

THE UNITED EMPIRE LOYALISTS' ASSOCIATION OF CANADA

The **Loyalist** GAZETTE

VOL. LXII • NO.1 • SPRING 2024



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Lower Canada Loyalists



BILL RUSSELL UE
UELAC SENIOR VICE PRESIDENT

The Loyalist Quill



In the past three issues of the Gazette we had a guest editor, however, in this issue we did not have anyone come forward to take on the job. The editorial committee has assembled articles which we hope our readers will enjoy.

We set out with a request for articles for the regions of Lower Canada (Quebec) and Upper Canada (Ontario), and we were overwhelmed

with submissions for both regions. The Committee decided to break format and include articles for Lower Canada and one article that we could not fit into the last issue from New Brunswick. We will feature the Upper Canada articles in the Fall edition.

The Quebec region is rich in Loyalist history from the winter refugee camps that housed the Loyalists making their way to Ontario to the settlement of

the Eastern Townships and the Gaspé regions.

We trust our readers will enjoy the stories we have assembled and thank the authors who have submitted their work.

Bill Russell UE
Chair, Editorial Committee

ADVERTISE IN The Loyalist GAZETTE

The UELAC Loyalist Gazette, published twice yearly in the spring and fall, is the magazine of the United Empire Loyalists' Association of Canada (UELAC). Focussing on the history of the Loyalist era and UELAC information, with a circulation of 2,000+ to a readership across Canada, the USA, the British Isles, Europe and abroad, as well as to Canadian and American universities, it utilizes a 44-47-page format in colour. This audience is interested in Canadian and American history and genealogy, especially the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Our Loyalist Gazette is issued in digital format as well as a professionally produced publication.

Order today as advertising space is limited, on a first-come, first-served basis. You may specify where you want your ad: in book reviews, etc.

Rates: Note Ad layout: V = Vertical, H = Horizontal

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Multi-issue discounts:

- There is a 20% discount on orders for advertisements that will appear in multiple issues.

Deadlines:

- Fall 2024 issue - August 31, 2024
- Spring 2025 issue - January 31, 2025

Contact:

Bill Russell UE,
UELAC Dominion Vice President
UELAC Loyalist Gazette & Communications Committee,
E-mail: Communications@uelac.org

think history is in the past?
You'll be surprised to discover...

June 6-9, 2024

Cornwall, Ontario CANADA



...THE STORY CONTINUES

UELAC 2024 | Immersive Experience Weekend

UELAC would like to invite you to Cornwall, Ontario in June 2024!

There is lots to explore and you were given an amazing virtual glimpse in 2021, and this coming conference will enable you to actually step into these historic places.

UELAC conference will be held in conjunction with the
Cornwall 1784 - the 240th anniversary of the
Founding of New Johnstown.

Our host hotel is the Best Western in downtown Cornwall - a short distance to, well, everything! We have also booked a group of rooms at the brand new Hampton Inn by Hilton, a mere 1/2km from the Best Western. Both hotels will be opening these reservations early in 2024 and links will be shared over a variety of social media platforms once available.





BY CARL STYMIEST UE
UELAC DOMINION PRESIDENT



Charting a Course for Heritage Preservation and Engagement: GOALS FOR THE UELAC DOMINION PRESIDENT

In the ever-evolving landscape of historical preservation and cultural engagement, the role of the United Empire Loyalists' Association of Canada (UELAC) remains paramount. As the newly appointed Dominion President, the objective is clear: to navigate the association through a period of transformative growth, focusing on heritage preservation, educational outreach, and fostering a sense of community among members and the public. This article outlines the key goals and objectives that will guide the UELAC during this tenure, with an emphasis on innovation, inclusivity, and the strengthening of our historical narrative.

1. Strengthening Heritage Preservation: At the heart of the UELAC's mission is the preservation of the United Empire Loyalists' legacy, a cornerstone of Canadian history. A primary goal is to ensure that this heritage is not only preserved but also made accessible to a broader audience. This involves the digitization of historical documents and records, making them available online for researchers, educators, and the general public. Additionally, we aim to enhance the physical preservation of historical sites and artifacts, securing them for future generations. Through partnerships with governmental and private entities, we hope to seek funding and support for these critical projects.

2. Expanding Educational Outreach: Education is a powerful tool in fostering appreciation and understanding of our shared history. A key objective is to expand the UELAC's

educational outreach programs, targeting students, educators, and the broader community. In the past the UELAC developed comprehensive educational materials that align with curriculum standards across Canada, making it easier for teachers to integrate Loyalist history into their classrooms. Furthermore, we plan to leverage technology through the creation of online resources, virtual tours, and webinars that bring Loyalist history to life for a digital audience.

3. Fostering Community Engagement and Inclusivity: The UELAC thrives on its community of members, volunteers, and enthusiasts who share a passion for Loyalist history. A significant goal is to enhance this sense of community through increased engagement and inclusivity. We will introduce new platforms for members to connect, share research, and collaborate on projects. Recognizing the diverse backgrounds of the Loyalists and their descendants, we aim to highlight these varied narratives, fostering a more inclusive understanding of our shared history. Events, such as the 2024 Conference, *"The Story Continues"* in Cornwall, Ontario June 6 - 9 with 'Living History' reenactments and tours will serve as avenues for engaging with the broader community, encouraging dialogue and participation.

4. Advocating for Historical Significance: As Dominion President, a vital role is to serve as an advocate for the historical significance of the United Empire Loyalists. This involves engaging with policymakers, educational institutions, and the media to ensure

that the Loyalists' contributions to Canadian history are recognized and valued. By strengthening our presence in national conversations about history and heritage, we can ensure that the Loyalist legacy continues to be a vital part of Canada's narrative.

5. Embracing Innovation and Sustainability: The future of the UELAC lies in its ability to innovate and adapt to changing times. Embracing digital technologies and sustainable practices will be key to achieving our goals. This includes exploring new methods of fundraising, such as online campaigns and partnerships with businesses sharing our values. Additionally, we will assess our operations to ensure they are environmentally sustainable, reflecting our commitment to preserving not only our history but also our planet for future generations.

In conclusion, the tenure as UELAC Dominion President comes with a responsibility to honor our past while looking forward to the future. By focusing on heritage preservation, educational outreach, community engagement, historical advocacy, and innovation, we can ensure that the legacy of the United Empire Loyalists is not only preserved but also celebrated and understood by all Canadians. Together, we will chart a course that respects our history while embracing the opportunities of the present and future.

Loyally,
Carl Stymiest UE
Carl Stymiest UE
UELAC Dominion President

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ON THE COVER:

The Governor's Cottage is the oldest house in Sorel-Tracy. Lieutenant Colonel Frédéric Haldimand ordered its construction completed in 1781 to welcome General Riedesel, a German who had fought on the British side during the War of American Independence, and his wife and children.

GRAPHIC DESIGN AND LAYOUT:

Amanda Fasken UE

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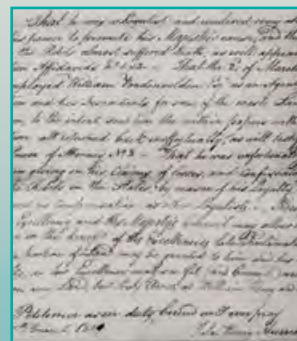


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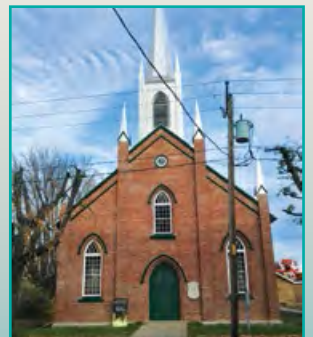
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THE UNITED EMPIRE LOYALISTS' ASSOCIATION OF CANADA

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Published by authority of

The United Empire Loyalists' Association of Canada

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Telephone (416) 591-1783 | E-mail: uelac@uelac.org | Website: www.uelac.ca | ISSN: 0047-5149

UELAC PEOPLE

Behind the Scenes



DOUGLAS WARNER GRANT UE
UELAC WEB MANAGER

UELAC WEB MANAGER

LOYALIST TRAILS EDITOR

CO-PRESIDENT GOV. SIMCOE BRANCH

REGIONAL COUNCILLOR

UELAC PRESIDENT 2004-2006

I was raised first in the farming community of Avonbank ON between Stratford and St. Marys, on a family farm taken up by my Taylor ancestors from the Canada Company in 1844. We moved to town – Campbellford ON - in my early teens. There I later met my wife of fifty years Nancy Conn UE, from Mimico ON (a suburb of Toronto). My mother grew up in Mimico, but moved when she married. It turned out that Nancy's father and my mother went to school together and our grandparents played bridge.

Nancy was into family history, received her Loyalist Certificate to Andrew Denike UEL in 1979. When telling my parents about this achievement, my mother (maiden name Warner) exclaimed "We are Loyalists too!" - first I knew.

So I too joined Gov Simcoe Branch, and received my certificate in 1980 to Michael Warner UEL, Osnabruck ON. In 1981, the branch president asked if I would manage the sales table. I have been on the executive ever since, holding most every role during that time. I am now in my

fifth term as President (actually Co-President this time) - maybe one day I will get it right.

At the Cornwall Conference in I think 2000, a local member helped me find details for my second Loyalist Certificate, to George Sutherland who settled in Lancaster Township, Glengarry County. But this lineage was through my paternal Grant line. My certificate followed in October 2000.

At the UELAC level, the role of Regional Councillor called about 1999, and Regional Vice President subsequently. Then Treasurer in 2002, SVP in 2003 and President 2004-6. As President, and usually with Nancy accompanying me, and always with laptop and projector, we visited every branch with the message "Let's get the Loyalist light out from beneath the proverbial bushel basket".

As SVP, on 28 April 2004, I distributed the first copy of a newsletter, soon renamed Loyalist Trails. By year end, it was published weekly. Now in 2024, it has much more content, about 2,100 subscribers, and a faithful weekly

columnist Stephen Davidson UE, author and historian. I have learned so much from Stephen, and from other content published in the newsletter. Subscriptions are free, and open to all.

Ed Scott UE, UELAC President 1998-2000, started the uelac website. I took on the web manager role about 2002 - still there. The uelac.ca site and functions have grown to include the Loyalist Directory, the membership system, and archives of recent *Loyalist Gazettes* and all issues of *Loyalist Trails*.

It was a real honour a decade ago to be appointed Honorary Lieutenant Colonel of the Royal Yorkers, the reenactment group based on the King's Royal Regiment of New York.

My parents - Warner and Grant - met in 1936. I wonder if their Loyalist ancestors Michael Warner and George Sutherland, both serving in the KRRNY, ever met during their service time 150 years earlier.

One day I hope to find time to prove more Loyalist ancestors.



VOLUNTEERING IS A NOBLE ACT.

VOLUNTEER RECOGNITION: THE BC RECONCILIATION AWARD

Glenn Smith UE

VANCOUVER BRANCH

Many members of UELAC also volunteer with other organizations, including Vancouver Branch member Glenn Smith UE, who volunteers with the Last Post Fund. In January, the BC Branch of the Last Post Fund received the 2023 BC Reconciliation Award. Glenn, along with BC Branch President, Gino Simeoni, attended a ceremony at Government House in Victoria to accept the award.

The mission of the Last Post Fund is “to ensure that no veteran is denied a dignified funeral and burial, as well as a military gravestone, due to insufficient funds at the time of death”. The Last Post Fund provides permanent military markers for eligible veterans who lie in unmarked graves. In addition, the Fund’s Indigenous Veterans Initiative provides grave markers for Indigenous Veterans deceased for over 5 years lying in unmarked graves; and adds traditional names of Indigenous Veterans to existing military grave markers. By “collaborating with Indigenous elders and former Canadian Forces members, cultural protocols and proper commemoration are respected,” and the initiative is “consistent with the Canadian government’s efforts towards advancing reconciliation and renewing the relationship with Indigenous peoples based on the recognition of the



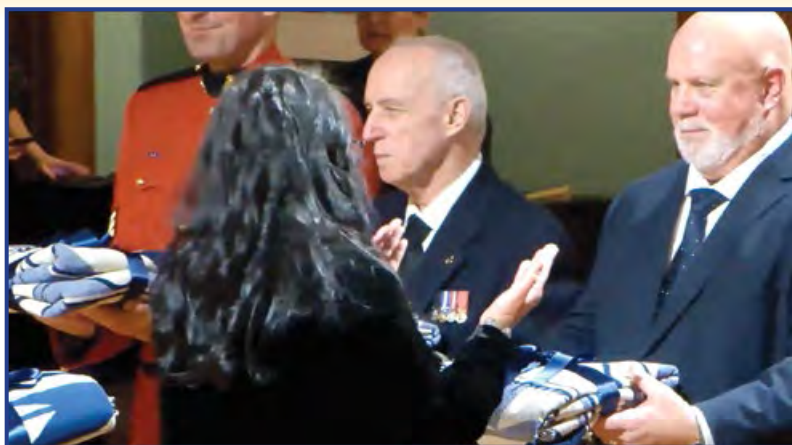
➤ Selection Committee member, ᐅᐱᐱ Dr. Christopher Horsethief – Ktunaxa Nation, presents Reconciliation Award to Gino Simeoni (centre) and Glenn Smith.

rights, respect, cooperation and partnership.”

As a former Military Policeman in the Canadian Armed Forces, Glenn’s interest in the Last Post Fund was piqued in 2020, when the President of the BC Branch, Gino Simeoni, was a guest speaker at a UELAC Vancouver Branch meeting. Since joining the Last Post Fund’s BC Branch in 2021, with a specific role to research and identify veteran’s unmarked graves, Glenn has requested approximately 150 military headstones and is currently gathering information for an additional 150

veteran’s headstones. Glenn is especially pleased that his volunteer efforts mean that the contributions and sacrifices of Indigenous Veterans are recognized, and his voluntary efforts, actions, and sincere commitment to reconciliation are appreciated by Indigenous families and communities.

The BC Reconciliation Award, which “honours excellence of individuals, groups and organizations committed to furthering the principles of reconciliation”, was announced through a partnership of the Office of the Lieutenant Governor of British



Columbia and the BC Achievement Foundation, and was presented on behalf of a 7 member selection committee consisting of Indigenous elders and leadership.

Congratulations to the BC Branch of the Last Post Fund and thank you to Glenn Smith UE for all the volunteer work you do.

For more information, visit:

www.lastpostfund.ca

www.bcachievement.com/award/british-columbia-reconciliation-award-2023/

➤ Selection Committee member Tlalislam Dr. Kim van der Woerd - 'Namgis Nation, presents a blanket to Glenn Smith.

PHILIP E.M. LEITH MEMORIAL AWARD RECIPIENT

Wendy Clapp UE

VICTORIA BRANCH

The Philip E.M. Leith Memorial Award for volunteer excellence was awarded to Sandra Farynuk, UE of the Thompson Okanagan Branch and to Wendy Clapp of the Victoria Branch at the 2023 UELAC conference in Vancouver.

Wendy was not able to attend the conference due to a mishap during day surgery in Vancouver on May 8, 2023. Since then Wendy has spent her time in various hospitals in Vancouver and Victoria. She was released from the hospital in Victoria on January 26 and is now home where her healing process continues.

On February 11, many of the

Victoria Branch executive got together at the Compeer residence in Esquimalt for the award presentation. Wendy arrived at the gathering and was surprised to see people other than the Compeers. Her husband, Jim, was in on the ruse.

The award was presented by Frans Compeer, the newly elected president of the Victoria Branch. Betty Compeer UE, read the nomination letter to Wendy. Both Betty and Frans were thrilled to be able to present the award, and Wendy was even more thrilled to receive it.

Many thanks to the attendees for making this such a memorable event.



➤ In a circle starting with Jim Clapp: Wendy Clapp, Frans Compeer (reflection), Betty Compeer UE, Lynda Curran, Barry Curran UE, Judith McMullen, Brian McMullen UE, Catherine Fryer UE, Ruth Rogers UE.

Education & Outreach



BARB ANDREW UE
CHAIRPERSON

Recently, while whiling away a few hours on my computer, I came across a CBC learning site, and the title “Canada ~ A People’s History” caught my attention.

Lesson 13: United Empire Loyalists (includes activity) was front and centre on my screen, and of course I had to explore. The site offers Elementary School Resources for teachers and offered me the opportunity to scroll through and refresh my memory on the history of Canada beginning with lesson 1: Canada’s First Peoples.

As I read, I recalled comments made by attendees following a presentation I had been invited to offer to a provincial genealogical society. During the Q & A many of the participants mentioned that they did not recall ever learning about the Loyalists during their school days, which both surprised and shocked me. I suspect that the participants were of similar age to me, and I know that some mention of the Loyalists was taught in history/geography classes that I took in elementary school in Manitoba. I also recalled that not so long ago the

“Loyalists” was a chapter included in the grade five history curriculum and as a volunteer pre COVID I was often invited to attend a class dressed in my period clothing carrying in my basket a few 1780’s replica toys and on occasion a sampling of Johnny Cake to share with the students. Sadly, those opportunities for in-class visits are no longer allowed in many school divisions across the country.

However, what surprised me even more about the comments those participants had made was that one person noted that he had been born and raised in Cornwall, ON. very close to Eamer’s Corners and was unaware that there was Loyalist history in Cornwall. Another chap mentioned that he had spent vacation time in that same city several years prior and had not realized a Loyalist connection to the community.

When I had an opportunity to digest those comments, I asked myself, what more can we be doing as an association to educate the population about the Loyalists and their contributions to our communities and our country?

Branches work tirelessly to commemorate cemeteries where Loyalists were laid to rest with relevant signage, authors have produced countless writings both factual and fictional relating to the lives and times of the Loyalists. The association has produced fantastic teacher resources that were circulated to libraries across the country, branch members attend historical fairs dressed in period clothing offering information to the attendees, the association and individual branches offer scholarships

for students, members produce informational videos to stream on social media outlets, UELAC produces this very informative *Loyalist Gazette* magazine twice a year and an online newsletter is produced and delivered to inboxes every weekend for those with an interest. The list of outreach efforts goes on and on.

So, what are we missing? What new advertising avenues do we need to travel down? Gone are days of producing historical Canadian vignettes such as the “The Move” “Bluenose 1921-1946” and “Fort Prince of Wales” that were enjoyed during early television days? With new platforms of media advertisement available, pamphlets and posters do not catch the eye of younger generations. So what will? How can we best tell the story of the first refugees to Canada and their contributions to the country we call home today.

UELAC must be more visible if we are to continue to follow our mission statement that is to preserve, promote and celebrate the history and traditions of the United Empire Loyalists.

Do you have suggestions, thoughts or ideas to contribute? Would you be interested in being a part of the E&O committee? Please reach out, we welcome your input.

*“The more an idea
is developed, the more
concise becomes its
expression; the more a tree
is pruned, the better is
the fruit.”*

- Alfred Bougeart



UELAC Loyalist SCHOLARSHIP COMMITTEE

THE FUTURE OF LOYALIST STUDIES IS ALIVE AND WELL IN OUR UNIVERSITIES AND COLLEGES ON BOTH SIDES OF THE BORDER.

Each February as applications for the UELAC Scholarship come in, we see interesting themes in the work being undertaken by Masters and PhD scholars whose passion for the American Revolution from the loyalist side of the struggle is evident.

Almost 15 years ago, former UELAC Scholarship recipient, Christopher F. Minty wrote the following: “To be sure, in recent years loyalist studies has made considerable strides. Scholarship by Ruma Chopra, Maya Jasanoff, Judith Van Buskirk, Phillip Papas, Keith Mason, Christopher Sparshott, and the writers and editors of *The Loyal Atlantic* and *Loyalism and the*

Formation of the British World, among others, have pushed loyalist studies forward into new, exciting areas. Above all, they have placed it within an Atlantic framework and questioned what it meant to be a “loyalist.”

activehistory.ca/blog/2015/11/28/the-future-of-loyalist-studies/

If anything, these considerable strides Minty refers to have increased in speed and length. The UELAC Scholarship Committee is encouraged by this continued interest.

You can read a review of *Unfriendly to Liberty: Loyalist Networks and the Coming of the American Revolution in*

New York City by Christopher Minty’s 2023 book on page 32 of this issue of our Loyalist Gazette.

Podcasts, Facebook book clubs and live and recorded talks often feature the Loyalist story. Regular readers of Loyalist Trails are kept apprised of many interesting opportunities.

The scholarship committee will not be launching a “challenge” this year because the 2024 goal has already been met by a generous gift. Watch for the next Scholarship Challenge in 2025, but in the meantime donations, from individuals and branches, to the scholarship or endowment fund are accepted and appreciated any time. uelac.ca/scholarship/donate/

UELAC SCHOLARS WANTED!



The UELAC Loyalist Scholarship is available to Masters and PhD students undertaking a program in research that will further Canadians’ understanding of the Loyalists

and our appreciation of their, or their immediate descendants’ influence on Canada.

The award is for \$2,500 Canadian per year and, on approval, will be provided for each of two years for Masters and three years for PhD students.

Preference may be given to students who have taken an undergraduate degree in history, to those who are of proven Loyal-

ist descent, and to students at Universities in Canada. The UELAC reserves the right to award the scholarship in accordance with its sole discretion. Upon completion, a copy of the thesis must be presented to the Association.

The application requirements are available at
www.uelac.org



BY STEPHEN DAVIDSON

THE PERSONAL EXODUS OF A JEWISH LOYALIST

In May of 2019, two historical societies jointly dedicated a marker in Cahokia, Illinois to honour John Jacob Hays, who was the only known Jewish resident of Illinois when it achieved statehood in 1818. Hays served his community as a county sheriff, a justice of the peace, a federal revenue official, and then as an Indian agent. However, the plaque failed to mention Hays' Loyalist heritage.

John Jacob Hays had left New York City with his parents in the spring of 1783, finding sanctuary in Montreal. His father, Barrak Hays, was a Loyalist refugee. In Montreal, the family was reunited with John Jacob Hays' uncle Andrew. The story of Hays' Loyalist father and uncle is a forgotten chapter in both Jewish and Loyalist histories.

Emigrating from the Netherlands in the 1720s, Solomon Hays and his wife Gitlah became prominent members of New York City's Jewish community. Their eldest son, Barrak (from the Hebrew *"Barukh"* for *"blessed one"*) followed in his father's footsteps, establishing a business based in both New York and Newport, Rhode Island. Andrew, a younger son, decided to

take advantage of new business opportunities in Montreal when New France became part of an expanded British Empire. He settled there sometime after 1769 and became involved in the city's thriving fur trade.

Barrak and his wife Rachel da Costa's first child was John Jacob Hays. Young John Jacob spent the first seventeen years of his life in New York City, watching both his extended family and his colony split apart along political lines.

Because the colonial Jewish businessmen had a record of providing the British forces with needed provisions during the Seven Years War, they once again became suppliers with the outbreak of the revolution. Some sold military provisions to the British troops and German mercenaries in Canada as early as 1775, while others did the same within the rebellious colonies following the British occupation of New York City in August of 1776.

Hays not only sided with his monarch in the opening months of the American Revolution, he also came to the aid of his synagogue when he learned that the British had plans to turn it into a military hospital. The historian N. Taylor Phillips notes that Hays was one of three men who *"prevailed on the British not do with the synagogue as they had with most of the other*



➤ John Jacob Hays

churches in the city. They had turned them into hospitals, riding academies, barracks and things of that kind.”

However, the synagogue did not escape vandalism. British soldiers broke into it, destroyed some of the furnishings, and damaged the Torah and other holy writings. This incident prompted Barrak Hays to place an ad in *Rivington's Royal Gazette* in which he offered a reward of five guineas for the “return of two sets of Hebrew parchment rolls taken out of the synagogue” on September 10, 1782.

To its credit, the British army publicly whipped the vandals who desecrated the synagogue. Centuries later, the holy books that had been damaged by the soldiers still bear the “marks of desecration”.

In addition to his business connections with the British army, Hays was employed as an “officer of guides”, receiving five shillings a day for his services. This position may have drawn on Hays’ knowledge of trade routes and business contacts within the rebelling colonies, a resource that would be invaluable to British officers in their pursuit of rebel forces in unfamiliar terrain. Hays fulfilled this role up until June of 1783.

Ever astute, Hays seems to have sensed the inevitable victory of the Patriots. In August of 1782, he posted an ad in New York’s loyalist newspaper saying that he planned to sail for Europe and wanted to “settle accounts and dispose of his wares”. Following the death of his wife Rachel, Hays married a woman named Prudence. His second wife would eventually bear three half-siblings for John Jacob Hays.

Barrak Hays and his family did not leave New York for Europe in 1782 as they had initially planned, but with the signing of the Treaty



of Paris, they made concrete plans to seek refuge in Canada. On April 14, 1783, Hays wrote to Sir Guy Carleton, the British commander-in-chief, asking for assistance in leaving New York City. He had “with others” purchased “a small vessel to go to Quebec”. Hays requested six months of back pay for serving as an “extra guide” for the British army to help finance his flight to safety. He also hoped that Carleton would write him a recommendation to Sir Frederick Haldimand, the governor of Canada.

Four months later, Hays was in Montreal where he wrote directly to Haldimand to outline his situation. The Jewish merchant recounted his “loyalty to the best of sovereigns” and

how he “was obliged to leave New York and retire to some place where he might remain in quietness with his family”.

If a government position was unavailable, Hays asked Haldimand to “grant him a commission as an auctioneer in the city of Montreal”. As an English-speaking refugee settling in Montreal, Hays also had a keen grasp of his limitations. He recognized that he was “not so much master of the French language as to speak it” so he already had Samuel Davis, a bilingual “native of this province”, lined up to be his partner.

While we do not know how Haldimand responded to Barrak Hays’ request, we do know that Hays stayed in Canada for at least a

decade and that his brother Andrew was near at hand.

Upon his arrival in Montreal sometime after 1769, Andrew Hays joined the local Jewish congregation. In 1777, Montreal's Jews felt they were able to build and support a synagogue – the first to be built in what is now Canada and only the third in North America. Comprised of 25 families, the Shearith Israel Congregation met for worship in their building on Little St. James Street, but they would have to wait until 1780 to acquire all of the religious articles necessary for a synagogue. Andrew Hays was one of three who made up its junto or governing committee.

By the time that his brother's family arrived in Montreal, Andrew and his wife Abigail were able to provide Barrak and Prudence with both a place to stay and a synagogue in which to worship. Montreal's Jewish community – which now included Loyalist refugees as well as those who remained loyal throughout the revolution—was made up of businessmen, fur traders, and army personnel. It is estimated that 10% of Montreal's merchants were Jewish.

Details about the lives of the Loyalists, Barrak and Andrew Hays, begin to peter out after the massive refugee resettlement that followed in the wake of the American Revolution. However, this is where

the story of John Jacob Hays begins to grow.

John Jacob decided to work for his uncle Andrew rather than his father Barrak. Growing up in Montreal, the younger Hays acquired a mastery

In 1777, Montreal's Jews felt they were able to build and support a synagogue – the first to be built in what is now Canada and only the third in North America.

of the French language, a skill that would become very important as he travelled to fur trading forts that had once been part of the colony of New France. Stories have survived of John Jacob travelling by canoe to Michigan's Fort Mackinac and of a later visit to the headwaters of the Red River.

By 1790, John Jacob Hays had settled in Cahokia, a community on the Mississippi River not far from St. Louis, Missouri. Eventually, he left the fur trade and became a shopkeeper. He also maintained a farm and traded with Indigenous People on an annual trip up the Mississippi. Hays married Mary Louise Brouillet, a Roman Catholic

woman from nearby Vincennes. The couple raised three daughters, Jane, Elizabeth, and an unnamed middle sister.

The fate of Barrak Hays, John Jacob's father, is uncertain. Described by one historian as a "stormy and controversial" man, Hays may only have stayed in Montreal for a decade before moving on to other opportunities. A list of 113 members of a Masonic Lodge in Newport, Rhode Island "previous to the 24th of June, 1791" includes Barrak Hays' name. Given that there was a large Jewish community in Rhode Island and that Hays once had a business in Newport, it may be that the Loyalist moved there in the hope of a new life in a more promising economic climate.

A number of genealogies for the Hays family make reference to the death of a Baruch (a variant spelling of his name) Hays in the West Indies on April 13, 1845. It may well be that Barrak Hays moved from Rhode Island to the West Indies before the conclusion of a tumultuous life.

One can only hope that in the end, Barrak Hays had his wish fulfilled that he might "remain in quietness with his family". And if Hays ever learned of John Jacob's achievements in the republic that the Loyalist had fled in 1783, he would no doubt derive satisfaction from the knowledge that his descendants had done well.

DID YOU KNOW?

To encourage settlement in the western frontier of Canada, Loyalists were given land grants of 200 acres per man. With the influx of Loyalists, what is now Eastern Ontario and the Niagara region received their first substantial white English-speaking settlers.

In 1791, the population increase initiated a separation of Canada into two provinces, Lower Canada and Upper Canada.



ROBERT C. WILKINS, U.E.

Robert C. Wilkins was born in Montreal and graduated from Loyola College (Hon. B.A. 1968) and from the McGill Law Faculty (B.C.L. 1972). After working in federal civil service and church-related jobs, he had several careers. For 12 years, he served as assistant city clerk and then city clerk of the City of Westmount, Quebec. After that, for another 16 years, he was the research assistant to the late William Tetley, Q.C., professor of maritime law and the conflict of laws at McGill. That led to his final 15 years, working in maritime law research and French-to English legal translation as an Associate with the law firm Borden Ladner Gervais LLP in Montreal, from which position he retired in 2022. Robert joined Heritage Branch-Montreal in 1989 and has been its branch president since 1993. He also belongs to the Sir John Johnson Centennial Branch as an additional branch member. He descends from Loyalist Capt. Robert Wilkins (1743-1836) who settled and is buried at Carrying Place near Trenton, Ontario.

THE SPY FROM SARATOGA JOHN PLATT, UEL



A condensation of John Ruch's research found in *The Loyalists of Quebec 1774 to 1825: A Forgotten History*

During the American Revolutionary War, secret agents were active in both the Loyalist and the rebel camps. One of the most active undercover agents on the British/Loyalist side was a certain John Platt, a blacksmith from the area of Saratoga in the Colony of New York.

Little is known of John Platt's early life. Even his precise birthdate remains uncertain, although subsequent references suggest that he was born sometime between 1745 and 1750.¹ He married one Ann Wragg, daughter of Loyalist John Wragge, in the late 1760s. What is certain, however is that Platt decided to remain true to the established order, and to serve the royal cause as a self-appointed secret agent. In May of 1775, when the rebels had already seized Forts Ticonderoga and Crown Point on Lake Champlain and Fort George on Lake George, Platt heard rumours of a planned invasion of Canada. In July, he decided to seek out information about these plans and convey it to the British authorities there.

Traveling northward from Saratoga, Platt first set out for Fort Edward. He lingered



➤ Detail from a 1777 map showing the Richelieu River.

there for a while, observing a gathering of rebel forces. Thence, he continued northwards to Fort Ticonderoga, where General Richard Montgomery was busy assembling men. His next stop was Crown Point. There he befriended Major Elemore, who gave him a pass, which authorized him to make a purely local trip. But Platt had other ideas. Hiring a boatman, he managed to make his way as far as the British fort at St. John's on the Richelieu River (now called "Saint-Jean-sur-Richelieu").



➤ Sir Frederick Haldimand.



➤ Sir Henry Clinton was the British Commander in Chief in America during the Revolutionary War until his resignation in 1781.

At Fort St. John's, Major Preston, the commandant, listened intently to the intelligence that Platt had gathered. That information enabled Preston to make preparations three weeks before the rebel attack on the fort, and to hold off the invaders for three weeks. Thus the rebel attack on Montreal was delayed, giving Platt the chance to execute a plan he had hatched with Preston. Platt agreed to go to Montreal and pose as a rebel, in order to be arrested with others, thereby getting an opportunity to pass along his knowledge of the invasion plan to Sir Guy Carleton, the governor of Quebec.

The plan worked. While arrested, Platt managed to convince the governor to come to Montreal and hear him out. Carleton later thanked Platt *"... for the services he had done for His Majesty's Arms by his speedy and faithfull [sic.] intelligence"*. Alas, promises made to reimburse Platt for his expenses and reward him for his service were never kept.

Despite John Platt's best efforts, rebel forces eventually captured both St. John's and Montreal in November 1775. Platt returned to Saratoga and went to work once again. He continued to pick up bits and pieces of information about rebel activities in his busy smithery. However, his unexplained absence from July to October had raised suspicions among local revolutionaries. They pillaged his house and terrorized his family.

In 1776, Sergeant McFall of the 26th Regiment of Foot persuaded Platt to carry some documents to Governor Carleton and to serve as a guide for some Loyalists who

were to meet with an agent of the Crown outside Saratoga. Platt provided horses and provisions, but the rebels got wind of the scheme, compelling him to move to Albany where he hid for some time.



➤ Sir Guy Carleton 1st Baron Dorchester as Governor of the Province of Quebec, from 1768 to 1778.

The next record from this period shows Platt back in Fort St. John's, where he appears on the list of those receiving provisions. The list describes him as a sutler -- a civilian merchant who sells provisions to an army in the field. In 1780, he volunteered to serve under Sir John Johnson in his Mohawk Valley expedition. Johnson handed Platt over to Major James Rogers of Rogers Rangers, who commissioned him as a temporary captain. Platt's mission was to recruit more Loyalist troops in the



➤ South view of the fort at Crown Point on Lake Champlain, New York.

Saratoga vicinity. The mission failed to produce many men; rebels later arrested some of those he did recruit. Platt remained there until September 1780. He was demoted to lieutenant.

Platt then became involved in developing and participating in a secret courier service between New York and Quebec City. Among other things, it strove to arrange the transmission of messages from the new governor of Quebec, Sir Frederick Haldimand, to the Commander in Chief in New York, Sir Henry Clinton. Some information was also carried in the opposite direction. There was a secret drop-off location on a mountain between Fort Edward and Fort George that facilitated this messaging system. Their work became more challenging, as rebels were arresting more and more Loyalists following the Battle

Their work became more challenging, as rebels were arresting more and more Loyalists following the Battle of Saratoga.

of Saratoga. The latter included those who had been couriers. Platt, however, was safely at St. John's for much of this period.

In 1781, the British intelligence service was reorganized in a manner that displeased Platt and other secret agents, who were used to operating with great independence. A headquarters was set up in both the "Loyal Blockhouse" and the north end of Lake Champlain. An oath of absolute allegiance was

now required, and a more rigorous organization of covert activities was established under the direction of Justus Sherwood and Dr. Ralph Smyth. The latter -- who went by the code name "Hudibras" -- had formerly directed secret operations in Albany.

At St. John's, Smyth and Platt developed an exceedingly strong aversion to one another. Smyth demanded that Platt abandon the house that Lt.-Col. Barry St. Leger had granted him for his services. Platt refused to do so without a direct order from the brigadier. He did, however, offer to vacate the premises if he was paid 100 guineas to reimburse him for expenses he had incurred on the building.

Their animosity continued to increase in late 1782 and early 1783, culminating in a shouting match of reciprocal name-calling on Christmas Day 1782. Later,

an unknown person posted an insulting libel on the wall of Smyth's house. Ultimately, General Riedesel convened a court martial in January 1783. It found that Smyth and Platt loathed each other, but that there was no proof that Platt was the author of the libel. On reading the report of the court martial, and fearing that the men's animosity would divide the St. John's community and disrupt intelligence operations, Governor Haldimand decided to transfer Platt to Montreal. There, Platt was put under the authority of Lt. Col. Abraham Cuyler, to whom he was required to report daily.

Although Platt persisted in petitioning for secret service assignments, the war was almost over. Little was to be gained by further undercover missions. Platt and his son George eventually settled in Montreal and founded a hardware business that grew to be

quite successful.²

Platt owned a large home, with a lovely garden at 70 St. Catherine Street West. His wealth and social standing grew as time passed. The portrait he commissioned shows him in the elegant gentlemen's fashions of the era. Finally in 1802, after many petitions, he was granted 1200 acres in Roxton Township, plus 600 acres for his son George. His wife Ann received land in Leeds County, as a daughter of a Loyalist.

Platt died on August 11, 1811 and was interred in the Old Protestant Cemetery that stood at the corner of Dorchester Boulevard (now Boulevard René-Lévesque) and Saint-Urbain Street. The bodies buried there were later transferred to what is now Dorchester Square.

The historian John Ruch cites the following quotation from a document authored by Lt. Col.

St. Leger, wherein he proposes continuing Platt's pension, first granted in 1781: *... for his steady adherence to the Government from the commencement of the Rebellion, and in that time for many essential Services rendered by him and for which he has never received the smallest pecuniary or other reward."*

The life of John Platt was one of danger in the service of the Loyalist cause, with many setbacks and triumphs over a quarter of a century. Platt lived to a happy old age as a wealthy and respected member of Montreal society and its early nineteenth-century business community. He may rightly be considered one of the most fascinating Loyalists of Quebec. Two of his descendants are now proud members of Heritage Branch-Montreal.

- ENDNOTES -

1. An excerpt from *Loyalist Claims* states that Platt was born in Derbyshire, England, and settled in the Saratoga area in 1768.
2. The writer has heard from reliable sources that the Platt ironworks provided much of the equipment needed for fitting out the vessel *The Accommodation* belonging to his fellow-Montrealer, John Molson. In 1809, she was the first steamship to ply the waters of the St. Lawrence River, between Quebec City and Montreal.

DID YOU KNOW?

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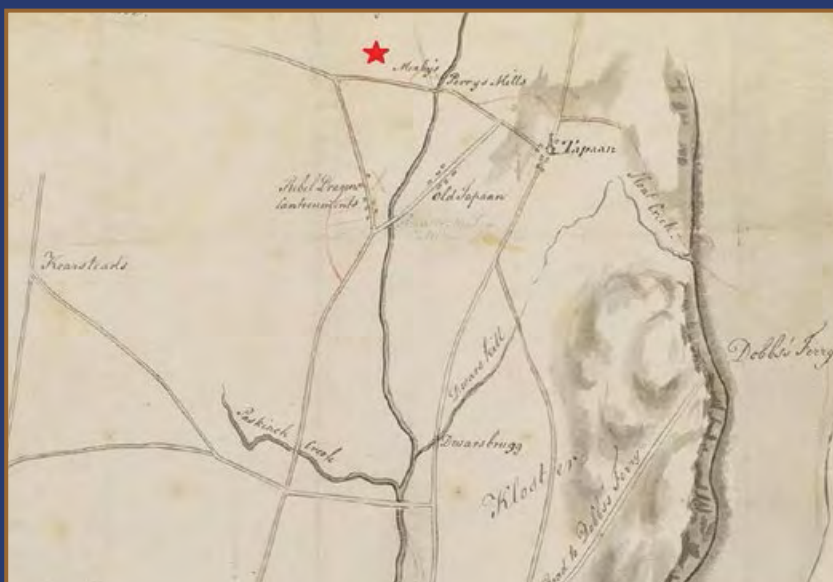


BY LEAH GRANDY

Leah Grandy holds a PhD in History and has been working in libraries and archives for over fifteen years. Her specialties are: Atlantic Provinces history, New Brunswick history, sport history, Loyalists, genealogy, palaeography, working with primary sources, and newspapers. Leah is a past board member of Kings Landing Historical Settlement and the Journal of New Brunswick Studies and is currently on the board of the York-Sunbury Historical Society/ Fredericton Region Museum. She frequently assists UELAC members in their research journeys, and has a member of the Loyal/Royal Nova Scotia Volunteers in her own family tree.

SUFFERINGS & SERVICES:

RECOVERING THE LIVES OF MILITARY LOYALISTS IN NEW BRUNSWICK



> The “Maby’s” farm marked on a map drawn by Major John André of the British Army in 1778 of Bergen County, New Jersey. (Credit: “Hackinsack River Valley,” John Andre, Journal and Maps: 1777-1778, The Huntington Library, HM626, public domain)

The life stories of those not in the upper levels the loyalist hierarchy have been difficult to recover due to a lack of readily available primary sources. It is, however, possible to reconstruct individual paths of lesser-known refugees of the American Revolution by careful gathering a variety of documents spanning the American and Maritime colonies.

Alexander Fairchild, Gabriel Fowler, and Gasper Maybee were young men at the outbreak of the American Revolution and came from families involved in trades or who were of middling farming backgrounds. All were literate,

being able to write claims and apply for compensation as loyalists following the war. They each chose to join a provincial (loyalist) regiment, going on to have varied and geographically widespread experiences throughout the war years, and then resettled in New Brunswick and started families.

Despite the challenges throughout the war, the end of the conflict was also a difficult time, where the reality of reintegration into civilian life had to be faced with physical and psychological scars, as well as economic difficulties to be surmounted.

Many loyalist veterans took

the offer of land in other British territories, viewing migration as their best prospect. Frustration at the loss of time, health, apprenticeships, and other opportunities was palatable in the cases of some young, military loyalists. This was the case with the three New Brunswick military loyalists whose biographies have been recovered to give a look into where their experiences ran parallel or diverged.

GASPER MAYBEE

Like many loyalists who migrated to New Brunswick, Canada, Gasper Maybee was a young man at the beginning of the American Revolution. He joined the King's Orange Rangers and stayed with the provincial regiment throughout its years in New York and Nova Scotia. He was one of the few members of the regiment who settled on the land they were allotted at St. Martins, New Brunswick. Maybee was married and most likely had several children who were born in New Brunswick.

Maybee came from a large family of active Loyalists of which he was the fourth oldest son. An outbreak of smallpox in January 1778 instigated the move of the Kings Orange Rangers from Paulus Hook (Jersey City) to Harlem, New York. It was accompanied by a total breakdown of discipline in the ranks.

In September 1778, Sir Henry Clinton wrote to the Lieutenant Governor of Nova Scotia, Richard Hughes, that he was sending the King's Orange Rangers along with other troops to Nova Scotia. Although it is fair to presume that Maybee was sent to Nova Scotia in

➤ Signature of Gasper Maybee. (Excerpt from New Brunswick Land Petition, 1800)

1778 with the rest of his regiment, it is unknown where he was stationed. At the end of the war, Maybee would take up land in the grant that was specifically allotted for the KOR at Quaco, New Brunswick (present day St. Martins). Of the original land grant made to seventy-nine members of the KOR, only eight -- including Maybee-- took up the grants and stayed until they were re-granted in 1796.

ALEXANDER FAIRCHILD

Through the course of the American Revolution, Alexander Fairchild transformed from a young, outspoken loyalist who escaped from the most notorious prison in Connecticut, into a seasoned, military veteran in the Prince of Wales' American Volunteers Regiment. He strove to establish a family and farm after his post-war migration to New Brunswick, but died at a fairly young age.

Fairchild was indicted for high treason in Connecticut at the age of twenty-three in 1776 and sentenced to imprisonment for two years in Simsbury Mine, also known as the Old New-Gate Prison. After about four months of imprisonment,

Fairchild was able to escape, which was advertised in *The Connecticut Courant* newspaper on December 2, 1776. This account provides a rare description of a working-class Loyalist as follows: "*Broke out at Newgate Prison in Simsbury, the morning of the 15th . . . about 6 feet high, dark coloured hair, which he wares club'd, had on a blue coat, red waistcoat, claret coloured surtout, and leather breeches . . .*"

Fairchild made his way to New York City, and became a sergeant of the Prince of Wales' Royal American Volunteers for the remainder of the war. The exploits, posts, and engagements of the regiment ranged from Long Island to Connecticut and from Rhode Island to South Carolina, including the Battle of Hanging Rock, in which the unit suffering huge casualty rates. Fairchild's situation after Hanging Rock is unclear, but he was one of the few sergeants to complete their tenure in the Prince of Wales' Regiment. At the end of the war, what was left of the Prince of Wales' disbanded at Parrrtown (Saint John, New Brunswick) after over six years of service.

Many of Fairchild's relatives were carpenters, a trade that Fairchild practiced after his

➤ Alexander Fairchild Signature (Excerpt from Loyalist Claim, Audit Office 13, bundle 22)

military career at Saint John's Fort Howe. His marriage to Ann Seeley was one of the first recorded Anglican marriages in Saint John in 1786. They had one daughter, Clara, in 1787. After an unsuccessful petition for land in Saint John, Fairchild settled on the Kingston Peninsula. His will was written on November 9, 1787 and proved three months later, indicating his death at age 35 was not an unexpected one.

The experiences of loyalist tradesman, Alexander Fairchild, provide an unusually detailed example of life in a provincial regiment.



> Alexander Fairchild's original land grant, now at the Quispamsis ferry terminal on the Kingston Peninsula, New Brunswick. (Author photo)

GABRIEL FOWLER

Harrison's Purchase, Westchester County, New York, became a major centre of conflict during the American Revolution and the turbulent location of Gabriel Fowler's hometown shaped his experience during the war as well as his subsequent migration. A teenager when the war erupted, Fowler joined various loyalist military and militia groups. He then moved to New Brunswick with members of his family in 1783 where he established a farm in French Village, Kings County.

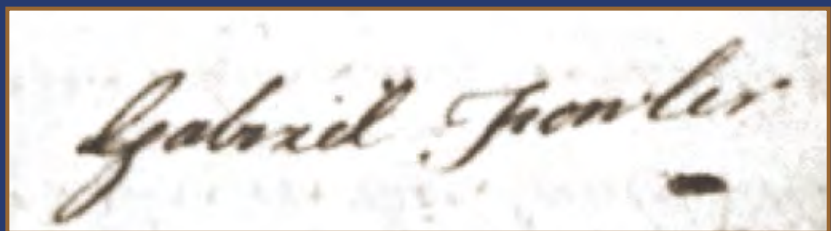
Fowler's father was a farmer and leader in Harrison's Purchase, but the family property was taken over by patriots during the Revolution. Gabriel Fowler claimed to be part of the Guides and Pioneers Regiment during the war and then an ensign in the Westchester Refugees, a militia group based in

Morrisania, New York. The latter was mainly involved in raiding, although there are no supporting, contemporary military documents for these assertions. In his loyalist claim for compensation to the British government, Fowler stated that he had been taken prisoner for eighteen months while a member of the Westchester Refugees.

Fowler had two wives, the first being Abigail Leggett. Their son, Samuel, was born around November 1780. Unfortunately, Abigail died before they emigrated to New Brunswick in 1783. Fowler brought Stach, an enslaved Black teenager with her own baby, to

New Brunswick to care for his son. His second marriage was to Jane Hatfield with whom he had seven children. The family, including his parents, had first tried to settle at Burton, Sunbury County, and then Hammond River. The second settlement attempt was successful. Fowler became the first warden of St. Paul's Lakeside Anglican Church and was buried in its cemetery.

Gabriel Fowler's death was reported in the *New Brunswick Courier* on April 21, 1832: "*d. Thursday Gabriel Fowler age 75. Funeral at Hampton Church. Came here at end of Revolutionary*



> Gabriel Fowler's signature (Excerpt from New Brunswick Land Petition, 1809).

War.” These were short words to summarize a life that had survived years of war in the chaos of Westchester County, New York, as well as the hardships of migration and the establishing a homestead in New Brunswick.

CONCLUSION

Three loyalist youths from the American colonies with no property or other stakes to lose, spent years on the frontlines in different loyalist regiments. They dealt with the physical, mental, economic and social impact of war, then choose resettlement in the British colony of New Brunswick. All three were able to establish businesses or farms, married, and had children -- finally achieving the delayed roles of landowners, husbands,

fathers, and community leaders. Their frustration over what they had endured and lost, and the ensuing struggle to obtain useful land and livelihoods were eventually overcome to achieve economic and social stability.

Some final words from the loyalist claim of Alexander Fairchild, April 1786: *“Your Memorialist then joined the Prince of Wales Regiment . . . and continued doing duty in that Regiment until it was discharged in the Province of New Brunswick without receiving half pay for life as other have done who have neither suffered for their attachment to the Government or rendered the services your Memorialist hath . . . he Humbly prays that his sufferings & services will be taken into consideration and grant him such relief under your report as in your wisdom.”*



➤ Gabriel Fowler's gravestone, St. Paul's Lakeside Anglican Church, Hampton, New Brunswick. (Author's photo)

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CAOGBSTORCOLEDWARDJESSUPZ
VNVGAHQECLGMQZJDLIOEAUWUX
HPLMMABOBHBYIMISSFTIGEPYY
SENDUTDVHNGVWKAWARTHAMGYA

Thompson Okanagan	Col Edward Jessup	Governor Simcoe	Sir Guy Carleton
Sir John Johnson	Bicentennial	Saskatchewan	Col John Butler
Bridge Annex	Bay of Quinte	St Lawrence	Assiniboine
New Brunswick	Nova Scotia	Vancouver	Abegweit
Grand River	Kawartha	Kingston	Little Forks
Edmonton	Toronto	Hamilton	Calgary
London	Chilliwack	Manitoba	Heritage
Victoria			



LOYALIST SETTLEMENT IN QUEBEC

THE ARTICLE WAS ADAPTED FROM THE UELAC PUBLICATION “REFUGEES OF THE LAST FRONTIER,
LOYALISTS OF THE EASTERN TOWNSHIPS OF QUEBEC BY JEAN DARRAH MCCAWE UE

Approximately 60,000 Loyalist refugees and their 15,000 enslaved Blacks sought refuge outside of the United States of America during and following the American Revolution. According to the Canadian Encyclopedia, *“About 2,000 Loyalists moved to Lower Canada (present-day Quebec). Some settled in the Gaspé, on Chaleur Bay, and others in Sorel, at the mouth of the Richelieu River. About 7,500 moved into the territory that is now part of present-day Ontario.”*

General Frederick Haldimand, the governor of Quebec at this time, believed that the colony was the rightful patrimony of French Canadians, and should be reserved for their future settlement. He preferred to keep the area immediately north of the American border uninhabited for the time being as a “buffer zone” between Quebec and the new republic.

Haldimand also feared that if the Loyalists settled along the border, there could be renewed

hostilities with the United States – or extensive smuggling. Therefore, he cut off government rations for the refugees and insisted that most of the Loyalists should move westward to what is now Ontario where some had already settled in the Niagara and Detroit areas.

Haldimand also feared that if the Loyalists settled along the border, there could be renewed hostilities with the United States – or extensive smuggling.

The Loyalists who were permitted to remain in Quebec settled at Sorel and in the Gaspé region. Haldimand intended to forcibly remove the Loyalists who initially settled in the Missisquoi Bay area, a plan that the refugees resisted. However, with the

governor’s return to England in 1784, Lt. Col. Henry Hamilton, Haldimand’s successor, permitted the Loyalists to remain settled along the border.

The majority of the Missisquoi Bay settlers were farmers, but former army officers and businessmen were also among their number. They settled on territory belonging to English seigneurs, who permitted them to hold land for a nominal fee. Those who settled at Sorel – which was intended to be a military colony – were mostly veterans, while in the Gaspé, as at Missisquoi Bay, farmers made up the majority of settlers, but a few fairly prosperous entrepreneurs were also among their number.

Dissatisfied with the land at Sorel, many of its Loyalist settlers later petitioned the colonial government for grants in the Eastern Townships, moving to that area after 1791. In Gaspé, where there were already some English-speaking residents (largely fishermen from the Channel Islands between England and



prices. The demand for food and other necessities of life was high thanks to the wartime market.

When the American Revolution ended, Governor Haldimand expected the refugee farmers to move west with the majority of other Loyalists. But they were not about to be uprooted.

The status of the Missisquoi Bay Loyalists was finally resolved when their three seigneurs agreed to permit them to stay on their land for a nominal fee. The exact number cannot be ascertained, but a petition they sent to the governor included 378 names (each name represented a family of up to five people). This suggests a population of about 1,600 or so. The land they settled on – present day Noyan, Clarenceville, and St. Armand-- was not part of the Eastern Townships. The latter was not opened until 1791, but has since become regarded as part of the Townships.

The Missisquoi Loyalists played a leading role in populating this region. In fact, Loyalist founders settled in most areas of the Townships, and families of long residence usually

➤ General Sir Frederick Haldimand. Library and Archives Canada C-003221.

France), the Loyalists settled around New Carlisle. Today, the British Heritage Centre in New Richmond commemorates the contributions made by both the Channel Islanders and the Loyalists in the development of Gaspesia.

Perhaps the greatest role of the Loyalists in Quebec was their contribution to the settlement of the Eastern Townships, which began in 1792. It is there that the American refugees are best remembered, although the majority of the original settlers were not Loyalists. The story of this region's settlement begins during the American Revolution as Loyalists sought refuge in the Missisquoi Bay area.

Three English seigneurs controlled the land there. Colonel Henry Caldwell had purchased what had been the Foucault Seigneurie, which ran along the Richelieu River and a little over the present day

frontier. Colonel Gabriel Christie was seigneur of Noyan, and Thomas Dunn was seigneur of St-Armand.

The land was good, and the Loyalists settled in, prospering by selling their crops at relatively high



➤ Map of Eastern Townships settled by Loyalists.

Philipsburg United Church - 1819. Oldest continuously operating former Methodist chapel in Quebec.



have Loyalist ancestors. The most conspicuous of them was Gilbert Hyatt, who founded Hyatt's Mills in 1803. It became Sherbrooke, now the largest city in the Townships.

The Ruiter family also played an important role. Like many Loyalists who settled in the Canadas, they were originally from the Palatinate in Germany. In the early years of the 18th century, several thousand German Protestants left the Palatinate area along the Rhine River, taking refuge in England to escape the ravages of war and religious persecution. The British government initially sent many "Palatines" to Ireland and then to America, where most settled in the colony of New York.

During the American Revolution, the majority of "Palatine" descendants remained loyal to the crown. Henry Ruiter, who had been a Loyalist officer during the war, later became a Justice of the Peace in Quebec. John Ruiter became an officer for the administration of oaths; Jacob Ruiter established a sawmill near Cowansville, 20 km north of the United States border.

Captain John Savage immigrated to New York from Ireland, becoming a large landowner near Albany. After his loyalist politics compelled him to seek refuge in Quebec, he settled in a part of Caldwell Manor that came to be considered part of Vermont in 1791. Moving again, he led a party of Loyalists to the Shefford area.

Religious leaders also established settlements. Rev. Henry Bolton helped to form Bolton Township, Ebenezer Clark, a Baptist, settled in Stanbridge Township, and the Methodist Samuel Embury was at St. Armand.

The Constitutional Act of 1791 divided the old province of Canada into two new provinces: Upper Canada (Ontario) and Lower Canada (Quebec). It also instituted elected legislative assemblies in both colonies, something the Loyalists had long wanted. The act permitted the settlement of the Eastern Townships on lands that the settlers would own without being obliged to pay seigneurial fees – another longstanding demand of the Loyalists. The settlement of the Townships began in 1792.

In addition to the founding fathers already referenced, Captain Jacob Odell established Odelltown; Frederick Scriver did the same at Hemmingford, as did Nicholas Austin at Bolton and Samuel Willard at Stukely. Although Loyalists were the first to colonize the Townships, later American immigrants formed the majority of the region's settlers.

Loyalists and their descendants were active in the political and economic life of Lower Canada. William Smith, a chief justice, and John Richardson, the builder of the Lachine Canal, are just two examples.

Loyalists dispersed through Lower Canada as artisans, domestic servants, merchants, and professionals. Some Loyalists and Loyalist descendants intermarried with French Canadians. Prime Minister Justin Trudeau and former Quebec Premier René Lévesque both have Loyalist ancestors.

Loyalist heritage is still preserved in Quebec in local historical societies and in Township branches of the United Empire Loyalist Association.



BY ALBERT SMITH

A British Columbia native, Smith has lived in Quebec since 1970. An amateur historian and genealogist for the past 50 years, he has helped people from around the globe with their research, using Quebec's primary source materials. As well as being a Loyalist soldier in battle reenactments of the Revolutionary War for more than 3 decades, Smith serves as the reenactment coordinator with the Fort St. Jean Museum.

A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE SIEGE OF FORT ST. JOHN 1775



> A 1790 watercolor by James Peachey showing Fort Saint-Jean in the background.

The place; Fort-Saint-Jean National Historic Site of Canada is part of the Royal Military College of Saint-Jean in Saint-Jean-sur-Richelieu, Québec. The first fort on this site was constructed in 1666; the second fort was built in 1748; here we are talking about the third Fort. The rebels had already attempted an invasion less than a month after the first shot was fired on April 19. Benedict Arnold and Ethan Allen, both raced up the Richelieu River separately to raid the Fort in May, but neither stayed.

We all know the American plan was to use the old invasion route of the Richelieu River to attack

Quebec and make it their 14th state. It was a two-pronged approach, Major-General Philip Schuyler (later Brigadier-General Richard Montgomery) from New York using the traditional invasion route of Lake Champlain – Richelieu River, and Benedict Arnold by land from Maine to the St. Lawrence River. What they had not calculated for, was the resistance this outpost would muster to defend it, stopping the invaders for 45 days. Their attack on Quebec during a snowstorm at the end of 1775 would cost Richard Montgomery his life. The next spring, they retreated back to the colonies, not succeeding in taking Quebec.



➤ General Richard Montgomery took command of the American forces during the Canadian Campaign at the Siege of Fort St. John.

Who defended the fort? Governor Guy Carleton sent a force of regulars in late May, 474 men of two Regiments, the 7th and 26th, under Major Charles Preston. (662 total active)⁽¹⁾. In those active were 90-100 Canadian volunteers and militia, citizen-soldiers; farmers, shopkeepers, labourers, who became soldiers overnight, both French and English. Men fighting not so much for the Empire, but for their home & kin.

The first attack occurred September 6th- *The Quebec Gazette*. Thursday, September 14, 1775-

Account of the Battle happen'd near the Camp at St. John's on the 6th Instant.

Major Preston, of the 26th Regiment, commanding at St. John's being inform'd that the Rebels, to the Number of 1500, approach'd,

with Intention on making a Defence, order'd out Capt. Tice, the two Lorimiers, Volunteers, and a Detachment of 60 Indians, to reconnoitre and watch their Motions; they advanced to the Point to the North-west of the River St. John, where they perceived the Enemy landing and entrenching themselves, and at the same time discover'd 600 men in ambush lying on their Bellies at about 200 paces distance, who fir'd on them, wounded Capt. Tice in the Thigh, and killed two Indians; thereupon the Lorimiers with their small Detachment attack'd them briskly, kill'd two of their officers, and drove them back to their Entrenchment, where being reinforced, they again advanced, and an unequal Combat ensued, in which an Indian of the Falls of St. Louis kill'd three, and had engaged a fourth, when he received a Ball in the Thigh; the other Indians animated

by his Example obliged them to quit the Field, where they left several of their dead. However, confiding in Numbers, they again return'd to the Charge, but the Indians, flush'd with Success, again charg'd them so vigorously that they retir'd under Cover of their Entrenchment.

The Indians had four kill'd and as many wounded in the Action, and the Rebels own'd to the Inhabitants of the Place where it happen'd, that they had forty kill'd and thirty wounded. The next day they reembark'd, and made sail towards Isle aux Noix.⁽²⁾

SEPTEMBER 16TH, 1775

Reinforced, Montgomery led the army against Fort St. Jean. Marching out, the British attacked Brown, but Montgomery sent reinforcements which defeated the sortie. That night, deLorimier and Moses Hazen departed the Fort, slipped through



➤ Historic plaque Fort Saint-Jean 1926.

the American lines, and made their way to Montreal to inform Carleton of the start of the siege.

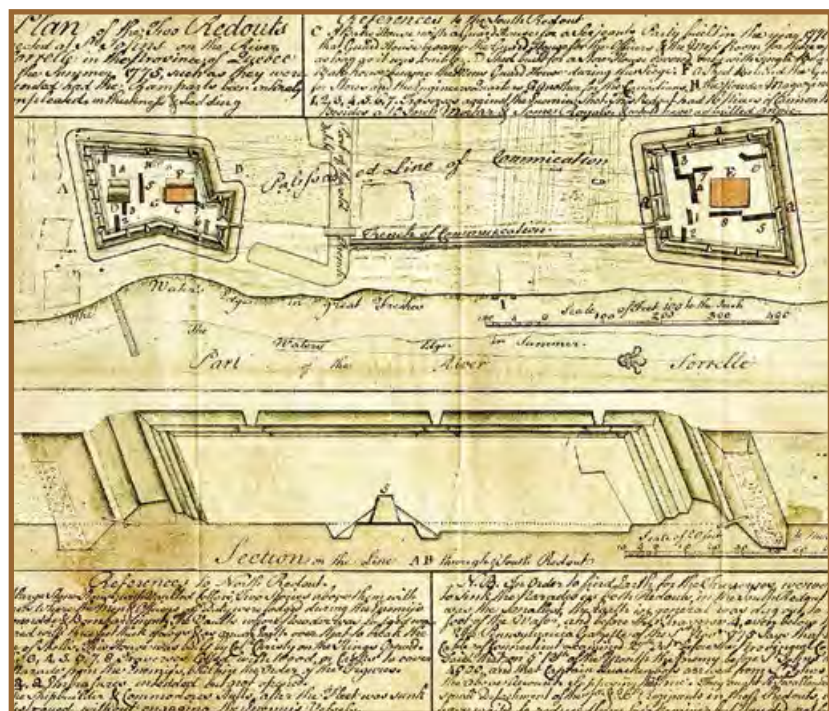
Here are a few extracts from a journal kept by one Antoine Foucher (1717 France-1801 Montreal) originally published in 1889. I am using the translations from the book *'Hold Fast, the Siege of Ft. St. Johns, 1775'*; by Horst Dresler & Deb Goodman; 2016; Anything Printed LLC. For those who want to read the archaic original French version, see that published in *Le Bulletin des Recherches Historiques* ; vol. 40 (1934) ; pp. 135-159; 197-222.

OCTOBER 4

At five o'clock Mr Monin officer, having seen eight cows along the wood which blocked our communication asked Mr. the Commander thirty or forty men to go get them. Nobody wanting to join, he went alone, brought back six under fire from the enemy, which he avoided in capering about. He had been seen by some Bastonians who were to the south near Mr Hazen's house who fired a cannon shot, which made immediately many musketeer leave the enemy camp, but without receiving any wounds. Mr Moquin, volunteer from Montreal went and brought back the other two cows. We took care to tie them up with ropes fearing their return to the enemy and they graze before our eyes; during this trouble the cannons and the bomb did not stop firing on the enemy until 6 o'clock.....⁽³⁾

OCTOBER 15

The enemy's firing started again reveille. A man named Pierre Collé (sic Collet), Emigrant soldier, cook of the volunteer officers from Mr. de



➤ Map of the redoubts erected at Saint-Jean in the summer of 1775. Library and Archives Canada.

Longueuil's party, coming back from the water's edge bucket in hand had both thighs taken away by a cannon ball outside the fort, he died a moment later.....Our gunners estimate that the enemy burned five hundred pounds of powder today.⁽⁴⁾

OCTOBER, 17

This morning cannon and musketry from Chambly came to our ears with much noise.⁽⁸⁾

Addressed

The commanding Officer, St. Johns
Sir

Being obliged to surrender Fort Chambly and made prisoners of War, am under the necessity of applying to you for permission for five Batteaux to pass & repass your Forts to convey our Women, Children, and Baggage, to Genl. Montgomerys Camp, if this request cannot be granted we shall loose all our baggage & be under the necessity of leaving our Women and

Children behind, as we are to be sent to New England immediately, I have pledged my honor that our Drum Major returns as soon as possible.

I am Sir Your Humble Servant,
J. Stopford, Major

Addressed

To Major Preston

Commanding at St. Johns⁽⁵⁾

Fort Chambly was located 19 km north on the Richelieu River. Its fall helped to seal St. Johns fate.

OCTOBER 20

There was in fort Chambly when it surrendered 10 swivel guns, 5 mortars, 2 cannons of 4,300 bombs, 13,300 pounds of powder as already mentioned also 150 quarts of flour and their colours, lost it is said for the third time. This regiment that is called the 7th make themselves despicable by this capture.....Our rations were cut today and reduced to half a pound of bread and a quarter pound of salted pork.⁽⁶⁾

The following is my translation from the journal entries in French cited above (*Le Bulletin des Recherches Historiques* ; vol. 40 (1934) ; pp. 135-159; 197-222.), these were not included in the previous cited book, *Hold Fast*.

NOVEMBER, 3

This morning, while waiting for the victors, we were given half a pound of flour for each of us as there was none left at the fort. The major general came to make his entry at 10 o'clock; for more than an hour and a half there was a parley between him and our Commander. He recalled six deserters that we had in our camp, condemned to be hanged by him, then weapons in hand with two pieces of cannon, linstocks lit to the sound of fifes and drums, we were made to tour our forts, we were made to border a hedge between the two camps, then two companies of Bostonians, gunners and others passed in front of us, after



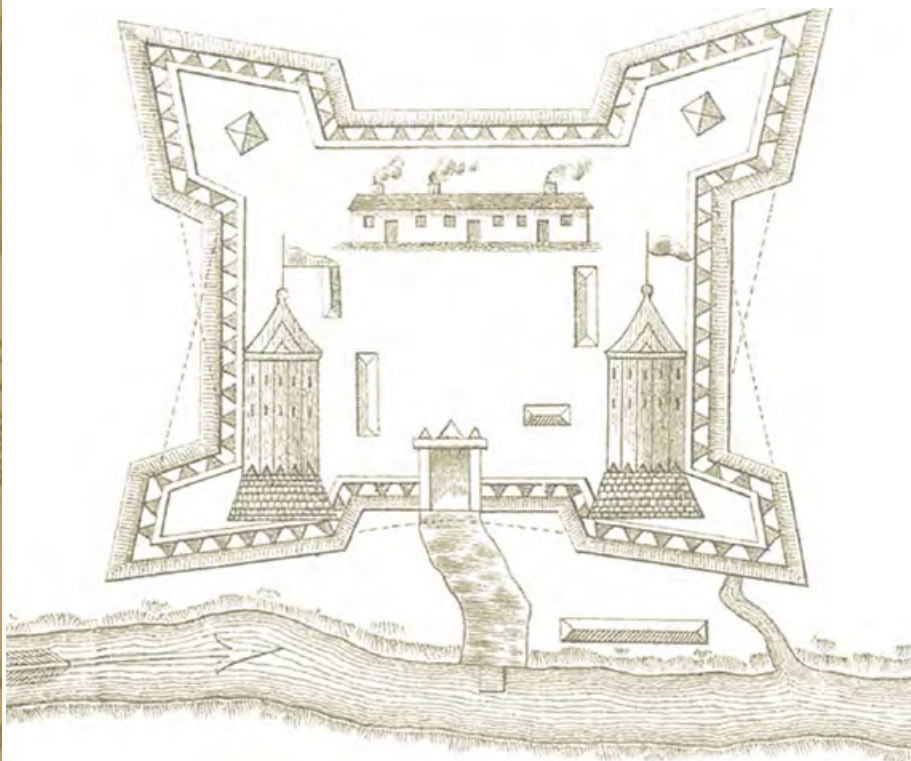
> Model rendering of Fort Saint-Jean.

which the Commander made us put our weapons down. Then the Major of the Bostonnais told us that brave people like us deserved some exception to the custom of surrendering their arms and that each of the officers and volunteers took up their swords and sabres, which we did, we went to the water's edge where 20 boats were waiting for us and our crews near there, the troops took 17 and of the three others which remained to us Mr de Longueuil with his

detachment whose names follow took two,.....

And so ends the heroic defense of Fort St. Jean, stopping the advancing Rebel troops for 45 days.

Next year there will be a commemoration of the siege of Fort St. Jean with a large historical reenactment August 15-17, 2025 on the site of the Royal Military College of Saint-Jean in Saint-Jean-sur-Richelieu, Québec.



- ENDNOTES -

1. *Hold Fast, the Siege of Ft. St. Johns, 1775*; Horst Dresler & Deb Goodman; 2016; Anything Printed LLC ; p. 32
2. Extract from the *Quebec Gazette*, 46 on p. 75-76 in 'A History of the Organization, Development and Services of the Military and Naval Forces of Canada from the Peace of Paris in 1763, to the Present Time'; vol. II by the The Historical Section of the General Staff [ed.] (HSGS in future references)
3. *Hold Fast*, *ibid*, p. 77
4. *ibid*, p. 92-93
5. HSGS vol. II, 83 on p. 110
6. *Hold Fast*, *ibid*, p. 99-100

DID YOU KNOW?

In 1603, King James VI of Scotland became James I of England and brought about the union of the Crowns of the two countries. On April 12, 1606, he issued a proclamation which introduced the first of three major versions of the Union Flag. It was composed of the “Red Crosse, commonly called S. Georges Crosse, and the White Crosse commonly called S. Angrewes Crosse, joyned together.”

The width of the Cross of St George and that of the Cross of St Andrew are the same, as they represent the equal status of England and Scotland in the Union.

On April 17, 1707, Queen Anne issued a proclamation which spoke of the use of the Union Flag “at Sea and Land.” The Queen Anne version is almost identical to the flag of James I, but not exactly. The width of the white stripes around the red cross has changed slightly.

From this time on, the Union Flag began to appear on forts and in regimental colours. This was the flag in use at the time of the Revolution, and can correctly be referred to as the Loyalist Flag. In fact, the description of the UELAC Armorial Bearings definitively describes it as our flag.

The correct illustration is as follows:



The Loyalist Flag

When the Continental Congress of the Thirteen Colonies adopted the “Stars and Stripes” in 1777, forces loyal to the British government continued to display the Union flag during battle. When the United Empire Loyalists left the United States for their new homes in British North America, they brought their flag with them.

THE LOYAL REVIEW

Loyalist-era history is being presented to the public in a variety of avenues ranging from university textbooks to historically-based novels and television documentaries.

The Loyalist Gazette invites publishers to send publications for review to:

The Loyalist Gazette Review's email:

communications@uelac.org



UNFRIENDLY TO LIBERTY

Readers will be familiar with books about the American Revolution which focus on various regiments and military history, biographies of Loyalists, or examine various locations and how they were effected during the war. Christopher Minty's *Unfriendly To Liberty* follows a different path.

The location is Manhattan, and the book devotes most of its chapters to the time period leading up to the war. It takes eight chapters, well into the book, before the author arrives at the Revolutionary war. His interest is in the complicated history of the various factions in Manhattan before the War.

Leading families included the Livingstons who tended to support the Rebel cause in time, and the Delanceys who evolved into Loyalists. Curiously enough, neither camp was deeply conservative. Even the DeLanceys were regarded as Whigs in the earlier days. Both sides

were opposed to the unpopular taxes levied on the colonies. Leading figures were Philip Livingston and James DeLancey.

The Livingstons had a history of success, but the DeLanceys emerged as the dominant political force in the late 1760s and early 1770s. Their success was rather short-lived as radicals adopted confrontational tactics and ousted them and their allies. The prominent Rebel was Alexander McDougall who was the kind of hard line radical who made Loyalists' lives miserable. The author examines McDougall's political activities up to the war but makes little mention of his earlier career as a privateer, slave trader and later as a Rebel officer in the Continental Army. He did not live very long after the War and died in 1786. He is the kind of character that Loyalist descendants can find hard to take. Christopher Minty, to give him credit, makes every attempt

Author: Christopher F. Minty

Hard cover

288 pages

Ithaca & London.
Cornell University Press.
May 15 2023

ISBN 978-1501769108

Review by
Peter W. Johnson, UE

to avoid glorifying one side or the other. He does not shy away from recording the harsh treatment of Loyalists, which began before the War, perhaps earlier than you might have supposed. The arrival of the British to New York City in 1776 undoubtedly helped the Loyalists, but things were never quite the same.

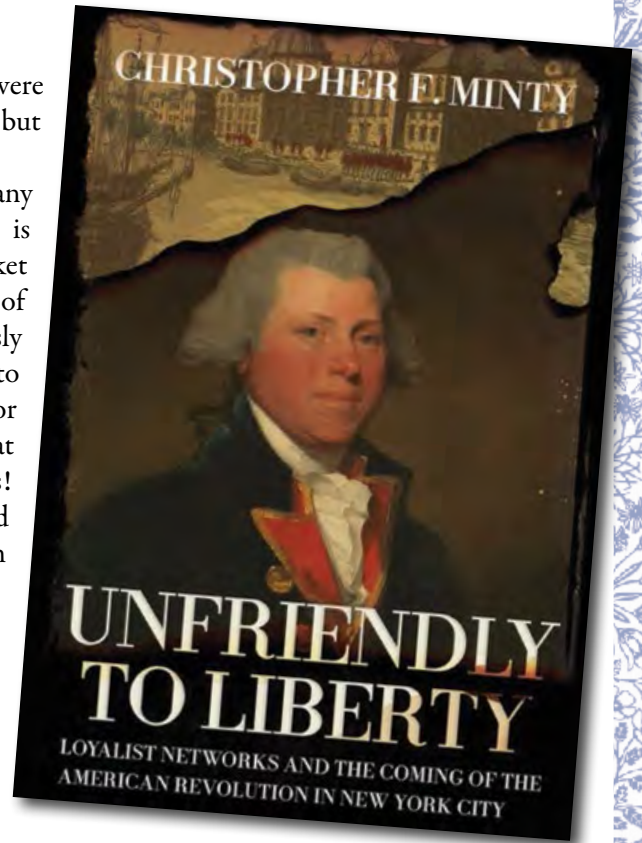
While the book examines McDougall's politics, this scrutiny also applies to the DeLanceys. There will be UELAC members who have ancestors who served in DeLancey's Brigade, but the author does not delve into that aspect of the family. His main interest is the time period just before the Revolutionary War.

Towards the end of the book, the author includes Quakers in his listing of Loyalists. This is problematic as Quakers were pacifists who did not support either side in the War and were also opposed to giving land grants for

military service. There were some "fighting Quakers" but they were few in number.

There are not many illustrations, but there is a handsome dust jacket featuring a portrait of James DeLancey. Curiously enough, in references to other portraits, the author informs us frequently that the subjects had big noses! Were big noses considered an asset in the 18th century?

As a scholarly work the book includes copious notes and an index. If you want examine the time period just before and during the American Revolution, this book can direct you to new territory. It will shed light on the reasons why events took the twists and turns they did in the war.



SACRED GROUND

Loyalist Cemeteries of Eastern Ontario, Volume Two

The most eastern counties in Ontario are known as important areas of settlement for Loyalists and the Royal Highland Emigrants and King's Royal Regiment of New York in particular. Over the last two years, those with local roots have been treated to a series of books by Historian Stuart Lyall Manson UE.

Two volumes are now available and each book showcases six cemeteries from locations such as Cornwall, Williamstown, Iroquois and South Lancaster.

Volume One was published in 2021, and the much anticipated Volume 2 arrived in late 2023. The latest cemeteries featured are St. Andrew's United, Williamstown,

Author: Stuart Lyall Manson UE

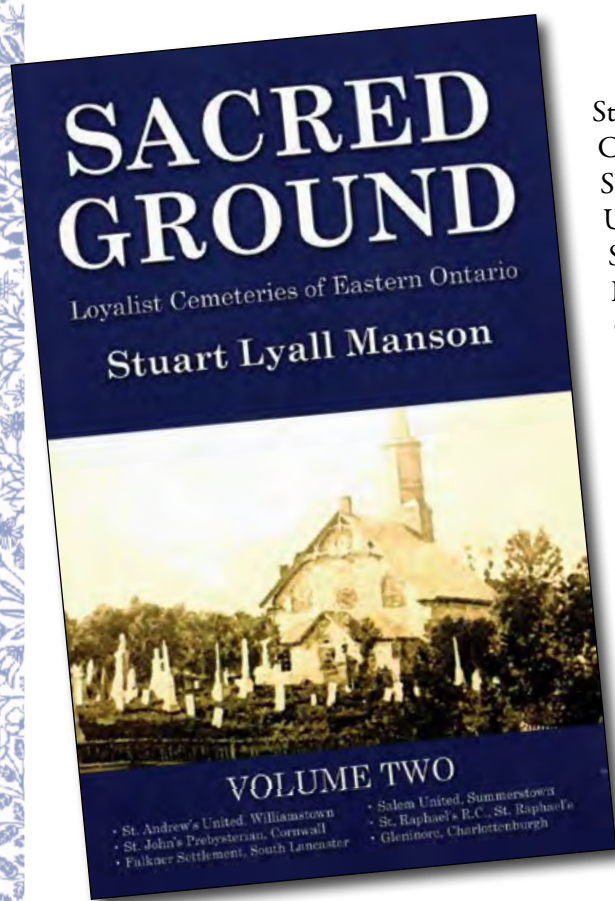
Softcover

204 pages

Carleton Place: Global Heritage Press. Jan 1 2023

978-1772401721

Review by
Peter W. Johnson, UE



St. John's Presbyterian, Cornwall, Falkner Settlement, South Lancaster, Salem United, Summerstown, St. Raphael's R.C., St. Raphael and Glenimore, Charlottenburgh. A chapter is devoted to each cemetery, but not before a preface and introduction set the stage. Some additional information is covered in appendices, and there is a list of sources and an index.

Selected individuals and markers are featured in each chapter and backed up with photographs and maps. Frequently those featured are Loyalists.

The reader is left wanting to visit the cemetery and see the markers in person. The most unusual one is that of Capt. John McKenzie which was decorated with Masonic symbols and boasts an unusual pointed stone. It's also worth noting that a local artifact is McKenzie's rare KRRNY belt plate, shown in a photograph.

Many of the Loyalists in this area were Scottish. There were

later arrivals from Scotland as well, leaving the author with the task of sorting through a lot of men with the same first name and same surname. McDonnell anyone?

There are some endorsements on the back cover, and one from the Ontario Historical Society refers to the author's, "breezy narrative style". That is a fair observation. There is also a certain intimacy which suggests the author is close by and excited about sharing his research findings. Regardless, the book is easy to read and if anything, better than the fine first book.

Cover designs are important. At best cover designs enhance a project, and at worst they are an unhappy distraction. This time, the cover design features an evocative image of St. Andrew's, Williamstown taken in the early twentieth century. What sets it apart is the viewpoint. Rather than an average photograph focused on the front of the church, this one shows the back of the structure, and in doing so, presents a dramatic view of the old cemetery. What a fine choice!

The book is available through the Global Genealogy website.

DID YOU KNOW?

The seigneury of Sorel had been purchased by the government in 1780 for military purposes, and when the war was over it was turned into a Loyalist refugee camp, on which huts were erected and provisions dispensed. In all, there were approximately seven thousand Loyalists in the province of Quebec in the winter of 1783 -1784.

SHADES OF ALLEGIANCE:

Hidden Loyalties of the Giraud/Gerow Family in the American Revolution (1690 - 1781)



A budding historian and author, Jane Simpson was compelled to write about her Gerow ancestors after having discovered the gravestone of her fourth great-grandfather, Daniel Gerow (d.1861) in Ontario's Ameliasburgh, Prince Edward County. Further exploration revealed that he was born in Orange County, New York, raising much curiosity. The questions raised about her American family roots resulted in this, her second book, that attempts to describe in non-fiction terms, the facts of her Huguenot ancestors' flight from France to New York and their involvement in the American Revolution and its aftermath. Like her mentor, Jean Rae Baxter UE, Jane, has tried to enrich the story by meshing real ancestors, real troubles, motives, neighbours and plausible interactions with recognized battles, locations and personalities. She builds life into her characters and puts feelings behind their actions, thus earning the empathy of her reading audience.

As historical fiction, this book follows the experiences of one family through several generations as they face the untenable challenge of staying neutral in the American Revolution.

The two maps included in the first

few pages of Jane's novel serve to orient the reader to the Westchester area, the Van Cortland Patent, and the sites of significant events in the lives of her ancestors. An index on provides a family chart followed by chapter notes which give evidence of the considerable research undertaken by the author before writing this book.

I believe anyone would enjoy this historical fiction as a means to deepen their understanding of Revolutionary times. Books may be ordered from: www.turtlepointbooks.com

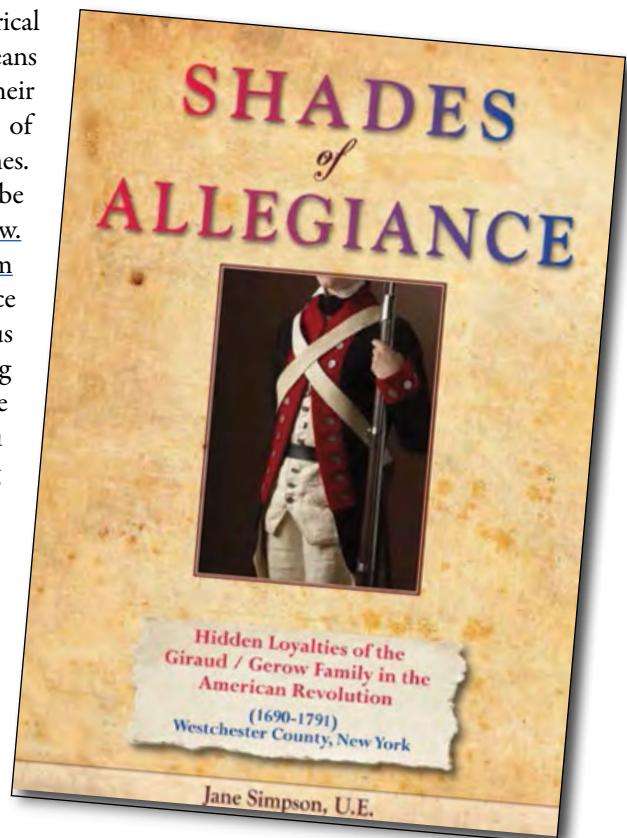
The book price is \$30 CDN. plus applicable shipping costs. The purchase link will allow you to buy securely using PayPal or with your credit card.

Author: Jane Simpson UE

Turtle Point Books © 2023

220 pages

Reviewed by
Grietje McBride UE





BILL RUSSELL UE
UELAC SENIOR VICE PRESIDENT

“BY THE WILL OF GOD, I SAVED MYSELF”: THE AMAZING ESCAPE OF DR. JOHN HENRY AUSSEM

Johannes Heinrich Aussem was born about 1726 in Frankfurt, Hesse, Germany. He immigrated with his family to Philadelphia, Pennsylvania around 1750; by 1768, he is listed as living with his wife, Elizabeth, and their 5 children in Wawarsing, Ulster County, New York. The family attended the town's Reformed Dutch Church. Known by this time as John Henry Aussem, he made his living as a surgeon, and was referred to as “doctor”. John was also a Loyalist and a staunch supporter of the Crown.

On January 1, 1776, he was commissioned as a Captain in Colonel Buskirk's Regiment. Sixteen days later, while on patrol, Patriots captured him and sent him to the jail in Esopus, Ulster County. Later, while being transferred to another jail, he escaped his captors.

In May 1777, rebels captured him again, and took him to Fort Montgomery to be tried for treason. Found guilty, Aussem was sentenced to be executed. Again he escaped death. In a later affidavit, he stated, *“By the will of God, I saved myself.”*

The story of Aussem's escape can be found in a transcript of the court martial of Jacob Oosterhoudt, a rebel sergeant, on February 14, 1777, on charges of dereliction of duty of the papers.

The court martial trial was held at Widow Hills, Ulster County New York. Among those present were Colonel Woodhull, Judge Advocate John Hathorn, Lt. Colonel Hardenbergh, Lt. Colonel Jansen, Colonel Synder as well as several other Patriot officers. An excerpt from the trial reads as follows:

“Jonathan Westbrouck Deposeth and Sayth, that when they came to the Paltz Creek, in order to go over to the Lodge at the Palts, he was ordered by Sergeant Oosterhoudt to go and see how the ice was, and {found} the edge of the ice broke. The sergeant and Peter Ennerly came to him at the edge of the creek, and leaving Oosterhoudt with the prisoner in the sleigh, and as they were trying the ice, he heard somebody running along the shore of the river. He suspecting it to be the prisoner, and calling to the rest of the Guard, “There



goes the doctor!” {They} went in search of him, but did not see him. Others of the guard {went} searching, and found his track --as they imagined-- in the snow, and followed the same to the edge of the creek where they found the ice broke.”

"Further, this deponent saith that he, with the sergeant, went the next morning with the rest of the guard, and traced the tracks and place where the ice was broke which confirmed {to} him that it was a person that had gone in there. {They} also found the ice broke up along the edge of the river till where the person had sometime sat under the side of a very steep bank in the edge of the river. This deponent further says that the water was deep, and the ice weak, and the bank so steep that it was impossible for any person to get up, and rather believes he was drowned."

A second witness, Peter Ennerly, then gave his version of events.

"As they were on their way bringing Doctor Aussem, a prisoner from Esopus, to the Widow McCobb's at the Paltz River, he and Jacobus Oosterhoudt --who was sergeant of the guard-- and three others with the prisoner all in one sleigh at the edge of the river."

"About nine o'clock at night being pretty dark, the sergeant ordered {Ennerly} and Jonathan Wesbrouck to go out of the sleigh and try the ice and the sergeant also came out of the sleigh after them, and left Oosterhoudt in the sleigh with the prisoner. While they were trying the strength of the ice about ten yards from the sleigh, he heard Jonathon Wesbrouck who was standing by them say "There goes the prisoner!" With that, they ran {to} where they heard the noise, but did not see him. They asked Oosterhoudt, "Where is the prisoner?" or "Which way did he go?" He said he could not tell."

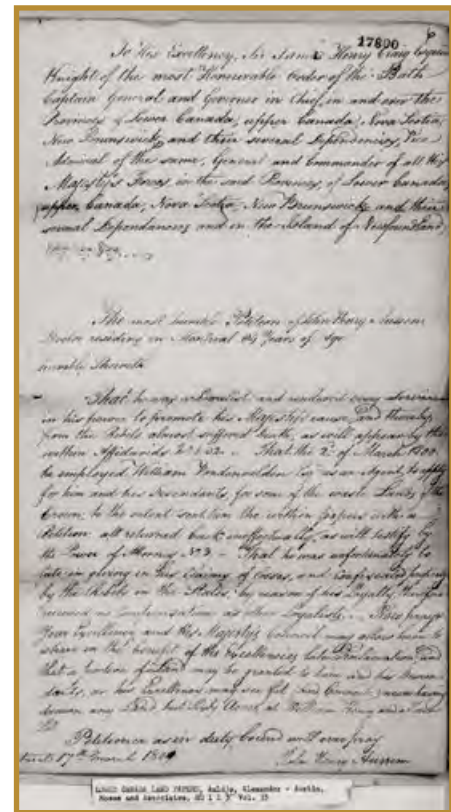
This {witness and} the sergeant

found the prisoner's hat about fifty yards distance from the sleigh on the track where {he} went through the snow to the edge of the river. {They} then ran up the river a small distance and found the ice broke. Next morning all the guard proceeded and found the matter as Jonathan Wesbrouck's evidence declares. {He} believes the prisoner was drowned. And further sayth not.

This court having taken into consideration the charge and evidence against the above named Jacobus Oosterhault and do look upon him as guilty of suffering Doctor Johannes Aussem {to} make his escape, and do adjudge that the said Sergeant Jacobus Oosterhoudt ought to be broke of his office and pay the sum of forty shillings fine, and be confined in the Esopus Jail till the said fine is paid.

Dr. Aussem's version of his escape is recorded in an affidavit he made in Montreal. He had hidden under the ice until he heard his guards leave. He then made his way to the woods, and eventually met up with several Loyalist recruits who gave him shelter in the mountains. He then proceeded to the sanctuary of New York City.

Six years after his amazing escape, Dr. Aussem and his family sailed on the ship *Blackett* to Sorel in July 1783, where they spent the winter. During the winter of 1783, Dr. Aussem's daughter, Catherine Olive Aussem, married Lt. George Galloway of the Loyal Refugee Volunteers; they are my 5th great-grandparents. The Galloways left Sorel with Captain Michael Grass to settle first in



➤ A land grant application made by John Aussem.

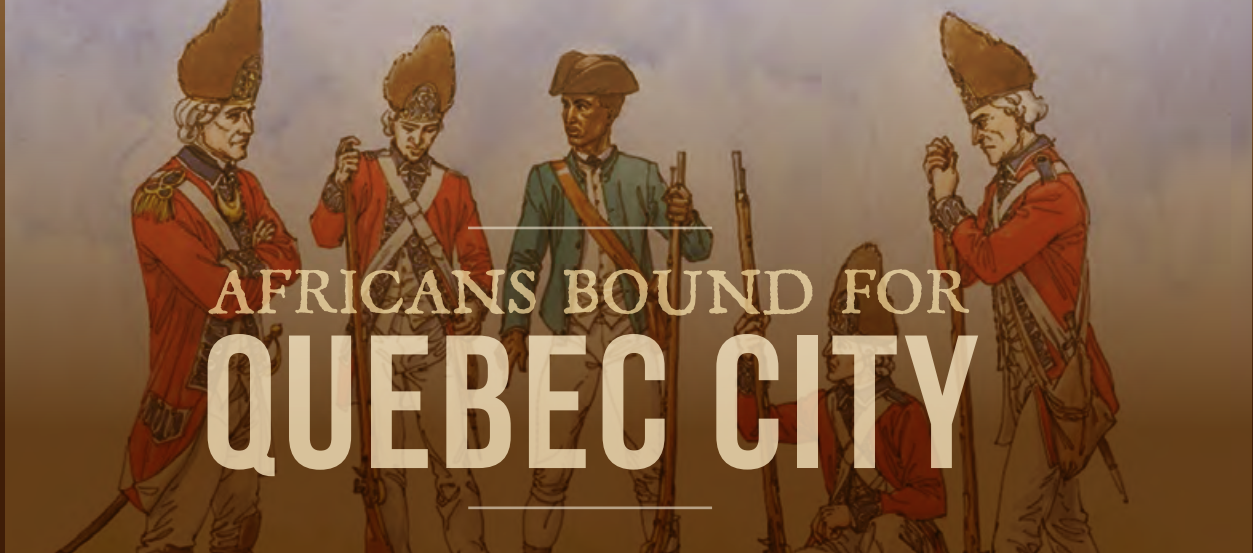
Kingston, and then Bath, Upper Canada.

Dr. Aussem and the rest of his family settled in Montreal where he practiced as a surgeon and participated in the fur trade with his sons. He petitioned the Crown for lands as a Loyalist, and was given sixty acres of land at Port au Bevis, a town lot for himself, and one for his eldest son.

Dr. John Henry Aussem died at the age of 93 years on March 6, 1819 in Point-aux-Trembles, near Montreal, Lower Canada (Quebec), and was buried in the local cemetery. There is no record of his wife Elizabeth's death. John Henry Aussem and his wife Elizabeth Wever were my 6th great-grandparents.

26 ans, entend parfaitement tous les ouvrages du ménage, surtout le blanchissage et la cuisine ; aussi un Nègre robuste de 13 ans ; De plus un

Québec, 10 Mai, 1785.



BY STEPHEN DAVIDSON

Of all the ships that evacuated Loyalists from New York City to Quebec in 1783, only seven of them had enslaved Africans or Black Loyalists among their passengers. There were a total of 29 Africans who made this journey -- a fact that has been largely overlooked by both loyalist and Quebec historians. Their stories warrant closer study. With the help of *The Book of Negroes*, the descendants of Black Loyalists and enslaved Africans now living in Quebec and Ontario have some important clues to begin the search for their ancestors.

The seven ships that had Africans among their loyalist passengers were: *The Baker and Atlee*, *the Blackett*, *the Camel*, *the Grace*, *the Hope*, *the Mary*, and the *Three Sisters*. Of the 29 Blacks who sailed for Quebec from New York City, 16 were either emancipated by the British or were born free. Thirteen of the Africans passengers were considered the property of white Loyalists.

As is true of any attempt to try to piece together Black Loyalist history, the available data is minimal. How these Africans survived in their first years along the St. Lawrence River is a matter of conjecture, but how they first came to its shores is revealed in the brief entries found in a ledger that was commissioned by Sir Guy

A Gentleman going to England has for sale, a Negro-wench, with her child, about 26 years of age, who understands thoroughly every kind of house-work, particularly washing and cookery; And a stout Negro-boy, 13 years old; also a good horse, cariole and harness, - For particulars enquire at Mr. William Roxburgh's, Upper-town

Quebec, 10th May, 1785.

Un Monsieur, qui va partir pour Angleterre, a pour vendre, une Nègresse avec son enfant. Elle est âgée d'environ 26 ans, entend parfaitement tous les ouvrages du ménage, surtout le blanchissage et la cuisine ; aussi un Nègre robuste de 13 ans ; De plus un bon cheval avec carriole et le harnois. Pour information on s'adressera à Mr. William Roxburgh, à la Haute-ville.

Québec, 10 Mai, 1785.

➤ Announcement of sale of slaves appeared in the Quebec Gazette May 12 1785

Carleton, the British commander in chief who was based in New York City.

The Book of Negroes was compiled in 1783 to refute the claims of any American slave owner who might, at a future date, protest that the British had stolen his property during the loyalist evacuations from New York City. Meticulous details on the appearance, age, colony of origin, and the legal status of African evacuees were written down before the departure of their vessels for England, the West Indies, Nova Scotia, and Quebec. If any slave of a Patriot had crossed over into the British lines by December 31, 1782, that person was granted a General Birch certificate to prove his or her emancipation. The slaves of white

Loyalists were not given the same opportunity.

Historians estimate that 4,000 Black Loyalists left New York in 1783. Although only half of that number is recorded in the *Book of Negroes*, the ledger is, nevertheless, an important document in piecing together Black Loyalist history. Its entries provide historians and genealogists with otherwise lost descriptions of the experiences of enslaved Africans.

For example, the two Black Loyalists on the *Mary* were both single people from the southern colonies. Phillis Duet had been a servant in Pee Dee, South Carolina. Although born free, Phillis decided that her interests were best served by siding with the Loyalists rather than

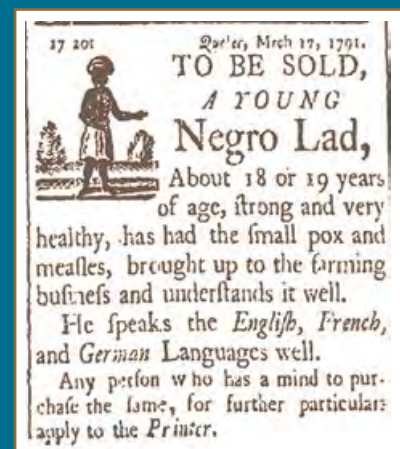
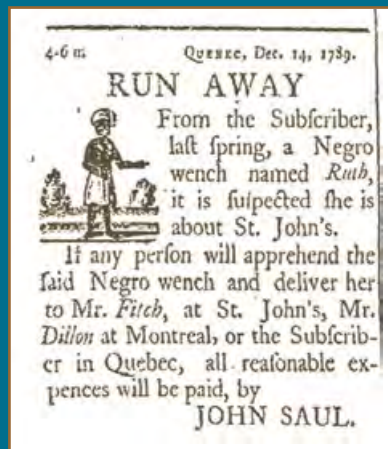
the Patriots. In 1780, at the age of 43, she left her employer and joined other free blacks in New York City to wait out the conclusion of the revolution.

The other African aboard the *Mary* was George Flanders, a 23 year-old who had escaped from his master in St. Augustine, Florida in 1781. The loss to posterity of the stories of how these two single people survived in a racist society in the cold northern frontier is an ongoing tragedy for the Black Loyalist historian.

The descendants of the New York loyalist Joseph Orser might be surprised to discover that their ancestor took two African children with his family when he sailed on the *Camel*. Abigail was fourteen; little Oliver was just eleven. Did these enslaved children survive to adulthood? Were they ever set free? Are their descendants among us today? These are questions that are almost impossible to answer.

The *Hope* carried only one Black Loyalist, a 37 year-old spinster named Lucia. She had left Charleston, South Carolina in 1781.

All but one of the six Africans who sailed on the *Blackett* carried a General Birch certificate. Nicholas and Lena Clouse, both 40 years old, had fled their masters in Tappan, New Jersey in 1779, crossed the Hudson River, and joined the British forces in New York City. Their fellow passengers, Dick and Elsee Boon (with daughter Celia) also held Birch certificates. This family had escaped from their master in Charleston in 1778. Rosetta, a 30 year-old woman, would lead a very different life from that of the other blacks on the *Blackett*. She was the property of the Loyalist David Whitehill, and he had the bill of sale to prove it.



➤ Notices of enslaved people for sale or on the run in Quebec city's newspapers between 1767 and 1791.

Like the Boon couple, the only Black Loyalist aboard the *Baker and Atlee* was also fifty years old. Tampier had escaped his master in Paramus, New Jersey five years earlier. The other African who sailed on Tampier's ship was Mary, an eleven year-old girl who was "the property of Thomas Darling".

All but two of the eight Africans on the *Grace* were women. Thirteen year-old Betsey Graham was the slave of John Graham; 38 year-old Jenny Miller was the property of Alexander Hare. Hannah Harris, a single mother of thirty nursing her four month-old Polly, came to Quebec as a free woman.

The Book of Negroes' entry for Peter Matthews and his wife Margaret hints at an interesting --but lost-- story. The fact that he was a free man was underscored in Matthews' discharge, a document that was signed in London, England by Major Stephenson in 1780. Sometime during his service to the British army, Matthews met Margaret. She had once been enslaved by a colonial government official. When the British captured New York City in 1776, Margaret's master abandoned her. For unexplained reasons, the Matthews couple decided to pursue life under the British flag in Quebec rather than in Nova Scotia where

four thousand Blacks had settled.

Other African passengers on the *Grace* included John Martine and Betsey. The latter was the 16 year-old slave of the Loyalist Guy Johnson; the former had escaped from his master in Charleston in 1780 when he was 19. Martine served the British for three years before sailing for Quebec.

Most of the Black passengers who took passage on the *Three Sisters* were the slaves of Loyalists. York, an 11 year-old boy, belonged to the loyalist John Huych/Hough. Peter Van Alstyne brought three slaves to Quebec with his family: 30 year-old Pusie, her 18 month-old baby, and Cuff Van Alstine, a 16 year-old.

Eleven year-old Ben Johnson belonged to John Johnston; Casper Hellenbeck considered 19 year-old Simon Hellenbeck his property. Only Cato Huggenel sailed as a free African aboard the *Three Sisters*. He received his General Birch certificate after fleeing the siege of Charleston in 1782. When he disembarked at Quebec, Huggenel had been a free man for only one of his 44 years.

Though all too short, these accounts of Black Loyalists and their enslaved colleagues provide an important starting point for piecing together the Black history of what would become Lower Canada.

THE REV. JOHN DOTY AND THE LOYALIST CHURCH OF SOREL

BY THE REV. EDWARD P. VOKEY

Sorel, situated on the east bank of the Richelieu River at its junction with the St. Lawrence River, had its beginning in 1609 with a visit by Champlain. This river formed their eastern boundry line and was a natural highway to the St. Lawrence. The settlement was later named in honour of Pierre de Saurel, a French officer.

In 1783, thousands of Loyalists gathered in New York under the protection of the British Garrison, commanded by Sir Guy Carleton, who insisted on evacuating them before leaving the city. Those who came up the St. Lawrence to Sorel endured a voyage of four weeks. Before the American Revolution, there were only two thousand English-speaking Canadians and one hundred thousand French. By the end of the war, however, some 2,000 refugees had come into French-speaking Canada, as well as seven shiploads of all ranks of disbanded regiments with their families. Many came to Sorel.

When hostilities in the colonies looked unfavourable for Britain, George III had hired 17,000 mercenaries from his neighbouring



➤ The current church was solemnly consecrated to the service in the presence of the Commander-of-the Forces, and a large congregation, by Bishop George J. Mountain, on May 30, 1843.

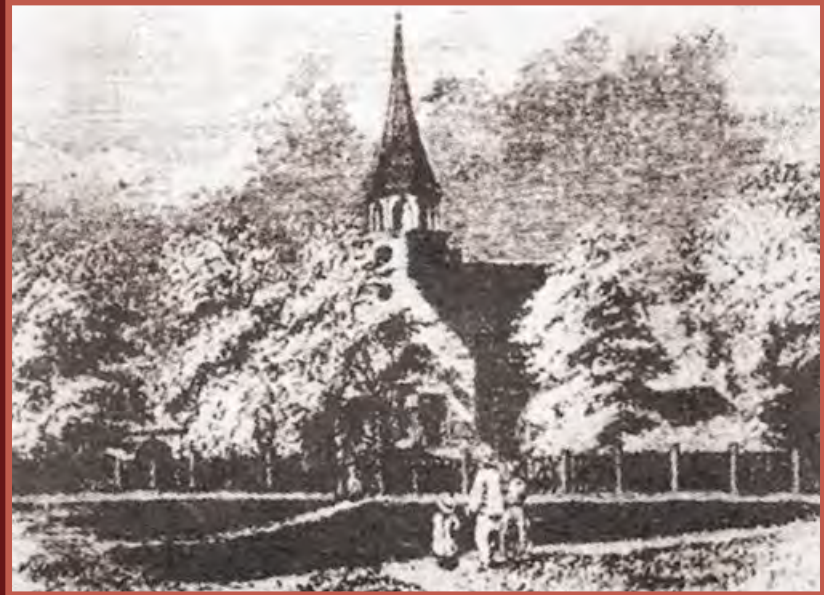
German states. Toward the end of the war, some of these under General Reidesill also settled in Sorel.

The Anglican Church in Sorel owes its foundation to the Reverend John Doty, a missionary of The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG). Before going to Sorel, Doty had played an active part in the American Revolution and was one of the first Loyalist clergy to enter Canada. A native of New York, Doty was ordained in England in 1770, and returned to become rector of Peekskill, New York. In 1774, he moved to Schenectady. By this time, hostilities in the thirteen revolting colonies were increasing. Professing his loyalty to Great Britain, Doty was twice taken prisoner. By 1777, his church was closed and by that fall, he sought refuge with his family in Canada.

After arriving in Montreal, General Carleton appointed Doty as chaplain to the Royal Regiment of New York. The Anglican rector's regiment later moved to Quebec and Sorel. Though he lived with his family in Montreal, Doty visited Sorel as often as possible.

Between the years 1781 and 1783, Doty paid two visits to England. He acquainted the SPG with his desire to return to Canada, and to Sorel in particular. The SPG now directed its attention to gathering the many Protestants into congregations and to build them up in the faith. Doty sailed from Gravesend, England in April 1784, destined for Sorel, Quebec.

On his arrival in Sorel in 1784, the rector found that nearly 300 families of Loyalists, chiefly from New York -- after spending the



➤ The Second "Christ Church" 1790-1843. John Doty received donations from 23 persons, including Sir J. Johnstone, K.C.B. and the Rev. James Turnstall, Anglican priest at Montreal. Construction began, and the new church was opened for on Sunday, October 3, 1790.

winter at Sorel-- had moved to Cataraqui (Kingston) in Upper Canada, leaving just 70 loyalist families and other Protestants within the town and district. They worshipped in a converted barracks house every Sunday in numbers of 150, 50 of which were from the garrison.

Doty came to Sorel as a missionary with a salary of fifty pounds a year. In common with the Loyalists, he drew provisions from the King's stores; otherwise the cost of living would have been beyond his purse. His mother and grandson arrived from England to take up residence in Sorel. A Black boy was also assigned to him as servant.

On Sunday, June 19, 1785, it was determined that the legal title of the congregation thus formed should be "*Christ Church at Sorel, in communion with the Church of England as by Law established.*" Thus, John Doty had formed a parish consisting of retired officers and disbanded soldiers of the

British army, together with several United Empire Loyalists who sought refuge in Canada.

In 1785, Mr. Doty had the opportunity to buy one of the best houses in Sorel. He envisioned this building as his new church, and travelled to Montreal to collect funds for its purchase. It was fitted so as to accommodate above 120 persons. It was opened for service on Christmas Day, 1785, and Mr. Doty described the day as one never seen before in Canada.

The congregation added a steeple to their church, which was finished about midsummer 1786. (This is the same bell that hangs in the steeple today.) They hoped to complete the inside within a year. At this time, there were 90 church members. Such was the creation of the first Anglican Church in Old Canada.

General Von Reidesill's regiment as well as other Lutherans had settled in Sorel, and desired to take an active part in the church. Their

inability to read English hindered them in joining in the church's services, prompting Doty to request the SPG to provide some German Prayer Books.

The year 1787 brought many interesting events both to the Parish of Christ Church, and the town of Sorel. It was in 1787 that Lord Dorchester, Governor



General of British North America, granted the Parish a new lot of land *"in the most convenient and conspicuous part of the town for the purpose of building a church, and another lot adjoining the same for a parsonage."*

It was also in September of 1787 that His Royal Highness, Prince William Henry, afterwards King William IV, visited Sorel. The prince was then serving in the Royal Navy, and stopped at Sorel on his way up the St. Lawrence. His Royal Highness graciously consented to honour the town with his name, "William Henry".

His Royal Highness was conducted to the settlement's Royal Square where he was again saluted by the garrison. On this occasion, the town took the name of "William Henry", a name it maintained for three-quarters of a century.

The year 1789 was memorable for the first visit of an Anglican Bishop to Old Canada. In 1789, Bishop Charles Inglis made an extensive tour of the Province of Quebec. He included William Henry on this visit. The following is taken from his report: *"A lot for a church and parsonage, and a glebe given here by Lord Dorchester. Also some timber to build a church, but the people are so poor that they will scarcely be able to finish it."*

By 1790, William Henry had a Protestant School taught by Alexander Bissett. John Doty reported to the SPG that there were only 22 pupils, and most of the 124 Protestant children were growing up in ignorance.

In that same year, the Parish of Christ Church was told that they must now vacate the old church, as it obstructed the thoroughfare of a new street. The members were sorry to vacate their old church, but made plans to construct a new one on land located on the east side of the Royal Square.

The congregation proceeded to erect its new building on the land previously granted by the government. John Doty again travelled to Montreal to solicit funds from his friends. The new church was opened for Divine Service on Sunday, October 3, 1790.

The church measured 35 x 45 feet deep, built of wood, filled in with clay and mortar, upon a slight stone foundation, and without the slightest pretensions to architectural beauty or design. It was surmounted with a belfry and spire, the old bell having been preserved from the former church. There was a gallery over the door, and that the church was well lighted. The communion table,

prayer books, etc. were similarly brought from the old church.

By 1791, the church had installed pews. The ground floor contained 34 pews, exclusive of a government pew, and a baptistry. The latter was simply a small pine table, surmounted by an ordinary white crockery bowl.

This building has since been recognized as the first Protestant church erected in Old Canada. (The previous building was not built as a church, but was a converted house.) The cost of this new church was £300, of which half was paid at the time of construction.

Since the American Revolution, the English population in Canada had been increasing, and was predominant in the country bordering Lake Ontario. On Christmas Day of 1791, the Quebec Act came to an end, and on the following day the colony was divided into Lower Canada (Quebec) and Upper Canada (Ontario). The new law contained provisions that were intended to "establish" the Church of England in the new provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, together with the liberal endowment of Protestant clergy out of Crown Lands.

This led to the formation of the Diocese of Quebec on June 28, 1793, by letters patent from King George III, and for the appointment of the Rev. Jacob Mountain as Bishop. One of the primary tasks of the first Bishop of Quebec was the preservation of peace in the parish or Christ Church, William Henry. As well as being the Rector of Christ Church, John Doty was also Justice of the Peace. Of necessity, he made decisions which rendered him not the most popular person in the town.

In August, 1793, John Doty and

his wife visited New York. While there, he was asked to remain to take charge of one of the vacant churches. After much deliberation, he decided to accept the charge of the church of Brooklyn, Long Island. Doty wrote to the Bishop of Nova Scotia informing him of these plans, and requested that his resignation from Christ Church take effect March, 1794.

Doty went on to say that the situation in William Henry was disagreeable and unfortunate. He had become the centre of much controversy, which reduced his work in the parish to little value.

Doty returned to William Henry in September and planned to continue his ministrations until March, when he was expected at Brooklyn. A large group of the parishioners at Christ Church, however, were concerned about the welfare of their church and pastor. Twenty-six persons signed a petition on January 7, 1794, requesting that a parishioners meeting be held.

At the meeting, they immediately conferred with the Bishop of Quebec, requesting that Doty be retained at William Henry. The Bishop found that the ill feeling in the Loyalist colony was brought about by the influx of many different racial factions, with corresponding differences in religion. The only remedy for the good of the church was to relieve Doty of his duties as magistrate. In the end, Doty remained in charge of the parish of Christ Church to the great satisfaction of both Doty and his parishioners.

By the summer of 1794, the Anglican rector reported that the parish contained 300 houses, with only 100 in the town and the rest dispersed throughout the



➤ This plan shows the military barracks of the invalids of William Henry (Sorel). The Protestant cemetery of the old domain of the Loyalist invalids in Sorel was right next to the military huts in 1784. It was located very close to Prince Street and Augusta.

settlement. One quarter of the town were members of the Church of England.

Edward, Duke of Kent, son of George III, was appointed General and Commander-in-Chief of the Forces in North America in 1799. He generally resided in Sorel at this time, and took an active interest in Christ Church. The Royal Coat-of-Arms of Britain, painted in oils, was sent out from England to hang over the Duke of Kent's pew in Christ Church. This hangs in the present church.

The Masonic Order appears to have become established in Sorel at an early date. A sermon was preached by the Rev. Doty at Christ Church,

on St. John's Day, December 27, 1798, before the Richelieu Lodge Number Six of the Ancient York Masons under the patronage of His Royal Highness Duke of Kent, father of Queen Victoria.

John Doty continued his ministry in William Henry until January 1803. After nineteen years of ministry, he resigned the rectory and retired to Three Rivers, where he died at the age of 96 in 1841.

Doty appears to have been a man of superior attainments, living in stirring times, and leaving the impress of his own marked individuality of character behind him, both in the country that he had left and the country to which he had come.



Sir John Johnson Family Burial Vault



Mont-Saint-Gregoire, Québec