Neil's Harbour and Ingonish was completed about the middle of December and the same survey party also completed field work in connection with the proposed road in the Middle Head area and was disbanded on December 23rd...Due to the fact that the contractor continued road work so late and the extremely bad weather that set in before Christmas and has continued to date, the location survey of the section between Cap Rouge and MacKenzie Mountain sections has been badly held up. It is now narrowed down to completion of the field work on two and one half miles of line at the upper end of Jumping Brook, however, and we have a camp established there and Instrumentmen MacLeod and Boyd are working out from this. We have been working up Jumping Brook on an eight per cent grade and now we have a line blazed through on this grade, which will give us reasonably good curvature. 23

Substantial improvement of the highways had taken place by 1939. (See Figures 69 to 78) Robert Stead in "Canada's Maritime Playgrounds" commented that the trail, "quite passable in its present state for careful drivers, is being rapidly improved, and promises to become one of the great scenic drives of the continent". 24 Nevertheless, the route still retained its challenges. "We made it at the cost of a blown tire, a nosebleed from the dust, a few dents in the chassis, a damaged spring, a cramp in my back and sore shoulders from working the steering wheel", reported Hugh MacLennan in 1939. 25 Overall, however, the improvements were significant. Tourist traffic continued to grow. In 1939, for example, 3,000 more visitors came to northern Cape Breton than the year before. 26

The onset of World War Two did little to deter the growth
of tourism in northern Cape Breton. By 1941, contracts for the reconstruction of the Cabot Trail had been completed. (See Figures 78 to 87) All perimeter roads had been graded and gravelled to a width of 22 feet, shoulder to shoulder.27 The increasing popularity of northern Cape Breton was directly related to improvements to the Cabot Trail and the Cape Breton Highlands National Park. Some of the improvements were described in the Report of the Department of Highways and Public Works for 1940.

The fine golf course at the Park was completed during the year and other development work was carried on. A fine large bathing house was erected and life guards were in attendance during the bathing season. When hiking trails have been constructed and motor camps provided this park will become one of the best known recreation centers in Eastern Canada. Owing to the great need of modern accommodation in this region the Provincial Government established an up-to-date bungalow camp at Ingonish Beach...which was given the name Keltic Lodge.28

For the remainder of the war years no new major projects were undertaken in regards the Cabot Trail or Cape Breton Highlands National Park. Because of wartime priorities only routine maintenance was permitted. With the return of peace, however, funds again became available for substantial developments.

Plans which for years had been shelved, were at last implemented in the post war years. (See Figures 88 to 90) To begin with, a number of minor projects, such as a new access road to Keltic Lodge, were undertaken in 1946 and 1947.29 Pressure for major improvements grew substantially as visitor traffic soared in the post war period. Articles and books praising the attractions of Cape Breton contributed significantly to this trend. In 1948, for example, Lyn Harrington wrote a widely circulated article on the Cabot Trail for the Canadian Geographical Journal.30 In general, Harrington was impressed with the highway. The old problem of following the "inside track" had finally been overcome. "Through continuous effort", Harrington reported, "the road has been improved until it is
purely a matter of taste which route is taken". The section from Chéticamp to Pleasant Bay was described as "truly spectacular". While hairpin turns had not been entirely eliminated, they had been substantially improved. "Though it is without dangers", Harrington concluded, "the trail is not without its thrills".

While Harrington's assessment was totally positive, Arthur Walworth was a little more critical. Even though most of the dangers had been eliminated, he cautioned the overzealous and reckless. As far as Walworth was concerned "one does well ...to take the Cabot Trail seriously". The Cap Rouge Section, in particular, demanded attention.

We hairpinned around the first bastion and noted that the road was built upon shale. Slabs lay along the outer edge in such precarious balance that it seemed as if a touch would send them hurtling into the brook that cascades into the canyon hundreds of feet below. There were no rails to hold a skidding car from dropping to sure doom. Some men who were cleaning up avalanche debris flattened themselves against the inner bank when we passed.

Walworth's chief complaint about the trail on the Atlantic side of the park, related to the monotonous and dismal landscape through which it passed. He compared it to "the land to which God sent Cain". Walworth's concern with the location of the trail south from Cape North was shared by Parks officials. By 1948, major improvements for this section of the Cabot Trail were planned.

The only solution to the dismal scenery and poor location of the highway north of Ingonish, was to completely relocate and reconstruct this section of the highway. The project involved eleven miles of road between North Ingonish and Neil's Harbour. The new route followed the Atlantic coastline as closely as possible so as to provide the tourist "with new vistas of the Atlantic and its picturesque coastline". When Will R. Bird circled the Cabot Trail in 1949, he concluded that it provided "all the scenic beauty that the most exacting may expect".
While the new highway north from Ingonish was constructed to facilitate tourism, that was not the only reason for its construction. Local communities, such as Cape North, were extremely concerned about the impact which poor communications were having upon economic development of the area. The Cape North Farmers Association, for example, articulated their concerns in May of 1949. Despite progress the Association concluded that "there exists in the area north of Ingonish an astounding isolation experienced, perhaps, by no like Nova Scotian community". The problem was analysed in some detail. Such isolation and the detrimental result of it to modern living is brought about by lack of adequate transportation and communication facilities for which there appears no logical excuse...It was the unanimous opinion of the meeting that roads separating this area, from outside points are for many months of the year in such lamentable and impassable condition as to endanger life and health and be detrimental to the normal functioning of industry, and that such conditions have existed always. Therefore it was felt that all aggressive effort should be made to complete the new road construction already started between Ingonish and Cape North before snow fall of this year, so as to make year-round transportation with outside points possible. Snowploughing cannot be efficiently done on the narrow crooked and hilly road now in existence north of Ingonish and for more than a month each spring impassable knee-deep mud stretches for unending miles until mother nature makes road transportation again possible.

The completion of the new highway north from Ingonish went far to alleviate many of the difficulties articulated by the Cape North Farmers Association. Subsequent developments improved the situation even further.

Major improvements to the Cabot Trail continued to be made in the early 1950s. Reconstruction of the highway from Ingonish to Effie's Brook ($375,000.) and North Mountain to Pleasant Bay ($712,000.) was completed in 1951. In addition, $100,000. was spent widening the Jumping Brook section in the French Mountain area. To increase safety, guard rails consisting of wooden posts six feet apart were placed at the more dangerous
points on the trail in 1952. The most significant advance, however, took place in 1954 and 1955 when sections of the trail north of Ingonish were paved for the first time. The commencement of paving signalled the beginning of a new era for the Cabot Trail.

The completion of the Canso Causeway in 1955, provided a tremendous stimulus to the tourist industry in Cape Breton. Within ten years, attendance in Cape Breton Highlands National Park jumped from 75,000 to about 750,000 people. Because of increasing popularity with the motoring public, improved standards were established in 1955 for all highways in the National Park System. This led to substantial improvements so far as the Cabot Trail was concerned. "In view of the future traffic developments that are envisioned", A.J. Litzenberger concluded, "it is desirable to make some revision of the location along certain sections of the road where there is very bad alignment and steep grades, to provide mainly a safer road for public use". The result was the initiation of a major construction program in 1956 under the National Park Trunk Highway Program. The central feature of this program was a major diversion in the western section of the park, from a point near the head of Jumping Brook to Fishing Cove River, which eliminated the winding stretch on the plateau of French Mountain. The 1957-58 Estimates included $1,073,100. for highway improvements to the Cabot Trail. Over the next four years, expenditures ranged from a low of $767,960. to a high of $1,565,000.

One of the important side effects of all the construction work on the Cabot Trail was the decision to keep the highway open throughout the winter months. When combined with the extensive paving program undertaken in 1958, its impact was tremendous. For the first time a twelve month, all-weather, route was available. The isolation of former years was rapidly crumbling. Along with improvements to the road surface itself, plans were laid to make the highway safer than ever for the
motoring public. In 1959, over 37,000 linear feet of guard rail was erected between Chéticamp and Pleasant Bay.\textsuperscript{51} By 1961, the highway from the western boundary at the Chéticamp River to Big Intervale had been rebuilt and hard surfaced.\textsuperscript{52} The paving of the Cabot Trail was completed in August of 1961 but its finish was anticipated slightly by "Completion of Paving" ceremonies held near Corney Brook on the 18th of July.\textsuperscript{53} Walter Dinsdale, the Minister of Northern Affairs, officiated at the ceremony which was attended by more than five hundred people.

Over the ensuing years, routine maintenance and improvement continued. In 1965, for example, "elephant trunks" were installed on steep slopes to aid in run-off and prevent erosion.\textsuperscript{54} By this time, improvements to the Cabot Trail had gone a long way to overcoming the isolation which had characterized the region for generations. Ken Donovan described this development as it related to Ingonish.

In the latter stage of the 1940s many people in Ingonish were able to afford radios for the first time. Isolationism was beginning to crack. After the war, road construction improved but the roads were by no means good. A trip to Ingonish by car was still a long and tedious drive over a narrow winding road. In the mid-1950s television was established in Cape Breton and thus in Ingonish. By the late 1950s the road to Ingonish was improved and paved. Ingonish was now only a couple of hours from Sydney by car. Daily newspapers came to the community and many people had telephones. Ingonish was suddenly catching up with the rest of the world.\textsuperscript{55}

Improvements in highway construction spelled the doom of the coastal steamers. The relevance and importance of the coastal boats diminished tremendously in an era of paved roads open twelve months a year. One of the last of the coastal steamers was the Aspy III, which served the ports north of Smoky. For over fifty years, the Asyps had provided faithful service to the area, oftentimes being the only link with the outside world. The Aspy III was a converted mine sweeper which
had begun operations in 1946. With the advent of bus services and transport trucks, however, more and more passengers and freight were moving by road. Every improvement to the Cabot Trail was another nail in the coffin of the coastal steamer. Their demise was accelerated as roads were paved and improved snow clearing machines were introduced. Gradually, the schedule of the Aspy III was cut back to one or two trips a week and passenger lists dwindled from 45-50 a trip to 4-5. After fifty-four years of combined service, the last Aspy made her final run in December of 1964. The end of an era had arrived.

The demise of the coastal steamer symbolized the end of the long struggle against isolationism in northern Cape Breton. It was no coincidence that this victory coincided with the reconstruction and paving of the Cabot Trail. The natural physical and environmental barriers, which for years had insulated the area from the rest of the world, had finally been overcome. A lifeline serving the people of the area for twelve months of the year had at last been established. Its importance to the region cannot be over-emphasized. What had started out as a "scenic drive" in the 1920s, had surpassed even the fondest dreams of its creators.
Conclusion

The story of transportation in northern Cape Breton is both remarkable and fascinating. The struggle to overcome the tremendous challenges posed by nature in that rugged locale could not fail to impress even the most passive observer. As a result, its potential for interpretation is great. Indeed, in general, the human history associated with Cape Breton Highlands National Park possesses tremendous potential for development.

Most visitors to a National Park are interested in discovering something about the area through which they are passing. Cape Breton Highlands National Park has a particularly interesting tale to tell. The story of Acadian survival or Scottish migrations are just two topics that are intimately associated with the park region. What makes the potential even greater is the availability of good historical resource material at both the Cabot Archives in Neil's Harbour and the Beaton Institute in Sydney. When combined with the base of material already assembled at Park libraries in Ingonish and Cheticamp, the researcher has a mine of information at his disposal.

A certain urgency does exist, however, in dealing with a number of topics associated with Park development in the twentieth century. The problem relates to the destruction of government records at both the federal and provincial level. This problem became apparent as research into the construction of the Cabot Trail revealed that most of the relevant material had been destroyed. (See Appendix C) There were many questions which could not be answered or details provided because of this situation. A similar problem, which grows worse by the month,
would face any historian trying to compile a badly needed, detailed history of the park.

The story of transportation in general and the Cabot Trail in particular present interesting opportunities for interpretation. The drama, colour and excitement of this story could be conveyed in any number of ways: pamphlet, movie, photo exhibit or slide presentation. Indeed, two films showing the old Cabot Trail in the 1930s are already known to exist. (One of these films is already in the Park library at Chéticamp while the other was used on the C.B.C. program Heritage) By utilizing such human resources, the appeal of the park could be improved tremendously. If integrated into the larger program dealing with other aspects of human and natural history, it could become a most rewarding experience for the park visitor.
Appendix A

Report On Examination of Sites For a National Park in the Province of Nova Scotia

By

R.W. Cautley, D.L.S.

December, 1934

To: J.B. Harkin, Esq.,
Commissioner,
National Parks of Canada,
Department of the Interior,
Ottawa, Canada
To: J.B. Harkin, Esq.,
Commissioner, National Parks of Canada,
Department of the Interior,
Ottawa, Canada.

Sir,

I have the honour to make the following report on my examination of proposed sites for a National Park of Canada in the Province of Nova Scotia, made in accordance with your instructions of the 4th September, 1934.

In Premier Macdonald's letter to our Minister, dated 17th August, 1934, he refers to three sites which he would like to have examined, as follows:

(1) a site in Northern Cape Breton
(2) a site at Blomidon overlooking Grand Pré and the Annapolis Valley
(3) a site at Yarmouth, at the western end of the Province

In addition to the above, you drew my attention to the fact that in the concluding paragraph of our Minister's reply to Mr. Macdonald, he refers to Dr. Webster's suggestion that a National Park should be established in the Louisbourg and Gaberus Bay area, and suggested that Premier Macdonald may desire to have this fourth site included in my investigation.

I left Ottawa on the 6th September and arrived in Halifax, N.S. on the 10th.

On the 12th, I called upon Premier Macdonald and was very kindly received. In the course of a short conversation, he referred to the Minister's letter and suggested that it might be as well to look over the Louisbourg site, although he expressed the opinion that it would not be found suitable.

The Premier also said that he would make arrangements to have one of the Highway Engineers accompany me whenever I was ready to start, which I informed him, would be next morning.
Subsequently, Mr. H.F. Laurence, Inspecting Engineer of the Highways Department, was appointed to accompany me as the representative of the Nova Scotia Government.

Mr. Laurence visited the Yarmouth, Blomidon and Cape Breton sites with me and, apart from the information which he gathered for his own Government, his knowledge of the country and its people was of great use to me. I desire to take this opportunity of expressing my keen appreciation of Mr. Laurence's companionship and co-operation.

Cape Breton Site

In Premier Macdonald's letter to the Minister of the 17th August, 1934, the above site is referred to as "a site in Northern Cape Breton". The above description intentionally avoids all reference to possible boundaries, or the areas to be included, because it was recognized that there are a number of factors which would have to be taken into consideration before it would be possible to define such boundaries.

In a general sense, the idea of the Park is that it shall include the northerly portion of the Cabot Trail, which has been constructed as a scenic route by the Nova Scotia Government, together with parts of the picturesque coast, both on the east and west sides of Cape Breton Island, and a large area of the interior lying between.

In 1928, the late Mr. S.P. Challoner advocated that the whole northern portion of Cape Breton Island, lying to the north of a line from Indian Brook on the east coast to Chéticamp on the west coast, "exclusive of the farms and villages along the coasts", should be established as a National Park. The entire area north of the above line includes about 880 square miles. Mr. Challoner describes the area he had in mind as about 540 square miles. He described the scenic attractions of the area as follows: "This block consists mainly of high tableland,
interspersed with mountain ranges, peaks, ravines, streams, lakes, marshes, barrens, blue grass plains and forest. Franey's Chimney, overlooking North Bay, Ingonish, is the highest peak in Canada east of the Rocky Mountain region* and one of the two highest in eastern North America. The streams abound in trout and salmon. There are many beautiful cataracts and falls".

It will be noted that all the features mentioned, refer to the interior and not to the coast, which it would seem that Mr. Challoner intended to exclude altogether.

The fact of the matter is that the high tableland which forms the interior of northern Cape Breton is singularly devoid of scenic attraction. There are no large lakes within it and very few small ones. There are no "mountain ranges" or "peaks". It is only as one approaches the coast that the original plateau has been so cut up by the erosion of many extraordinary steep mountain torrents as to become a picturesque mountain terrain, with serrated sky line and distinctive peaks.

The great scenic value of the site is the rugged coast itself with its mountain background. The interior or plateau country is only valuable as a Park asset from a game preservation point of view. It is not intended to say that there are no points in the interior which are not sufficiently scenic to be regarded as tourist assets; it is more than likely that the upper waters of the Chéticamp River resemble the upper waters of the Margaree River to some extent, in which case they will be well worth such development as will make them accessible to tourists.

The point that it is desired to make quite clear at the outset is that the merits of the Cape Breton Park site rest on the coast line scenery and the Cabot Trail as a means of seeing it.

* This is a grave error. The highest point in Nova Scotia has been found by the Geodetic Survey to be 1747.3 feet, which altitude is exceeded in every province of Canada except Prince Edward Island.
Examination of Site

Mr. Baldwin, M.L.A., who is keenly interested in the Cape Breton site and who had intended to accompany me, was represented by Mr. Jack Barrington. Mr. Barrington knows both the country and most of the people in it well and I am indebted to him for a great deal of information.

Accompanied by Mr. Laurence, we left Baddeck at noon on the 24th September by way of the Cabot Trail to Margaree Forks. Next day we proceeded up the coast through Grand Etang and Chéticamp to Pleasant Bay, making notes in regard to the condition of the trail, altitudes, population, etc. On the 26th, we went on across the Island, from Pleasant Bay to Dingwall on the east coast, and also visited Bay St. Lawrence and Capstick. On the 27th, we went down the east coast as far as Indian Brook where Mr. Barrington was obliged to leave us in order to fulfil an engagement at North Sydney.

On the 28th, Mr. Laurence and I went back to Dingwall, spending most of the day at Ingonish with a view to finding and obtaining information about some suitable Parks reserve at that point.

On the 29th, we made a careful survey of the Cabot Trail through Cape North and the surrounding settlement, after which Mr. Laurence started back to Halifax as previously arranged.

After Mr. Laurence left me, I spent a week going over different parts of the Trail, making a careful estimate of distances, grades, widths, condition, population, etc., and taking photographs. I also made a trip as far as I could get towards White Point, in order to find out how many squatters were located on that part of the coast. Unfortunately, the weather, which had been very good, was stormy throughout the above week.
Advantages of Cape Breton Site

In the first place, the scenic values of the site are outstanding. Starting north along the west coast, from the bridge across Chéticamp River to Pleasant Bay, a distance of about 20 miles, a highway could be built along the coast which, in my opinion, would be the most spectacular marine drive that I have ever seen in any part of Canada. In full view of the sea and the rugged coast, it would be located high up on the cliffs in places and at others, would follow the grassy slopes at the entrance of picturesque valleys.

It will be noted that this part of the Cabot Trail would have to be relocated and rebuilt, since the present Trail includes a number of excessive grades which I am satisfied you would regard as prohibitive in any National Parks highway.

Continuing easterly across Cape Breton Island, from Pleasant Bay to Cape North, a distance of 19.2 miles, the Trail passes through first-class scenery of an entirely different character. Following up Grand Anse River through a narrow and gorge-like valley, filled with fine timber for a distance of six miles, it emerges on the westerly edge of the central plateau. After traversing the more-or-less level plateau for 2½ miles, it descends from an altitude of about 1,200 feet to the Aspy River, a distance of three miles. This three mile section is travelled on a well built road, high up on the steep valley side, which affords a number of excellent views of the beautiful Aspy River Intervale as well as of the deep timbered valleys below. From the bridge across Aspy River to Cape North is 7½ miles of good gravel road following a low ridge on the south side of Aspy Intervale. The fertile farms in the Aspy River bottom, backed by high mountains and the successive outlines of headlands towards Cape North, are very beautiful.

The above 19.2 miles of road include a number of grades up to 12% but it is well built of material which provides good
traction, and might, I think, be accepted as part of a Parks system.

From Cape North to Ingonish is 21.80 miles by the Cabot Trail. This part of the Trail is not particularly attractive from a scenic point of view, being out of sight of the sea for the most part. The Trail itself is generally narrow, crooked and not in a very good state of maintenance. A few miles of it have already been relocated, widened and brought to first-class condition. There are no excessive grades on this part of the Trail, and it passes through a country without much rock so that road construction will present no difficulties of either engineering or excessive cost.

Black Brook Falls, at mile 16.4 southerly from Cape North, must be a fine sight to any ordinary state of the water...

Accessory Scenic Advantages

Apart from the scenic attractions of the Park site itself, the approaches to the site pass through scenery which is already internationally famous. Moreover, a tourist entering Cape Breton Island to visit the Park site can travel all around the Island, on roads which are all scenic and which include many points of outstanding interest, without having to cover one foot of the road twice.

Motorists enter Cape Breton Island at Port Hawkesbury by the Government ferry across Canso Strait, itself a most remarkable, canal-like channel between high hills, only a little over a mile wide, through which there is a constant procession of shipping.

From Port Hawkesbury, there is a splendid scenic highway up the west coast for 74.4 miles to Margaree Forks, which is a famous salmon-fishing camp in season and is one of the most justly famous beauty spots in the Island. Before going on, the
tourist should continue another five miles to Highway No. 5 to Lake O'Law, which is well worth visiting.

From Margaree Forks, a good road follows the exquisite valley of the Margaree for nine miles to Margaree Harbour, from which it continues up the coast another 17 miles to Chéticamp.

Chéticamp is the center of a good farming district with a population of about 2,500 people, almost entirely of French origin. It is the last place of any size that the tourist will pass through until he reaches Ingonish, on the east coast. The women of Chéticamp make some of the finest hooked rugs in the world and many connoisseurs make a point of buying their rugs there.

From Chéticamp, it is five miles to the bridge across the Chéticamp River, which is a good salmon and trout-fishing stream. Immediately on the north side of Chéticamp River, the character of the scenery changes abruptly. The wide littoral to the south, on which the settlement of Chéticamp is located, ends at the river.

On the north side of the river, the mountains come right down to the sea and the tourist is faced by a bare rock precipice 1,000 feet high, making a wonderful portal for what is proposed to recommend as the southerly entrance of any National Park that may be established.

From Chéticamp bridge to Ingonish, it is 60 miles by the Cabot Trail to what is proposed to recommend as the southerly entrance of the Park on the east side.

A brief description of the scenic attractions along the above 60 miles has already been given.

Ingonish is a widely scattered settlement along the shores of North Bay and South Bay, through which Cabot Trail runs for about nine miles. There are some fine sand beaches, besides which Ingonish Island and Middle Head make the Ingonish Bays picturesque. Bulletin No. 21, issued by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics, gives a total population of 1,043 for the municipality of Ingonish, of which 955 are of English descent and nearly
all the rest are Scottish or Irish.

At the southerly end of South Ingonish Bay is Ingonish Harbour, affording good protection for small vessels but having a narrow entrance.

After passing round the head of Ingonish Harbour, the Cabot Trail climbs over a high shoulder of Cape Smoky, said to be 1,200 feet high. As the Geodetic Surveys have determined the highest point of Cape Smoky to be 1,211.5 feet and the highest point of the trail is considerably below the summit, it is probable that the actual height of the Trail does not exceed 900 feet.

The trail over Smoky is both steep and narrow and will require considerable improvement.

Many picturesque streams are crossed by the Cabot Trail of which the largest and most beautiful is Indian Brook, which is famous for its trout-fishing.

The Cabot Trail reaches Englishtown Ferry 27.4 miles south of Ingonish Harbour. After crossing the ferry, the motorist may choose either of two scenic routes; he may follow down the shore to St. Anns Bay to Highway No. 5 and thence to Baddeck, or he may cross by a sporting drive over a 700 or 800 foot ridge to Campbellton Ferry, and so on to Sydney.

Whatever he does, no tourist should plan his trip without arranging to spend such time as he can afford in the Bras D'Or country. There is no other such large inland body of sea water anywhere. The whole Bras D'Or area, with its wide waters and sheltered bays, surrounded by mountains, hills and valleys, partly open and partly covered with hardwood and coniferous forest, is incomparably beautiful. Owing to its nearly land-locked character, it has a negligible tide and its waters are warmer than any other sea water in Canada, making it ideal for all aquatic sports. Most of it is accessible by Provincial highways or good roads. There are dozens of locations for hotels, motor camps, golf courses and intensive tourist development.
I believe that the Bras d'Or area offers the finest site in Canada for the development of an international tourist resort which would appeal to a larger proportion of the tourist public as a whole than the other.

Sydney is a fine city with the only first-class harbour on the entire coast of Cape Breton Island.

From Sydney, it is a short drive to the Fortress of Louisbourg which is a National Historic Site. Louisbourg was the most important fortress in the early military history of Canada and it is perhaps not too much to say that it was the pivotal point on which the racial destiny of Canada swung.

From Sydney, the motorist may return to Port Hawkesbury, Highway No. 4, which is a splendidly scenic road that skirts the shores of the great lake for many miles until it reaches picturesque St. Peters Bay.

The foregoing description of routes which are outside the proposed National Park site, may be considered somewhat irrelevant in this report, but the fact is that the Cape Breton site is almost entirely an automobile scenic route and must be judged accordingly. As a scenic route for motoring tourists, its attractions and drawing power is inter-related to all the other scenic attractions of Cape Breton Island.

Geographical Location

The geographical position of the Cape Breton Site in relation to the rest of Nova Scotia is excellent. Situated at the extreme northerly end of Cape Breton Island, it means that every visitor to the Park will have to travel twice through the length and breadth of the whole Province, and will greatly benefit the general tourist business of the Province.

Considered from another angle, the geographical position of the site has the disadvantage of being rather far from the most densely populated centers, although the motoring public
appear to do more long-distance travelling every year and to think less of it.

The following distances to the Chéticamp River entrance of the proposed Park site are taken from the official Highway Map issued by the Government of Nova Scotia.

| From New York via Amherst | 1,140 miles |
| Toronto " Quebec and Amherst | 1,350 " |
| Montreal " Quebec and Amerst | 1,000 " |
| Ottawa " Quebec and Amerst | 1,126 " |
| St. John, N.B. via Quebec and Amerst | 422 " |
| Albany, N.Y. | 1,088 " |
| Prescott Ferry | 1,105 " |
| Yarmouth, N.S., Eastern Steamship Co's. wharf and Halifax | 529 " |

Game and Fish Resources of Proposed Site

At the present time, there are a number of whitetail deer within the site, but very few moose and no cariboo. I am informed by a number of people who are in a position to know the facts, that there were great numbers of both moose and cariboo throughout the north end of the Island.

I have been given a copy of part an updated letter from A.C. Dodd to Lord Sheffield describing the natural resources of the "Island of Cape Breton" in which the following occurs under the heading of "Animals".

"In the year 1789 upwards of 10,000 moose were killed by Indians and foreign hunters, merely for their skins and the carcasses left to rot in the woods. They are now scarce. In 1787 I saw upwards of 2,000 caribou on the barrens of Gabarus. Hare, or rather rabbits; fox, black, grey, red or patch; bear, very large I saw one said to weigh 1,200 pounds. Otter, beaver, martin, mink, Musqueash, porcupine, wildcat, the wolf is nearly exterminated".

There can be no doubt that there have been cariboo in the northern part of the Island within quite comparatively recent times, in fact Mr. Bailey, mining Engineer of the Gypsum Company at Dingwall, told me that he had actually seen one a year ago.
I understand that negotiations have been carried on between the Governments of Nova Scotia and Newfoundland with a view to exchanging whitetail deer from Nova Scotia for cariboo from Newfoundland and have no doubt that cariboo stock could be obtained in this way and also from Labrador.

Restocking the country with moose should be a comparatively simple matter, since moose are still plentiful in Nova Scotia. Chéticamp River, of which it is proposed to include the whole watershed area within the Park, is a good salmon stream near its mouth. I was told that there are falls about six miles up the river but that salmon manage to get past them and are caught ten miles above the falls. As the Chéticamp is a considerable stream, it is reasonable to suppose that it could be improved by the construction of fish ladders and in other ways, so as to become a really first-class salmon river. In this connection, salmon fishing, both in the Chéticamp and the more famous Margaree, has been seriously affected during recent years by the issue of too many permits for netting salmon at the mouths of rivers.

Both the Chéticamp and many of the smaller streams within the site afford splendid trout fishing.

Since sea-fishing of many kinds is the principal occupation of the inhabitants, it follows that there are men, boats and gear available for all who enjoy it.

Sword-fishing is carried on during September both from Pleasant Bay on the west coast and - more successfully - from Aspy Bay on the east. Sword-fish are caught up to 600 pounds in weight, and are spared from a "pulpit" on the bowsprit end of small motor boats.

Boundaries and Area of Site Recommended for Consideration

The area suggested in the late Mr. Challoner's letter to the Deputy Minister, dated February 16th, 1928, namely the
whole northern part of Cape Breton Island above a line drawn from Indian Brook, on the east coast, to Chéticamp, on the west coast, was the only definite suggestion as to the extent and location of the Park site which, as far as I am aware, had been made to the Department when I was sent to examine it. My examination, therefore, covered all of the above area that is accessible by roads of any kind.

It has already been noted that Mr. Challoner's idea was to exclude "the farms and villages along the coasts". To follow out the above idea would exclude so large a portion of the coast, including all of the coast that is in any way accessible, that little but the interior would be left and most of that interior would, in itself and without the coast, be a Parks liability rather than a Parks asset.

The greatest difficulty to be overcome in the establishment of a National Park of Canada in any of the older provinces is the fact that it must always involve the redemption by the provincial government of lands alienated from the Crown by Grant or Lease, which occur within the finally selected site.

Although the responsibility and cost of redeeming such lands rest on the provincial government, any examination of a Parks site made by an official of the Department must include careful consideration of the practicality of redeeming all the land required within the area suggested.

In the case of the Cape Breton site, there are a number of comparatively large settlements throughout it, and the problem is complicated by the further fact that shore fishermen have settled, singly or in small groups, at every point on this exposed coast where there is a beach on which they can draw their boats up, as well as at Dingwall and South Ingonish Harbours. Neither of the above are good harbours; it is impossible to get either in or out of Dingwall Harbour during any kind of rough weather.

It is difficult to understand why shore fishermen have settled in some of the places where they are found...
Many of the isolated fishing stations are in small coves or beaches below cliffs from 200 to 400 feet high. It is impossible to use schooners or anything larger than an open fishing boat, about 27 feet long, which can be pulled high up on the beach. There is no railway for the transportation of fish. During winter, the shores are beset with ice and active fishing only commences in May and is practically over by the middle of October. During the winter months, there is no means of travel except by dog sleds and snowshoes. From numerous inquiries made, I gathered that the people settle down for six months of the year to getting enough wood to keep their small houses warm, looking after a few head of stock which most of them have, and doing such odd jobs as making or mending fishing gear, making ax-handles, etc.

Usually these shore fishermen own about 100 acres of which one-fifth of an acre is in potatoes, five or six acres in rough pasture and the rest is unimproved timbered hillside. They keep one or two cows, a few remarkably fine sheep and some chickens. Most of them are extremely poor, ruggedly independent and more than usually contented. It is probable that they have been less affected by the depression of the past five years than almost any other class of Canadians.

I was informed that the transfer of land between themselves is usually made at a rate of from three to four dollars an acre. It must be remembered, however, that the real value of the land to them is as a home from which they can pursue their main occupation, namely sea-fishing. If the land was being purchased for a park, on the understanding that the purchase involved expatriation, it would probably prove to be a more difficult matter to get them to sell willingly at all.

Their holdings add to the picturesqueness and interest of the country, but the fact that they are scattered all over the coasts would undoubtedly create difficulties in Parks administration.

Owing to the kindness of the Lands and Forests Branch of
the Attorney-General's Department, I am able to include a map of northern Cape Breton Island showing Crown lands in red, the lands included within the Oxford Paper Company's Lease in green, and lands for which Crown Grants have issued, in brown.

The black line indicates the approximate location of the Park boundaries recommended for consideration and the letters indicate points referred to in the report.

Detailed Explanation of Proposed Park Boundaries

The greater portion of the area under discussion is included within the Oxford Paper Company's Lease, but since the Premier of Nova Scotia is fully aware of the terms under which a National Park may be established, there can be no doubt that he is prepared to dissolve the said Lease in as far as the lands which may be required for a Park are concerned.

Considering first the east coast, it will be seen that the whole of the coast-line from Indian Brook to within three miles of Smoky Cape is privately owned for a distance of a mile or more back from the sea, and that the Cabot Trail lies close to the sea frontage of this Crown-granted land. The settlement along this part of the coast has been established for several generations and some of the present owners have fairly well-developed farms. It would appear to be out of the question to redeem all this land and - even more so - to expatriate the people who live on it.

North of Smoky Cape, the Trail passes for about nine and a half miles through the various villages that comprise Ingonish. There is considerable population scattered throughout the Ingonish area and it should not be considered as part of a National Park. On the other hand, it is absolutely essential that the Park shall include some part of the coast which is capable to being developed as a Parks resort, both on the east and west sides of the Island and, since there is no suitable
land which has not been Crown granted, it will be necessary to acquire it by redemption and a certain amount of expatriation. In this connection, it should be understood that only a comparatively small proportion of the Crown-granted land is occupied or improved; most of it is wild land. For instance, it will be noted that there is considerable Crown-granted land adjacent to Warren Brook, but, as far as I was able to find out, there is not a single house or other evidence of occupation north of Warren Brook or for more than half a mile to the south of it.

Fortunately, there is a scenic point at the extreme north end of Ingonish settlement which would make a very fine location for a large bungalow camp and Parks resort.

It extends northerly from the tip of a square-pointed cape opposite Ingonish Island and includes all the land on the seaward side of the Cabot Trail, together with 200 or 300 feet on the west side of it, up to the main Park boundary as shown on the included map.

The acquisition of the above will involve the outright redemption of about five square miles of land, almost all of which is unimproved, and the removal of about a dozen families to other parts of Ingonish settlement.

From the above point, as the eastern entrance, the Parks boundary might follow the coast up to Neil's Harbour, excluding the settlement at that place but taking in a strip 300 feet wide on the east side of the Trail as a Parkway, all the way to the nameless river at the letter "S" of South Harbour, where the road to White Point turns off from the Cabot Trail. There are no dwelling houses or improvements up to that point.

Referring to the above line, it will be noted that the whole of the fine coastal scenery along the south shore of Aspy Bay to White Point and the coast southerly from White Point is not included within the Park, although most of the land is unencumbered Crown land. The reason for this is that I went out nearly to White Point on a terribly narrow, rough road and found about fifty families of shore fishermen scattered all
along it. It is reasonably certain that some of them were merely squatters on Crown Land, but there are too many of them to be included within a Park in my opinion.

From the point already described by reference to the letter "S", it is recommended that the boundary follow the southerly limits of all Crown-granted land westerly to the point where such southerly limits intersect the Cabot Trail, providing that such point occurs not less than 500 feet down-stream from the first or most easterly bridge by which the Cabot Trail crosses Aspy River. The indications on the ground are that there is a certain amount of Crown-granted land upstream from a point of 500 feet downstream from the bridge, but it is important to include within the Park, the picturesque land about the bridge.

The southerly limit of Crown-granted land will, of course, make a very crooked boundary, but it occurs pretty well along the foot of the mountains and a patrol trail can be located which will make the crookedness of the legal boundary unimportant.

From the point 500 feet below Aspy bridge, the boundary rises steeply to the top of a high mountain range to the north-west of the river, ... from which it might follow the County line between Inverness and Victoria Counties to its intersection with the north coast as Meat Cove.

It will be noted from the map that the County line coincides very closely with the natural watershed summit of Cape Breton Island. The reason why it is not recommended to take in any of Victoria Country, north of Aspy River is that it includes a large area of Crown-granted land and has a considerable population. The Census Report gives the 1931 population of Bay St. Lawrence as 379.

From Meat Cove, it is recommended that the boundary follow the north and west coast all the way to a point 100 feet south of the south bank of Chéticamp River, providing that the Dominion Government will accept title to the same from the Nova Scotia Government subject to the condition that the rights of the
settlers at Pleasant Bay and the Red River shall be taken care of.

Referring to Map 2, showing an enlargement of the Pleasant Bay and Red River settlements on a scale of half a mile to an inch, on which the outlines of Crown-granted land are in accordance with information supplied by the Lands and Forests Branch of the Attorney General of Nova Scotia's Department, the facts in regard to the above settlements are as follows:

Pleasant Bay, or Grantosh as it was originally named, was first settled by Highland Scotch in about 1828 and is still occupied by their descendants - McLeans, McIntoshes, MacPhersons, Moores, Hingleys, etc.

In a "History of Inverness County, Nova Scotia" by J.D. MacDougall, is the following note on the Pleasant Bay settlement: "The farms were almost all recovered from the forest and remained ungranted for about thirty years and upwards. The first lands granted were those of Edward Timmons and of John Hingley in 1856".

The Cabot Trail enters Crown-granted land near the bridge across Mackenzie River, at Mile 18.25 (all mileage being reckoned from the bridge across Chéticamp River) and continues within it to Mile 24.55, at the upstream end of Crown-granted land on the Grande Anse River. The last grant was owned by the late Professor McIntosh and bequeathed by him to the Crown for Park purposes.

At Mile 19.95, a road turns off along the coast to another settlement in the valley of the Red River, three miles to the North, and the intervening lands along the coast are more or less continuously farmed.

Altogether, there are about fifty dwellings in the Pleasant Bay, Red River valley and adjacent country and Bulletin No. XX of the 1931 census reports a population of 281 people for this district.

As a matter of fact, the amount of improved land within the settlement is extremely small in comparison with the total area of Crown-granted lands.
The Grande Anse valley is so narrow and constricted between steep mountains that settlement is not even continuous. Right at the mouth of the Grande Anse River, at Mile 19.95, there is a certain amount of nearly level land...

At Mile 21.82, there are four or five houses and small clearings.

From Mile 21.82 to Mile 23.05, the valley closes right in and no houses are visible.

From Mile 23.05 to Mile 23.15 - only 528 feet - there are four houses with small clearings which together probably do not exceed twelve acres.

At Mile 23.45 is the last house, with 6 or 7 acres of garden and grass pasture.

It is probable that the total area of cultivatable land along the Grande Anse valley does not exceed 600 acres.

In the three miles between Pleasant Bay and Red River, there are a number of houses and a good deal of cleared pasture land.

The most prosperous-looking farming settlement is situated at the mouth of the Red River. It includes twelve houses and about 120 acres of cultivated land, hay land and gardens, besides another 120 acres of hillside pasture...

Thus, in comparison with the total area of Crown-granted lands in this whole district, it is doubtful whether there are more than 600 or 700 acres of improved land. Most of the rest is located on steep mountain sides, and is only valuable for local timber requirements and firewood, or for forest grazing.

Technically, the inclusion of these settlements within a National Park would appear to be contrary to Section 6(1) of the National Park Act, 1930. On the other hand, the above section may be interpreted to refer only to what is permissible after a Park has been established, and there can be no doubt that a way can be found to overcome this obstacle if it is thought advisable to do so.

The facts of the case may be summarized as follows:
(1) It is out of the question to expatriate all the inhabitants of such an old established settlement.

(2) The houses, clearings and occupations of the inhabitants are really an asset to the scenic grandeur of the region, since they provide a relief from the sombre character of the scenery.

(3) When settlement is fairly consolidated, as in the case under discussion, Parks administration in regard to conservation of game and protection from forest fires can be effectively and economically carried out.

(4) It is much better to have such a settlement within a National Park than adjoining it in order that the residents may be subject to Parks regulations, such as the scaling of firearms, the prevention of nuisances, etc.

(5) One special reason why I recommended the inclusion of this district is that it offers the only reasonable access to the wild strip of coast and mountain to the north of it. Almost all of the above strip is Crown land. There are no roads through it, but it would be possible at small expense to locate trails for walking and riding up to Cape St. Lawrence which is the most northerly point of Nova Scotia.

It is doubtful if the inclusion within the Park of the above strip could be regarded as a practicable asset unless the settlement is included.

If my recommendation that the Pleasant Bay and Red River settlement be included within the Park is approved, it is suggested that it might be arranged along the following lines:

(a) A transfer of existing titles to houses and cultivated lands to National Parks leases.

(b) A redemption of all wild land now included within Crown grants, said lands to be vested in the Dominion Government.

(c) A guarantee to the residents of reasonable dry wood and grazing permits.

In effecting the above arrangement, the Government of Nova Scotia would probably have to pay the settlers a certain amount of indemnity, although the settlers could stand to benefit greatly by the change.

It would also be necessary to acquire a suitable site for a Bungalow Camp...
In connection with the above, there are a few isolated Crown Grants, with one or two residents, at various outlying points along the coast, which would have to be redeemed outright. Such cases of isolated occupation should not be tolerated within a National Park, since they constitute a perpetual menace to Parks Regulations which it is not practicable to deal with.

**Chéticamp River Entrance**

The Chéticamp River is five miles north of Chéticamp village and marks the dividing line between the well-settled district to the south of it and the uninhabited wilderness of rugged coast and high mountains to the north.

It is recommended to adopt a point 100 feet south of the bridge across Chéticamp River as the south-westerly corner of the Parks boundary, and the natural scenic features of the surroundings make this entrance of the Park almost ideal.

On the north side of the river, there is a fine bench which will make a first-class site for a Parks Bungalow camp. At the present time, there are about eight families along this bench who would have to be removed and their lands redeemed outright and turned over to the Dominion.

For the five miles northerly from Chéticamp bridge to where the Cabot Trail turns inland, there are a number of shore fishermen located, approximately as follows:

- At Mile 1.75 there is a Post Office.
- At Mile 2.40 is the Cape Rouge School-house, about 16 x 30
- At Mile 3.55 the Trail crosses a small creek with about 30 acres of grass land along the cliffs, and there are five houses.
- At Mile 4.05 there is one cottage—about 300 feet above the sea.
- At Mile 4.60 the Trail crosses a fair-sized creek with one cottage beside it.
At Mile 5.00 the Trail leaves the sea-coast and there are not inhabitants along it until it reaches Pleasant Bay.

In the first mile along the coast beyond Mile 5.00, there are two cottages. Eleven sheep were grazing 1,000 feet up the mountain and I saw about a dozen cattle scattered through the bush.

I was unable to get along the coast north from the above point, namely six miles north of Chéticamp bridge, but it is unlikely that there are any more settlers unless near the mouth of Fishing Cove River. There is no road from the south to the latter place, the Cabot Trail being wrongly shown on the map as approaching it closely, whereas it is 1,100 feet above it and at least one mile from it.

Altogether, there may be a dozen dwellings, exclusive of those on the bench immediately north of Chéticamp River, and I think the Nova Scotia Government should be asked to buy them out.

Apart from the general objection of scattered residents within a Park, my recommendation in regard to the Cape Breton site rests entirely on the reconstruction of the Cabot Trail along this part of the coast, with all its attendant complications of right-of-way, damage from blasting, etc. Moreover, in this case, the impropriety of moving people away from the locus of their occupation does not exist, as in the case of Pleasant Bay for instance, because the thriving settlement of Chéticamp and the only good harbour for boats on the entire west coast is within a few miles and affords much better opportunities for either fishing or farming than where they now are.

Southerly Boundary of Site

From the south-westerly corner of the site, already described as being 100 feet south of the bridge across Chéticamp
River, it is recommended that the boundary follow a line south of, roughly parallel to and at a constant distance of 100 feet from the southerly bank of Chéticamp River for a distance of about one and a half miles to the foot of the bold mountain shown in photograph 10-5 on page 13. Thence to the summit of the above mountain. Thence to the summit of the height of land forming the southerly limit of the watershed area drained by the Chéticamp River. Thence following said above described height of land or along a series of straight lines which shall closely approximate thereto to the summit between the watersheds of Chéticamp River and Clyburn Brook. Thence along the height of land to the summit between the headwaters of Warren and Dundas Brooks. Thence following the height of land which forms the southerly limit of the watershed area of Warren Brook to some point of a line on the westerly side of the Cabot Trail parallel to and at a constant distance of 300 feet from said Trail which shall be hereafter agreed upon.

Pending the final adjustment of boundaries, the area of the above described site is found to be 441 square miles by planimeter measurement.

Parkway Through the Cape North and Aspy River District

At Mile 32.00 from Chéticamp bridge, the Cabot Trail crosses the second bridge across Aspy River, which bridge approximately marks the end of Crown-granted lands in the Aspy River Intervale.

It has already been recommended that the boundary of the Park shall cross Aspy River at some point not less than 500 feet downstream from said bridge.

From the Aspy River entrance to the Park to the entrance at the intersection of Cabot Trail with the road to White Point, it is 10.25 miles by the Trail.

All of the land through which these 10.25 miles of Trail
pass is Crown-granted. Moreover, the number of inhabitants scattered throughout this area and the aggregate value of their improvements is such as to preclude any idea of including it within a Park.

It is, however, very desirable that the whole of the Cabot Trail throughout the Park shall be administered by the Parks Branch as a continuous scenic highway.

I therefore recommend that the Nova Scotia Government be requested to turn over to the Dominion Government, a clear title to a strip of land extending either 250 or 300 feet on each side of the present Cabot Trail for a Parkway appurtenant to the Park.

A careful preliminary survey shows that there are only twelve houses that would have to be moved and a few acres of cleared grass land that would have to be compensated for in the whole distance. In most cases, the road is high up on the ridge and the improvements are more than 300 feet distant.

There are two churches, one store and one school-house in this section, but there would of course be no objection to granting the owners a Park lease of the necessary land which would give them a secure title.

Most of the land within the above described Parkway is unimproved. The road itself is a well-located gravel road, from 14 to 20 feet wide, with no excessive grades and only one or two sharp curves. Being on a low ridge, about 200 feet above the Aspy River Valley, it affords many first-class scenic views of the beautiful valley with its background of high mountains.

The advantages of the above Parkway are that it completes the circuit of Cabot Trail throughout the Park; that it will prevent the cutting of timber or erection of unsightly buildings within it, and that it provides for any relocation of the road that may be considered advisable for the carrying out of landscape or other Parks improvements.
The Cabot Trail throughout the site proposed may be considered under the following division headings:

(1) The section along the west coast from Chéticamp bridge to Pleasant Bay 19.95 miles

(2) The section across Cape Breton Island, from Pleasant Bay to Cape North, including 7.05 miles of the proposed Parkway 19.20 "

(3) The section along the east coast, from Cape North to Ingonish 21.60 "

Total length of Cabot Trail through Park, including 10.25 miles of Parkway 60.75 miles

I have already stated my opinion that the second section, although built on steeper grades than any existing Parks highway, is a good road which may be safely operated as a Parks undertaking.

The third section will need considerable widening and improvement but no great expenditure is necessary in the immediate future.

The first section, however, will, in my opinion, have to be completely relocated and constructed as an entirely new road. As located at present, there are a great many prohibitive grades of from 12% to 17% which can only be avoided by making a new location.

I made as careful a survey of the road as I could without instruments other than the speedometer of my car and some survey aneroid readings. Subsequently, through the kindness of the Highway Department at Halifax, I was able to obtain profiles of much of the road that I had been over, and found that my estimated grades were inclined to be less than those shown by the profile. In no case did my estimates exceed them.

From Chéticamp bridge, the Trail follows the coast for five miles. This part of it is strictly single track road, with a few turning out places, and numerous grades of from 10% to 15%. It could be improved as to width and curvature, but it
would cost a lot of money and is not worth it. Nothing but relocation would eliminate the grades.

At the end of the above five miles, the Trail turns sharply inland up a steep-sided gully and for 0.55 miles climbs on grades from 15% to 17%.

At Mile 4.80, the Trail is on the edge of a cliff about 40 feet above sea level. At Mile 6.90 is a notice board marked "Summit of French Mountain. 1,260 Feet". Thus in 2.1 miles, the Trail rises (1,260-40) 1,220 feet. Incidentally, our big survey aneroid gave a corrected height of 1,368 feet for the notice board and at least 0.25 of the above 2.1 miles is on a very easy grade.

From Mile 6.90 to Mile 11.60, the Trail follows the top of the mountain without much change in altitude.

From Mile 11.60 to Mile 12.05, it descends by grades of at least 12% to a bridge across Fishing Cove River.

From Mile 12.05 to Mile 12.45, the Trail ascends by excessive grades of at least 12%.

From Mile 12.45 to Mile 16.65, the Trail continues along the top of the mountain, sometimes level and at others on easy grades.

From Mile 16.65 to Mile 18.25, it descends a crooked, narrow road, on grades from 12% to 14%, to a bridge across Mackenzie River.

From Mile 18.25 to Mile 19.95, the Trail is along the shore and quite good.

I consider that the Trail will have to be relocated, and a new road built, from Mile 0 to Mile 18.25. If it is found that this road can be built around the cliffs and benches on the sea-front all the way, it will be so outstandingly scenic that it will become internationally famous.

The cost of such a road will of course be more than that of ordinary highway construction, but in any case, my recommendation of the Cape Breton site for a National Park of Canada
must depend entirely on whether the Dominion Government is willing to construct a good road from Chéticamp to Pleasant Bay. Moreover, it would probably not cost much more than a new road over the top of the mountains, which is the only alternative, and the coast road would, in my opinion, be incomparably more scenic. In this connection, it may be noted that the present trail along the top of the range is shut in by timber for about ten miles of its length; there are only two places on it from which any extensive view may be obtained.

It is of course impossible to form any close estimate of what a new road along the coast would cost until it has been reported on by the Engineering division, but, for the purpose of giving consideration to this report, it may be assumed that the new road would be 18 miles in length and, together with bridges, would cost $20,000 per mile, or $360,000.

**Tourist Accommodation**

At the present time, there is not adequate accommodation for such a number of tourists as the National Park, if established, will undoubtedly attract, in either Chéticamp, Pleasant Bay, Dingwall or Ingonish.

In the Western National Parks, it has been found possible to provide first-class tourist accommodations through responsible concessionaires, such as the railway companies, etc.

I do not consider that it will be found possible to provide the necessary tourist accommodation in Cape Breton Park through concessionaires for the following reasons:

1. There are no railway or steamship companies providing access to the Park. Moreover, since it will be impossible to visit the Park except by automobile, the railways cannot expect to derive any direct benefit from tourist passenger traffic, although this, as every other form of tourist business in Nova Scotia, will undoubtedly be increased by the establishment of a Park.
(2) It will probably be found that the tourist business of the Park will develop as a constant stream of passing tourists who will not, as a rule, stay over more than one or two nights in the Park itself.

(3) The season may be regarded as definitely limited between the 15th June and 15th October. I was informed by Mr. Ball, the engineer who was in charge of construction on that part of the Cabot Trail from Cape North to Pleasant Bay, that there is a heavy snowfall on the high plateau and that the 15th June was the earliest date at which it was safe to rely on the Trail being in good condition.

When automobile travel ceases, the activities of the Park, as far as tourists are concerned, stops.

For the above reasons, it will probably be found necessary for the Parks Branch to finance the construction of suitable tourist accommodations, and either to put people in charge or rent them to carefully selected contractors under agreement as to services to be rendered, rates to be charged, and so on. In either case, the operation of suitable tourist accommodations ought to yield a good return on the capital invested.

The type of tourist accommodation which I have in mind is a good central building, with manager's quarters, dining room, kitchen, dancing and lounge room and a small writing room, together with a number of surrounding cabins provided with electric light, stoves, flush toilet and screened verandah. Such accommodation is provided as a private enterprise at many places in Canada and the States at a charge of from 75 cents to $1.00 per person for cabin accommodation. Meals of course are extra. At prevailing Nova Scotia rates, a flat rate of $2.50 per person for dinner, cabin and breakfast might reasonably be charged, and this would tend to ensure the profitable maintenance of kitchen and dining room staffs.

If and when the Park is opened, I submit that there should be three such camps already established, each with 24 cabins; one at Cheticamp bridge entrance; another at Red River and a
third at Ingonish entrance.

Eventually, there should be a bath-house, with a warmed salt-water plunge and tubs, provided at each of the above camps. It would undoubtedly prove an attraction to a special class of tourists suffering from arthritis and ailments benefited by salt-water bathing.

A special attraction might be provided at Chéticamp bridge, by retaining one of the existing habitant type of buildings as a handicraft museum, and fitting it up with spinning wheels and looms, all of which are actually in use in the neighbouring settlement. Women could be employed to card, spin and weave whenever tourists were present. A charge of ten cents would repay them, and the sale of hooked rugs (at which hundreds of women are employed throughout the district) would also be an inducement.

Summary

Subject to the willingness of the Dominion Government to make the necessary appropriations for the reconstruction of the Cabot Trail from Chéticamp bridge to Mile 18.25, and the agreement of the Nova Scotia Government to transfer to the Dominion Government, free of encumbrance, all the lands necessary to carry out the conditions indicated in the foregoing report, or such amended conditions as may be approved, I beg to recommend that the Cape Breton site be established as a National Park of Canada for the following reasons:

(1) The site includes outstanding scenic attractions of rugged coast line and mountain grandeur which is the best of its type within the Province of Nova Scotia.

(2) The approaches to the Park site pass through magnificent scenery of an entirely different kind which is unsurpassed anywhere and which adds greatly to the value of the site itself as a potentially world-famous tourist resort.
(3) The geographical location of the proposed site is such that the stimulus to the general tourist business of Nova Scotia through its establishment as a National Park will benefit a larger number of people in the Province than the adoption of any other available site. It is worthy of note that every car which follows the Cabot Trail must of necessity pass through a large part of Nova Scotia twice—both coming and going. Hence every 1,000 cars that visit the Park will mean 2,000 cars on the Provincial Highways.

(4) It is the only area of anything like the proposed size which can be established as a National Park in Nova Scotia without sacrificing the development of natural resources within the site which might be a source of greater revenue to the people of Nova Scotia than any which the establishment of a Park may be expected to provide.

In this connection, it may be noted that:
(a) the population affected is extremely small;
(b) that the timber resources of the proposed site are of secondary value—due largely to the difficulty of getting timber out to the coast and the lack of harbours, and (c) that a study of the geological map of Nova Scotia...indicates that the geological formation of the northern part of Cape Breton Island is barren of all precious minerals, except that a trace of argentiferous galena is found at one point near Pleasant Bay.

(5) Owing to the large area of the proposed site, and its wild character, it will make a splendid wildlife sanctuary. It also affords scope for restocking the territory with moose and cariboo, both of which were originally found in large numbers throughout the district, but have been exterminated.

Within the site, there is good salmon and trout fishing which is capable of considerable further development, while various kinds of sea fishing may be engaged in from its coasts.

(6) Finally, I respectfully submit my opinion that a Cape Breton National Park of Canada would prove to be a successful National venture; that it has within itself the requisite elements of a National Park; that it would attract an ever-increasing number of tourists through that final test of popularity, namely the accumulated advertising done by those who have visited it, and that it will be a source of pride, as well as profit, to the people of Nova Scotia.

(Sgd) R.W. Cautley, D.L.S.
Appendix B

OLD BRIDGES

in the Chéticamp Area of the Old Cabot Trail

An attempt was made to research the history of two bridges which were in use in the area of the western entrance to the park, prior to the opening of Cape Breton Highlands National Park. One of these bridges was located at the mouth of the Chéticamp River and was part of the old Cabot Trail (marked in red dotted line on map). The second bridge was several hundred feet up the river from the present bridge and led to an area known as La Rigouèche, where a small village was situated. Today, this area contains part of the Chéticamp Campground and is referred to as the Rigwash. (The old road and bridge is marked in blue on map).

The following methods were used in this attempt:
- research of old photograph albums
- interviews with local old timers
- maps (copy enclosed)
- aerial photographs from the Department of Energy, Mines and Resources
- correspondence with the Department of Highways (copy of letter enclosed)
- contact with Ervin Robertson, Technical Officer, CBHNP
- perusal of historical reports; Report of the Human History of CBHNP by Judith V. Campbell
Le Buttereau Bridge

The following information was gathered from J.J. AuCoin in 1973:

"At the entrance of the little river - first bridge built was in 1880 and was rebuilt between 1880 and 1934, but was destroyed by ice in 1934 and rebuilt the same year and taken down for good in 1947".

The following information was gathered by B. Rooney (Park Naturalist) 1973:

"The remnants of an old bridge are still visible on the sand at the mouth of the Cheticamp River. The bridge served to connect Le Buttereau to the early Cabot Trail, but it was destroyed 2 more times, and finally dismantled by the park in the winter of 1946.

My interview with Mr. Amédée Bourgeois and his wife, a former resident of La Rigouëche, revealed some approximate dates surrounding both bridges. Mr. Bourgeois is 74 years old and has lived his life in La Prairie which is just outside the present park boundaries. He was employed by the park as a labourer at its inception. His wife is 69 and has some vivid memories of life in La Rigouëche but not specifically with regards to bridges and dates. Mr. Bourgeois stated that the old Cabot Trail used to run along the sand dune from the end of the paved road that exists today, to the point where the bridge was located connecting the Cheticamp side with Le Buttereau. (Marked in green on the map). The dune proved to be too difficult to maintain and so the road was redirected by way of the present Petit Etang Beach road (Marked in orange on the map). Mr. Bourgeois believes that the first bridge built there was constructed around 1880-1885 and that it was made of wood. It was demolished twice by heavy ice movement during the spring thaw and reconstructed both times with wood. This bridge remained in use until the new bridge at the present entrance to the park was built in 1938 with the establishment of the
National Park. After this, the major traffic was directed through this entrance. Sometime between 1942-44, the old bridge was dismantled.

We have several old photographs in our photo collection dating from the 1920s and 30s, which show this bridge quite clearly. It had three spans and was situated as indicated on the map in red. One photo in our album is dated 1930 and shows an entirely different structure which looks considerably inferior in design and construction and perhaps we can assume that this was a temporary bridge put up following the destruction of the original bridge by ice in or about 1927.

An old chap by the name of Tom & Firmain Chiasson, who was interviewed, had a few interesting details to add to the history of this area concerning the bridges, although his dates were quite unacceptable in view of other information which we had. He did mention that prior to the building of these bridges, the method of transportation across the water had been the use of swimming oxen with some sort of carrier in tow. He also said that when the bridge at Le Buttereau was moved by the ice, it came to rest parallel to the shore at the spot where the pavement ends on the present road to Petit Etang. (Marked with a red X on the map).

La Rigouèche Bridge

Mr. Bourgeois' memory regarding the Rigouèche bridge leads him to believe that this bridge was probably also built around 1880 and of steel. The heavy ice moved it also, in 1920, and Mrs. Bourgeois is positive about this date. It was rebuilt of wood only to be destroyed again by ice in 1934, and rebuilt again in wood. The use of this bridge was discontinued around 1938-40 with the establishment of the park and the relocation of residents. The remains of this bridge were present until
fairly recently when the park ordered their removal.

We have some old photographs of this bridge dating from 1938-40 showing it as a structure of one large and two smaller spans. We also have an older photograph dating between 1915-25 showing a different structure with two large spans.

**Resumé**

There are few outstanding facts that have been established during the course of this research. It is possible that with more time, a more systematic and thorough research might well reveal more specific details about these bridges.

From the information presently at our disposal, it would appear that the first bridge at Le Buttereau was constructed of wood around the years 1880-85 and that it was destroyed by ice twice, once around 1927-30. It was rebuilt of wood and destroyed again by the ice, possibly around 1934. The bridge was rebuilt, again of wood, but use was greatly reduced when traffic was redirected after the new bridge was constructed at the entrance to the park in 1938. This bridge was finally taken down for good around 1945-47.

Information on the other bridge at La Rigouëche is even more scanty but it seems certain that the bridge was destroyed by ice twice and that the first time was in 1920. The original bridge was made of steel and it was rebuilt of wood. It is possible that 1934 was the date of its second destruction by ice after which it was rebuilt but saw little use after the establishment of the National Park and the subsequent relocation of the original residents of La Rigouëche outside the park boundaries. The remains of the bridge were present until fairly recent years when they were removed by park personnel.
26 February 1979

Mr. Ron McDonald
Historical Research Section
Parks Canada
Historic Properties
Upper Water Street
HALIFAX, Nova Scotia
B3J 1S9

Dear Ron:

In reply to your telephone inquiry of 7 February 1979 regarding the Cabot Trail and specifically the location of Parks File CBH 60, volumes 1-31, I regret to say that we do not have that file in our custody. John O'Hara's advice from I.N.A. that the files were destroyed must therefore unfortunately be true.

The only files in our custody of possible interest to you on the Cabot Trail and Cape Breton Highlands National Park would be the following from the Records of the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs (RG 22):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Volume</th>
<th>File</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>73</td>
<td>439</td>
<td>Agreement with the Province of Nova Scotia re: hardsurfacing of Cabot Trail</td>
<td>1954</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>78</td>
<td>486</td>
<td>Cape Breton Highlands National Park - General. Acquisition of land, contracts, damage claims, orders in council, Treasury Board minutes</td>
<td>1937-57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>78</td>
<td>488</td>
<td>Cape Breton Highlands National Park. Lots, leases, licences, and concessions</td>
<td>1953-57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>397</td>
<td>307-14</td>
<td>Cape Breton Highlands National Park. Roads and Bridges.</td>
<td>1955-59</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
If you wish any further information from these files, do not hesitate to contact me again. Surprisingly, the records of Parks Canada (RG 84) and of the Surveys and Mapping Branch (RG 88), which contain many files on roads in National Parks, contain no references to the Cabot Trail, although the former has plenty of references to other aspects of Cape Breton Highlands National Park.

As per your request, I am pleased to enclose a copy of my booklet, "Sources for the Study of Canada's National Parks". I hope you find it useful.

Yours sincerely,

Terry Cook
Archivist
Natural Resource Records
Public Records Division

Encl.
Mr. Sealey

Cabot Trail History

I refer to your memorandum of May 9, 1979, concerning the history of the Cabot Trail in Cape Breton Highlands National Park. The following notes may be of interest.

The first major revision after the road was taken over by Canada from Nova Scotia involved the reconstruction over French Mountain. This followed Jumping Brook up to the plateau, crossed the headwaters of South Fishing Cove and Fishing Cove Rivers, then almost due north before descending Mackenzie Mountain hill. Details of this construction are included in the annual reports of the Surveys and Engineering Branch of the Department in the printed Annual Report.

During the late 1940's and early 1950's, the Cabot Trail between North Ingonish and Neil's Harbour was relocated and rebuilt. Prior to this construction, the road followed an inland route, passing Mary Ann Falls on Mary Ann Brook. The new route kept the highway within sight of the Atlantic Ocean for much of the way, and led to the construction of campgrounds and day use sites at Green Cove and Black Brook Cove.

Details of road construction were contained on the head office file CBH-60. This file ran to some 29 volumes, but I understand some volumes were destroyed. Possibly Mr. MacDonald was able to find some volumes in the Public Archives.

I can't recall the availability of many actual construction pictures of the Cabot Trail, other than those that may have been included in the Superintendents' annual reports (files of which were destroyed some years ago.

... 2
A couple of years ago, I handed to Mr. Dolan a number of large albums of road construction pictures, mostly in Western Canada. He tells me that these were turned over to the Public Archives within the past year or more. (Probably just prior to our move to Hull.) I find it very difficult to locate former National Park Library pictures which I know were donated to the Archives, but I know they must have some. We had an excellent collection of photos taken by Bill Oliver in the park between 1939 and 1941. Where these went after our original photo library was broken up, I cannot say.

I have copies of several early park publications relating to the Atlantic Parks, and some of these contain pictures of the Cabot Trail in its early stages. They do not include photos of actual construction.

I have a map of Cape Breton Highlands Park printed in 1951, which shows the relocated Cabot Trail as of that date, and dotted lines indicating the former routes of the road. These could be made available on loan, if desired. The earliest edition of the park map should be found on park file CBH-38, if it still exists.

I might add that the most knowledgeable person about the development of Cape Breton Highlands National Park and the Cabot Trail in its early stages is Mr. T.C. (Tom) Fenton, retired Chief Engineer of Parks Canada, Western Region. Mr. Fenton, lives at Apt. 3, 1283 Bernard Street, Kelowna, B.C., (Tel. 763-8576). He was the park engineer at Ingonish during the first reconstruction of the Cabot Trail. Having lived in the area with his wife for several years, he would have been fully conversant with all road construction in the park.

W.F. (Jeh) Thos. Thosian.
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The Atlantic Islands As Resorts of Health and Pleasure. Harper & Brothers, New York, 1878. (Describes Sydney and Bras d'Or Lakes region but does not mention the north country)
"Cruising Around Cape Breton". Century Magazine, Vol. 28 (July 1884), pp. 352-364 (Cruise to Sydney, Bras d'Or Lakes, Arichat & Strait of Canso; no mention of northern Cape Breton)
Bird, Will, R.  


Black, Mary  
"Cape Breton's Early Roads".  Nova Scotia Historical Quarterly, Vol. 5, No. 3 (September 1975), pp. 277-95.  Halifax.  (Based on the papers of Judge J.G. Marshall, it contains useful information on the early history of transportation in Cape Breton)  

Bolles, Frank  
From Blomidon to Smoky.  Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston, 1894.  (Contains useful material on transportation in the north country)  

Bourinot, J.G.  
Historical and Descriptive Account of Cape Breton.  W. Foster Brown, Montreal, 1892.  (Just deals with the French period; nothing on transportation in northern Cape Breton)  

Brinley, Gordon  
Away to Cape Breton.  Dodd, Mead & Co., New York, 1936.  (An excellent travel account of a journey through northern Cape Breton; much detail on the various communities and the Cabot Trail; series of interesting sketches; an excellent source for transportation in the early 1930s)  

Brown, R.  
History of Cape Breton.  Sampson Low, Son & Marston, London, 1869.  (Concentrates on history prior to 1820; little mention of transportation)
Call, F.O.
The Spell of Acadia. L.C. Page & Co., Boston, 1930. (Some discussion of Louisbourg but nothing on northern Cape Breton)

Campbell, D. & MacLean, R.
Beyond the Atlantic Roar: A Study of the Nova Scotia Scots. McClelland & Stewart, Toronto, 1974. (A great deal of useful information on the history of Cape Breton)


Canada. Department of the Interior. The Resources of Nova Scotia. Kings Printer, Ottawa, 1925. (Interesting general overview; a few comments on the road system in the province).

Cozzens, F.S.
Acadia; or A Month With the Blue Noses. Derby & Jackson, New York, 1859. (Some mention of a trip from Sydney to Canso past the Brad d'Or Lakes but no discussion of northern Cape Breton)

David, Edith
"Cape Breton Island". Canadian Geographical Journal, Vol. 6, No. 3 (March 1933), pp. 135-44, Toronto (General description of the Island; travellers account of a visit; little specific information on transportation; a few interesting photographs that relate to Cape Breton Highlands National Park)

Dennis, Clara
Cape Breton Over. Ryerson Press, Toronto, 1942. (A good general description of the beauties of Cape Breton but not much specific information on transportation or the Cabot Trail itself).
Dimcock, C.C.
Isle Royale: The Front Door of Canada. T.C. Allen & Co.,
Halifax, 1935. (A small collection of stories and tales about
Cape Breton; nothing on transportation)

Donovan, Kenneth
"History of Ingonish, 1521-1971". Unpublished B.A. Essay, Saint
Francis Xavier University, 1971. (A great deal of useful inform­
ation on the problems associated with isolation of the area.)

Duncan, Dorothy
1942. (Very brief and sketchy description of the Cabot Trail)

Elliott, Shirley (Ed.)
"A Nineteenth Century Tourist in Cape Breton". Journal of
(Reprint of article under the pseudonym Viator which first
appeared in 1889, a great deal of useful material on transpor­
tation)

Farnham, C.H.
"Cape Breton Folk". Harpers New Monthly Magazine, No. 430
(March 1886), pp. 607-625, New York. (An interesting travel
account from the 1880s; many useful observations on transpor­
tation)

Fergusson, C.B. (Ed.)
Uniacke's Sketches of Cape Breton. Public Archives of Nova
Scotia, Halifax, 1958. (Very little information on transporta­
tion in northern Cape Breton)
Fitzroy, Yvonne
The Canadian Panorama. Methuen & Co., London, 1929. (Travel
description of Cape Breton; mention Sydney, Margaree and
Louisbourg but nothing on the north country)

Gesner, Claribel
Cape Breton Anthology. Lancelot Press, Windsor, 1971. (No
material on transportation)
Cape Breton Vignettes. Lancelot Press, Windsor, 1974. (Some
interesting stories but not much information on transportation
that can't be found elsewhere)

Gow, J.M.
Cape Breton Illustrated: Historic, Picturesque and Descriptive
William Briggs, Toronto, 1893. (A very useful work; contains
a great deal of material on transportation)

Grant, W.M.
"Cape Breton Past and Present". Canadian Magazine, Vol. 54
(September 1901), pp. 434-42, Toronto. (Mostly concerned with
early history of the island; nothing detailed on transporta-
tion)

Harrington, Lyn
pp. 204-21, Toronto. (Useful description of the Cabot Trail with
some good photographs)

Jackson, E.E.
Cape Breton and the Jackson Kith and Kin. Lancelot Press,
Windsor, 1971. (Good material on transportation)
Jephcott, C., Greene, V., & Young, J.
Postal History of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, 1754-1867.
(Not much specific information on transportation in northern Cape Breton)

Johnston, A.A.
(A very useful work; many good descriptions of travel conditions in nineteenth century Cape Breton)

Knight, J.T.
Incidentally. Westmount News Press, Montreal, 1913. (Description of the Bras d'Or region; nothing on northern Cape Breton)

Longley, J.W.
"To Cape North". Canadian Magazine, Vol. 9 (August 1897), pp. 331-38, Toronto. (A very informative description of a trip from Ingonish to Cape North)

Longstreth, T.M.
To Nova Scotia. D. Appleton-Century Co., New York, 1935. (A little too general; not much specific information on Trail; comments on the general beauty of the trip)

Lothian, W.F.

MacDonald, D.
Cape North and Vicinity. Port Hastings, 1933. (A great deal of information on local history; a few pages on early roads in the area)
MacDougall, John
History of Inverness County, Nova Scotia. Mika Publishing, Belleville, 1972. (Mostly geneology; only a few useful comments on transportation)

MacKenzie, G.D.
"The Charm of Cape Breton". National Geographic, Vol. XXXVIII, (July 1920), pp. 23-60. Washington. (General description of the history of the island; good deal of material on Alexander Graham Bell; not very much on transportation)

MacKinnon, Rev. Archibald
The History of the Presbyterian Church in Cape Breton. Formac Ltd., Antigonish, 1975. (Complements Rev. Murray's history which was written in 1920; brings developments up to the present; not much on transportation; some useful information on the local communities of Cape North, Pleasant Bay, Neil's Harbour and Ingonish)

MacKinnon, Kenneth
"To Many a Traveller, All Roads Led to the Halfway House". Halifax Chronicle Herald, 26 April 1979, p. 7 (Useful information on Neil's Harbour halfway house)

MacLean, Murdoch
"Cape Breton a Half Century Ago". Public Affairs, Vol. 2 (June 1939) pp. 184-92, Toronto. (Statistical analysis of Cape Breton in 1871; nothing on transportation)

MacLennan, Hugh
"The Cabot". Macleans Magazine, Vol. 78 (June 5, 1965) pp. 13-14, Toronto. (Discusses the importance of the coastal steamers and gives a brief history of the Cabot Trail)
MacMillan, C. Lamont  
*Memoirs of a Cape Breton Doctor*. McGraw-Hill Ryerson, Toronto, 1975. (Excellent account of the difficulties of practicing medicine in Victoria County from 1928-1960; good comments on transportation but few specific examples north of Sydney)

McPherson, G.W.  
*A Parson's Adventures*. Yonkers Book Co., Yonkers, 1925. (This is a biography of the Rev. G.W. McPherson; there is a good description of the Margaree Valley but nothing on the north country)

Morley, M.W.  
*Down North and Up Along*. Dodd, Mead & Co., New York, 1905. (A very useful and detailed travel account of a trip from Baddeck to Cape North)

Mulvey, Thomas  
"Something About Cape Breton". *Canadian Magazine*, Vol. 7 (July 1896), pp. 264-66 Toronto. (A good account of the tourist potential of Cape Breton; it specifically mentions the Ingonish area, the Bras d'or Lakes and Louisbourg)

Murray, J.  
*The History of the Presbyterian Church in Cape Breton*. News Publishing Co. Ltd., Truro, 1921. (A history of the various ministers and presbyteries of Cape Breton; some good comments on transportation problems in the nineteenth century)

*Highways You Should Know*. Nova Scotia Publicity Bureau, Department of Highways, Halifax, 1924 & 1927. (Detailed information on various highways, vague mention of northern Cape Breton)
Cape Breton, Nova Scotia: The Unspoiled Summerland of America. Halifax, 1928-31. (Useful information on transportation and tourism in Cape Breton)
Canada's Ocean Playground. Department of Information, Department of Highways, Halifax, 1929-36. (Interesting photographs of Cape Breton)
(Shows changing location of highways)
Nova Scotia Tour Book. Bureau of Information, Department of Highways, Halifax, 1932-41. (Detailed information on highway routes)

Nova Scotia. Department of Natural Resources.
Nova Scotia: Land of Big Game and Fighting Fish. Department of Natural Resources, Halifax, 1928. (Nothing on transportation in northern Cape Breton)
Nova Scotia. Department of Natural Resources.
(Some interesting photographs of Cape Breton)

Parker, J.P.
Cape Breton Ships and Men. Privately Published, Toronto, 1967. (Good general material on shipping but nothing on the coastal steamers)

Patterson, George
History of Victoria County. College of Cape Breton Press, Sydney, 1978. (Good background but nothing specific on transportation)
Pleau, Jacques
"History of Pleasant Bay and Surrounding Outposts". Manuscript on File, Cape Breton Highlands National Park, Ingonish, 1978. (Very useful material on both local history and transportation)

Russell, Henry Harrison
"Cape Breton Island: the Land and the People". Ph.D. Thesis, Clark University, 1926. (A very interesting analysis of Cape Breton history by a geographer; not that much on transportation but some useful comments on the tourist industry)

Shute, Paul
"Halfway Brook Story Plan". Manuscript on File, Cape Breton Highlands National Park, Ingonish, 1977. (Good general information on transportation and halfway houses)

Staebler, E.
Cape Breton Harbour. McClelland & Stewart, Toronto, 1971. (A useful discussion of life in Neil's Harbour and a trip around the Cabot Trail; its difficult to pin it down to a precise date)

Stead, Robert

Street, David
The Cabot Trail. Gage Publishing, Toronto, 1979. (Of limited value; photographs not that interesting, a few of the interviews contain useful information on the history of the Cabot Trail)
Sweetser, M.F.

Umlah, M.B.
Album of Cape Breton. Privately published, Sydney, 1891. (Interesting photographs but nothing on northern Cape Breton)

Vernon, C.W.
Cape Breton, Canada. Nation Publishing Co., Toronto, 1903. (Very interesting and useful book; contains a lot of information on transportation; the photographs are particularly informative)

Viator
"A tour in Northern Cape Breton". The Week, Vol. VI, No. 27-28 (June 7-14, 1889). (Very useful information on transportation)

Walworth, Arthur
Cape Breton Isle of Romance. Longman, Green & Co., Toronto, 1948. (A very interesting description of travel in Cape Breton; details experiences of traversing the Cabot Trail in 1947)

Warner, Charles
Baddeck and That Sort of Thing. James Osgood & Co., Boston, 1874. (One of the earliest tourist books; most of the comments on Cape Breton relate to the Bras d'Or Lake district; nothing on transportation in the north country)

Williams, Fred
"Shank's Mare and Other Things...A Glimpse at Some Aspects of Travel in Northern Cape Breton Down Through the Years". Unpublished Manuscript, Cabot Archives, Neil's Harbour. (A very useful article on transportation in the nineteenth century)
Wood, Ruth

The Tourists, Maritime Provinces. Dodd, Mead & Co., New York, 1915. (A few comments that relate to the Chéticamp area but very little on the Atlantic side of the park)
Map of Northern Cape Breton (Drawn by John Gasparac, Planning Section, Atlantic Regional Office)
Northern Cape Breton Island

Cape St. Lawrence
Meat Cove
Aspy Bay
Aspy Bay
Cape North
Neil's Harbour
Ingonish
Ingonish Beach
Cape Smoky
Cheticamp
Cap Rouge
Pleasant Bay
Map of Cape Breton in 1829 showing early roads.
(Public Archives of Nova Scotia, Map Collection)
3 Church's Map of Victoria County (c. 1885), showing roads in the Ingonish area. (Nova Scotia, Department of Lands and Forests)
Church's Map of Victoria County (c. 1885), showing the road from Ingonish to Neil's Harbour. (Nova Scotia, Department of Lands and Forests)
Church's Map of Victoria County (c. 1885), showing the road from Neil's Harbour to Cape North. (Nova Scotia, Department of Lands and Forests)
Church's Map of Victoria County (c. 1885), showing the road from Cape North to the Inverness County line. (Nova Scotia, Department of Lands and Forests)
7 Church's Map of Inverness County (c. 1887), showing road from Pleasant Bay to the Victoria County line. (Nova Scotia, Department of Lands and Forests)
8 Church's Map of Inverness County (c. 1887), showing the road from Pleasant Bay to Cap Rouge. (Nova Scotia, Department of Lands and Forests)
9 Church's Map of Inverness County (c. 1887), showing the road from Cap Rouge to Chéticamp. (Nova Scotia, Department of Lands and Forests)
10 Road scene near Sugar Loaf around the turn of the century. (Beaton Archives, Sydney, N.S.)
Road near Ingonish Ferry, c. 1910 (Cabot Archives, Neil's Harbour, No. 385)
Road near Grey's Hollow, Cape North, c. 1910
(Cabot Archives, Neil's Harbour, No. 368)
13 Close-up of map showing road from Chéticamp to Pleasant Bay in 1916. (Public Archives of Canada, National Map Collection)
14 Close-up of 1916 Map showing road from Ingonish to Cape North. (Public Archives of Canada, National Map Collection)
15 Close-up of 1916 Map showing road from Cape North to Pleasant Bay. (Public Archives of Canada, National Map Collection)
Photograph of the *Aspy I* around 1920. (Cabot Archives, Neil's Harbour)
17 Photograph of the *Kinburn* unloading supplies at Chéticamp in the early twentieth century. (*Cape Breton Highlands National Park, Photograph Collection, Chéticamp*)
18 Aspy unloading supplies at Ingonish Beach around 1920.
(National Geographic Magazine, Vol. XXXVIII, July, 1920)
Bras d'Or Lakes and Coastal Cruises. (Cape Breton, Nova Scotia: The Unspoiled Summerland of America, Province of Nova Scotia, 1930)
BRAS d’OR LAKES AND COASTAL CRUISES

Leave Sydney every Monday at 7 a.m. for Baddeck, St. Peter’s and Mulgrave, connecting with night train for all points west of Canso Strait. Steamer continues the trip to Cheticamp.
Leave Cheticamp every Wednesday morning for Mulgrave, connecting with day express, passengers transferring from train to steamer for sail through the Lakes to Sydney.

Fare
Mulgrave to Sydney, $3.50

Leave Sydney at 7 a.m. on Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday for Baddeck and Whycocomagh, returning on Wednesday, Friday and Monday. The week-end trip gives Sunday at either Baddeck or Whycocomagh.

Fares
Sydney - Baddeck, $1.50; return, $2.50
Sydney - Whycocomagh, $2.50; return, $4.50

Leave Sydney at 7 a.m. Monday and Thursday for St. Ann’s and North Shore points, returning same day.

Fare: $1.50; return, $2.50

Leave Sydney at 7 a.m. Tuesday and Friday, returning the following day, for Ingonish, Neil’s Harbor, Aspy Bay and Bay St. Lawrence.

Fares: Ingonish, return, $3.25
Aspy Bay, return, $4.25
Bay St. Lawrence, return, $5.00

Meals, 75c. Stateroom Accommodation
20 Photograph of Sydney Harbour in 1931 showing coastal steamer at the dock: *(National Air Photo Library, Roll A3426, No. 72)*
21 One of the first cars in Neil's Harbour. (Cabot Archives, Neil's Harbour, No. 101)
22 Road map of Cape Breton in 1924. (Road Map and Travelogue of Nova Scotia, Chronicle Publishing Co., Halifax, 1924)
23 The old Cabot Trail at Cap Rouge, c. 1930 (Donated by Mrs. P.E. Chiasson, Cape Breton Highlands National Park, Photograph Collection, Chéticamp)
Photograph of old Cabot Trail in 1928 showing the bridge across the Chéticamp River. (National Air Photo Library, Roll A908, No. 23)
25 Photograph of the old Cabot Trail in 1928 showing the road in the vicinity of Presqu'ile. (National Air Photo Library, Roll A908, No. 24)
26 Photograph of the old Cabot Trail near the Rigwash Valley in 1929. (Cape Breton Highlands National Park, Photo Collection, Chéticamp)
The old Cabot Trail at French Mountain, 1929 (Cape Breton Highlands National Park, Photo Collection, Chéticamp)
28 Along the old Cabot Trail, 1929 (Cape Breton Highlands National Park, Photograph Collection, Chéticamp)
29 Old entrance to the Cabot Trail, c. 1930 (Donated by Mrs. P.E. Chiasson, Cape Breton Highlands National Park, Chéticamp, Photograph Collection)
Old entrance to the Cabot Trail, c. 1930 (Donated by Mrs. P.E. Chiasson, Cape Breton Highlands National Park, Photograph Collection, Chéticamp)
31 Construction work on link between Pleasant Bay and Big Intervale, 1931-32. (Public Archives of Nova Scotia, Photograph Collection)
Cabot Trail; Big Intervale—Pleasant Bay, during construction
Construction work on link between Pleasant Bay and Cape North, 1931-32. *(Department of Highways, Fourteenth Report, 1931)*
Cape North-Pleasant Bay Highway, showing section of completed road
33 Construction crew on Cabot Trail, c. 1932 (Cabot Archives, Neil's Harbour, No. 312)
34 Construction work on the link between Pleasant Bay and Big Intervale, 1931-32. (Public Archives of Nova Scotia, Photograph Collection)
Cabot Trail; Big Intervale—Pleasant Bay, during construction
35 Construction work on the last link between Pleasant Bay and Big Intervale, 1931-32. (Public Archives of Nova Scotia, Photograph Collection)
Cabot Trail; Big Intervale—Pleasant Bay, during construction
Opening ceremonies for the Cabot Trail, 15 October 1932, (Cabot Archives, Neil's Harbour, No. 13)
Photograph of the old Cabot Trail in 1933 with the Rigwash Valley in the background. (Cape Breton Highlands National Park, Photograph Collection, Chéticamp)
38 Horseshoe curve on the old Cabot Trail, c. 1934 (Public Archives of Canada, National Photograph Collection)
39 Cabot Trail near North Mountain, c. 1934 (Public Archives of Canada, National Photographic Collection)
The old Cabot Trail nearing Pleasant Bay on the road from Cape North of Pleasant Bay, c. 1934 (Public Archives of Canada, National Photographic Collection)
41 Old Cabot Trail at Cap Rouge, c. 1934 (Public Archives of Canada, National Photography Collection)
42 The old Cabot Trail near North Mountain, c. 1934 (Cape Breton Highlands National Park, Photograph Collection, Chéticamp)
43 Old entrance to the Cabot Trail at the Chéticamp River, 1934. (Public Archives of Canada, National Photography Collection)
44 Old Cabot Trail, 2 miles north of the Chéticamp River, 1934. (Public Archives of Canada, National Photography Collection)
45 Old Cabot Trail, 4 miles north of Chéticamp River, 1934.  
(Public Archives of Canada, National Photography Collection)
Old Cabot Trail at Cap Rouge, 1934. (Public Archives of Canada, National Photography Collection)
47 Old Cabot Trail at Cap Rouge, 1934. (Public Archives of Canada, National Photography Collection)
Old Cabot Trail after it turned inland near Cap Rouge, 1934. (Public Archives of Canada, National Photography Collection)
49 Beech woods along the Cabot Trail near Pleasant Bay, 1934. (Public Archives of Canada, National Photography Collection)
50 Old Cabot Trail near North Mountain, 1934. (Public Archives of Canada, National Photography Collection)
51 Old Cabot Trail near North Mountain, 1934. (Public Archives of Canada, National Photography Collection)
52 Old Cabot Trail on North Mountain, 1934. (Public Archives of Canada, National Photography Collection)
Look-off on the old Cabot Trail on North Mountain, 1934.
(Public Archives of Canada, National Photography Collection)
54 Cabot Trail at North Mountain, 1934. (Public Archives of Canada, National Photography Collection)
The Cabot Trail in the Aspy River Valley, 1934. (Public Archives of Canada, National Photography Collection)
The old Cabot Trail nearing Cape North, 1934. (Public Archives of Canada, National Photography Collection)
57 A 20% grade on the old Cabot Trail, 1934. (Public Archives of Canada, National Photography Collection)
The Cabot Trail near Ingonish, 1934. (Public Archives of Canada, National Photography Collection)
59 The Rigwash Valley (c. 1935) before the construction of the new entrance road for the Cabot Trail. (Donated by Mrs. P.E. Chiasson, Cape Breton Highlands National Park, Photograph Collection, Cheticamp)
"Le Buttereau" on the Cabot Trail, c. 1935. (Beaton Archives, Sydney, N.S.)
61 Cabot Trail near Rigwash Valley, c. 1935 (Donated by Mrs. P.E. Chiasson, Cape Breton Highlands National Park, Photograph Collection, Chéticamp)
62  Old Cabot Trail near the Rigwash Valley, c. 1934. 
(Donated by Mrs. P.E. Chiasson, Cape Breton Highlands 
National Park, Photograph Collection, Chéticamp)
Look-off at Fishing Cove on the old Cabot Trail, c. 1935. (Donated by Mrs. P.E. Chiasson, Cape Breton Highlands National Park, Photograph Collection, Chéticamp)
LOOK OUT ON FISHING COVE  MACKINZIE RIVER ON CABOT TRAIL, NAT'L PARK.
64 Car accident on South Mountain between Dingwall and Neil's Harbour, c. 1935 (Cabot Archives, Neil's Harbour, No. 350)
65 Air photo of old Cabot Trail between Chéticamp River and Presqu'ile, 1936. (National Air Photo Library, Roll A5426, No. 49)
66 Air photo of the old Cabot Trail in the vicinity of Cap Rouge, 1936. (National Air Photo Library, Roll A5427, No. 46)
67 Air Photo of the old Cabot Trail in the Pleasant Bay area, 1936. (National Air Photo Library, Roll A5429, No. 22)
View of the old Cabot Trail near the Rigwash Valley in 1937 showing construction shacks. (Donated by Mrs. P.E. Chiasson, Cape Breton Highlands National Park, Photograph Collection, Chéticamp)
Tourists with Mike Sullivan's Bus on the Cabot Trail near Chéticamp, c. 1938 (Public Archives of Canada, National Photography Collection)
Photograph showing the new Cabot Trail in the Cap Rouge area, c. 1938. (Donated by Mrs. P.E. Chiasson, Cape Breton Highlands National Park, Photograph Collection, Chéticamp)
71 New Cabot Trail through the Rigwash Valley, c. 1938
(Donated by Mrs. P.E. Chiasson, Cape Breton Highlands
National Park, Photograph Collection, Chéticamp)
72 Road near park entrance at Ingonish Beach, c. 1938
(Cabot Archives, Neil's Harbour, No. 392)
Construction of entrance highway and administration building at South Ingonish, c. 1938. (Public Archives of Canada, National Photography Collection)
Stone Guard Rail at Big Intervale, 1940. (Public Archives of Canada, National Photography Collection)
75 Guard Rails on North Mountain, 1940s. (Cape Breton Highlands National Park, Photograph Collection, Chéticamp)
Photograph showing the new Cabot Trail at Presqu'ile, c. 1940. (Donated by Mrs. P.E. Chiasson, Cape Breton Highlands National Park, Photograph Collection, Chéticamp)
PRESQUE ÎLE SUR LA ROUTE DE CABOT. PARC NATIONAL C.B.
77 New Cabot Trail at Corney Brook, c. 1940 (Donated by Mrs. P.E. Chiasson. Cape Breton Highlands National Park, Photograph Collection, Cheticamp)
78 Map showing major route changes in the Cabot Trail between Chéticamp and Pleasant Bay from 1934 to 1940. (Drawn by John Gasparac, Planning Section, Atlantic Regional Office)
Cabot Trail

Cheticamp to Pleasant Bay

- 1940
- 1934
Construction work on the Cabot Trail in 1941. Photo shows portable gravel screen and hoppers in operation.  (Public Archives of Canada, National Photography Collection)
Construction work on the Cabot Trail in 1941. Photo shows tractor and grader at work. (Public Archives of Canada, National Photography Collection)
New entrance highway at Ingonish, 1941. (Public Archives of Canada, National Photography Collection)
Construction work on the Cabot Trail in 1941. Photo shows angle dozer at work. (Public Archives of Canada, National Photography Collection)
Construction work on the Cabot Trail in 1941. This photo shows a speeder shovel and truck at work. (Public Archives of Canada, National Photography Collection)
Construction work on the Cabot Trail in 1941. Photo shows setting mud sills for 4' x 4' C.T. box culvert. (Public Archives of Canada, National Photography Collection)
Construction work on the Cabot Trail in 1941. This photo shows a completed 4' x 4' C.T. box culvert. (Public Archives of Canada, National Photography Collection)
Construction work on the Cabot Trail in 1941. Photo shows the laying of stone and earth roadbed. (Public Archives of Canada, National Photography Collection)
87 Completed construction on section of Cabot Trail in 1941. (Public Archives of Canada, National Photography Collection)
Air photo of the Cabot Trail in 1947 showing changes which occurred near the Chéticamp entrance. (National Air Photo Library, Roll A11726, No. 81)
Air photo of the Cabot Trail in 1947 showing the old and the new route in the French Mountain area. (National Air Photo Library, Roll A11762, No. 77)
Air photo of the Cabot Trail in 1947 showing the descent from MacKenzie Mountain. (National Air Photo Library, Roll All1761, No. 61)

91 Entrance to Park at Little River, c. 1948 (Donated by Mrs. P.E. Chiasson, Cape Breton Highlands National Park, Chéticamp, Photograph Collection)
92 The Cabot Trail near Cap Rouge, c. 1955 (Nova Scotia Camera Tour, Department of Trade and Industry, Province of Nova Scotia)
93 The Cabot Trail, c. 1955 (Nova Scotia Camera Tour, Department of Trade and Industry, Province of Nova Scotia)