

CANADIAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

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FOUNDED BY SAUL HAYES, O.C., Q.C., LL.D., F.R.S.A.
FIRST EDITOR LOUIS ROSENBERG, F.R. Econ.S., F.S.S.

Nous nous souvenons

NEW SERIES
NUMBER NINETEEN

Forgetfulness leads to Holocaust;
Remembering is the root of redemption.
(Baal Shem Tov)

ON THE EARLY HARTS - THEIR CONTEMPORARIES PART 1

Compiled by
DAVID ROME

NATIONAL ARCHIVES
CANADIAN JEWISH CONGRESS

MONTREAL CANADA
1981

ISSN 0576-5528



Bibliothèque Nationale du Québec

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EDITED BY LARRY RAYNE, D.G., O.C., LL.D., F.R.S.C.
PUBLISHED BY THE CANADIAN JEWISH CONGRESS, P.O. Box 43, P.T.S.

For a copy of this journal

write to the
National Archives

For a full and complete
remembrance of the past is the first of redemption.
(Shema Yisrael)

ON THE EARLY HARTS - THEIR CONTEMPORARIES

PART I

Edited by
DAVID FINE

NATIONAL ARCHIVES
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THE EXTENDED FAMILY

The reasons for the Hart preeminence in the historiography of early Canadian Jewry are very clear: the continuity of the family, the leadership its members gave for more than a century, the availability of important archival resources, their awareness of the importance of history writing and their participation in this composition.

In this historic writing the collaterals of the Harts have also found a place, and they have been adverted to in this record of the early Harts; for almost by clear design, and with the blessing of good luck, Aaron Hart, this remarkable figure of Canadian history perpetuated his family largely in Canada, and gathered about him the Judahs, the Davids, the Hays, and the Josephs in a fairly well knit unit which became, in effect, the Jewish community of Canada for a hundred years.

Through the presence of this progeny and by the dissemination of this family tradition they have been remembered; while those of no issue have been forgotten for all that they were and did during a long generation.

But the history is incomplete in the absence of a significant number of other Jewish pioneers in Lower Canada at this time and their role in shaping the early country.

By the time the British had conquered Quebec there were a good half dozen Jews settled in the colony which had never seen a Jew in its century-old history as a French colony. Some of these are little known to historians. Others struck roots in the land.

Clearly the early Canadian Jewish pioneers are easily divisible in two groups. There was The Dynasty and there were those without issue: that is, they left no continuing family in this country after their years -- few or many -- of personal and community activity.

Even a cursory reading of their story as a group, and the biographies of these typical Jewish merchants who ventured to Canada, serves to correct many common impressions.

These men did not ride into the country on the coat-tails of front line fighting men. They ventured their lives and their fortunes, often alone, in their Canadian undertakings, often ahead of the organized troops. When the soldiers came they sometimes found the Jewish men in the hostile territory before them. They had come alone, not posted by organized army.

In a pattern that was repeated a century later in the trailless wilderness of the Rockies, presidents of synagogues spent their lives with Indian tribes, sometimes even marrying them and bearing progeny on a family tree which also carried names of the original natives of the land. Theirs was not solely the image of storekeepers in the mini-metropolis of the colonial capital. They were participants in the military, economic, constitutional development of the area. They had advanced without the security of lines of communication, or the organization of an empire behind them.

Furthermore -- in terms of romantic adventure drama that even in our materialist age looks down contemptuously upon the petty businessman on the daring frontier -- many of these Jewish pioneers were genuine coureurs de bois. A Yiddish term needs to be sought out for these men who covered a quarter of an unmapped continent in canoes, "bateaux" and frigates, spending months and years in Yamachiche or at Michilimackinac.

They had come to Canada with the British as suppliers and remained as traders with the civilian population when the war against the French ended. They were so close to the advancing line of the English troops that some of them were in danger from the French and their Indian allies. More than once they but miraculously survived stake and tomahawk.

They established themselves at strategic points on important rivers, thus commanding the routes where the Indians travelled hundreds of miles to bring their furs and to obtain the traders' alcohol, sometimes resentfully.

As Vaugeois put it,

"To summarize, if we add to those who surrounded Samuel Jacobs and Aaron Hart the merchants of the Upper Country: Levy and Ezekiel Solomons, Chapman Abrahams and Benjamin Lyons, the Jewish presence in 1763 is not only well attested but becomes very impressive.

"At the very moment when New France ceased to exist, when the Province of Quebec was created, clever and enterprising Jews were already in place, prepared to benefit from the condition; that is to say, involuntarily to serve the cause of the conqueror. We cannot forget the small group of very active Jews at the side of the Grants, the Mackenzies, Finlays, Allsopps, Frobishers and McTavishes; influential and assured of the cooperation of relatives and friends in London, New York, Philadelphia, Albany, etc.

"Besides, reinforcements were not slow in arriving, and their numbers grew during the years following the English conquest.

"It is to be concluded: though Jewish officers were few -- if ever there were any -- the Jewish merchants occupied an important place and played an essential role as sutlers, purveyors and canteen keepers for the armies.

"However, their true role was on the level of the occupation of territory. The military conquest had to be followed by political, commercial and economic conquests to be valid. That is where Jews played a terribly efficient, self-effacing part...

"It is from a minute study of the collective Jewish organization, of the activities of each of them on all levels that we will be able to arrive at a view of the Jews after the conquest of 1760." (Denis Vaugois. Les Juifs et la Nouvelle France. Trois-Rivières. Editions Boreal express, 1968. Pp.133-35)

This centering on the Harts has led to no serious distortion in the history of the community or of the country.

THE JOSEPHS

Among the collaterals the Josephs are a parallel to the Harts in continuity, in creativity, in tradition, in wealth and in community participation. Their story may be less meticulously documented at this time.

London-born Henry Joseph, nephew of Aaron Hart, (1775-1832) may have crossed the ocean to settle in New York, but apparently very soon followed his uncle to Lower Canada.

One of the remarkable documents of early Canadian history is the Joseph family Bible with Henry Joseph's bookplate.

Its entries on the reverse side of plate illustrating the story of Ahab and Zedekiah record births and deaths of early Canadian Josephs, Solomons and Franks. Among the entries: Henry Joseph's marriage to Rachel Solomons.

Remarkably, it is a Christian Bible; precisely, the Bishop's Bible printed in London in 1790, a text forbidden to observant Jews. It is a reminder that two hundred years ago, English-language Bibles translated by Jewish scholars were not readily available in Berthier.

The volume was presented by a niece of Henry Joseph, Sarah Rachel Joseph, to her kinsman, Clarence de Sola, in 1887. (L.M. Lande, Canadian Historical Documents and Manuscripts. Montreal, 1980, no. 154, Pp. 65-66)

Joseph's marriage in 1803 to the daughter of another notable Jewish pioneer in the colony and their setting up a home distinguished for piety and loyalty to the Jewish group is an event in the history of the community. That a Jewish merchant from Louisville (then Rivière du Loup) should have officiated is well within the ancient tradition and speaks eloquently of the cultural resources of the miniscule society at the time. The list of witnesses is of interest,

"I, Barnet Lyon of Rivière du Loup district of Three Rivers, Lower Canada, Merchant, do hereby certify that on Wednesday the 12th day of Tishry 5564 answering to the 28 Septr. 1803, at Berthier, district of Montreal province aforesaid ---

"I did perform the Marriage Ceremony according to the Laws of Moses and Israel, being agreeable to the Laws of England, between Henry Joseph of Berthier aforesaid merchant and Rachel Solomon daughter of Levy Solomon late of Montreal, Merchant, in presence of the undersigned witnesses. Berthier 28 Septr. 1803

(signed) Barnet Lyon

Witnesses:

Solomon Benjamin, A. Joseph, J. Joseph, B. Solomon, Rebekah Solomon, Catherine Joseph, Levy Lyons, Elizabeth Solomon, Hanna Joseph"

Samuel David recorded the wedding in his diary the day it was celebrated.

Rosenberg identifies most of the witnesses. A. and J. Joseph were brothers of the groom. B. Solomon was the brother of the bride; Rebecca and Elizabeth Solomon her sisters.

Catherine Joseph, née Lazare, the Christian wife of Judah Joseph, attended with her husband. (Rosenberg)

The witness, signing last is a mystery figure of some interest. Hannah Joseph remained in Berthier for another thirty-four years.

On June 10, 1837, Abraham Joseph received a letter informing him of the melancholy intelligence of "Aunt Hannah's having fallen into her cellar (which was filled with water) which caused almost instant death. The letter informs me that A. Hart and Jesse proceeded, as soon as they had the intelligence, to Berthier.

"Hannah Joseph departed this life at Berthier on Tuesday the 6th day of June, 1837, aged 60...

"Executors to Aunt Hannah's last Will and Testament are Dr. Barbier, B. Hart, Jacob and myself. Received of Jacobs, written by Badgeley, form of a power of Attorney to be sent by me naming Jacob, curator." (Diary, June 10 and July 8, 1837)

Just as each immigrant to the New World sought to establish himself into the economy and society being developed in the New World on the highest possible level of success, and to establish here a continuity of the cultural society which he left on the east shore of the Atlantic -- whether it be a New France, a New England, a Nova Scotia, a New Brunswick, a London in Ontario, a Mont Réal in Quebec, a Victoria on the Pacific, a Regina on the prairies, or a Bishop's college in Sherbrooke -- so the few Jews also hoped to establish on this untrodden soil a Jewish community which would be as Canadian as Toronto, Quebec, Vancouver, Kingston and Winnipeg, yet as Jewish as the Jewries of London or Posen or Vilno or Berdichev, as the case of the individual dreamer or planner may be.

Canadien and English and Hebrew found the working out of their intentions very complex, yet successful. The story of these multiple achievements is the saga of the Canadian peoples. The whirlpools of problems they raised in the processes is the history of Canada.

The Jewish successes and complexities constitute the record of the Canadian community, an integral and indispensable element in the story of Canada. It tells of an adjustment, acculturation, assimilation and participation, and, at the same time, the intimate home story of their common spiritual life, and of the continuity on Canadian soil of the eternal tradition of Judaism.

Their daily life consisted of very hard work, great concentration and constant abstinence -- the price of successful living on the distant frontier.

One of their major deprivations was the absence of a society of their own and of the institutions of such society which then existed in their European home. No relatives, no old friends -- or many new ones -- no synagogues, public holidays, festivals, no schools for the children or Jewish playmates, no Jewish learning, no traditional humour and wit, no rabbis or scholars or preachers or Jewish beggars -- no Street of the Jewry, and not much leisure to develop substitutes or the local forms of eternal Judaism. Letters from family might come by next vessel across the wastes of wave. It was a huge price they deliberately paid.

Family loyalties were very strong, in spite of serious differences which at times were to be settled by the reasoning and the sanctions of the law.

When possible they dealt with one another, even during the strains of looming litigation. They lent each other money, followed each other's health, business and political progress, and never let their own down.

Well into the nineteenth century, contemporary diaries indicate, Jewish members of society absented themselves from parties on Friday evenings, nor would they attend races or other entertainments on the Sabbath day. The Jewish members of the Whist Club were never embarrassed, for it never met on Friday evenings.

One of the first documents of Jewish settlement on the prairies describes "the Hebrew refugees perishing from hunger and cold" in the immigration sheds in Winnipeg, "enough to make all bearing the name Christians to blush with shame," to quote a Christian reporter. "Much prejudice exists against the Jews, and on that account but few of them have been able to get lasting work," he reports. Yet even under these conditions, at 30 below zero, "several of the children were to be seen poring over parts of the Scripture, written in the Hebrew tongue."

Charles McDiarmid, who introduced the 1892 Jewish immigrants to farming at Hirsch, complained to the Baron de Hirsch Committee in Montreal,

"We have considerable trouble in getting the people to help during these holidays. I tell them if they are to have these holidays when they have grain to take care of, they might as well quit farming first as last, for no farmer can afford to lose three weeks in the fall. That I am sure of." (Letter to H. Vineberg, Oct. 10, 1892)

Or, "Was those people made to understand anything about what must be done on their Sunday. If they persist in going without a fire, or waiting until some one comes to make one, they will certainly freeze." (Letter, May 6, 1892)

The religious piety continued in this home in the wilderness -- in terms of the Jewish tradition -- that was Berthier, is engraved in the family tradition and is documented in the sermon literature of his son-in-law, the Rev. Abraham de Sola.

In the words of B.G. Sack,

"For a Jew, the life at Berthier presented numerous difficulties, which Henry Joseph neither shirked nor neglected. Because both he and his wife Rachel were very pious, he studied the laws of 'Shechita' so as to be able to supply kosher meat for himself and his family. He devised a 'luach' to enable him to keep track of the Sabbath and holy days, and his wife taught the children the prayers and lessons of Judaism. There wasn't another Jewish family for miles around, and the parents took great care lest the children become totally assimilated." ("The House of Joseph," in Jewish Standard, Sept. 1, 1959)

Those with a general impression of the complexity of Jewish calendar chronology will appreciate the audacity of Mr. Joseph in proposing to maintain such a calendar, and his learning as a Schochet of cattle as well as of fowl.

As the Hebraic formula has it, "by virtue of these good efforts" the Joseph descendants won honor through the generations.

Of these the most distinguished and regenerative spiritually came in 1852 when Esther Joseph, daughter of Henry Joseph, (1823-98) married the Rev. Abraham de Sola, attaching the name of the Canadian pioneer with that of an internationally respected tradition of learning and moral leadership. The marriage of a Joseph girl with a de Sola was congruous with the Joseph family history.

The marriage of another daughter of Henry Joseph, Catherine (1810-76), in 1836 to Dr. Aaron Hart David, himself a member of a pioneering Lower Canada family whose given names recall the first comers to the colony and whose personal record of community concern and devotion to the synagogue, confirm the traditions of both families.

A kin family of the Josephs, the Simon Lazarus, were also residing in Berthier at this time.

According to M. Stern, the Josephs were related to Simon Lazarus, and this is supported by Prof. J.R. Marcus. (Letter to B.G. Sack, Oct. 14, 1953)

A Nov. 13, 1799 letter in French, sent from Berthier, states,

"I take the liberty of writing you this letter through Mr. S. Lazarus, a respectable man, and the father of Mrs. Joseph, who told me that she is travelling on business as far as Philadelphia. But since she has much business to transact at several points in the U.S., I prefer to send my papers by the next mail." (PAC, MG 19, A2, Ser. 3, vol. 25, P. 3375)

Our earliest information about Mr. Lazarus, gold and silver worker and chapman is from Charlestown, in the U.S. Subsequently he went to England where we know of his purchasing various supplies from mercers and silk manufacturers in 1888. (ibid., Pp. 3308-10) He was then residing on Essex St., White-chapel, in the County of Middlesex.

The following December he was formally declared a bankrupt. (ibid., Pp. 3332-3332B)

In 1895 we find him in Lower Canada where he is on friendly terms with Aaron Hart, to whom he writes about a £10 debt which he is as yet unable to pay. "Do not think it is for want of principle.

"I have been informed here that Mrs. Hart was ill with the dropsy, which hurt me much, you may depend on. But, Sir, the Almighty has blessed me with a gift that I can cure that disorder with any doctor in the world and I therefore; if it is so that Mrs. Hart is ill, I shall think myself happy in having it in my power to render all the service I can. If you think my service worthy of your notice, you may command me by a letter and I will immediately come if I was even to walk all the way of the road."

The same year he purchased pencils to the amount of £15 from Henry Lazarus, pencil maker of Grand Lane, Houndsditch near Aldgate in London. (ibid., P. 3312)

He seems to have travelled considerably between Berthier and American points.

A detailed laissez-passer issued in Montreal on Sept. 12, 1797 gives a vivid picture of travel at this time.

"Mr. Lazarus arrives at the Village of Laprairie he will enquire for Captain Hebert and tell the Captn. that Mr. Watson the Surveyor begs that he will give Mr. Lazarus directions to find out Captn. Lapomera at La Tortue: When Mr. Lazarus arrives at Captn. Lapomera's, he will desire him to send a Guide to conduct Mr. Lazarus to Clessy Moore Esqr. on the Great Chausey River; Mr. Moore will give Mr. Lazarus any further necessary directions to go to any part of the United States he may choose." (ibid., P. 3317)

Though his letters sometimes mention business affairs, they are the least business-like letters in the century's archives. It is almost as if he were on a search for others like him or for a functionary for some scarcely existent congregation. So he writes his children from New York in Sept. 1796,

"The sickness here is all past. It is not near as was talked of. There is some sickness at one end of the town, but nothing to speak of.

"I am very sorry to inform you that all my trouble at present is in vain, for I can get no person to come along with me. The man whom I thought likely to come with me was dead when I arrived hear. That was Rabbi Snder (in Yiddish letters), and as to the people hear, all behaved very polite to me. I was introduced in most of the houses. I met wicth a great number of acquaintances hear. My dear Kitty, I wish I had been so lucky for you to have come. When you was with me, I never found anything pleasanter than the journey to New York after I left St. John... I hope, please God, to be with you by the Yom Tov (Holy Day, in Yiddish letters)."

The notes of "Morris Lazarus, His Book, Oct. 15, 1793" survive, recalling the not ineffective mode of teaching arithmetic, including problems in multiplication and division -- and always with perfect orthography. (Pp. 3311-3311KL)

The Jacobs papers (or more correctly the Ermatinger papers) in the Public Archives of Canada also conserve a number of Yiddish documents from Lazarus which are as tantalizing and as difficult to read as are the parallel pages in the Jacobs documentation. As we have noted, some Yiddish words also appear in Lazarus' letters and in some doodles on his letters, but these present no difficulty in reading.

From the record of H. Joseph's activities early in the nineteenth century we may conclude that probably not until recently did a Canadian Jew enter as deeply as the Joseph family -- on the scale pertinent to his time -- into the basic industries of the nation: transportation, communications, banking, etc.

As B.G. Sack tells it in his History of the Jews in Canada and in "The Years of Consolidation" in the Jewish Standard of Feb. 15, 1960,

"The Jewish element was not slow in contributing its share toward the general development of the country, many Jews becoming noted for their achievements in the field of commerce, industry and in other domains. In this respect the David and Joseph families figure very prominently. Henry Joseph, who was born in England in 1775, came to Canada at the instance of his uncle, Aaron Hart, at a comparatively early age and obtained, shortly after his arrival, a post with the Commissariat of the British troops garrisoned at Fort William Henry, at the mouth of the Richelieu River. Some years afterwards, he resigned his military commission and settled in Berthier where he established one of the largest chains of trading posts in Canada, venturing into undertakings which were considered particularly enterprising at that time, when Canada's trade was only at its dawn.

"He may indeed be regarded as being among the founders of Canada's merchant marine, since he was the first, and to his day, the only one, to carry on considerable traffic up and down the waters of the Great Lakes and the St. Lawrence, and to charter ships directly and exclusively for Canadian trade with England. Among the vessels he controlled was the Eweretta, which brought many a cargo to Canada, and of which mention is made as early as 1801. Many years before the first Canadian steamer had left Montreal for Quebec (in 1809) Henry Joseph had already established communication between Canada and England by means of a direct steamship line."

"He was a man of vision and realized that it would be both a philanthropic and profitable undertaking to supply the needs of settlers who were pushing westwards. In association with Levy Solomons, his father-in-law, he collected a large fleet of canoes and sent them, under Indian and French voyageurs, to carry goods to distant trading posts, one of the most important of which was Michilimackinac." (Jewish Standard, Sept. 1, 1959)

"Henry Joseph established a chain of fur trading posts extending from Hudson Bay to Quebec, and in conjunction with his brother-in-law Jacob Franks, established a fur trading post in Mackinac. Some of his fleets of canoes which carried on the trade from the North West Territories to Quebec numbered more than a hundred in one voyage." (Louis Rosenberg. "Jews and Ships", in Israelite Press, July 26, 1940)

Edgar Andrew Collard sees Montreal of that time as a city of two ports: "The eastern port was on the waterfront, opposite the city itself. The western was Lachine.

"The eastern port handled all the shipping from overseas, or from down the river. The western port at Lachine handled all goods and passengers to and from Montreal and the west.

"Montreal had to have two ports, because the Lachine Rapids blocked navigation above the city. Before the construction of the Lachine Canal, and before the railways, goods and passengers had to be transported by road over the nine miles that separated Montreal and Lachine. From Lachine they would be transported on their westward journey.

"The two ports really had different outlooks. The port of Montreal looked downstream towards the Old World beyond the Atlantic. From the Montreal harborfront people would stare downstream every spring, hoping to catch a glimpse of the first sail from overseas -- a sail which meant the reopening of trade after the long winter's isolation.

"The view from the waterfront at Lachine was in the opposite direction. It looked away from the Old World into the New.

"In the port on Montreal's waterfront passengers could still feel some contact with the Old World; they might arrive on the same ship that had brought them from the British Isles or from Europe.

"But at Lachine they had really turned their backs on all that lay behind them. They were looking to a new land, to a new life -- often to hardships greater than they had ever known, often to opportunities thereto denied them.

"The North West Company -- the partnership of Montreal fur traders -- made regular use of both Montreal's ports. The ship, the Eweretta, brought every spring the goods from Britain to be used in the trade with the Indians -- muskets, powder, shot or musket balls, blankets, linen shirts, hatchets, knives, brass or copper kettles, earrings in brass, tin or silver, cosmetic paints, little looking glasses.

"The Eweretta would lie all summer long in the river near the foot of St. Sulpice Street. The trade goods would be transported to Lachine, to be sent to the company's wilderness headquarters at Fort William.

"Furs acquired in the trade would be brought down to Lachine in the canoes. They would be transported by carts to Montreal, to be loaded aboard the Eweretta, which set sail in the late autumn for overseas.

"Since Lachine was the North West Company's western port, sometimes the partners would go there together to see their friends off on their canoe journeys to the wilderness."
(Gazette, Sept. 4, 1976)

A mid-May shipping report characteristically notes the arrival at Quebec of the "Ship Eweretta, Alexd. Patterson, 35 days from London, cargo, Merchandize, General Ship."

Another summer entry notes its arrival from England, London, under Patrick Beatson with a cargo of bale goods, etc. It sailed from Portsmouth on May 16 and arrived in Quebec July 11.
(Quebec Gazette, Aug. 15, 1793)

Moses Hart was one of the passengers aboard the Eweretta as it sailed for London in Oct. 1792. (Quebec Gazette, Oct. 4, 1792)

A bill of landing of the ship Eweretta, #1808, owned and operated by Henry Joseph, refers to the delivery of cut stone for the erection of the column to the memory of Lord Nelson. It reads,

"Shipped by the Grace of God, in good Order and well-conditioned, by Inglis, Ellice & Co., in and upon the good Ship called Eweretta whereof is Master, under God, for this present Voyage, Alexander Patterson, and now riding at Anchor in the River Thames, and by God's Grace bound for Quebec & Montreal with Convoy.

"N No. 1/7 -- Seventeen cases containing ornamental stone work for a pillar to be erected at Montreal to the memory of the immortal Nelson,

"being marked and numbered as in the Margin, and are to be delivered in the like good Order and well-conditioned, at the aforesaid Port of Montreal (the Act of God, the King's Enemies, Fire, and all and every other Dangers and Accidents of the Seas, Rivers and Navigation, of whatever Nature and Kind soever, excepted) unto Mr. Forsyth Richardson,

"or to Their Assigns, Freight for the said Goods being paid here... And so God send the good Ship to her desired Port in Safety. Amen. Dated in London. 20th March 1808"

The Nelson statue was put up by a public subscription initiated the day the news of the victory of Trafalgar reached Montreal on New Year's Day, 1806. It was commissioned from a London factory which cast statues of artificial stone.

The war was still on in 1808 when the sailing vessel Eweretta brought it under convoy. (E.A. Collard, "The Crumbling Statue," in Gazette, Oct. 14, 1978)

Joseph advertised millstones and French Bow stones for sale in 1818 and 1819. (Gazette, June 25, 1818 and June 17, 1819)

Before Christmas 1822 he was on his way to Quebec with a large assortment of furs. (Gazette, Dec. 16, 1822)

The Montreal correspondent of the London Jewish Chronicle, probably a descendant, wrote on Jan. 19, 1894 that Henry Joseph saw active service during the war of 1812 with the British troops near Richelieu. "He subsequently took up residence in Montreal where his interests eventually centred."

When the prothonotary at Montreal opened a roll of Jewish citizens in 1832, Henry Joseph Sr., and Samuel Joseph, who was born in 1803 (presumably his son), both of Berthier, affixed their signatures. They were the only signatories on the register from outside Montreal. (Canadian Jewish Archives, original series, no. 6, May 1962)

The family historian wrote,

"Not long after establishing the centre of trading operations at Berthier, Joseph opened a branch in the city of Quebec, an enterprise which for more than five generations has maintained its status as one of the great grocery and commission firms of Canada. He also carried on a certain amount of commercial negotiations in Montreal, and was a frequent visitor to both cities. It was on one of his visits to Montreal that he learned that his son, Samuel, had contracted cholera and was dying at Berthier. He returned home immediately and was himself a victim of the disease; he died on June 21, 1832, survived by four sons and four daughters." (E.C. Woodley. The House of Joseph in the Life of Quebec, the Record of a Century and a Half. Quebec, 1946; and Congress Bulletin, May 1959, P.2)

Woodley suggests that Henry Judah was in Montreal because of a tragedy in the family: Elizabeth Solomons, sister of Mrs. Henry Joseph and daughter of Levy Solomons, had passed away on June 15, 1832. (P. 28)

Henry Joseph was buried in a Berthier plot he set aside as a family sepulcher, as were the Harts at Trois-Rivières. But that was no eternal rest, but only for a score of years. At a meeting of the Montreal congregation on Nov. 3, 1856 "an Application Was Made by Mr. Jesse Joseph requesting permission to remove the remains of his late Father from Berthier to the Lot in the new Cemetery Belonging to his late Mother.

"The Treasurer Proposed, Sec. by Mr. S. Hart, that the Heirs Joseph Pay to the Congregation the Sum of £7.10.0 for Permission to Reinter the remains of their late father in the New Cemetery in accordance with Cemetery By-Law No. 14, and That They also Pay the fees of the Hazan & Shamas."

We first hear of Judah Joseph's "negro wench named Chloe, about thirty years old, ran away from him on the night of July 13, 1791. His advertisement describes her as "pretty stout, but not tall; speaks English and French, the latter not fluently. As she has taken all her own clothes and some which did not belong to her, it is uncertain what dress she may wear. She is supposed to have gone off in a canoe with a man of low stature and dark complexion, who speaks English, Dutch and French. She got out of a garret window by the help of a ladder...Any person harbouring or favouring the escape of the above-named Negro Wench, will be prosecuted according to law." (Quebec Gazette, July 28, 1791)

Judah Joseph, brother of Henry Joseph, was associated with the family business both at Berthier and at Quebec. On July 23, 1792 he advertised his intention of leaving the colony, but in fact he remained in Quebec. (Quebec Gazette, Aug. 9, 1792)

He returned from London aboard the Fame in May 1802. (ibid., May 20, 1802)

The brother of J. & H. Joseph of Quebec advertised the dissolution of their partnership in the Gazette of May 23, 1805. They invited all concerned to settle their accounts.

In 1811 Walton and Goss announced plans for a newspaper The Provincial Gazette and Three-Rivers Advertiser. They put their prospectus before the public through the columns of the Quebec Gazette (March 28, 1811),

"The expediency and utility of a well conducted Newspaper in a new and flourishing country, where the light of science reflects its lucid rays, can only be known from its salutary influence and beneficial effects.

"Should sufficient encouragement be afforded by the liberal and benevolent, to establish a Paper in this growing region the Editors of the Provincial Gazette and Three-Rivers Advertiser, will be ambitious to deserve the confidence and patronage of the people of this Province, by rendering their paper a vehicle of clarity and useful information, both commercial and political, foreign and domestic.

"Placed at a respectful distance from the whirlwinds of party rage and settled in the calm of political peace, on the soil of contentment, they will endeavour, by a patriotic devotion to the glorious cause of this happy country, to advance its best interests, and the prosperity of their fellow-citizens.

"Terms: The Provincial Gazette and Three-Rivers Advertiser, will be published Weekly, on handsome Royal Paper, and fair Type.

"It will be delivered at the Office, to Subscribers, at 12s. 6d. per annum, -- one half in advance.

"Advertisements inserted in a conspicuous and elegant manner, on liberal terms, in English and French."

J. Joseph was one of the Berthier agents to receive subscriptions. Ezekiel Hart in Three Rovers was in charge of the subscription service.

Apparently the newspaper never saw the light.

Judah Joseph was the curator of the estate of the late surgeon Theodore Stein of Berthier. He gave notice to all concerned with his estate to settle this account. (Gazette, Feb.1, 1810) In the same capacity he published notice of the sale by the sheriff of property belonging to the vacant succession of Dr. Stein. The sale was at the suit of Abraham Joseph. (Gazette, Aug. 26, 1813)

He acted as trustee for the creditors of P.X. Boivin of Berthier that year and gave notice regarding the payment of a first dividend. (Gazette, May 17, 1810)

By 1820 Judah Joseph was in London. At his suit, nevertheless, the sheriff sold the property of Jean-Baptiste Prévost. (Gazette, May 18, Aug. 31, 1820)

He returned aboard the Eweretta the following May. (Gazette, May 24, 1821)

In 1822 he and Christopher F. Moynahan had the sheriff sell the property of David Ross. (Gazette, Aug. 15, 1822)

His children did not continue within the Jewish faith. A grandson was Me. Joseph-Olivier Joseph, whose zeal led to the reorganization and the reestablishment of the Société St.-Jean Baptiste in Montreal. (E.Z. Massicotte, and Gérard Malchelosse. "La Famille Joseph", in Le Bien public, Apr. 6, 1939)

Henry A Speisman reports that one Henry A. Joseph, a fur trader from Sorel, opened a retail fur shop on Yonge St., in Toronto, in the 1830's. (The Jews of Toronto, A History to 1937. Toronto, McClelland & Stewart, 1979, P. 13)

The Montreal register of marriages records the 1848 wedding of Henry Joseph, the son of Simon Joseph of Toronto (but residing in Montreal at this time) to Deborah Solomon, daughter of Henry Solomon. A Mr. Solomons was witness, and Dr. Abraham de Sola officiated.

There are no records of other Josephs in Lower Canada, so that he was very probably a member of the Quebec-Montreal family.

The Toronto Joseph married out of the faith, but his kinsman Judah George Joseph became one of the important founders of the Toronto Jewish community.

This likelihood, together with the record of Montreal's Arthur Wellington Hart and the activities of Rev. Abraham de Sola, constitute the early links between the two Canadian metropolises.

Abraham Joseph was the eighth child of Henry Joseph.

The certificate of his circumcision at the hands of Dr. Jonathan survives, a pale document signed by John Hart, M.D., that "is to certify that on the eighth day of the Hebrew month of Tamuz 5576, I performed the Covenant of Circumcision on Abraham the son of Henry and Rachel Joseph, born in Berthier in the Province of Lower Canada on the 14th day of November, 1815. In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal in the place above named the 12th day of July, 1816."

Dr. John Hart was an "outsider" on the Quebec scene, according to the researches of C. Miller. He was a French Jew who had migrated to Britain and thence to Canada, where he had no kin among any of the several Hart families in the colonies. We find his name on one of the Quebec political petitions which were a convention of the time.

The name of Dr. Jonathan Hart occurs several times in the business notices of the Gazette, as of March 30, 1820 when, at his suit, the sheriff sold the property of Jacques Gagnon.

In 1811 the Quebec Gazette reported that he had extracted a cancerous growth of 26 pennyweights from Mme. Jean-Baptiste Bédard. The patient was doing well. He offered his services to those afflicted with similar disorders. (Oct. 3, 1811)

A month later he operated on cancer-stricken Mme. Geneviève Patris of Beaumont. (Gazette, Nov. 11, 1811)

After the death of Henry Joseph, the four sons decided on a distribution of the many interests in which the family was involved. Jacob Henry and Jesse became active in the commercial life of Montreal, and Abraham took charge of the Joseph business in Quebec City. Gershom, the youngest son, became a member of the bar of the Province of Quebec.

But the brothers kept in daily communication on business and other matters, especially between New York and Montreal.

E.C. Woodley, who researched the history of the Quebec family, admits that "little information is available regarding the business activities of the Joseph firm in Quebec during the years that immediately followed. From the beginning of Abraham Joseph's connection with the firm, which marked its expansion into an independent business, until 1853, it operated under the name of J.H. Joseph and Co. and its premises were located on the Napoleon Wharf (later known as Chouinard's, near the foot of Sous-le-fort St., the property of the Canada Steamship Company). In 1854 the firm appears in the Quebec Business Directory under a new title, A. Joseph and Co., and is described as 'Dealers in tobacco; General Agents and Commission Merchants.' Business was carried on in the old location; but in 1855 moved to St. Peter Street. In 1857 it was again in a building on Napoleon Wharf, but in 1858 changed to premises at 59 St. Peter Street which were occupied until 1875-76.

"During some of these years, Abraham Joseph resided in a house in Clapham Terrace, Grande Allée, until 1849. In 1850 he moved to Stadacona Terrace and in 1857 to Kincardine Place, both locations on Grande Allée.

"In 1876 the firm occupied a building at 4 St. Peter Street, but in 1878 moved to 71-73 St. Peter Street and in 1880 to 110-112 Dalhousie Street. In 1884 it was located at 23-25 Sous-le-fort Street. In 1846 he had married Sophia, daughter of Samuel and Sarah (Hart) David..." (The House of Joseph in the Life of Quebec. The Record of a Century and a Half. Quebec, 1940, Pp.41-42, 55)

The entry in the Quebec Directory for 1878-79 suggests that in this year Abraham Joseph took two of his sons then in Quebec into the business as their names are mentioned after his, Montefiore and Andrew C. The designation of the firm at this time was A. Joseph and Sons.

"From 1881 to 1888 Jesse Joseph Jr., a younger son of Abraham Joseph, carried on business in Quebec at 59-61 Dalhousie Street, as an importer of paints, oils, varnish, glass and artists' materials. He then removed to Montreal, where he developed an extract-making business which is still in operation under the name of Henri Jonas."

In 1893 the firm of A. Joseph and Sons moved from its premises on Sous-le-Fort Street to 173-179 St. Paul Street, which it occupied until 1923. This five-storey building, probably the largest in Lower Town, contained, besides general warehouse space, two two-storey vaults, three customs bonded warehouses and two excise bonded warehouses, all used for accommodating the various lines of imported merchandise and domestic bonded goods held by the firm.

His business activities led him to the chairmanship of the St. Lawrence Steam Navigation Co., the Quebec Steamship Co. and the Le Lery Gold Mining Co.

Joseph was one of the founders of the Quebec and Gulf Ports Steamship Co. which was absorbed in the Richelieu and Ontario Steamship Co. that later became the Canada Steamship Lines.

Linked with ship-building was the trade in square timber, which was carried on very extensively from 1850 to 1860 and to a lesser degree later. The timber was brought to Quebec in great rafts which were broken up in due course and the timber loaded on waiting vessels. The headquarters of the industry was Sillery.

A contemporary record describes a tour of the lower St. Lawrence and the Saguenay by Joseph's St. Lawrence Tow Boat Co. for such selected guests as Judge Caron, Hon. I.B. Thibodeau, the Sewells, Garneaus, Rinfrets, Wurteles, together with the Josephs. Their view of St. Alphonse, Chicoutimi, Statue Point, Capes Trinity and Eternity and the St. Louis Islands has entered the literature of the wonderment of Quebec.

Abraham Joseph was a trustee of the Quebec Provident and Savings Bank, one of the oldest financial organizations in Quebec, established in 1821 to encourage small depositors and to develop thrift. It accepted deposits as small as one shilling.

On Dec. 22, 1858 business and professional interests established a new bank to care for the growing wealth of the city. A charter was obtained in 1859. The capital of one million dollars was subscribed in 1860 and the bank took the name, La Banque Nationale. A Board of Directors was elected in April 1860 and included Dr. O. Robitaille, Cirice Tetu, E. Chinic, V.J. Tessier, I. Thibodeau, P. Vallée and A. Joseph. Joseph served for thirteen years until he became President of the Stadacona Bank.

Abraham Joseph came to the forefront of the business life of Quebec when he took an active part in the organization of the Stadacona Bank. This bank was incorporated in 1873 with an authorized capital of one million dollars. The bank opened business on March 9, 1874, in the building on St. Peter Street formerly occupied by the Bank of Upper Canada. An announcement of the bank, published in 1876, contains the following facts: capital authorized, one million dollars; subscribed capital, one million dollars; paid-up capital (March 31, 1875) \$971, 330. A Joseph was President.

This bank did not have a long existence, but when it closed its obligations were met at one hundred cents to the dollar. To secure this end, Abraham Joseph contributed substantially from his personal funds. "This acceptance of responsibility for the interests of shareholders, depositors, note circulation, and all other obligations is a bright page even in the splendid record of Canadian banking." notes Woodley.

An engraving of Abraham Joseph (1815-86) is featured on the five-dollar bill used by the Stadacona Bank which he founded in 1856.

As we note the banking activities of these Jewish pioneers, we can usefully read Louis Rosenberg's 1946 letter to sociologist Jacob Leschinsky on "the reason why Jews and other non-Anglo-Saxon groups find it difficult to break into banking and finance. The reason is quite clear. Banking and finance are well established and strongly 'trustified' fields in which the newcomer, whether he be Jewish, Irish, Ukrainian or Double Dutch, finds it impossible to break in. Individual Jews in the early 1800's played a very prominent part in the founding of some of the Canadian chartered banks, but when they died, Jews vanished from the scene in this particular field. There has not been a single Jewish director of a Canadian chartered bank since 1900, and it is difficult for Jews to obtain employment with such financial institutions." (Letter of Sept. 18, 1946)

A decade later this became the subject of studies by Porter, Clement and others.

Annette Wolff, member of the family and its meticulous historian, notes that the snuff and tobacco factory on St. Paul St. in Montreal was still in operation late in the nineteenth century, managed by Abraham's grandsons, Jacob and Jesse Joseph. (Paper at the Jewish Historical Society at Montreal.)

She notes that "a steamer Hart, besides a barque Benjamin Hart, owned and operated by Harts and Josephs, plied between England and Quebec and Montreal regularly, apart from river boats also owned by these two families, e.g., the Toronto.

"Abraham Joseph was a general commission agent in Quebec. He represented -- apart from his relatives -- several Montreal firms who were exporters and shipowners. It is highly possible, although not yet proven, that Abraham Joseph was Samuel Cunard's first agent in Quebec. He was a close friend of Captain Douglass who was the first captain to bring a ship across the Atlantic for 'Mr. Cunard'."

Edward C. Joseph outlined some of the later activities of the Quebec City family. He notes,

"Abraham Joseph was one of the founders of the well-known summer resort of St. Patrick, Co. Temiscouata, -- in fact, it was he who gave it its name. I believe that the other founders were Sir William Meredith and Sir John A. Macdonald. Among regular residents there have been such names as Lord Shaughnessy, Sir Adolphe Caron, James Coristine, Sir Henry Bate and many others."

Miss Wolff writes of this relationship, "Sir John A. Macdonald, Canada's first Prime Minister, drove together with Abraham by horse-drawn coach down the south shore of the St. Lawrence, looking for a suitable summer residence and decided on St. Patrick, near Rivière du Loup, where the two became neighbours." (P. 44)

He was president of the Quebec St. George's Society, of the Quebec City Board of Trade and of the Dominion Board of Trade.

"Andrew Joseph was Consul for Belgium, succeeding his father, Abraham Joseph, and was decorated by the King for services rendered. He was also director of the Quebec Gas Company.

"In sporting circles Montefiore Joseph was president of the Quebec Snow Shoe Club, which position I also occupied later. He was for many years President of the Quebec Skating Club, present owners of the Quebec Winter Club, and was an ardent cyclist until the age of seventy. He was a Justice of the Peace, District of Quebec, succeeding his father, and being succeeded by myself, -- a record of three generations which is probably unique.

"Mrs. Montefiore Joseph was presented with the Battlefields Bronze Medal for services as Treasurer when the Battlefields were inaugurated during Earl Grey's tenure of office as Governor General of the Quebec Tercentenary celebrations." (Letter to Canadian Jewish Congress, June 24, 1947)

Abraham Joseph's diaries reflect clearly his Jewish religious fidelity and the relations between this Jewish resident and his Christian neighbours, and give valuable sidelights on the political life of the colony as experienced by a citizen whose interests were quite apolitical.

One entry may not be amiss.

"Tuesday, July 25, 1837. Per Canada received letters from Jesse and one of Samuel David whose letters, like those of Blackwood, I delight in receiving. They generally contain 'volumes' of interesting news. Sam says I am a lucky fellow in enjoying myself so well. No less than champagne. Last is true enough. We have drunk no less than 20 bottles since the election, but, O, yes -- but. I wish he were in my shoes and I in his. But -- I say again, not for 'good and all.' For 2 days or 3, or perhaps a week."

Samuel Joseph was observing Papineau from fairly close during the fateful weeks of 1837.

On a Saturday evening he noted in his diary,

"10 p.m. The Hon. L.J. Papineau arrived here today per steamer St. George. I had the honour (as some would call it) of accepting his offer of taking wine, at dinner midnight; pouring rain, Moreham and Vasseur have just left this. -- They are both violent against Papineau; latter wanted to have him hissed.

"Papineau, as far as his private conduct goes, he is a good enough fellow, far from being haughty. He had had a great many calls this evening.

"At dinner he said they did not in the Montreal district drink foreign liquors. He called for beer. By some chance or other, there was none. He said water would hurt him, so he took wine."

The next day he observed:

"At noon today, about 600 to 800 persons, men and boys, came to our door to welcome the Hon. Mr. Papineau. The mob was headed by Bouchette, and Charles Drolet was spokesman. Mr. P. from the front door in return spoke at some length, thanked them for the compliment they did him, and then went on his usual abusive style, abused the Governor dreadfully, and said all that he had told them now proved to be untruths, etc. Moreham, Vasseur, Daintrey, Kimlin and myself were listening from the windows upstairs."

Abraham Joseph recorded his evening at the ball at the Castle Saint Louis to celebrate the coronation of Queen Victoria. It was a brilliant and gorgeous affair. Abraham Joseph was among the invited guests. He commented on the social occasion,

"I did not go to the Castle until near 11 o'clock. The rooms were crowded to excess, uncomfortably so until the supper room was thrown open. I did not dance very much. A waltz was played between each quadrille and dancing and waltzing were kept up until nearly three. I came home minus a new hat which some chap had been impertinent enough not to pocket but to head, for he left a small oil-cloth one instead."

There may be a reference to Abraham Joseph in a remarkable letter from J. Viger, Master of Ceremonies, to Col. C. De Salaberry of Oct. 4, 1822,

"My dear Colonel,

"I hasten to let you know that during the assembly held last night to resolve the important matters relevant to the Dinner on the 7th, it was decided that you would be President and Messrs. Debartzch and Papineau, Vice-Presidents.

"Please see your way clear to come Sunday, even in the evening, as it would be good to see you, and Monday will be very busy. In any case, please come to the Assembly on Monday: the more respectable people there is, specially from the Campaign, the more impressive it will be.

"No doubt you will come wearing your decorations. We shall have the Music of the 60th Regiment.

"Your servant and friend, J. Viger,
Master of Ceremonies"

A P.S. notes, "I suggest to have you for dinner on Tuesday: do not refuse. Bring along the good Jew.

During an evening at Aaron Ezekiel Hart's on Aug. 24, 1837, Viger commented to Abraham Joseph that the Legislature of Lower Canada had shown the example in emancipating the Jews, a bill for their emancipation in Imperial parliament was rejected.

Joseph's diary entry of Aug. 5, 1837 is one of the most vivid documents in nineteenth century Jewish history in Canada. Aside from the literary skill of reconstructing an hour of irrational sociability, it documents the personal relationship of a social group and Joseph's place in it. Though well lubricated with wine, it is absolutely credible, for the very introduction of the wine and the gentlemanly ritual associated with it are evidence of acceptance into the group.

This total acceptance does not destroy the strength of the Jewish awareness and the differentiated identity that accompanies it. But it is a differentiation with no value judgment and creates no tension.

Among all the theories and manifestations of integration and of assimilation, the diary entry deserves study as a document of a successful form and as evidence of its success. We need only place the Jewish peer in the context of his ancestors, his descendants and his observance of the Sabbath but twenty-four hours earlier.

Quite without intent the comments at the party evoke all the elements of the historic events of the time, including the legislative recognition of Jewish rights in the colony, the situation in England, the tension within the community in the light of the Papineau movement, and the historic role of Benjamin Hart and Moses Judah Hays.

The entry,

"Saturday Night $\frac{1}{2}$ past 9 -- Have only just left Dinner Table -- I am Jolly, ay! Jolly! still but not as much as any of my compatriots.

"We set down at our usual hour (4) after Mrs. Bates had left (only lady now at our table).

"Vasseur said that we had forgot to drink his promised champagne on the anniversary of his birthday. We soon and all said we should have them this day. He had no objections, so sent our deputy off for the 2 bottles. There were then present Vasseur, Mareham, Kimlin, Mittleberger, Lemoine & Myself. -- 2 bottles to 6 -- made us but wish for a third. Up turns the cards for a bottle when the lot fell on Vasseur. By the time this came Lemoine had left us. A third bottle to 5 made us pretty jolly.

"The last toast fell on Vasseur who proposed 'The Germans' -- which was drunk with 3 times 3 and 1 more -- in a bumper. Mittleberger to whom the toast was intended made a very good speech in returning thanks. I cannot give his speech but he spoke well. He concluded by asking leave of the Chairman (Mareham) to be allowed to send for a bottle champagne. This question gave rise to some discussion, half for and half against the motion. After a little argument, Mr. President Mareham rose & ordered silence. He then spoke at some length -- said he did not wish that Mr. M should send for any more champagne. But if he (Mr. M.) would take it in a different light to what he meant, he should say send for it. Mr. M. decided the question by asking leave to leave the room. Having obtained leave -- he left -- & return'd in a few minutes. 2 bottles champagne came in.

"I see I am out. While drinking the bottle Vasseur lost. The President's health was proposed & drunk with 3 times 3. It was in answer to this that Mareham sent for a fourth bottle. Mittleberger's two made 6. As may be supposed a good many toasts were given & drunk to, but generally such toasts were proposed as would bring forth a speech -- respectively, England responded to by Kimlin -- France by Vasseur, Canada by myself. Several toasts were given which I don't recollect at present.

"When one but the last was drinking, Mr. Mittleberger rose & asked leave to propose the next, which was to be the last, toast. Leave having been granted, in due time Mr. M. rose & said the toast he was about to propose was one which he was aware would be drunk with enthusiasm by all present. He was going to propose 'The Jews of Canada' (Tremendous cheering). He said the Jews had long shown themselves Loyal subjects. They were British subjects, &c&c&c&c. I wont pretend to follow his esteemed speech. Suffice it to say that the toast was drunk to standing with 9 times 9 & 1 more -- with tremendous cheering.

"I responded to the toast with a sincere feeling -- which I shall ever remember. I sincerely thanked the mover & my friends who had so well received the toast. I regretted that it should not have fallen on some more able person to return thanks (cheers) but as the honor had fallen on me, I must but do my best. The mover was a German -- proud was I to be able to say that Majority of Germans were Jews -- the mover was a friend of mine. But in valuing him I must not forget the kind manner in which you, Mr. Pres. & you gentlemen were invited to drink the toast. To you gentlemen I must only tender my sincere thanks. In order not to detain you with me, I will say in conclusion: your very good heart.

"Mr. Mittleberger rose and spoke to some length on what I had said, which I cannot remember at the moment not being sufficiently sober. He said he was proud to be able to say with his friend who had last spoken -- that the Majority of Germans were Jews. He said he had the honor of being acquainted with many Jews in Montreal, among who were Mr. Valentine, Hart, Hayes, &c and he could say he never wished to meet with a more upright, a more correct, people. &C&C&C.

"As soon as he had seated himself I rose: 'Mr. President, I rise certainly to thank the last speaker for the many compliments he has been pleased to make towards me, in talking in favor of the Jews. Proud was I to hear him so express himself. I am a Jew. But I am a British subject and am proud in calling myself such. As to the Loyalty of the Jews -- there is but one exception as far as the Jews of Canada are concerned. There is no rule without an exception & the exception makes the rule. The exception to this rule is the Hart of Three Rivers. Sorry I was to say that 2 of that family in this town call themselves Radicals but why? One is a Lawyer without practice, the other a petty merchant with nothing to do. They were or are of opinion that by being Radicals they would succeed in their occupations.

"For many years were the Jews of Canada -- as it were -- looked down upon. Since they have been emancipated, & no later than last evening's Official Gaz: contains Lord Gosford's appointment of B. Hart & M. Hayes as Justices of the Peace -- Two Gentlemen who my good friend opposite (Mittleb:) was pleased to compliment a few minutes since -- These same gentlemen 2 or 3 years since were called upon, or rather offered, the Offices of Justices of the Peace. Both made a reply that they could not take the oath as then administered -- as according to our creed we could not swear "in the true faith of a Christian," which words were part of the oath. It would now appear that Lord Aylmer would have made a report on the subject & that the oath had been altered.

"True, Great Britain had not yet emancipated the Jews. But notwithstanding, last year a Mr. Solomon, one of our creed, was called to the high office of Sheriff of London.

"I certainly hope that "the Jews of Canada" may ever show themselves as loyal as they generally have been.'

"I apologized for having detained them (applause & 'go on'). I rose to thank my noble friend opposite and, Mr. Pres't., I will conclude by offering to Mr. Kimlin's motion which I had the honor of seconding -- the amendment -- which is that instead of one -- that two bottles of Champagne be sent for, 1 for each of us. The motion was lost but an amendment was agreed to: 'That they shall be drunk tomorrow.'

"Midnight. Mareham & Vasseur have been in. Have drunk Port. We both saw Mareham to bed. I am just as sober than any. Hurrah! for us."

Joseph was candidate for the mayoralty in 1858, after serving on City Council for some years. He lost the election by fewer than 400 votes.

Miss Wolff tells of an interesting and rare case of anti-Jewish prejudice from which Abraham Joseph suffered. "At one time he ran for mayor, being defeated by a few votes. His successful opponent, Thomas Pope, sent for Abraham when he was on his deathbed and confessed that he had tampered with the ballots 'so that a Jew should not rule.'" (Pp. 43-44)

It needs to be noted for the historical context that anti-Jewish incidents even of a private character were practically in-existent during Abraham Joseph's lifetime in Quebec. The very few exceptions, including this one, occurred among the anglophones rather than the francophones.

One of the fateful steps towards the confederation of the provinces in the Canadian union was the conference at Quebec of Oct. 1864. The event was celebrated by the merchants of the old capital at a Board of Trade banquet in honour of the "distinguished visitors then in the city attending the conference. The Chairman of the gathering was Abraham Joseph, then President of the Board of Trade.

"Following the banquet the first toast was offered to the Governor-General. Then Mr. Joseph proposed 'Our Guests, the Delegates from the Maritime Provinces.'

"The speech which Mr. Joseph made on this occasion was very well received and is interesting as an expression of that loyalty to Britain and British institutions which has ever been characteristic of the family. We quote a few words from the speech. 'The merchants of Quebec have reason to feel a legitimate pride that they have here, as their guests, gentlemen occupying such high positions in the sister provinces, who are assembled in this city to discuss a highly important subject. (Cheers) While the merchants of Quebec did not think that they were called upon to express an opinion on the question of confederation itself, they all heartily desired some change in the present situation. They desired a thorough commercial union. They desired that the unequal and hostile tariffs of the several provinces should disappear. (Cheers) They wanted one tariff instead of five. They wanted a commercial union in

order to bring about closer ties, and wanted that union under one flag, the flag of old England. (Loud cheers) They wished too, that this union should be strengthened still further by the iron ties of the Intercolonial Railway. It has long been the habit to refer to the Maritime Provinces as the sister provinces but, notwithstanding the appellation, they have been strangers to us and we have been strangers to them, as is shown by the diversity of the tariffs. But let us hope that a new era is dawning upon us now when the great statesmen of the British North American provinces have assembled in this city this month. Let us hope that, if we do not attain a political union, we shall at least have a commercial union." (Woodley, Pp. 52-53)

Miss Wolff cited the comments in his diary about the Order of Oddfellows which tell much of his Judaic sentiments.

"At Lodge, I read the address to which the Governor returned a verbal reply -- thanking me and those who had deputed me for the good wishes extended towards him, &c. His Excellency chatted very familiarly with us & enquired of our Order, etc... On our departure His Excellency shook hands with me & a second time expressed his regret that my stay in Mtl. was so very short -- Being Passover I could not dine with the Gov'r & avoided being invited by saying that I would leave the city to-morrow..."

A further enlightening comment on the Independent Order of Oddfellows appears in the entry for 8 March '45... "After dinner I repaired to Castle St. Lewis & attended a Special Meeting of I.O. of O.F. Together with 66 other brothers I was initiated into the 3rd and 4th degrees. I am more than ever pleased with the high degrees of the Lodge, particularly from the fact of the whole being founded on the Old Testament, & moreover being so much in accordance with my belief as an Israelite. A good Jew must be an 'Odd Fellow'."

Annette Wolff, a descendant, records that Abraham Joseph saw service during the violent years of 1837-38.

His father established a tradition of strict piety which will almost constitute a chapter of its own as we note its persistence in the early days and its continuity to the present.

Abraham and Jacob Joseph each contributed \$40 to the synagogue building fund in 1835.

His diaries bear constant evidence of his Jewish awareness and of the loyalty he inherited. "He never accepted invitations to non-Jewish homes on Friday nights, 'no matter how pressing the invite,' and would not join the other guests at cards: 'To avoid being tormented to join card table, I went out...'"

"Invited by two fair Gentile damsels to 'drive out' on a beautiful Saturday afternoon, he respectfully declined, and notes: 'I never drive and never have driven or ridden on Saturday and therefore I preferred declining the pleasure of driving the young ladies in toto, to taking my nags out this day...'. He later fell head over heels in love with one of the Catholic beauties, but stopped short of proposing. He notes: '...I am doomed to love those with whom religion prohibits closer ties. I have wished myself before a Roman Catholic. Had I been born such, how my attention would have been directed to such charming dear creatures...'. The young lady in question did not abandon hope, and Abraham writes: 'She certainly is a charming creature but her friends have made me believe...that I would change my religion for her, but in this they are sadly mistaken -- that I shall never do...'" (Annette Wolff, in American Sephardi, 1971, P.46)

In 1837 Joseph noted in his diary,

"Last night was at Harts, where I will dine tomorrow. Monday being Kippur, a day of Solemn Assembly, and as such -- as I have ever done -- do I intend to keeping it. Office, stores, etc., of course will be closed."

After the fast he recorded,

"Day of Atonement. Have fasted very well at I.C.H.'s. Miss H., 2 Mr. Levy's only present, besides Craig and myself."

"Dr. D. (Aaron Hart David) left for Gross Isle today."

An 1842 document, the very "Private Notes and Memoranda of A. Joseph, His 'Doings!' with a few Notes of the Beings and Sayings of his Friends" opens with a diary entry for Friday, Feb.4,

"I was up this morning a little after 8. Dressed and said my prayers as usual...at 10 (P.M.) a rubber was played while I read the evening paper. I never play cards on Friday nights."

Living as he was, not in the "large community" of Montreal but in distant Quebec City, he was glad to receive early in April of 1844 from Montreal "a package of 8" Matzas -- a cake with Manna."

On Montreal visits, his diary recalls, "evening at synagogue" and time spent "talking on various subjects -- marriage -- family affairs -- New York business with the Harts -- Davids", his distant relatives and fellow Jews.

The persistence of the tradition is reflected in an 1872 letter to Meldola de Sola from his cousin Montefiore, son of Abraham Joseph, in Quebec,

"The first of a series of Assemblies took place last Friday and was a great success. Of course, being Friday, we could not go, but I believe that others will not be so."

Abraham Joseph was clearly motivated by his sense of Sephardi and a dislike of the Ashkenazi person and of the Ashkenazi rite. Indeed, he may be the only Jew in the colony's history to have such a sense of Sephardi belonging. It might have been stronger than that of Rev. de Sola who might have been the first Sephardi-born minister in Canada.

In 1846 Abraham Joseph married Sophia David, daughter of Samuel David. The parents of the bride being deceased, the invitations to the nuptials were issued by Dr. Aaron Hart David, brother of the bride, and by his wife, Catherine, who was the sister of the groom. The marriage took place at the home of Dr. David.

It took place during the interval between the ministries of David Piza and Abraham de Sola; the Rev. J.J. Lyons, a native of Surinam, travelled to Montreal from New York to officiate.

When the Montreal congregation was reorganized in Montreal under the basic law of 1831, Benjamin Hart carefully calculated his human resources and in 1833 listed the seatholders for the synagogue that was to be erected four or five years later; among them the Josephs.

In Oct. 1833, Benjamin Hart was already fearful of the sweeping stream of "Dutch" Jews. It may or may not be significant that about this time Sir Moses Montefiore noted in his diary that many Jews had begun to emigrate to New South Wales and Canada. (1838, noted by Phyllis Joseph in her sociology paper on "Jewish Pioneers in Canada, with Special Reference to the Hart-Joseph Families." MS, P. 29)

Miss Wolff narrates several incidents from the Joseph diary which reflect his feelings towards the Jews of the Germanic tradition. (P. 46) Before visiting the New York Elm St. Ashkenazi synagogue one venturesome Saturday morning, he read his own Sephardi prayer service in his hotel room.

Again and again Benjamin Hart counted his current and future human resources, including Jacob Joseph whom he would have as a member in 18 months. (Jacob Henry Joseph, son of Henry Joseph, was born in Berthier in 1814; within 18 months he would indeed reach maturity.)

"We are perfectly secure from the Dutch, German, Our young ones are numerous," he wrote to Isaac Valentine. So he planned for seats for Jacob, I.M., C. and A. Joseph.

He also reserved seats for the Joseph sisters by their initials: Rebecca, Sarah, and Esther, even though Esther was but ten years old. In time she would marry Rev. Abraham de Sola.

On Aug. 12, 1838 he noted in his diary, "Yesterday I received under cover from Dr. Aaron Hart David a small pamphlet (if so I may term it) containing the 'Bye (sic) Laws of the Congregation Kahal Kadosh Shearith Israel of Montreal.'" On August 26th, he writes, "I received a circular from Dr. David, Secretary, informing me that seats in the new Synagogue, Montreal, will be sold on the 31st inst., and hoping I will appoint some friend to purchase. I have written to (my brother) Jacob to buy a seat for me." (Annette Wolff. "A 'Grandee' from Quebec, Abraham Joseph 1815-1886," in American Sephardi, vol. 5, no. 1, autumn, 1971, Pp. 43-49)

And, as the Montreal congregation met in common prayer in their new Chenneville St. synagogue for the first time in 1838, the seat holders included Jacob, Jesse and Gershom Joseph. (Canadian Jewish Archives, original series, no. 1, Aug. 1955)

The following year we find Esther Joseph in her seat in the synagogue. And the 1840 record tells us that with the Harts and the Davids, the Joseph family was the mainstay of the congregation with a contribution of £40, nearly a fifth of the total budget.

When Mrs. Abraham (Sophia David) Joseph passed away on Sept. 3, 1866 at the Montreal home of her brother-in-law Jesse Joseph, the obituary was in the ethical tradition of the Joseph women already a century old, a tradition that did not die with her.

"She well exemplified the beautiful life of a true, devoted, and faithful daughter of Israel, and in her, therefore, were united all those higher virtues that impart value to woman in all relations of life. Her devotion to her husband and children was heightened by a still stronger devotion to the principles and teachings of her faith. Living where but few of her people were to be found, and compelled, moreover, by the prominent position of her husband, to an extensive intercourse with gentile society, she became, although greatly esteemed for those finer qualities of head and heart she so constantly exhibited, yet more especially respected for her consistent and unwavering adherence to all the requirements of her faith, and for undeviating faithfulness when the allurements of pleasure and society whispered a divided allegiance in her ear.

But she was prouder of the grand ancient title of Israelite than of all her worldly distinctions, and if she was ever obtrusive in any thing, it was in showing this. Those who, like the writer, may have been privileged to see her directing with her husband the religious exercises of her children in their happy home, more specifically on the Sabbaths, will ever associate her memory with those sentiments of respect and esteem which a pious, singleminded discharge of woman's holiest offices must create in the hearts of all to whom virtue and religion are not mere empty names, but living, active principles. After enduring a long and most painful malady with great fortitude and resignation, she passed peacefully away as if already quite freed of all earthly cares, bidding a loving farewell to her husband, children, and relatives who had by their affection and duty, contributed to render her last days on earth as happy as might be, calmly expressing her final wishes, and more collectedly than he who read to her, joining in the last solemn prayers syllabled by the dying Israaelite."

Gerald J.J. Tulchinsky, who has examined the commercial history of The River Barons, Montreal Businessmen and the Growth of Industry and Transportation, 1837-53 (Toronto, University of Toronto Press), reports on two of the brothers.

"The Joseph brothers, Jesse and Jacob, were perhaps the most successful of the Montreal Sephardic Jews. Sons of Henry Joseph, a merchant who settled in Berthier about 1800, they had moved to Montreal. Jacob became wealthy as a tobacco importer and manufacturer while Jesse became a commission merchant. Although by no means a large-scale merchant, Jesse was consignee of cargoes from Britain and grew wealthy. An active investor in a wide variety of enterprises, Jesse had extensive investments in real estate and in the Champlain and St. Lawrence and the St. Lawrence and Atlantic railways; he was one of the original promoters of the Montreal and Lachine Railway, the Montreal Telegraph Company, and the New City Gas Company, and later was an active promoter of other telegraph companies and of the Montreal Street Railway Company." (P. 14)

Hector Berthelot notes that Jesse Joseph had the Royal Theatre built in 1852 on Coté St. after the theatre which M.J. Hays had built in 1845 burned down. (Montreal, Le Bon vieux temps, revised by E.-Z. Massicotte, 1st series, Montreal. Beauchemin, 1916, P. 83)

There is limited value for the critical reader in such entries in commercial biographies as J.D. Borthwick's Gazetteer, but the extensive Jewish section in this 1892 book is of considerable interest to the reader of Canadian Jewish history, for it marks the virtual beginning of this historiography (with the sole exception of the page or two in Rev. de Sola's Jewish Calendar).

Clearly the information in this book about Montreal Jews was provided to Mr. Borthwick, probably by Clarence I. de Sola, leading member of the community who contributed virtually the same information soon after to the Jewish Encyclopaedia edited in London.

A year after Borthwick, Andrew C. Joseph of Quebec took the greater part of his information from Borthwick, with credit, for his "The Settlement of Jews in Canada" in the first number of the Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society, Pp. 117-20, and for half a century writers on the community's history followed the pattern thus set; until the coming of J.R. Marcus and Denis Vaugeois.

Nevertheless, there are many solid facts in the midst of the hagiography as Borthwick recalls that Jesse Joseph "was born at Berthier, but removed to Montreal in his boyhood. Here he soon displayed those great business talents, and that inherent capacity for organizing and successfully directing large public undertakings which have so distinguished his entire career. Believing that commercial relations between Canada and Belgium could be advantageously cultivated, he became the earliest pioneer of commerce between the two countries, carrying on an enormous trade, and chartering the first vessels that were ever charged with cargoes between this port and Antwerp. The large volume of business that has since been developed with Belgium is to be credited to his initiative. Few, indeed, of our merchants ventured upon business on a more extensive scale, or did more to extend Canada's commerce at that time, than Jesse Joseph.

"In recognition of his services in this connection he was created Knight of the Order of Leopold by the King of Belgium, who also bestowed upon him the Décoration Civique of the First Class. His innate objection to anything that savored of display resulted in his never assuming the knightly title, although he had a special authorization from the British Government to do so.

"Since 1877 Mr. Jesse Joseph has been President of the Montreal Gas Company, one of the strongest companies, financially, in Canada. During his administration its business has made enormous strides, having more than quadrupled in volume in fifteen years. As far back as 1863, he was elected one of its Directors, and thus for almost thirty years he has taken a most important part in the administration of its affairs." (P. 473)

The historians of the Henry Morgan Co. (since become the Bay) recall their venture in moving "up the hill to St. Catherine St., east of Union St., at the end of the 1880's."

Borthwick continues,

"He has also been, since 1884, President of the Montreal Street Railway Company, having seven years before that date been elected one of its Board of Directors. Under his presidency it has developed to very large proportions, being now one of the most extensive tram roads on this Continent, having over thirty-five miles of track at present in operation."
(P. 473)

Years later the Montreal Star recalled,

"He was president of the old street railway company in the days when horses furnished the motive power, and retired when the demand for electric power became general. He insisted that electric cars could not be run in Montreal in winter, having in mind the difficulties encountered in the horse-driven vehicles.

"In those days the falls of snow were heavier than now, and street car tracks that were navigable in summer were completely buried in winter. There were few difficulties for clearing the streets and banks of snow often made travelling no easy matter. The winter cars consisted of box sleighs holding twenty persons and with straw on the bottom. A conductor stood on the step at the back and collected five-cents fares. There were no tickets and no transfers. The passenger who changed cars had to pay again on changing.

"In the eighties he was a great believer in gas as an illuminant and held that the Gas Company had no reason to fear the utility of electricity, on account of the expense. Thirty years ago even, those who were enthusiastic supporters could hardly foresee what tremendous strides were to be made in utilizing electricity in the next quarter of a century.

"Mr. Joseph lived long enough to see that he was mistaken in his early estimate of the new light. In fact, before he passed away, electricity was very much in evidence, but there is no competition between the two systems of lighting in Montreal, as one company now controls both."

He was for a number of years on the directorate of La Banque Nationale, and he was one of the founders of the old Montreal Telegraph Company, which is now affiliated with the Great Northwestern which became the Canadian National Telegraph Company. He was also one of the original directors of the People's Telegraph Company, and was at one time a member of the Dominion Telegraph Company. (B.G. Sack, Jewish Standard, Sept. 1959)

Jesse Joseph was one of the pillars of the congregation which was often in financial trouble. The year 1861 saw one of its crises arising from its long-standing indebtedness to David and Edward Moss ever since the Shearith Israel built a home for its minister. The claim was even put before the courts. Even salary payments to Dr. de Sola were months in arrears.

On Dec. 8, 1861 treasurer Joseph was authorized to pay the Mosses \$800, of which he contributed \$200. It was also understood that he would make other payments and incur liabilities which the group would, it was hoped, reimburse.

The burden continued to press upon Joseph who was among the few members able to deal with it. When the city decided to expropriate the Jewish cemetery, new problems arose for Joseph. A letter to Congregation president, William Benjamin, written from aboard the Mountain Maid on Lake Memphramagog, recalled "the large balance due to me," the considerable amount due to Mr. Spriggins in connection with the exhumation, and the new cemetery; "There is an account for the corporation advertisement of the expropriation which is heavy, as well all the local House & Prothonotary fees to be paid and to be deducted from the money, also the legal expenses of the accounts filled.

"I might as well remark that I have promised the McCulloch Estate to pay them their balance now which will not be far of £100."

This continued for decades.

In her discussion of the place of Quebec Jews in the social life of the more comfortable classes, Phyllis Joseph recalls,

"During the early and mid-Victorian period, when British troops were stationed in Montreal and Quebec, the centre of social activity was around many of the Jewish homes. We read of a musical soirée at Mrs. Henry Joseph's house where some two hundred people were present, including the Governor-General and Lady Aylmer.

"Beautifully situated on the slopes of Mount Royal, the home of Jesse Joseph was also a centre of the social life of Montreal for over half a century." (P. 37)

This home on the northeast corner of Sherbrooke and McTavish, now occupied by the McLennan Library of McGill University, was one of the most impressive residences in Montreal, a city not poor in fine homes of wealthy citizens. It bore the name of Dilcoosha, a "name which Indian princes and noblemen often gave to their garden palaces."

Mr. Jesse Joseph was a prominent member of the Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue, on the board of which he held office for over half a century.

He attended the meeting of the congregation of Jan. 5, 1843. In June he petitioned for another meeting.

He attended meetings of the congregation frequently in 1846. In 1847 he was elected trustee. The record indicates his presence at one or two gatherings each year, 1847-58.

He was chosen trustee again in 1859, which called for attending as many as eleven meetings in 1861. That December he contributed \$200 in the effort to clear up the synagogue financial problems. In 1862 he was chosen treasurer, a position he held for many years. He was president of the congregation at the time of his death.

On Oct. 26, 1862 he renewed a debate which recalled a differentiation between the old settlers of the colony and the new arrivals. Benjamin Hart had always insisted that the provision of a Mohel for circumcision ceremonies was the responsibility of the family of the child, whereas the east European tradition considered it a community service provided by the congregation. Echoing the views of the old families, Joseph argued that "the circumstances under which the bylaws had been framed had entirely altered, and the Mohel was no longer absolutely required in the congregation."

Significantly, Mr. Joseph was voted down 6:5.

He was one of the leaders of the established congregation in their conflict with the newly-arrived Jewish immigrants seeking to organize their own synagogue in 1889. (Canadian Jewish Archives, original series, no. 6, May 1962, P. 38)

Jesse Joseph was residing in 1861 at 8 Pres-de-ville Place. His business was at the corner of St. Helen and Recollet Sts. In 1871 their home was at 873 Sherbrooke. (C Cole. The Jewish Community of Montreal, McGill University Thesis, Department of Geography)

As substantial capitalists, land owners and municipal and school taxpayers, the Josephs became involved in an intense controversy during the early 1890's in connection with the schooling of the community's children.

Because they were virtually the only Jewish property taxpayers at the time, they were able to withhold these payments from the Protestant Board, even as that board continued to educate the growing number of the children of Jewish immigrants who were scarcely able to pay rent, leave alone to purchase homes.

It took years for the provincial government to end this condition from which, incidentally, the Baron de Hirsch School also suffered gravely.

When Jesse Joseph died in 1904, the house was bought by the Ritz-Carlton Hotel Company. This caused much excitement, as it was known that Sir William Macdonald wished to purchase it to form part of the McGill campus. The land on which the house stood had never belonged to McGill because it was part of the McTavish estate and bounded on the lands of James McGill. After five years of negotiation, the Ritz-Carlton Hotel Company agreed to sell the house to Sir William at cost price and the benefactor then presented it to the university. The house held the collection of the McCord Museum of McGill from 1919 until 1954 when it was demolished." (Peter Hoos in Montreal Star, Dec. 12, 1959)

Jacob Joseph (1814-1907) was the brother of Jesse Joseph. When his father died in 1832 he added the name Henry to his own and became known as Jacob Henry. His wife, it is said, did not like the name Jacob, so he ceased using it and became known as Henry or Harry. Confusion is possible because he had a son and a grandson bearing the names of Henry.

Miss Wolff records that Jacob Joseph served with the loyalist forces in 1837-38.

He had settled in Montreal soon after the congregation abandoned its first home near the courthouse, and when the small community was worshipping in a hall at the corner of St. Helen and Recollet Sts. He had witnessed the laying of the cornerstone of the Chenneville St. synagogue in 1835, and took part in its dedication in 1838. He lived to see the dedication of the Stanley St. synagogue over half a century later.

Jacob Henry Joseph was one of the petitioners, in Sept. 1837, for a general meeting of the Israelites of Montreal to elect trustees for the congregation, in accordance with the law of 1831. (Canadian Jewish Archives, original series, no. 6, May 1962, P.10, 24)

Joseph was elected trustee at this meeting.

Whoever it was who petitioned the governor for the right to maintain a register of births, marriages and deaths, the response in Feb. 1841 was addressed to J.H. Joseph. (Minutes, Feb. 21, 1841)

He petitioned again, for a similar purpose, on Nov. 12, 1842, and was elected trustee on Jan. 5, 1843. He also attended the meeting of July 10, 1843.

He attended the congregation meeting of July 15, 1846, but refused the post of treasurer.

Unlike his brother Jesse he attended few meetings, but his opinion carried weight even in his absence. When he objected to terms for the reengagement of Rev. de Sola, a view he shared with A.H. David, Theodore Hart and Steinberg, the plan was dropped. (Apr. 27, 1852)

He contributed £10 to the cemetery fund (July 9, 1854) and offered to sign a note for \$100 to clear the mortgage on the house where the Hazan resided. (May 30, 1858)

Jacob Henry Joseph was married to American Sarah Gratz Moses, niece of the Rebecca Gratz who has entered the Sir Walter Scott myth as the possible prototype of the heroine of Ivanhoe. Sarah Gratz Moses' mother was Rachel Gratz, the sister of Rebecca Gratz (1781-1869). Connection was first made by Morais in his sketch of Rebecca Gratz,

"Washington Irving (who was one of the coterie of celebrities who formed her most intimate circle of friends) while paying a visit to Sir Walter Scott, at his home in Scotland, learnt from the latter that his novel of Ivanhoe was in course of preparation, and that a Jewish female character would be introduced. Whereupon the former remarked that he knew of a lady who would suit admirably. He proceeded to describe, in glowing terms, Rebecca Gratz, her acquirements and suavity of manners and her unyielding devotion to Israel's God. Scott attentively listened to the interesting narrative, and when he had finished Ivanhoe, he sent the first copy to Irving, inquiring whether the 'Rebecca' he had pictured compared with the pattern given." (quoted by Borthwick; also in Letters of Rebecca Gratz, P.59)

We have Rebecca's letter of Jan. 2, 1848 to her brother Benjamin written when she heard the news of the engagement,

"It has been a period of peculiar interest & trial to me, for My dear Sara - the child of my tenderest affection has just engaged herself and I shall lose her society. The gentleman, Mr. Joseph of Canada, is I believe better known (personally) to Mary Boswell than myself - for the intimacy that commenced when they were at Cape May last summer - as far as I understand he is a young man of irreproachable character - a merchant in good business and respectable connections - he has been long attached to her - ever since she & Lizzie Blair were in Montreal - but no intimacy grew out of it until recently - Tho I can make no reasonable objection if her happiness is concerned, it is a very severe trial to me - no one can look into the uncertain future - and the child you have reared and cherished and treasured so dearly can hardly be transferred to other protectors without reluctance & misgivings - Sara is one of the most lovely and gifted characters I know, so it would be difficult to find a person we think should be good enough to match her to - ...

"Sara desires me to send her best love to you - she intended writing to you herself and telling you her own story, but feels a difficulty in putting her intentions into execution - her old fancy of visiting Canewood on such an occasion must be relinquished for a northern summer -...

"Thank God all our family circle are well - and I ought to be happy & grateful - But My dear Ben when your darling daughter is going to be married you will be able to understand a feeling not easily defined - but certainly too full of anxious care to be called happiness -" (Letters of Rebecca Gratz, edited by D. Philipson, Phila., Jewish Publication Society, 1929, Pp. 344-45)

Her impending loneliness was again expressed openly in her letter to her sister-in-law Ann Boswell Gratz of Feb. 6, 1848,

"You must miss Mary & Mrs. Thrashley very much from your fireside - but you cannot be lonely - your own little darlings and Howard's clever wife will fill the gap if you ever feel the want of society - for the first time I begin to realize such a state - When Sara leaves me on whom I have so long leaned - who has been reared by my side, slept in my room, and been in the place of a daughter to me from her infancy up to the present time, it seems as if I should be quite lost without her - and this anticipation haunts me painfully already - of an evening when she is at her piano every brilliant note reminds me that I am not long to be so charmed - our tête à tête sewing parties, the books we read together - all our social habits speak of the time when I shall no longer have her - but when I look into her face or hear her speak of the bright days of happiness dawning on her young hopes - every selfish regret is hushed, and I sympathize in her feelings of confidence and love -..." (Pp. 344-45)

The photograph was coming on the scene, under the name of the daguerrotype, and "as Sara Moses is so soon to leave home she has been taking advantage of it and among others obtained" a daguerrotype likeness taken from a miniature of her mother, long deceased. (Apr. 22, 1848)

Joseph arrived in Philadelphia on Apr. 21, 1848.

"Their wedding will be private, and they leave immediately."

Mrs. Joseph's new life in Montreal was very satisfactory. Miss Gratz wrote,

"Our letters from Sara shew that 'she has her content so absolute,' it would be unkind to regret her change - her husband's family are very agreeable to her, his Mother affectionate & cordial in her reception, & his sisters pleasant companions - she likes driving about the country, and visiting all places which exhibit to her the customs & manners of the old Canadians, the french population particularly amuse her, with their primitive costume, and proud defiance of their present rulers. She has been invited to hospitalities which, being in mourning, she could not partake of - but from sociable visiting seems to have formed a pleasing impression of society in Montreal - being a Military Station they have fine bands of music, of which you know she is very fond. They have not yet gone to house-keeping, but have private apartments in a hotel...private entrance & table - when she becomes better acquainted with the country & people she will begin to feel a desire for a more permanent home establishment..." (P. 348)

The young couple observed the Sabbath. As Rebecca Gratz wrote on Sept. 15, 1848,

"Sara & Mr. Joseph were with us but a short time, but we enjoyed every moment that was given - they did not arrive at Saratoga early enough to partake of its gaiety - the Fancy Ball of which Mary has sent you an account was over - tho had they been there they would not have attended it being given on Friday Evening - the illuminated garden was very beautiful and seemed to realize those memorable descriptions familiar to readers of fairy tales - & the salon must have appeared equally illusive as it was thronged with representatives of every nation, and every period since men & women learned to trick themselves out in fine dresses -" (P. 350)

The Josephs visited the Gratzs in Apr. 1849 with their baby.

"My dear Sara left us this morning. Mr. Joseph could only spare a fortnight to us - they have a very sweet intelligent little girl, to whom they are both very devoted." (P. 358) The baby was named Rebecca.

We have a description of Montreal of Sept. 1851 in a letter Rebecca Gratz wrote Ann Boswell Gratz from the Canadian metropolis,

"You will be surprised to receive a letter from me, dated from Her Majesty's dominions, I have been here almost a fortnight, having accompanied My dear Sara home, & cannot but regret that you did not come to Canada last year, to see what a different sort of city this is from our U.S. places - you would be struck with the narrow streets imperfect pavements, and low houses in many streets, when you suddenly come upon magnificent Churches - fine gardens, convents - and rich possessions belonging to the priests - hear as much french as english spoken by the inhabitants, and at every turn find you are in a foreign country - tho' but a day's journey from Saratoga - The approach to Montreal is beautiful - the City lies on the bosom of the noble River St. Lawrence and stretches more than a mile along the shore, where a fine quay fronted by large buildings present themselves, the domed market place and numerous steeples of the churches have a very imposing appearance and the beautiful mountains in their verdant covering bound the whole view, the day we arrived the heavens were dressed in fantastic white clouds which reflected in the water and crowning the mountain tops added greatly to the prospect, and gave a fine first impression - Sara is very pleasantly situated in a refined part of the city, has good neighbours on the street, and a large garden opposite belonging to the Friars, where fruit & vegetables are abundant and the black robed inhabitants, are daily seen from my chamber window - book in hand strolling for hours together - as no woman kind is admitted into their dwelling I cannot vouch for the good order of their household but the garden appears well-cared for -

"I have been invited to visit Quebec & Three-rivers by members of this family, but at present am suffering from a cold which has given me pains in my limbs - they tell me here, from imprudence in leaving off a flannel garment on a hot day, which I thought myself very prudent to put on, for two or three cold ones which preceded it. This climate differs very much from ours, even in Summer." (Pp. 377-78)

Passover with her family was a treat for Mrs. Joseph.

"Sara paid us a little visit, she only spent the holidays in Phila - her husband would gladly have left her one month here, and return for her in May, but she considered his convenience and went home through a most stormy season, when the ice king was just breaking up his power over the St. Lawrence, and they had to go part of the way in a canoe & part on sleds which was both dangerous and disagreeable - her little girls are much grown..." (May 7, 1852)

The Josephs spent their summer vacation of 1852 at Cape May - "She first took them to a Mountain House in the neighborhood of Montreal but the child grew worse & they had to return home - the Dr. recommended sea-air and so they are at the Cape." (P. 386)

The Josephs had a visit of her sister, Mrs. Miriam Gratz Cohen with her children in the summer of 1854. The sisters had not met for several years. (P. 394)

Mrs. Joseph proposed to visit her aunt in the spring of 1859. Miss Rebecca Gratz wrote "to her not to come until after the sale when My mind will be in a freer state to receive her - and the solemnities of the Passover ended - the festival formerly so joyful - is changed by the memories that crowd on me of the departed, and I am selfish enough to prefer passing them in quietness..." (Apr. 17, 1859)

The political divisions in the U.S. erupted into Civil War and shattered families. Rebecca Gratz wrote on Nov. 14, 1862.

"Poor Sarah is victimized being the only loyal member of the household; the subject therefore nearest all our hearts is never discussed in their household...unfortunately there are too many sympathizers in the wrong cause, in all our cities..." (Pp. 431-32)

"One of Gratz's sons in Canada with Sara, sent there to keep him out of the way of mischief, but he seems tainted with the politicks of his father - Sara & her husband are truly loyal, tho' it seems the community in which they live is full of southern sympathizers, and no doubt ready to adopt any English measures." (Apr. 15, 1863)

Mrs. Joseph was active in the ladies' groups for the synagogue; on Feb. 28, 1861 she informed the president that they had raised £30 for the congregation.

Henry Joseph was unwell in Jan. 1863 and was at Silver Spring, cared for by Elizabeth Gratz, a niece of Rebecca. "His physician thinking a few months' absence from home would expedite his recovery -- Sara went home from here, that he might be satisfied the children were well cared for in his absence." (Jan. 27, 1863)

J.H. Joseph designated himself in 1861 as a merchant with the H. Joseph & Co., manufacturers and importers of tobacco, in the census of that year.

The residence of the Josephs was at 254 Dorchester; the business was at 173-77 St. Paul St. Four servants helped with their six children. (Cole. The Montreal Jewish Community)

J.H. Joseph built a large home on Dorchester St. between Mansfield and St. Monique Sts. in 1860. The family continued to live in the house for over fifty years, a near record seldom paralleled by any of the older families of the city. It was sold to the C.N.R. for \$300,000 in 1911. (Star, Nov. 11, 1911)

Jacob H. Joseph was a charter member of the Montreal Thistle Curling Club incorporated in 1870, chap. 73 by act of the legislature.

Every day, for years the daily newspapers carried impressive advertisements from H. Joseph & Co. at Canada Chambers, 16 St. Sacrament St.:

"Will be sold, by auction on the 12th January, 1892, The valuable Property Nos. 154-156 St. James St. (opposite the Standard Building) This is the most valuable part of the city. The Buildings are constructed of cut stone, and return Good Rents. This is a superior stand for a Bank or other Office and makes a Solid Investment. For Plans and Particulars, apply to H. Joseph & Co."

"Central City Property, 1732 to 1740 Notre Dame St.
By Auction, Important to Capitalists. This superior Commercial
Property which is in the very heart of the city, close to the
corner of St. Francois Xavier Street, the Post Office, all the
Banks, Insurance Offices and the principal shops of Montreal,
will be sold at Auction at Subscriber's Room, 201 St. James St.
on Tuesday, 12th January. The Shops, Offices and Warehouse in
rear are in very good order and heated by hot water. The present
tenants are Messrs. W.G. McDonald, J. Cairns, Brahadi & Co. and
Holland Bros. and Young. The property at present returns a very
handsome income. Dimensions about 50 x 100. Easy terms. Title
perfect. A large amount can remain at 5% at purchaser's option."
(Montreal Star, Jan. 6, 1892)

"Buildings for Sale to Contractors. Tenders will be received by the undersigned on or before the 30th September, 1900, for the Purchase, Pulling Down and Removal of the Buildings (Warehouses and Shops) Nos. 578 to 594 Craig St., formerly occupied by the Canada Paper Co. and others." (Star, Sept. 10, 1900)

We find J.H. Joseph at the special meeting of shareholders of the Bank of Montreal on Jan. 7, 1903 to authorize an increase of its capital stock by \$2,000,000. (Gazette, Jan. 3, 1903)

Even after he retired from active business pursuits, to quote Borthwick, "he still continued to take a very active part in a number of our most important public undertakings, notably in several of our first telegraph companies, railways and banks. He was not, though, easily to be persuaded to accept directorship, although frequently pressed to do so, as it was always a principle with him never to allow his name to appear responsible for any enterprise which he could not fully control.

"Noticing first his participation in the introduction of telegraph lines in Canada, it is interesting to observe that he was one of the original group of thirty who organized the first telegraph company here, and was also one of those that built the first line to the United States via Plattsburgh. He was, likewise, partner in the Newfoundland Telegraph Company, that formed the last link in the first Atlantic cable line.

"Mr. J.H. Joseph also very materially assisted in the construction of some of the very earliest railroads built in Canada. He was one of those who were connected with the Champlain Railroad Company, and was a director of the Branch constructed in the United States to Rouses Point -- continuing to be a large stockholder until its final absorption by the Grand Trunk. He was also one of a half-dozen merchants who designed and constructed a railroad from Joliette to Rawdon, in continuation of the Lanoraie and Joliette Road.

"Mr. Joseph largely aided in the formation of several of our banks. When the Union Bank was founded, 1,400 shares of stock, which had been allotted for Montreal, remained unsubscribed, and he took these up to further the successful organization of the Bank. He was, too, one of the original stockholders of the Bank of British North America -- a certain portion of whose capital was allotted to Canada.

Originally one of the largest shareholders of the Ontario Bank, he grew dissatisfied with the action of the Head Board, then in Bowmanville, and he expressed his disapproval of their course by disposal of all his stock. Events afterwards justified his views. He was also one of the original members of the Provident Savings Bank, but his independence and foresight showed itself here also, for, disapproving of the policy pursued, he withdrew all connection with it long before it met with the unsuccess which he prophesied...

"He was the originator of the Port Warden and Harbor Inspector's offices, and, though objected to by many at the time as unnecessary, experience has since shown the wisdom of their establishment.

"Mr. Joseph has taken considerable interest in, and is a life member of many of our important institutions, including the General Hospital, the Mercantile Library, the Art Association, the Mechanics' Institute and the Natural History Society. Of the last mentioned he has been Vice-President. He has also assisted materially towards the growth of Montreal by his extensive building operations, having since 1854 erected more buildings for his own personal holding than any other citizen; while of public buildings he had much to do with the originating of the Mercantile Library building, and the old Merchants' Exchange...

"Active as he was in politics, from the days of Lafontaine and Baldwin, he was the confrère of Holton, Kinnear, John Young and Penny, and an unwavering Liberal until the General Elections of 1891." (Pp. 471-72)

Some years before his passing he was invited to become a candidate for the Montreal West seat, but he declined the nomination. "He was also invited to the provincial Legislative Council, but his independent character and dislike of party shackles led to his declining this honour also." (Jewish Times, March 8, 1907)

Horace, son of Jacob Henry Joseph, in 1881, married his cousin Celine Josephine Joseph, the daughter of his uncle Abraham Joseph, brother of Jacob Henry Joseph.

Borthwick also records the career of Gershom J. Joseph (1821-93), who was the first Jewish lawyer to be appointed Queen's Council.

He had been sent at an early age to Upper Canada College, Toronto, to be educated, and from there to Toronto University in 1836, where he was the first Jew to enroll. (B.G. Sack. "The House of Joseph," in Jewish Standard, Sept. 1, 1959, and D. Eisen in Toronto Holy Blossom Temple Bulletin). Abraham Joseph noted receipt of a letter from him on Aug. 17, 1837 from Montreal where he was visiting. He passed through the course in Arts, and received the degree of M.A., he took to Law, and graduated as B.C.L. In addition he studied for five years with Chief Justice Meredith and Judge Mondelet. He was admitted to the bar in 1843.

In 1840 Gershom Joseph was named by the congregation to keep a register of offerings. (Minutes, Nov. 29, 1840)

Gershom Joseph formally witnessed the last rites for Charlotte Hart David, the widow of Moses David, on Jan. 12, 1844.

Gershom Joseph petitioned the court in June 1843 for a meeting of the Jews of the city to elect a trustee for the congregation following the resignation of Benjamin Hart. (Canadian Jewish Archives, original series, no. 6, May 1962, P. 26)

Joseph was considered a member of the congregation in 1846, but was formally admitted on Sept. 4, 1848. A year later he was elected secretary and attended three meetings before he resigned on Feb. 17, 1850.

Borthwick narrates his further adventures, although his dates may be a year out.

"After a long sojourn in Europe, he returned here and began the practice of his profession. He had risen to a very high position in the legal fraternity when the California Gold Fever broke out in 1849, and he became seized with a desire to try his fortune on the Pacific Coast. Casting aside his lucrative profession, he was among the earliest to seek the new field of enterprise offered at that time by California.

"Here his experiences were very varied, and spiced with adventure, but our limits prevent our relating more than one or two incidents. Having succeeded in accumulating a very large sum, he had some 60,000 dollars of this in gold dust placed in a safe in a building standing, like many other San Francisco structures then, on piles in the water. A notorious gang of desperadoes, known as 'the Hounds', who were the terror of San Francisco at that time, ascertained about this gold, and managed to make away with all by getting under the building in a boat at low tide. The depredation of this band gave rise to the establishment of the celebrated Vigilance Committee.

"Again setting to work, he had once more accumulated a good deal of property when the great conflagration, which swept over San Francisco in 1851, destroyed nearly all. For more than a decade after this he resided in San Francisco, engaged in various enterprises, and for a time associated in business with Mr. Belleau, the cousin of our former Lieut.-Governor, Sir Narcisse F. Belleau. He was also, while in California, the special correspondent of the Herald." (Borthwick, P.474)

He married French-born Céline Lyons in 1861.

Joseph returned to Montreal and resumed the practice of law. In 1869 he incorporated the Young Men's Hebrew Benevolent Society together with Notary L.A. Hart and was president of the congregation in 1887. In this capacity, he broke the sod for its third home, the Stanley Street synagogue.

In 1871 Gershom Joseph was residing at 460 Guy St., with an office at 16 St. Sacrement St. Notary Lewis Alexander Hart, age 23, was living with the Josephs. His office was at 29 St. François-Xavier. (Cole)

In 1889, in the course of a conflict between the established and chartered congregation and the synagogue which the newer arrivals wanted to organize, Gershom Joseph was nominated a trustee by the representatives of the older group. (Canadian Jewish Archives, original series, no. 6, May 1962, P. 38)

Another member of the family, Martin Wolff, was an early historian of Canadian Jewry, and his progeny followed the Lithuanian tradition of Talmud study in Jerusalem. Piety and religious observance, as well as active participation in community work on a high level of leadership, continue in the family to this day.

THE DAVIDS

Lazarus David (1734-76) was the Canadian founder of a distinguished family dating back in Lower Canada to Amherst's conquest of Montreal.

A native of Swansea, Wales, he married Phoebe Samuel (1736-1786). Their children married into the Jewish families of Lower Canada: sons Samuel and Moses married daughters of Aaron Hart.

Lazarus David's oldest child, Brandele Abigail David, (1762-1840) married Andrew Hays, the founder of a Canadian family of pioneers, in 1778. Her share of her family's estate constituted no small share of the capital of the real estate owned by her son Moses Judah Hays. (Carman Miller, biography of Moses Judah Hays in Dictionary of Canadian Biography) Daughter Frances married Myer Michaels. As we shall note, the David progeny were leaders in public and Jewish communal life in Montreal for a century, not least in the military and in medicine.

Lazarus David and Levy Simon are among the first Jewish landowners in Montreal, both being inscribed in the register of landowners in 1767, Brodey notes.

As an active young businessman he left his name in the city's records of the time.

In 1768 Lazarus David went through a difficult time. His house was destroyed by fire on Apr. 11. (Quebec Gazette, Apr. 28, 1768) The Quebec Gazette of Apr. 18, 1768 published a notice on him, and on May 5, 1768 he announced that he was desirous to settle and pay all demands upon him and asking for all creditors to submit their claims; also the accounts of all indebted to him.

On Dec. 26, 1768 a writ of Fieri Facias against Lazarus David, Rigou Filis and others, and Edward G. Gray, D.P.M., seized their pieces of land on Notre Dame St. joining the garden of the Jesuits to be sold on Jan. 25, 1770, at the suit of Rev. Jean Brassier. (Quebec Gazette, Jan. 5, 1769)

There are records of Lazarus David applying for liquor licenses in 1769, 1771, 1772 and 1773.

His barracks accounts of Sept. 1772 appear in PAC, MG 19, A 2, series 3, vol. 88, and his claims against E.W. Gray, 1771-75, are in vol. 54, 20/4/1775. On June 18, 1773 he sued Midine Denny Delisle.

Lazarus David was among the signatories to the Nov. 12, 1774 petition for an elected assembly for the colony. (B.G. Sack, P. 58)

Records of merchant Ermatinger indicate David payments on his account for 1772 and Jacobs sale of raisins to him four months later. (PAC, MG 19, A 2, Ser. 3, vol. 88, pages for Sept. 1772 and Jan. 1773)

Lazarus David is listed in Les Origines de Montréal as the owner of a Notre Dame St. lot with 42-foot frontage (No. 187 - B22-2).

The passing of Eleazar bar David David on Oct. 22, 1776 (7 Heshvan 5537) is entered in Rev. J.R. Cohen's Record Book, even though it occurred three years before the arrival of the minister in Lower Canada.

A notice to those having demands on his estate appeared in the Quebec Gazette of Dec. 19, 1776.

Lazarus David might well be said to have instituted Jewish community life in Canada by purchasing, in 1775, the land on St. Janvier St., near the present Dominion Square, to be used as a cemetery for the community. The land was then outside the city limits. How was anyone to know that Montreal would reach that far west and north?

This is several years before the Jewish group decided to erect a synagogue. The organization of the congregation, often given as of 1768, may have anteceded this purchase, or it may not. There is no documentary confirmation of the 1768 date, and this version of history is not even spoken of until a century later. The "fact" surfaces into "history" together with a series of other "facts" which have entered history-telling at this time, and have shaped the history writing of this period ever since.

Lazarus David's historic act justifies a glimpse at the history of the facility during the century that followed.

By his initiative in providing ritual burial facilities for the Jews in Montreal, Lazarus David acted in keeping with the major concern of the far-flung new Jewish communities at the time. The provision and consecration of burial grounds as the ultimate demonstration of continuity with the ancestors formed a consistent frontier pattern all the way to California and to British Columbia; before all else -- before synagogue, minister or school -- a consecrated cemetery. The wandering Jew, borne so far from kith and hearth, trembled lest his end might not be a Kever Israel, a Jewish grave.

The importance attaching to proper final rites in the minds of Jewish pioneers was also called on during the constitution of early synagogues, as Irving Katz notes,

"Affiliation with the synagogue in those days, even though voluntary, was a must! In order to make sure that every newcomer would become affiliated with the synagogue, the democratically created organic statutes of the organized community grimly informed him that if he did not join he would be denied the basic religious rites, both in life and in death. The fear of not receiving a Jewish burial was a most effective argument." ("Jewish Pioneers in Michigan," P. 8)

J.R. Marcus notes how frequently a Jewish cemetery precedes the organization of a congregation. "Sometimes a whole generation was to pass -- even a century -- before the appearance in the same city of the sister institution of the synagogue." (Early American Jewry, II, Pp. 458-59)

A Jewish cemetery existed in Halifax between 1752 and 1776, but inquiries have not elicited its location or documentary verification of its existence.

Collard locates the site of the Montreal burial ground as "on or near where St. George's Anglican Church now stands."

Rosenberg states that the purchase was made by the congregation. (Canadian Jewish Archives, original series, no. 6, May 1862, P. 1) but the land may have been the private property of Lazarus David. In any case it was held in his name, for no legally constituted congregation in whose name it might have been registered could exist at the time.

Like several other religious groups, the Jewish was not recognized at this period of Canadian history, and therefore, neither community nor synagogue nor cemetery had corporate or legal status. We have noted the legal complication that followed in consequence after Aaron Hart had died. (Canadian Jewish Archives, new series, no. 15, Pp. 98-99)

A contemporary legal document described the plot: "A piece of ground known as 'The Jewish Cemetery,' bounded in front by St. Janvier Street, on the Southwest side by Thomas Watson, in rear by the above described lot or piece of ground, and on the Northeast side by the Roman Catholic Cemetery; measuring 35 feet in front, 250 4-10 feet on the Southwest side, 34 feet in rear, and 251 4-10 feet on the Northeast side and containing 8656 feet, more or less, the whole English measure." (1864)

The first Jewish cemetery of Montreal is the final entry in a remarkable 1781 document. It is the Déclaration du Fief et Seigneurie de Montréal au Papier Terrier du Domaine de Sa Majesté en la Province de Québec en Canada, faite le 3 Février 1781 par Jean Brassier, p.s.s., the bursar of the Gentlemen of St. Sulpice, a "numbering" of their estates, rents and duties, i.e., a very detailed report on every part of the area held by these seigneurs of Old Montreal. This volume, edited by Claude Perrault (Montreal, C.B. Payette, 1969. xviii, 495 p.) includes the inventory of Faubourg St. Joseph, which closes with the following paragraph.

"Le Reste de la Terre de quatre Arpens Sept Perches de front Sur environ quatre Arpens de profondeur, Le Tout en Désert sans Bâtiments, est possédé par Les Héritiers Décarris qui ont vendu trente Pieds quarés pour Le Cimetière des Juifs." (P.84)

No mention of a Jewish congregation or a corporate Jewish community.

A generation later, on Aug. 31, 1797, David David, son of Eleazar David, purchased from Father Charles Joseph, curé of Repentigny, the plot adjoining the old cemetery "to serve for all time as a cemetery for persons of the Jewish faith who may pass away in the district of Montreal and for the congregation, on the condition that the members of the David David family shall have control and supervision of the cemetery in perpetuity insofar as repairs and the assignment of plots." (Canadian Jewish Archives, original series, no. 2, June 1956, Pp. 2-3)

David David of Montreal signed a notarial declaration on September 1, 1810 that he had acquired this plot "to serve as permanently as a cemetery for individuals of the Jewish religion who shall die in Montreal and their families, and for the entire congregation, and not for any other purpose, on the condition that his own family shall have the direction and superintendence of this cemetery for all time in regard to repairs and the assignment of places to each."

It is not clear that during its first generation the cemetery was seen by the Davids and the other Jews in Montreal as a community institution or only as a Jewish need which the Davids took it upon themselves to provide, just as later a David provided land for a synagogue.

The legal aspect may have been only one element; the weakness or the absence of an organized community body might have been another.

It is remarkable that the very elaborate code of laws which the new congregation adopted in 1779, with its 38 clauses, does not even mention the cemetery, whereas it was common in such codes to go into some detail in the government of burial grounds.

This silence is all the more striking since only a month before the adoption of the code, the congregation had occasion to deal with a halachic problem relating to the cemetery. The uncircumcised son of Ezekiel Solomon had died, and a decision had to be made as to whether the child should be buried "in the burial place of this congregation."

The Davids were certainly glad to have this delicate halachic problem answered by the congregation.

The contemporary description of the lot refers to it as "the cemetery of the Jews." No reference to the congregation or, for that matter, to Mr. David exists in the document.

In any case the particular proprietary interests of the Davids in the cemetery were recognized, and dealt with, for a century.

In Apr. 1801, Samuel David noted that "the Tremoulay's house was removed from the back of our burying ground."

The 1838 By Laws of the congregation speak of "the New Burial Ground, of which ninety feet immediately adjoining the Old Burying Ground remain in the possession of the heirs of the estate of the late David David, Esq., and of the Ground given the congregation by the executors of the estate of the late David David, Esq."...unreservedly, unlike the discussions half a century later. "In the case of death, poor persons professing Judaism, they shall be buried at the expense of the congregation."

A congregational document of six months later, February 1798 records,

"Mr. D. David of the Town of Montreal, having very candidly come forward in offering to have fenced under his direction a Lot ground he has purchased for the sole use of property of a Burying ground (Bethayim) for the present Jewish Congregation, and as well as their Progeny, The following is offered as a plan towards having the said Lot properly secured.

"1st - The present Congregation for themselves and their future Progeny accept of the said Lot of Ground, adjoining the old Burying ground, from Mr. D. David the said lot being 36 feet by...

"2nd - That the said Lot be annexed to this former Burying ground for ever as a Burying place, and for that use only.

"3rd - That Mr. D. David do make over by deed before a Notary the said Lot of Ground unto the Jewish Congregation of Lower Canada.

"4th - That Mr. D. David be reimbursed the purchase money of the said Lot by a general Subscription.

"5th - That Mr. D. David's offer of having the whole of said Lot properly secured by a good Stone wall, or by 10 feet Cedar pickets, as will be most proper, be accepted, and that he be reimbursed same. Also by a General Subscription.

"6th - That Purchase Money of said Lot is £16. The enclosing the same in a same manner will amount to £20, whereupon the following sums have been subscribed to by the underwritten under the above stipulations.

"Mr. D. David	£3.10.0
L. David	3.10.0
M. Michaels	3.10.0
J. Joseph	3.10.0
J. Phineas	3.10.0
A. Hart	3.10.0
Hart	3.10.0
	1.10.0
B. Hart	1.10.0
M. David	1.10.0
Michaels	1.10.0
Jonas	
Hays	
Phineas	
Lazarus	
Judah	

"That a proper account per receipts of expenditure be rendered to the present Congregation as soon as is finished, and that, should the expenses requisite not amount to the money subscribed, an equal redistribution of same be returned to the Subscribers according to their subscriptions."

An 1865 notarial document refers to "the cemetery facing St. Janvier has, since 1810 been set apart and used as the place of burial of individuals of the Jewish religion and kept sacred for and to that purpose."

The St. Janvier site was used by the community until the city passed By-Law 232 (July 6, 1853 - May 1, 1854) forbidding burials within city limits. This in the midst of the decimating cholera epidemic sweeping Montreal.

At the end of 1851 the congregation noted that a civic law passed that summer "would require the closing down of the present burial ground." A committee was named to inquire what land was available: John Levy, W. Benjamin, Jesse Joseph and D. David. (Congregation minutes, Dec. 14, 1851)

From that date the cemetery not only occupied the attention of the Jewish community for years, as we shall see, but became one of a series of almost arbitrary, non-controversial subjects of common action which, in their totality, constitute the concern which defines the community. The key element is the continuous, active involvement of what is in effect the Jewish citizenry. It is not ideology, creed, fate, economics, etc. that binds the community, but this organized activity.

And always there is the trailing involvement of the David-Hays attachment of partial proprietorship.

A glance at the transactions also reveals a change of persons. What Benjamin Hart had feared came to pass quickly. It is no longer Harts, Josephs, Hays, Solomons or Valentines who constitute a majority of the participants, but a much larger number of new names, led by Benjamins and Mosses. They are loyal to the London Sephard tradition (they also derived from England), and they inserted as Article 3 of their 1846 by-laws that "Prayers shall forever be read in the Hebrew Language, according to the customs of the Great Portuguese Synagogue in London, and that the hours for commencing morning service to be the same as in the Portuguese Synagogue in New York." (Minutes, Aug. 3, 1846)

But there is never pretence of stemming from Iberia.

This was the beginning of the sad days of that great man of Canadian Jewry, Benjamin Hart; already the old families were out of leadership; men who were soon to be the leaders of the German congregation were in the presidency. The rebels who had raised arms against their queen were soon to be indemnified for their trouble. Within the family all was not well.

On Nov. 13, 1853, as Dr. A.H. David recorded in the minutes of the congregation "after some discussion relating to the establishment of a cemetery in accordance with the by-law of the corporation, it was resolved to name a committee of three to examine certain places that might be considered suitable for a 'Beth Hiam': D. Moss Wm. Benjamin and John Levy."

The euphemistic Hebrew term for cemetery recalls profound Jewish cultural traditions: the avoidance of harshness of language, the paradox that the eternal home of the dead is a House of Life; the monument for human mortality is called the Beth Olam, the House of Eternity.

Two months later it was noted that "the time was fast approaching when we could no longer be allowed to bury in our present ground" and Dr. David was instructed to apply to the trustees of the Mount Royal Cemetery to know upon what terms they would be willing to dispose of a part of their ground to us for a Jewish burial ground. (Jan. 5, 1854)

Within three months, the treasurer of the Mount Royal Cemetery, Mr. H. Allan, wrote the congregation "might have the north-west corner of the cemetery for a Jewish burial ground for £250 per acre, on conditions of our allowing use of the drives and roads in the cemetery and conforming in general to the rules and regulations."

At the same time, Mr. de Sola defined for the congregation "upon what terms we could take part of the cemetery. As the laws or Din was against accepting the terms of the cemetery, it was decided that the trustees meet tomorrow afternoon at Mr. Moss' lots on Papineau Road." (Apr. 4, 1854)

The next night the trustees met. "Plans of Mr. Moss' property in Papineau Road which the Trustees had visited that afternoon were laid on the table. Resolved that the centre lot owned by Mr. Moss be taken for a burial ground if it contains 180 feet or thereabouts on each side of the small house which is upon it and can be had for £250.

"Mr. Moss, not having the deed of purchase with him, could not say the exact amount of ground, and put off giving the answer to tomorrow. It was resolved that if there were only 180 feet of ground on one side of the house, that an advertisement be inserted in the Herald stating the Congregation wanted about one acre of ground and asking for tenders from parties having a lot to dispose of." (Apr. 5, 1854)

Another project was discussed three weeks later.

"Dr. David was appointed to have the piece of ground (which the Trustees visited, belonging to Mr. Moss) examined, and to ascertain if it be suitable for burial ground purposes; and if found suitable the Trustees will pay Mr. Moss £250 for it, Mr. Moss making

a donation of £50 towards the purchase fund and to receive £50 cash on passing the deed and £25 per year afterwards till the whole is paid; or Mr. Moss will, if he can obtain an Act of Parliament authorizing the Trustees to sell the brick house occupied by Mr. de Sola, take the house grant as a full discharge of our debt to him, put up the two requisite galleries in the Synagogue one on each side, put up boards so as to inscribe the names of all donors to the building and also pay the expenses of procuring the Act of Parliament." (Apr. 23, 1854)

There was not much movement, for on July 2 a committee was named for the purpose of "securing a lot of land for a Burying Ground, and to report their success at a general meeting to be held, the cost of such lot not to exceed £300." Jesse Joseph, Wm. Benjamin and John Levey were appointed.

On July 9 a concrete motion was approved at a general meeting that "a piece of ground adjoining the Protestant Cemetery belonging to Dr. McCulloch be purchased for the sum of Three Hundred pounds, and that the funds required for the cash payment and improvement of ground and for the erection of a suitable place for a Mickveh (amounting to £200) be raised by subscription from members of the Congregation in Montreal and elsewhere -- of £10 each family payable on subscribing; that the said subscription shall entitle the donor to the burying lot in the said ground as will be allotted to have hereafter by the Trustees of the Congregation, and also the free use of the Mickveh for his family, both of which will be subject to such rules and regulations of the Trustees of the Congregation now in existence and that may hereafter be made by a by-law of the said Trustees. It is further understood that the burying ground in question as well as the Mickveh shall be the property of the Congregation and subject to the rules and regulations."

The subscribers, with their contribution, in effect constitute a roll call of the community:

David Moss	£10.0.0	A. Brahadi	£2.10.0
Simon Hart	10.0.0	J.H. Joseph	10.0.0
Wm. Benjamin	10.0.0	L. Bibo	10.0.0
Saml. Benjamin	10.0.0	M. Kortosk	5.0.0
John Levey	10.0.0	M. Steinberg	10.0.0
G.J. Ascher	10.0.0	M. Samuels	10.0.0
Mrs. Joseph	10.0.0	Edward Moss	10.0.0
G. Benjamin	10.0.0	M. Runkle	10.0.0
H. Solomon	10.0.0	Jacob Runkle	10.0.0
Dr. David	10.0.0	M. Warner	10.0.0
J. Hyman	10.0.0	M. Myers	10.0.0
L. Moss	10.0.0	Alex. Levy	10.0.0
E. Morris	10.0.0		

David Moss reported to a meeting of members of the congregation on Sept. 10, 1854 that the "Trustees have purchased a piece of ground for a cemetery for the sum of £300 -- £100 having been paid in cash, the remainder payable in four years, and they are now about laying it in lots & fencing it, &c &c &c and to do so it is therefore necessary for those persons who have not paid up their subscriptions for the ground to do so as early as possible.

"I have great pleasure to inform the members that the mikva is in a course of erection and I am glad to state that it will be fitted up in a style which I have no doubt will do credit to the committee in whose hands it will be placed.

"The president then laid a plan of the cemetery before the meeting."

Indeed on Sept. 18, 1854 Dr. Aaron Hart David wrote to J.P. Sexton, City Clerk, as secretary of the congregation that their "new Burial Ground, adjoining the Mount Royal Cemetery, is now ready, and that they no longer require to avail themselves of the permission granted by the Corporation, to use their old ground, which they have formally closed, with the ceremonies prescribed by their Religion.

"At the same time I am desired to tender to the Mayor and Corporation the thanks of the Trustees of the Congregation, for the permission so kindly granted and of which unfortunately they have had occasion to avail themselves, during the prevalence of the late Epidemic."

The subscribers at the home of Mr. de Sola on Jan. 28, 1855 met to decide how the lots were to be appropriated as the original committee had finished their duties in having the ground properly fenced and laid out according to the plan now before the meeting, with a house which was also erected & finished.

"The names of all subscribers who had paid their subscriptions were placed in a hat, and the Revd Mr. de Sola drew the tickets, and as he called out the name, that gentleman chose his lot, which being done Mr. Edward Moss chose Lot No. 1 (lot changed)

with Mr. John Levey who chose Lot No. 8

" Mark Samuels	" "	10
" David Moss	" "	13
" Lawrence Moss	" "	17
" Alex Levy	" "	19
" Wm. Benjamin	" "	21
" Goodman Benjamin	" "	22
Dr. David	" "	23
Mr. J.H. Joseph, per AHD	" "	25
" Simon Hart	" "	26

The Hazan & family was allotted Lot No. 18."

We are informed that on Aug. 31, 1856, "Mr. Hays happening to call in during the time the meeting was in session, and stated that he had examined the vacant piece of ground adjoining the cemetery he was willing on behalf of the heirs David to accept of Eighty feet square at the lower end of the ground on the condition before agreed upon in lieu of the old ground which he will immediately transfer to the congregation."

In 1857 the rights of the family of Dr. Aaron Hart David were further reaffirmed when the congregation conveyed to him and his heirs, for the sum of £10, a lot in that cemetery of 317 square feet, subject to the regulations of the congregation.

An 1858 deed of sale from the congregation to Dr. A.H. David admits "That the Corporation of Portuguese Jews of Montreal, in consideration of the sum of Ten Pounds currency paid to them by Aaron Hart David, of the City of Montreal, Doctor of Medicine, does hereby grant, bargain sell and convey to the said Aaron Hart David, his heirs and assigns, that certain lot, in the Cemetery of the said Corporation, situated on the Montreal Mountain, Cote Ste. Catherine & Parish of Montreal, which Lot is designated on the plan thereof by Spriggins, made in the plan 1855 by the Number 23 (Twenty-three) containing Three Hundred and Seventeen superficial feet, together with all and every the rights and privileges thereto belonging -- To have and to hold the aforesaid premises to the said Aaron Hart David, his heirs and assigns for ever; subject however to the Rules and Regulations from time to time made by the said Corporation.

"And the said Corporation of the Portuguese Jews of Montreal, does hereby covenant to and with the said Aaron Hart David, his heirs and assigns, that the said premises are free and clear of all charges and incumbrances, and they will warrant and defend the same with the said Aaron Hart David, his heirs and assigns forever."

On January 24, 1859 the congregation transferred to Judah Hays a plot of 80 square feet of its cemetery to be used as a family plot by the heirs of David David. The sale and transfer was completed before Notary I.J. Gibb. The Congregation was represented by its president Alexander Levy; David Moss, treasurer; Dr. Aaron Hart David, secretary, and Messrs. Eleazar David, Edwin Morris and William Benjamin. The purchasers were represented by Mr. Hayes, advocate Eleazar D. David, Dr. A.H. David, Moses Eleazar David, and Catherine Hayes, widow of the late James Solomon.

A committee was appointed to draw up a code of government of the Beth Haim: S. Benjamin, Dr. A.H. David, D. Moss, S. Hart, Alex Levy and Mr. de Sola. The By-laws of the Portuguese Congregation of Montreal for Management of the Cemetery as adopted on Apr. 25, 1855 appears in Canadian Jewish Archives, original series, no. 3, Pp. 22-25

The principle was that "land was to be used as a Jewish cemetery or place of interment or burying ground only for the heirs of the late David David and their descendants and not for the interment of any resident or foreign Jew other than the heirs of the said David David."

In the fall of 1855 the claim of the Davids arose again as an application was made for a single grave for Maj. David in the cemetery. The president inquired whether the trustees can legally dispose of the piece of ground of the old Beth Haim (Nov. 4, 1865). The Portuguese Congregation "decided to see Mr. Hays about the old Beth Haim matter, and to give Mr. Hays a piece of ground 45 feet square if he is willing to give of the clear notary deed from the old Beth Haim." (Minutes, Dec. 12, 1855) Apparently Mr. Hays was acting on behalf of the David family. His mother Abigail was a David, the sister of David David.

This transfer was made in consideration of the family of David David giving up their proprietorship and the direction and superintendence of the piece of land transferred by them to the congregation.

This was implemented in 1861. The trustees, meeting in the store of Mr. Ascher on "Aug. 26, resolved that as soon as Mr. Hays pointed out the part of the vacant ground adjoining the cemetery he wished fenced in, according to agreement, that Mr. Benjamin, treasurer, ordered it to be done at once so that Mr. Hays sign the deed of sale of remainder of old burying ground lot to Mr. Beaudry."

The McCullough heirs were ready to sue the congregation for the £212 due them for the cemetery and E.D. David was authorized to contest the action. (Nov. 20 and 25, 1858)

In the meantime the Congregation accepted the offer of Mr. Beaudry for the remaining piece of ground of the old burying ground. (March 10, 1861)

The McCullough matter remained pressing, and William Benjamin and Alex Levy offered them the personal notes of the trustees pending receipt of the £100 bequest in the will of Mrs. Catherine Solomons. (Apr. 21, 1861)

The transaction was concluded by Oct. 6. Dr. Hart informed the congregation that he had the portion of the ground in the cemetery plot given to Mr. Hays fenced in, and that in consequence of the lot having been fenced in Mr. Hays had signed the deed of sale to the remaining portion of the old Beth Haim to Mr. Beaudry and that the £50 had been paid by Mr. Beaudry over to the heirs McCullough on a/c of balance due them for the present cemetery.

At this time the passing of an elderly Jewish lady in Britain shook world Jewry in a manner that can be understood only by those attuned to the meaning of the name of Moses Montefiore to that age. Jews of Montreal wrote on Oct. 26, 1862 to the bereaved philanthropist and leader,

"Whereas The Divine Dispenser of life and death, to Whom none can say What doest Thou, hath called back to Him the Spirit of Judith, wife of Sir Moses Montefiore Bart, and whereas our departed sister possessed many virtues & excellencies of character which obtained for her the respect & love of all classes & creeds & during her extended pilgrimage on earth almost exclusively devoted the highest faculties of her gifted mind and lent aspirations of her noble heart to the temporal & spiritual advancement of her people, to this end sharing the discomforts and pains and perils experienced by the beloved partner of her life in the Holy Land, Damascus, Russia, Rome and other places where he went to plead the causes of the oppressed -- And whereas she was especially distinguished for her open-handed charity to the poor and kindly consideration for the widows and orphans, as thousands of grateful hearts in all countries do testify.

"And whereas by her beautiful life she has not only caused the ancient faith of Israel to be respected by the Gentile, but has left a glorious example for imitation to all classes of her own people. Be it therefore Resolved That, while we reverently bow to the inscrutable will of our Heavenly Father, we cannot but share in the deep and universal grief which pervades Israel at the loss of so illustrious and excellent a member of the community, and that we fervently join in the prayer that her righteousness may go before her and that bliss everlasting may have been apportioned to her Soul when it went to meet its Divine and All Merciful Originator.

"Resolved That, while our warmest sympathy is extended to our very respected brother Sir Moses Montefiore, who is thus bereaved of the 'Virtuous Woman who was a crown to her husband' and with whom he had so long walked the path of life, yet we cannot doubt that his own piety will be his best comforter in the hour of his sore affliction, and that the load of his grief will be lighter by his earnest seeking of Him who alone can remove it and replace it by consolation.

"Resolved That we shall ever treasure the memory of our departed sister as one universally honoured by Man and doubtless by God, and that, besides the mortuary service held on the termination of the thirty days of mourning, the ascabah be continued during the eleven months, and that the name of Judith Montefiore be inscribed in the list of perpetual ascaboths to be recited on every succeeding Kippur Evening."

Sir Moses acknowledged the expression of Montreal Jewish with a gift of £20, which was applied to the debt still owing the McCulloughs for the cemetery. (Jan. 16, 1863)

The City Clerk inquired in May 1863 if "the Corporation would sell the old burying ground and on what terms for City improvements.

"It was decided that the Secy inform him that the Trustees will dispose of the lot for \$1000 with the estimated expense of removing the bodies - monuments - and tombstones \$1500, making a total of \$2500."

By 1865 the community character of the Jewish cemetery became embittered as the German, Russian and English Jews, later the Shaar Hashomayim Congregation, claimed the right of burial in its hallowed ground. The principle had been laid down by the Portuguese Congregation as recently as Aug. 31, 1846:

"The Parnass shall in all cases designate the ground for the Beth Haim for the interring of any deceased member of this Congregation or of any strangers professing Judaism."

The issue nearly reached the courts of the land. (Jan. 29 and Feb. 9, 1865)

From ancient but not immemorial times, the Seminary of Montreal held a claim for lods et ventes on the property where the synagogue stood. In 1865 they claimed £21 on this account, and offered to commute further claims for £70 in the form of a mortgage. (Minutes, Feb. 19 and March 3, 1865)

Young as he was at the time of his death, Lazarus David must have established a devoted and a recognized leadership in the community which was just taking shape. He was laid to rest in the grounds that had just been bought, the first to rest there -- until 1854.

Edgar Andrew Collard, as late as 1977, saw the old gravestone standing in the hallowed grounds of the Spanish and Portuguese Congregation on Mount Royal, beside a newer one. ("On Three Different Things," in Gazette, Aug. 20, 1977) The old stone had been replaced by another in 1804.

Though he passed away several years before the building of the first synagogue, he must have provided for it, in part at least, for his children were very young at the time. Yet we hear later that the site of that house of worship remained the property of the family for half a century. The synagogue was probably built on his property.

A minor point of nomenclature illustrates the powerful and proud family tradition of the Davids:

Lazarus David's daughter Brandele Abigail David married Andrew Hays, and became Mrs. Hays by marriage. Their daughter Phoebe's name therefore was Hays, until she married Isaac D. Valentine. Yet years later she signed her name Phoebe David Valentine on the 1835 roll of contributors to the building of the synagogue.

When Lazarus David died he left five orphans, none older than fourteen. We have a pitiful record of his wife, Mrs. Phoebe David, petitioning the governor who would act "on the prayers of the widow who had to support five fatherless children, no inconsiderable family to maintain out of the profits of a small shop, her only support. She prayed that he would "redress justice unattended" in her efforts to collect her claim of £37 for groceries she had sold and not been paid for." (PAC, Haldimand Papers, B 21, Pp. 125-28; also in J.R. Marcus. American Jewry, Pp. 429-30)

After the passing of her husband Lazarus David, his widow Phoebe David advertised in the Quebec Gazette (Dec. 19, 1776) that she would meet all accounts due from him, and requested all who were indebted to him to settle their accounts.

Phoebe David won her case before the Court of Common Pleas on Oct. 11, 1783 against Samuel Hyndman. (MG 11, CO 42, vol. 56, P. 221: microfilm reel B42)

She advertised an assortment of imported goods in the Quebec Gazette of July 22, 1784 and May 19, 1785.

Notice of her death appeared in the Gazette of Oct. 20, 1785,

"A tender Mother and affectionate Wife. She was followed to the place of Enterment by a numerous concourse of her Fellow-citizens. The loss of that charitable Woman is much lamented by all those who had the pleasure of being acquainted with her. To her may be applied the following Lines of Dryden:

"No single Virtue we could most comment,
"Whether the Wife, the Mother or the Friend,
"For she was all in that supreme degree,
"That as no one prevail'd, so all was she."

When she passed away in 1785 her sons David and Samuel David, administrators of her estate, advertised on Nov. 10, 1785 to request "all those indebted to the said estate to make speedy payment, and all those to whom the said estate is indebted to bring their accounts to David David for payment, who is properly authorized to give discharges for the same. They also request a continuance of the custom of their friends and the public in general, as the business will be carried in the same house and in the same manner by the administrators."

"There is also remaining for sale a large and general assortment of groceries, dry goods and crockery ware which they will sell on the most reasonable terms.

"Single, double refin'd and muscovado sugar, hyson, green and bohea teas, Cheshire and double Gloscester cheese, fine Irish butter in kegs, herrings, barley, rice, split peas, pepper, mustard, basket and coarse salt, fine hams, yellow and white soap, mould and dipt candles, pruens, Turkey figs, jar and barrel raisins, bitter and sweet almonds, lemon and orange chip, barley sugar, sugar candy white and brown, citrus, peppermint drops, and fine comfits, preserved limes and ginger, whole and ground ginger, fine honey, liquorice, mellet, powder and whole sage, carraway and anniseeds, Glauber salts, rhubarb, British oil, opodeldock, spirits lavender and turpentine, essence peppermint and bergamotte, salts of lemon, paper, quills, ink-powder, best Irish mixed wafers, sealing-wax, bibles, testaments, psalters, song-books, ketchup, soy, anchovies, girkins, capers, olives in bottles and kegs, sallad oil, porter in casks and bottles, vinegar in casks, West-India rum, Jamaica spirits, British brandy, molasses, shrub, lemon and orange juice, linseed oil and paints, pigtail and carrot tobacco, starch and blue, yellow and white wax, hair-powder, pomatum and wash-balls, gun-powder and shot, ladies and gentlemen's saddles, ladies best beavers, morocco and sattinet shoes and slippers, men and women's leather shoes and pumps, ladies balloon pads, cushions, bell and undress hoops, velvet fashion ribbons, fine muslins, gauzes and muslin handkerchiefs, fine thread lace, fine Irish linens, ladies fine sattin cloaks trimmed with fur; a general assortment of crockery ware, sheet-iron, best bar-iron, German steel, double and single iron stoves, silver and gold watches, gold and silver seals, and sundry other articles too tedious to insert in an advertisement."

Further evidence of transactions with Samuel Jacobs exists in a bill to him from the estate of Phoebe David. Payment was received by David David and Samuel David, her sons and executors. (MG 19, A 2, Series 3, vol. 71, P. 1387)

David David was in business at an early age, necessarily, his father leaving him an orphan at the age of twelve.

Nevertheless, we find his signature and that of his brother Samuel, age 13, on the 1779 roll of members of the new synagogue who subscribed to its remarkable by-laws. Doubtless this was more than a show of respect for their departed father. The David family had an interest vested in the institution and in the building they were about to erect; probably on their property.

One or other of the brothers attended the subsequent meetings of which we have record, and David David contributed towards the purchase of a Sefer Torah.

The leadership of the David family in providing the small community with basic facilities come to the fore even half a century after Lazarus David secured the burial ground.

The members of the family contributed three-quarters of the initial building fund of the Chenneville St. synagogue in 1835, yet none of them accepted any honours or position.

When he passed away he left a legacy of £100 to the congregation. On Oct. 29, 1832 the trustees decided to invest the sum in a government security. M.J. Hays and Isaac Valentine, executors, offered an additional £150 towards the building of a synagogue.

Frances David Michaels contributed \$1000 in 1835 towards the erection of the Chenneville St. synagogue. Mrs. Charlotte David contributed \$100; Moses E. David \$100; Mrs. E. David Valentine, \$100; Eleazar David David, \$100; Aaron Hart David, \$100; Samuel B. David, \$400 and Moses E. David, \$20.

The latter might have been a younger David, not the Moses E. David already mentioned. M.E. David added \$200 to his contribution for the honour of placing the corner stone.

We have contemporary recognition of Mrs. Michaels' role in the annals of the synagogue. The minutes of Aug. 13, 1838 read,

"Meeting for the purpose of preparing suitable seat or chair for Mrs. Michaels, without whose munificent aid our Holy Temple could not have been erected. Resolved, that a chair is to be ordered immediately, made under the direction of Mr. M.J. Hays and paid for from Congregation funds, the sole property of Mrs. Michaels during her lifetime. It will be subject to be willed by her to any Jewish lady she may wish, but if she does not wish to do so the said chair is to become the property of the trustees."

Mrs. Michaels' name was at the head of the list of ladies who subscribed to purchase new drapes (properly called "Simlot", robes) for two Sephorim, in Sept. 1838.

As early as 1865 the story of Michaels' generosity was being told all over the world. The N.Y. Israelite Messenger in the summer of 1865 cited David Moss, addressing the English and German synagogue and the Hebrew Benevolent Society on Aug. 14, 1865,

"Thirty years ago there was no place of worship for him or his coreligionists in Montreal. Prayers were read once or twice a year. Mr. Hart and others had endeavoured for a year or two to raise money, and were successful. But a sum of between £700 and £800 left by Mr. Michaels for this purpose was so given that it could only be used for the erection of a synagogue whose services should be conducted according to the Portuguese forms." (reprinted in London Jewish Chronicle, Sept. 15, 1865)

We find David David's signature on a 1784 petition of the colony's businessmen.

The federal archives preserve his friendly note to Samuel Jacobs of St. Denis dated Feb. 8, 1786, stating that his brother would be delivering "the things you order" the following Sunday.

On June 7, 1787 he was advertising in the Quebec Gazette an assortment of crockery, groceries and glass which he had just imported on board the Grand Duke and the Eweretta, on sale in his store in the Upper Street, Montreal,

"Hyson, green and bohea teas, double and single refined sugar, muscovado ditto, coffee, nutmegs, cinnamon, cloves, mace, saffron, pimento, black pepper, carraway and anniseed, soft shell almonds, bitter ditto, best jarr bloom raisins, sun ditto, prunes, currants, figs, barley sugar, white and brown sugar, candy, peppermint drops, fine comfits in canisters, lemon and orange chip, honey, citron, preserv'd ginger and limes, tamarind, vinegar in casks, best olive and Florence oil in jarrs and bottles, anchovies, olives, mangoes, gerkin, wallnuts, ketchup, foie, capers, basket and rock salt, butter, herrings, best mess-pork, single and double Gloucester cheese, Gruyer ditto, hams, Cheshire cheese, rice, barley, sugar plumbs, burnt almonds, isinglass, saltpeter, glober salts, essence of peppermint, Turlington's balsam, essence of lemons, essence of lavender, ditto bergamette, rose water, London porter in hogheads, half hogheads and bottles, mustard per pound, half pounds and quarter pounds, West-India rum, Madeira wine, French brandy, shrub, Spanish wine, Poland starch, fig blue, powder ditto, ladies best beaver, Morocco, Spanish leather, serge denim, everlasting, calimanco and leather shoes; mens best military shoes, and boys ditto, silk and cotton stockings, paper, quills and inkpowder, Henry's and Harlequin's cards, mould and dipt tallow candles, white turpentine soap, French wax and spermaceti candles, scented hairpowder and pomatum, white wax, gunpowder and shot, black ball, patent blacking, sole leather, shoe thread, best Swedish iron assorted, best German steel, shovels and spades, couteaux, knives and forks, single and double tin, sheet iron, covering, shingle and plank nails, scythes and sickles, grindstones, double, single and chamber stoves, lintseed oil, red, green, white, yellow and blue paint, spirits of turpentine, blacklead, whiting, pipe clay, chalk, mops, hair and scrubbing brushes, Russia sheeting, Scotch ditto, Oznaburgs,

shawls, threads assorted, silk assorted, pins, glue, candle-wick, worsted for stockings, yellow, white and green canvas for sampler, fine bolting cloth, patent join'd lace for ladies aprons and handkerchiefs, newest fashion ribbons, mens fine lined and unlined beaver gloves, white kid ditto, billiard balls and dice, China oranges and lemons, China breakfast and tea cups and saucers, bowls and decanters of all sizes, plain and cut wine glasses, plain and cut tumblers and water bottles and rumels, tooth, comb and shoe brushes, whitewash ditto, best newest fashion'd beaver hats, ladies and gentlemens Leghorn ditto, cushions and pads, hat and shoe buckles, the newest fashion, plates, dishes, cups and saucers, bowls, mugs, jugs, teapots, &c. &c. and all sorts in the crockery way; logwood, copperas, allum, brimstone snuffs, and many other articles too long to insert in an advertisement."

He was one of the petitioners to the government seeking the establishment of a customs office in Montreal. (Gazette, Oct. 28, 1790)

Similarly his name appears among the signatories of an address to Sir John Johnson on his departure from the province, together with that of Samuel David and M. David, probably their brother Moses. (ibid., July 19, 1792)

In 1793 he reorganized his business and served notice on his creditors and debtors in the Gazette of Feb. 21. In May he again requested a settlement of all accounts. His business in the future would be carried on under the firm name of David and Michaels. (Gazette, May 23 and June 20, 1793)

The partnership was dissolved and notice appeared in the Gazette of Sept. 17, 1795 requesting a settlement with all concerned.

Yet it was on their joint suit that the property of François Dumoulin was sold by the sheriff, according to a notice in the Gazette of March 15, 1798.

By 1796 he was dealing with the Harts at Trois-Rivières. (Séminaire des Trois-Rivières, N-D-1)

At about this time he petitioned the government for crown lands.

David was trustee in the estate of Beath and Sheppard in Dec. 1797. A notice to all interested in the settlement appeared in the Gazette of Dec. 26, 1797.

Two lots in the St. Joseph suburb belonging to John Montgomery were put on sale by the sheriff in May 1797 at the suit of David David. (Ibid., May 27, 1797)

Earlier that year the sheriff sold the property of John Montgomery at the suit of David. (Gazette, May 25, 1797)

David David was one of three trustees who put on sale by auction at Teasdale's coffee house on Aug. 6, 1799, large land holdings, a distillery and brewery and houses on the Assumption River. (Ibid., Apr. 18, 1799)

Aaron Hart and Ezekiel Hart authorized David David as "our true and lawful attorney for us and in our name to receive, sign and accept all and whatsoever deeds or a mortgage from Jacob Cook of Saint-Armand," on Jan. 21, 1799.

Cook signed a document of obligation, in the presence of David the same day, of £280 and thus hypothecating his property in Bolton.

David David went on to become an important citizen in the colony. On Nov. 27, 1804 he purchased Dr. Brown's house for £1,000 at a sheriff's sale. (Noted in Samuel David's diary)

David David of Montreal stood bond for £100 for Judah Joseph in March 1807 when the latter applied for auctioneer's permit in Berthier.

David David was promoted captain, quartermaster of the First Montreal Battalion, according to notice in the Gazette of June 4, 1812.

As one of the representative citizens, David signed an address to the departing Lord Robert Prescott. (Gazette, July 23, 1799)

At his suit the property of Benjamin Jobert was on sheriff's sale on March 3, 1803. (Gazette)

In 1806 he was trustee to the estate of Cuvillier, Aylwin and Harkness who had assigned. (Gazette, Oct. 23, 1806)

Similarly he was the trustee for the creditors of Jean-Baptiste Charles Destestimauville and seized his considerable properties on Oct. 30, 1806. (ibid., Jan. 8, 1807)

At his suit the sheriff seized a property on the Chateauguay belonging to David Rankin. (ibid., Feb. 5, 1807)

In the fall of 1810 the succession of Richard Gill was in the hands of Samuel David, curator. At the suit of David David the property of the succession was put on sheriff's sale. (ibid., Nov. 15, 1810)

A collection letter from David David to Gaspard de Lanaudière of Feb. 26, 1812 survives at the Université de Montréal, Baby Collection; also a letter from him to J. Sullivan of Apr. 30, 1813 demanding payment of £94.

In his 1897 History of Montreal, Including the Streets of Montreal, their Origin and History, J. Douglas Borthwick tells the story of the early Bank of Montreal and David David's role in it.

"In the summer of 1817 a number of prominent merchants of the city, after holding several meetings, formed a company with a capital of \$1,000,000 and started the Bank of Montreal. They had no charter, for in those days the obtaining of rights for private companies was a very difficult and tedious undertaking, as after the necessary legislation had passed the Provincial Government, the whole matter had to be sent to the British Government for sanction.

"It was a puzzle to the Bank how to issue bills for circulation without making each stockholder personally liable for their payment, but at last the following form for the reading of their notes was adopted:

"'The President and Directors of the Bank of Montreal promise to pay A.B., or bearer, the sum of five dollars (or other amount) out of the joint funds of the Association and no other.'

"This form was, of course, dropped when the charter was obtained. The Act of incorporation was not obtained until 1821, and, having been reserved for consideration by the Home Government of those days after the usual custom, it was not proclaimed as law until 1822. The capital stock was fixed at £250,000 a sum which seems large for a town of less than 20,000 inhabitants.

"The Bank of Montreal is not only as to the capital, the largest colonial bank, but it is the largest bank in North America, the fifth largest in the British Empire, and the eighth largest jointstock bank in the world.

"The charter of the bank marked it from the first as a Montreal institution. Foreigners or aliens could not vote at stockholders' meetings, and directors could be selected only among British subjects who had resided in the Province for seven years and in the City at least three years. The bank therefore became identified with the fortunes of the city, and its great success is an evidence of the commercial ability of the merchants who have successively administered it.

"John Grey, a retired dry goods merchant, was the first President of the Bank; Robert Griffin, the first Cashier. The directors were some of the most prominent business men of the city. They were Hon. John Richardson, Samuel Gerard, Thomas Thain, Horatio Gates, George Auldjo, John Volson, Thomas A. Turner, William Ermatinger, Zabdiel Thayer and David David. On the 1st of October, 1817, the first bank note was issued by the Montreal Bank." (Pp. 113-16)

B.G. Sack, author of the History of the Jews in Canada, recorded that David David was "intimately associated with every philanthropic, social and commercial undertaking and few men played a more prominent role in the public affairs of his city than he. He was the most active among those who founded the Bank of Montreal, and was at the first meeting of the Board, held the 27th February, 1818, made one of its directors, continuing to be so till his death in 1824. We find him as one of the charter members of the Montreal Board of Trade, when that body was originally founded as 'Committee of Trade', April the 11th, 1822. He was also one of the first governors of the Montreal General Hospital, and was generally interested in everything that concerned the public welfare. (P.72; also in Jewish Standard, Feb. 15, 1960, Pp. 14-15, 45)

Gerald Hart records David's role in the bank,

"In the Province of Quebec, it may be mentioned that the 'Bank of Montreal' was inaugurated on the 7th August, 1817, when the first Board of Directors was elected. On the 27th February 1818, 'Yabdill Thayer', retired from the Board, and 'David David' was elected to replace him, who continued in office until the 7th June, 1824. Mr. David was allied to the Hart family.

"Mr. David's name appears among those of some 145 individuals who were incorporated by the Act of the Legislature of Lower Canada passed on the 17th March 1821 and assented to by His Majesty King George IV on 18th May 1822, which constituted the original Charter of the Bank.

"The original authorized capital of the Bank was £250,000 divided into 5000 shares of £50 each, and the original subscription list shows the name of Mr. David as a subscriber to 20 shares (£1000) of the stock. (From information supplied by the Bank of Montreal)."

Doig's directory of Montreal lists David David of 1 Place d'Armes as bank director.

Yet it was in Oct. 1817 that the sheriff advertised the sale of David David's property. (Quebec Gazette, Oct. 16, 1817)

His property was advertised on sheriff's sale again at the suit of Thomas Turner in the Gazette of July 13, 1820.

His name occurs in the notices of the sheriff's sales of the properties of Thomas Busky, A.N. McLeod and C.B. Pasteur. (Gazette, Jan. 18, 1821 and July 25, 1822)

In 1818 David, together with Alexander Hart and others, published notice of their proposed petition to the Legislature for permission to build a canal from the Current of Ste. Marie to Lachine. (Gazette, Dec. 17, 1818)

He was promoted to major in the militia of the city of Montreal. (Gazette, May 24, 1821)

A business letter from David David in Montreal to Isaac Valentine in Trois-Rivières, dated Jan. 29, 1832, survives in L.M. Lande's collection of Canadian historical documents and manuscripts. (Montreal, 1980, no. B468, Pp. 487-88)

David was seeking kinsman Valentine's help in collecting a considerable balance from a Trois-Rivières firm,

"They are selling out the shop, but I did not hear of their having taken an inventory...I think it will be prudent not to let them know (the amount they owe)...as it may be, when they see so large a sum, they may do what is not right...It is rather unfortunate I am not able to go there myself...I leave the conducting of this business to you, as you see by this I am not able. Any expense I will pay. Do not lose a skip for one penny tax...I hope the venison got safe. We had a saddle on Saturday -- very fine."

David died on Nov. 30 the following year.

As he died a bachelor, he left his estate to members of the David family and of the Hays family, the latter being descendants of his sister Brandele Abigail David Hays. The residual legatees were: his sister Fanny (Frances) David Michaels; the children of Abigail: Phoebe Hays Valentine, Catherine Hays Solomon, Fanny Frances Cohen and Moses Judah Hays; the sons of brother Samuel: Eleazar David David, Dr. Aaron Hart David, and Moses E. David, the son of brother Moses David.

The estate was not settled for many years. As late as 1852 Moses E. David was plaintiff against Moses Judah Hays, sole surviving acting executor, who produced an account of the estate. (L.M. Lande, no. B351, P. 384)

But the continuity of the family in Canadian Jewish history did not descend from David David who died unmarried.

David David's brother Samuel (1766-1824) was married to Sarah Hart, daughter of Aaron Hart. Their marriage contract dated Sept. 4, 1810 is preserved in the archives of the Montreal Sulpicians. (Tiroir 110, no. 114)

Although Sack writes of him as having concluded training in law (p. 131) he is known to us as a businessman and a landowner. (Brodey)

Sometime after 1782 Samuel David acquired a 44-foot lot (no. 40) on St. Paul St., reaching to La Petite Rivière, according to the Livre terrier de la Seigneurie de Montréal, issued as Les Origines de Montréal, no. 15 of Mémoires de la Société historique de Montréal. (Montreal, Adj. Ménard, 1917, Pp. 70-71)

In the summer of 1789 we find his signature where we would not expect to see it, especially in the light of his Jewish awareness.

That July, Montreal was favoured with a visit from the Anglican Bishop of Nova Scotia. It was considered a great event in the annals of colonial Protestantism, and he was hailed with great joy by the community. One expression of this recognition was an address from the Protestant inhabitants of Montreal.

Among the signatories: Samuel David. (Quebec Gazette, July 19, 1789)

Clearly, his name on the address was no indication of an approach towards the Christian communion. By all evidence, it was participation in a civic event. The address of welcome was even tailored to be broadly acceptable; it carries no Christological references.

David's signature remains puzzling, but it can be regarded as an index of acculturation, or as a prelude to the Jewish community accepting rather happily the 1903 act which established that, for educational purposes, Jewish children would be considered Protestant.

There is another name on the address which deserves brief attention, that of Jacob Kuhn.

The bailiff of the city has been described as Jewish by Canadian historians, and something has been made of this Jew being appointed to an official position. Yet there is reason to doubt his being a member of the Jewish family.

His signature on the welcome to the Anglican bishop does not prove he was a Protestant, particularly since he was in the company of Samuel David.

Samuel David, David David and Levy Solomon appear on a 1790 petition which is important in the annals of the city of Montreal.

The petition appeared in the Gazette de Québec of Oct.28, 1790:

"Your Memorialists in their intercourse of trade with Great Britain and other parts, labour under considerable difficulties; as well in importing as exporting merchandise to and from the city of Montreal, by reason of there being no other Custom-house than at Quebec, where they can legally enter inward and outward, the importations and exportations of goods, which they have occasion to make.

"That from the situation of Montreal, from whence the whole of the Indian trade is carried on, by far the greatest value of imports and exports, has been for many years made by residents in this place; and the extensive and populous settlements of Loyalists which have taken place within these few years, has not only rendered its trade more considerable, but will continue annually to augment.

"That the want of a Custom-house at this place, subjects your Memorialists to have their cargoes landed at Quebec, which must be attended with very heavy expense, for agents, wharfage and labourers, besides the waste that will happen on cargoes of liquor by landing, filling up, guaging and reshipping: and what is still of greater consequence, the loss of time, which may arise, it being well known that the delay of a few hours, waiting for clearance upwards has occasioned vessels to be many weeks in performing a voyage of sixty leagues.

"That amongst other inconveniences, your Memorialists find a hardship in the mode of entering pot and pearl ashes outwards, being subjected to transmit to the Custom-house at Quebec a declaration upon oath, of the place of their manufacture, which your Memorialists conceive might be effected with equal propriety before the Surveyor of this place, and his certificate to serve in lieu of the Collector's of Quebec, actually required, to save us from paying alien duty in Britain.

"Your Memorialists beg leave to observe, that by this representation, they do not mean to complain or find fault with the Officers of the Custom-house of Quebec, but the legal restraints and inconveniences, which arise for want of a competent Custom-house at this place have been so frequently felt, that it is a duty they owe to themselves, humbly to submit them to Your Lordship, and to pray that Your Excellency will be pleased to make such Representation thereon, to the Right Honorable Board of Commissioners of His Majesty's Customs, or other, as Your Excellency, in Your Wisdom, shall deem just and right, to the end, that Montreal may be made a proper Port for clearing vessels and merchandise outwards and inwards, without being subject to report and clear at the Custom-house of Quebec, as now is the case."

L. Rosenberg has published the document which bound Lazarus Hays, son of Andrew Hays, to Samuel David as an apprentice to learn the skills of the merchant trade on Sept. 28, 1798. (Canadian Jewish Archives, original series, no. 5, Aug. 1959. Pp. 12-13)

David was attorney to Mrs. Charlotte Denis, widow of Paul Dennis of the Cedars. As such he advertised requesting all interested in settlement of the estate. (Gazette, May 30, 1799)

The property of Patrick Murray was put on sheriff's sale in 1797 at suit of Samuel David. (Gazette, March 2, 1797)

When Lord Robert Prescott left the colony, Samuel David was one of the citizens who signed an address of respect, together with David David. (ibid., July 25, 1799)

On Oct. 30, 1806 he acted as trustee for a group which reads like a directory of the colony's business in seizing and putting on public sale large properties previously belonging to Capt. Jean-Baptiste Destimenville of the Royal Canadian Volunteers, of Quebec. The David group included, besides himself, Lester and Murorogh, the Hon. H. Caldwell, the Hon. John Young, John Hale, Matthew Lymburner, John Mure, Michel Leprohon, Joseph Frobisher, James Caldwell, Hon. James Monk, Hon. James McGill, W. Gillivray, John Gregory, Sir A. McKenzie and Forsyth and Richardson.

The land, consisting of very large parcels in the St. Francis parish and on Lake St. Francis, were put on sale at Trois-Rivières on March 9, 1807 by Sheriff L. Guty.

We hear of his election as curator of the Walter Davidson estate in 1802 and his purchase of Isle aux Chats from the estate for £250.

The property of Joseph Frobisher was sold by the sheriff in 1816 at the suit of Samuel David. (Gazette, Nov. 16, 1816)

In June 1819 he bought an interest in the "Car of Commerce" for £140.

Doig's Montreal directory of 1819 lists Samuel David as merchant.

At his suit the sheriff advertised the property of Levy Solomons for sale in the Quebec Gazette of Sept. 27, 1821.

He contributed £5 towards building the English church in 1803 and to the building of the Lachine Road.

We find him in the social life of the Montreal merchants as he set off on Feb. 2, 1801 for St. John's to dance at the Assembly. When 100 Montrealers celebrated Nelson's victory on Jan. 26, 1806 at dinner at Hamilton's, Samuel David was among them. Dinner at the Curling Club, the Beaver Club and the St. George's and St. Andrew's Societies were frequent.

Samuel and David David both attended a dinner given in 1804 to merchants who voted against a tax on commerce.

In Nov. 1813 the Patriotic Society collected money in Montreal for the relief of sufferers in Upper Canada.

Like his brother Captain David David and like his sons, Col. Eleazar David and Lieut. Moses S. David, Samuel David devoted much time to his military duties. There is a record of his going with officers to review the militia at Lachine in 1803 and again in 1804; on the latter occasion also to dine with the militia officers at Lachine. In 1812 he went to the governor's levee with militia officers. In 1813, having participated with David David, Alexander Hart and others in the action against the American invaders at Prescott, in November, he was gazetted a major in the Montreal Gazette. A fortnight later he served on the court martial which tried Major Dunlop, preferred by Hart Logan. He was listed Aid Major of the Seventh Battalion of the Third Division at Montreal in the Gazette of June 4, 1812. He served with Col. de Salaberry at the Battle of Chateaugay in 1813.

He served on the general court martial in June, 1819.

In April 1823 he was gazetted lieutenant-colonel of the Long Point regiment of militia, probably the highest military rank attained by a Canadian Jew until the First World War a century later. (Quebec Gazette, June 30, 1823)

Early in 1838, Samuel David was in command of the cavalry escort at the swearing in of Sir John Colbourne as governor-general. (P. 35)

Readers of Canadian Jewish history are indebted to Samuel David for his lively appreciation of each living day. He kept a diary which covered the latter part of the eighteenth century and the opening years of the nineteenth century. An important historical document, this manuscript is a register of dates and events relating to members of the family, to other Jews, and to contemporary Canadians. Upon his death in Montreal on January 3, 1824, other members of the family continued his diary. (to cite Katz. Part of this diary 1803-6 is in PAC, MG 24, I.13)

Our diarist was not among the foremost bearers of the tradition of Judaism in Lower Canada. Yet clearly there is evidence of transmission of adherence and of loyalty, even of Hebrew knowledge.

The few pioneer families and their early community persisted long enough to see new arrivals take up the flame. There was continuity and growth in the exercise of the Judaism initially established quite firmly 200 years ago in Canada.

The particularly uncommunicative diary of Samuel David at the beginning of the nineteenth century, nevertheless, indicates that the religious calendar was very much in their awareness. The High Holy Days and the first night of Passover, 1804-5 are noted.

Thus when we read in Samuel David's diary of their dining at Chambly with Samuel Jacobs on Sept. 22, 1810, it seems to have been more than a social dinner. Families with similar emotional and cultural longings, far from their centres, meet, and possibly reinforce each other.

We have a touching, if formal and Victorian, expression of condolence to the David family upon the loss of their mother in 1830, and a record of Shivah strictly observed.

An entry in Samuel David's journal of April 13, 1813, notes that Jews in Montreal raised a subscription for the poor.

Long after he passed away his widow, Sarah (Hart) David was involved in business transactions in which Moses Judah Hays, Isaac Valentine and Peter McGill appear. The Sul-
pician archives preserve two transfers and one release dated
between Apr. 30, 1830 and Sept. 2, 1833.

Some of the children of Samuel and Sarah David who are also direct descendants of Aaron Hart, continued the traditions of the pioneering Jewish families for many years.

There is a record of Eleazar David David as a member of the bar in the colony in 1832 (J.J. Lefebvre. "Tableaus alphabetique des avocats de la province de Québec, 1765-1849", in Revue du barreau, vol. 17, no. 61, June 1952. P. 287) and Eleazar David, advocate of Montreal, is listed among those who attended the funeral of Moses Hart at Trois-Rivières on Oct. 1, 1852.

E.D. David held 12 of the 80 shares of the Montreal Water Works in Jan. 1834. (M.J. Hays manuscript regarding the amount of purchase of the waterwork, in the L.M. Lande Collection of Canadian historical documents and manuscripts catalogue, no. B22, Pp. 232-33)

We have the minute by minute log of the watch of the west end of Montreal, the reports of the men on duty as they made their rounds. E.D. David, reporting on Wednesday night, April 13, 1837, at 40 minutes past 10 o'clock, "I went ~~the~~ rounds and found my watchmen at their duty and the city remarkably quiet." On Dec. 1, 1836 Isaac Aaron noted at "³/₄ past twelve, Benjamin Desroche reports that one of the windows of the French church was open. The rest of the watch reported all well and quiet."

On April 12, 1832, while David was on duty, Kallenstein, "no. 32, was found asleep on the ground...the officers on duty think proper to suspend him for two days and have informed him of their intention, at 3 o'clock. The weather very fine. The sky clear and the moon shining brightly. Four o'clock received the alarm key from no. 7."

On April 18, E.D. David was making the report of the watch, of a drunkard being picked up and put in the Black Hole, of a woman suspected of having stolen a watch also being so confined. A groom "was brought in by no. 3, found attempting to get into the window, having lost the key to the gate...woman of the name of Popit Neige and one man of the name of Gardz were put in the Black Hole at their request." There is evidence here of the intimacy of Montreal Jews with the instant-by-instant life of the city.

Isaac Aaron is listed by Robert W.S. Mackay, in his The Montreal Density, 1842, as sheriff's officer and auctioneer on St. Lawrence Street near Craig Street.

There is significance to the composition of a committee of three named on Oct. 29, 1832 to examine the ancient Scrolls of the Law, a rare gift in the possession of the congregation for half a century. In Jan. 1834 the committee reported that "the Pentateuch have been examined; two found fit for use, other might be made serviceable with little expense; cannot be used as it is now."

The examination of these manuscripts is a very complex and responsible procedure in Jewish practice, related as it is to the all-sacred tradition of the Massorah, the transmission of the text of Revelation in meticulous accuracy and the reading and teaching of the Law in perfect fidelity to the original immemorial version. It says much about the cultural heritage of Judaism through all its members that the tiny community had the learning resource to perform this duty.

It is interesting that for this important task the congregation drew upon men who were otherwise not prominent in its activities; another indication of the education wealth inherent in "the back benches."

Among the men thus entrusted: Isaac Aaron; the name of one of his colleagues is illegible, probably Wolf Sternberg; the third, H. Solomon.

Aaron was named trustee on Oct. 15, 1832.

Mrs. Aaron contributed to the purchase of "Robes" for Sifre Torah in 1838.

A sentence in the congregation minutes of Nov. 10, 1841 tells us much about the trends and ritual problems in the congregation.

"Decided that Mr. Piza (the Hazan) should read the entire Sabbath morning service till he fully qualifies Mr. Solomon to read correctly, to the satisfaction of the president, that portion called the.....according to the Spanish and Portuguese Jews."

Correctly could have no reference to his learning, since he was capable of inspecting a Scroll of the Law. But he was Ashkenaz, and the congregation wanted the service conducted in the Sephardi tradition. Yet it had none of its own to do so.

The sword borne by David was furnished by Savage and Lyman of Montreal, and so marked on the blade; a typical British military sword of the mid-nineteenth century.

The military record preserves a communication of Apr. 26, 1838 from the Provincial Military Secretary containing an extract from a dispatch of the Secretary of the Colonies thanking Major David, who commanded two troops of the Royal Montreal Cavalry, for their part in the battle at the Lake of Two Mountains, St.-Eustache and Grand Brulé.

The document was sent to Lieut-Col. McCord, commanding officer of the Royal Montreal Cavalry and the First Brigade in Montreal, by Lieut. D. Griffin of the 32nd Regiment, Assistant Provincial Military Secretary, by order of the Commander of the Forces, in absence of Maj. Christie.

The document reads,

"I am directed by His Excellency the Commander of the Forces to transmit to you an extract of a dispatch from the Secretary of State for the Colonies dated the 20th January, 1830; and to request that Her Majesty's thanks may be conveyed to the officers, non-commissioned officers and men of the Corps, Troops and Companies of the Brigade under your command which are named in the margin, --

"I have had the honor to receive your dispatch of the 13th and 22nd of December, 1837, reporting your proceedings in the County of the Lake of Two Mountains.

"I have laid these dispatches before the Queen, and it has afforded Her Majesty's sincere gratification to find that your measures, aided by the gallantry both of Her Regular Troops and of the Volunteers which accompanied them, have been entirely successful in dispersing the insurgents collected at St. Eustache and Grand Brulé."

Eleazar David David participated, together with six other members of the community, in a formal legal sense in the establishing of the Canadian Jewish community when he signed, on Sept. 11, 1832, the petition to the chief justice praying for the implementation of the act of 1831 which granted Jews the right to a synagogue. (Canadian Jewish Archives, original series, no. 6, May 1962, Pp.8-10) He described himself as a student at law. He attended the first meeting of members on Oct. 15, 1832.

In whatever capacity -- possibly as the only David active in the congregation at this moment -- the trustees reported formally to E.D. David on the condition of the Scrolls of the Law and the other Tashmishai Kdushah (Instruments of Sanctity) which had been the property of the congregation for half a century and at this time were in the hands of B. Hart. (Minutes, Jan. 16, 1834)

In Oct. 1832 the congregation entrusted him to raise "a subscription from the Portuguese and Dutch societies of Jews in London and such other parts of Europe that he may travel to enable our congregation to erect a synagogue."

In due course he reported to the congregation that he had been able to secure only the £5 contribution from Sir Moses Montefiore. (Minutes, Jan. 16, 1837)

He was named to the committee to solicit subscriptions in Montreal.

(Apparently he was the victim of the infighting against the east European immigrants who were slowly flooding the small community of old-timers by the end of the 1840's.

(Although he was a paying member at 50/- per annum in Sept. 1847, he was unceremoniously rejected as member a year later. On Feb. 17, 1850 this rejection was formally withdrawn.)

Phyllis Joseph notes that Capt. Eleazar David commanded the cavalry at the civil and military array which marked the reading of the proclamation of Queen Victoria in Aug. 1837.

Abbé Jacques Paquin, the curé of St. Eustache, has recorded in his narrative of this period that Col. David of Chambly volunteered for service during this rebellion. (Mémoires sur l'église du Canada depuis la découverte du pays jusqu'à l'année 1842, cited by Maximilien Globensky. La Rébellion de 1837 à Saint Eustache, par Hubert Aquin. Montréal. Editions du jour, 1974 Pp. 109, 164, 278)

B.G. Sack records that "At the Battle of St. Charles, which took place on November 25th, 1837, Captain Eleazar David, in command of the Cavalry, had his horse shot from under him but himself escaped injury. He so distinguished himself that Sir John Colborne promoted him to the rank of Major a few days later."

Paquin notes the presence of Col. David among the officers at this time,

"The settlers at St. Martin, with Notary Filiatrault, Capt. Bélanger, Parizeau, Leblanc, etc.; as well as Col. David of Chambly at their head, also offered their services as volunteers." (cited by Maximilien Globensky, La Rébellion de 1837 à Saint-Eustache. Montreal, Editions du jour. Pp. 164, 278)

On Sept. 6, 1837, he again signed the petition for the second meeting of the registered Jewish residents of Montreal in accordance with the law. He acted as secretary of the meeting, Oct. 10, 1837.

When the synagogue was being built in 1835 he contributed \$100 to the congregation.

E.D. David and A.P. Hart were named to draw up a petition to the governor asking him to name Isaac Valentine as minister of the community, in accordance with the law.

Shortly after the crisis of 1837-38, in which every Lower Canada Jew seems to have been engaged -- Major David not the least among the distinguished -- he enters the record of conquest in another field.

The McCord Museum conserve letters from Edward Hale to his wife. On May 10, 1840 he wrote her,

"There is a sad piece of scandal in Montreal. Mrs. Capt. Harris of the 24th, the daughter of Paymaster Walker of the 15th, eloped with Major David, the Jew, of the Montreal Volunteers, and whom Fred and Bella knew at Sherbrooke, on Thursday night last. It would appear that she had not been remarkable for attachment to her husband for a long time past, and is the mother of three children, the youngest of whom she took with her. Capt. Harris and her brother, young Walker of the 15th, followed them and as they were traced and were too early for the railroad and had only a few hours start, it is probable they will be overtaken and the Major's head well broken. He is the identical saucy fellow who leant upon the wagon to speak to Bella while Anne and I were also in it, and over whose toes I ran the wheels to pay him for his pains."

Two days later he wrote,

"Nothing has been heard yet of the guilty refugees, except that Capt. Harris and Mr. Walker are waiting at Whitehall either to hear of or meet with them. Poor Capt. Harris was warned only a short time before that something of the sort seemed probable, but he had unbounded confidence in his wife, and gave the warning no thought. A rumour is current that Mr. David has been shot dead, but it is not credited. Another is that if he is overtaken, the pursuers are resolved upon cutting off his ears and then letting him go."

The story reached the New York press. There the Commercial Advertiser reported,

"On Thursday night the lady of Captain Harris of the 24th Regt. stationed in Montreal, eloped with a Mr. E.D. David, advocate, but lately a Major in the volunteer cavalry. Mrs. H. has three children, the youngest only a few months old. The latter she took with her. As it was supposed that the guilty pair would proceed to the 'land of liberty', Capt. Harris and Mrs. Harris' brother (Capt. Walker of the 15th Regt.) proceeded in that direction in pursuit. There was a report that they had overtaken the runaways a short distance over the line, and that David had been shot, but this report requires confirmation."

The news was reprinted in the Gazette of May 19, 1840.

David married Eliza Locke Harris. Their first child was born by this time in 1840, and ten more children were born to the happy couple during the following twenty years. None of these married within the Jewish community.

In 1851-52 E.D. David was a trustee of the Mount Royal Cemetery Co. representing the Jewish denomination among the Protestant groups during that year. No other Jewish trustees had been named. (Mount Royal Cemetery Company, Montreal. Annual Report for 1960)

A mysterious resolution of the congregation was passed on Dec. 10, 1854 to the effect that "the present trustees do not acknowledge any insult that may have been offered to M.E. David by any former body of trustees."

There are 1858 records of Col. David being active in the congregation and attending two meetings that year and three in 1861, especially in regard to the mortgage held by David and Edward Moss, (Minutes, Nov. 3 and Dec. 8, 1861) and he acted together with M.J. Hays in securing the David family interests in the cemetery in 1869.

Eleazar D. David described himself as advocate and registrar and treasurer at Trinity House. His office was in the Harbour Commissioner's Building on Custom House Sq. and his residence at 2 Beaver Hall Sq. (1861) and later at 39 Victoria (1871). He told the census takers in 1861 and 1871 that his wife and children were communicants of the Church of England. There were three servants in his home. (C. Coles. Montreal Jewish Community)

Elinor Senior, in an as yet unpublished biography of E.D. David prepared for the Dictionary of Canadian Biography, notes that towards the end of his life, which came in 1887, he ran afoul of the law and spent two years in prison.

The second son of Samuel David, Dr. Aaron Hart David, became one of the prominent Jewish citizens of his century and the first Jew in Canada to enter upon the practice of medicine -- if we can put aside Dr. John Hart who practiced in Lower Canada at a time when the profession was not yet formally structured. A.H. David was born in Montreal on Oct. 9, 1812.

Borthwick recalls an incident from David's school days "at Round Hill School, Northampton, Mass., under the charge of the Historian, the Hon. Mr. Bancroft. While there had the honor of being presented by Mr. Bancroft to the late General Lafayette as a Canadian, and speaking French; who shook hands with him, when he visited that celebrated school." (Montreal, History and Gazetteer, 1892. P. 480, and E.-Z. Massicotte in Recherches historiques, Levis, 1922, P. 313)

Sack notes Dr. Phillip Hart graduated from McGill the year that David graduated at Edinburgh (P. 131). But it is not clear who this Hart -- like Dr. John Hart, also not from the Canadian family tree -- was.

Dr. Harry C. Ballon tells the full story of "Aaron Hart David, M.D., 1812-1882" in the Canadian Medical Association Journal, vol. 86, no. 3, Jan. 20, 1962, Pp. 115-22. The obituary in the Canadian Medical Record of Nov. 1882 is also informative.

Dr. Ballon records that at the age of 17 David was indentured to Dr. William Caldwell, one of the four founders of the McGill Medical School. He enrolled at Edinburgh in 1833 and graduated two years later. The thesis he submitted to the James VI College there was a cleverly written work on "The Medico-Legal Proofs of Infanticide."

In 1835 Dr. David married Catherine, the first-born daughter of Henry Joseph. He thus became allied to another Canadian Jewish founding family and later to the Rev. Abraham de Sola -- who both influenced him profoundly to concern himself very seriously with religious matters. His wife's sister had married the distinguished minister. The David-Joseph wedding took place on Oct. 12, 1836.

Dr. A.H. David held 12 of the 80 shares of the Montreal Water Works in 1834 when Moses Judah Hays acquired the company.

When the congregation was putting up its synagogue on Chenneville St. Dr. David contributed \$100 toward the building fund.

Dr. David purchased seats in the new synagogue for its historic services in 1838, as did S. David.

Dr. David was one of the petitioners in Sept. 1837 for a meeting of the Jewish residents for the election of the second slate of trustees of the congregation, in accord with the law. (Canadian Jewish Archives, original series, no. 6, May 1962, P.10) He was elected trustee at the meeting of Oct. 10, 1837. At that meeting he and Isaac Valentine were named to draw the rules and regulations for the congregation and Beth Haim.

The following year he was authorized to complete arrangements with Mr. Bernstein as Shochet until May 1. (Minutes, Sept. 17, 1838)

He resigned as trustee before June 1840, probably on his removal to Trois-Rivières, and a petition was circulated that month for a meeting to elect a replacement.

He was elected trustee on Jan. 5, 1843.

This enlarged family situation is reflected in Abraham Joseph's diary entries. On July 18, 1837 Joseph sent two salmon from Quebec "to Dr. David in Montreal and one to mother per Toronto," a vessel owned by the Harts and Josephs as were the Benjamin Hart and the Hart which plied regularly between Montreal, Quebec and English ports. (Annette R. Wolff before Canadian Jewish Historical Society, June 1965)

On July 29 Joseph again "sent up a smoked salmon to be divided between mother and Davids, together with seven ordered by Theodore Hart."

On Aug. 12, "I wrote to Dr. David congratulating him on his becoming a father."



For whatever reasons he found it difficult to establish a practice in Montreal and, in 1840, after serving as assistant surgeon to Col. de Bleury's Montreal Rifles Regiment at St. Eustache and elsewhere during the 1838 rebellion, he moved to Trois-Rivières. There are important considerations underlying this decision upon which his diary sheds some light. Sack quotes from this document:

"I and sisters have left the place of our nativity and have come down to Three Rivers to live. My reasons for doing so are very numerous. I was living far beyond my means in Montreal and without any prospects of my practice increasing sufficiently to enable me to meet the required expenses of an increasing family; the reason for which I attribute to religion. People have such an aversion to a Jew. There is a capital opening here and people have not the same aversion to our religion as in Montreal, and it is a reasonable place for living in, home rent low, wood cheap and everything in the same ratio. After living so long together as we all had, to think we were breaking up our establishment and separating was dreadful. However things had turned out, I do not regret in the slightest degree the steps I have taken. Eleazer has gone off, never in all likelihood will he come to this part of the world again. We have now been nearly a month and a half here. All well and all pleased. I chartered the Hart steamer when we came down and nothing was broken. I lost a small toy which was stolen after we landed. I brought Gershom Joseph down to assist me. Our friends in Montreal were very kind. Not one of them but my old friend Tom Judah asked us to their houses. Never mind, to some of them I will have it in my power to return this great cruelty..." (P.132)

This is the first reference to anything resembling anti-Jewish feeling in the first century. Without entering into whether it was indeed aversion to Jews that created Dr. David's condition, we note that he sought escape from anglophone Montreal to francophone Trois-Rivières. Dr. David was probably referring more particularly to a mood existing more generally in professional circles.

While he was living there Abraham Joseph joined him at Trois-Rivières for holy day services.

Apparently four years in la Mauricie prepared him for a return to the metropolis where, in the course of time, he became successful.

From this date of 1845 we have a flow of scientific articles on various medical phenomena.

Thus he was on the first board of governors of the College of Doctors and Surgeons incorporated in 1847. (Le Devoir, Sept. 10, 1947)

Dr. Aaron Hart David had been named secretary of the Central Board of Health. He addressed a circular to the local boards and the community at large on Aug. 7, 1847 during the frightful typhus epidemic which wrought severe havoc in the city.

"Sensible to its heavy responsibilities, and under an apprehension that neither the Local Authorities, nor the community at large, have been sufficiently aroused by the presence of the disease, to the vital importance of prompt and rigorous action, is constrained to the inquiry -- have the Local Boards been faithful to their trusts? Has each individual in the community duly considered the extent of his obligations, personal and relative? In a word, has each member of society done his part, to mitigate the ravages of the fearful pestilence?

"On the 14th of June last, this Board put forth a series of aggressive sanitary directions which were followed from time to time by others of a more stringent character; but notwithstanding all this do our cities, towns and villages where the pestilence now stalks in broad daylight furnish any very satisfactory evidence that due regard had been paid to those directions?

"Since the appearance of the deadly malady amongst us have Health Officers and Citizens cordially cooperated in carrying out its directions? Or assuming anything objectionable in them, and that, therefore, they have been disregarded, have the Local Boards and the People combined their energies and done anything towards preserving the Public Health, or made any suggestions to the Central Board for their adoption? And where the Citizen has hesitated to conform to the regulations of the Board have the Health Officers done their part? Have they really seen that dwellings, outhouses, yards, have been cleaned and that lime has not only been freely and repeatedly used, but also that a liberal supply has been placed at stated places for the benefit of persons in indigent circumstances -- that tanneries and slaughter-houses have not proved offensive -- that the very many small stagnant pools or puddles, where green fetid matter has formed itself, and which in too many instances in ordinary times, if not also in extraordinary times have been permitted to fester and en-poison the atmosphere, have been tilled up; or that even lime has been temporarily scattered over them -- and when vacant lots which have been excavated and become ponds or miniature lakes or bogs or green slime, have attracted the attention of the Health Officers, have

immediate steps been taken to require the proper authorities to construct main drains and thus render it practical to compel the owner of said lots to drain them off; or has the paltry consideration of fifty or one hundred pounds required to be expended by City Authorities, to preserve the lives and protect the commercial and general interests of its citizens, deterred those Local Boards, which are in some instances composed principally of the Members of the Municipal Council, from enforcing measures so essential to ensure the Public Health?

"All this the Central Board would fain hope had been done, but it apprehends that in some of the Principal Cities of the Province, where the epidemic now prevails, a cursory examination would convince the most impartial observer of the contrary. It is beyond all doubt difficult of explanation, that with the fell destroyer at our doors, and the means at our command of almost defying his entrance, by a proper regard to Sanitary Laws, so little individual and collective energy should be excited. Yet we become seized with panic, alarmed at the bare intimation, that Asiatic Cholera has reached us, and seem rather desirous to foster the prevalence of the foul monster, than to starve him out, or render his continuance amongst us next to impossible by an earnest attention to the laws which experience tells us would prove effectual.

"It is to arouse the community from the apathy, inconsistency, and suicidal conduct, a respect of which, whether the Health Boards, the community at large, or particular individual members of that community, the Central Board pretends not to determine, that its appeal is made." (The Pilot, Aug. 14, 1849; also July 31 and Aug. 7, 1849)

Together with R.L. MacDonnell, in 1852, Dr. David edited the Canada Medical Journal and Monthly Record of Medical and Surgical Science which ran for one year. A single volume of 767 pages appeared before publication was discontinued "for want of support". In 1865 G.E. Fenwick and F.W. Campbell started a new journal, and, with A.H. David's permission, gave it the same name, to cite Dr. Harry C. Ballou.

Dr. A.B. Illievitz narrates that in 1852 Dr. MacDonnell resigned his professorship of clinical surgery at McGill to accept an appointment in Toronto. But, this not proving satisfactory, he decided to return to Montreal. However, his chair being no longer vacant, he joined a group of young physicians to found the St. Lawrence Medical School; Dr. David became professor of medicine. ("Jews and their Relation to the Profession of Medicine in Canada" M.S.)

De Sola contributed "Observations on the Sanatory Institutions of the Jews as Bearing upon Modern Sanatory Regulations" to the Canadian Medical Journal, Montreal, 1852-53 (Pp. 135, 203, 325, 464, 529, 589, 654, 728). This work was inspired by a sermon his father delivered in London on November 15, 1849, "being the day appointed by Her Majesty as a general thanksgiving for the removal of the cholera." In this discourse he discussed the exemption of the Jews from this scourge, and the reasons ascribed by the rabbinical authorities for this remarkable fact.

The articles were reprinted from the Canadian journal in the Asmonean of Sept. 10, 17 and 24, 1852.

Dr. David helped edit the Transactions of the Canadian Medical Association (1877) of which he was secretary. This was one of many medical memberships and honours which ornament his career.

For several years, from 1849, he served on the staff of the Montreal General Hospital; he was then appointed clinical lecturer at the St. Lawrence School of Medicine. He had helped found this school as well as Bishop's Medical College twenty years later. Dr. David became dean at this Bishop's Institution and retained this post to the end of his life. The school affiliated with McGill a quarter of a century later. Indeed his professional biography is a reflection of the phases of medicine developed during half a century in Quebec.

Dr. David continued his constant interest in the Montreal congregation with a consistency unmatched by any citizens of the community. He scarcely absented himself from a meeting for decades, and there were many; most of them tedious.

He was chosen president on July 15, 1846 and was re-elected in Sept. 1847. The last of the six meetings of 1846, on Dec. 11, was convened in his home.

On Feb. 12, 1847 he formally witnessed all the reconstructed

"Entries in the register of births, marriages and deaths which the Rev. Piza had omitted to leave behind during the hurry of his departure, and delay in returning the register."

There were eight more meetings in 1847 and eight in 1848. In Sept. 1848 Dr. David was elected Parnass and a year later Trustee. Four meetings in 1849 and four in 1850; six in 1851.

On Oct. 5, 1851 he became secretary; in this capacity he was virtual manager of the synagogue for very many years. In this position he was virtually the only member of any of the old families, except for Jesse Joseph whose prestige and presence were supportive, as was the prestige of J.H. Joseph. But the entire leadership was in the hands of a group which, in fact, by 1860 left to create the congregation of German and Polish Jews, Shaar Hashomayim. During those years there was not the slightest friction between this overwhelming majority and the faithful secretary, Dr. David.

Dr. David attended seven meetings in 1852, five in 1853, seven in 1854.

In the spring of 1854 a situation arose in which Dr. David found himself in violation of one of the synagogue's regulations.

He had gone to Quebec to name a child whose parents were not subscribers to the Montreal congregation. The matter was brought before the trustees on Apr. 4. The following day he explained to these trustees that he had been unaware that the regulation had applied to him. Presumably he had understood that it was directed to the persons employed by the congregation, whereas he had acted in his personal professional capacity.

That year he participated in the removal of the ancient cemetery, and in the setting up of a Jewish school. (Apr. 23, 1854)

He presided over the Montreal festivities which followed the election of David Solomons as Lord Mayor of London in 1855.

In 1855 Dr. David attended twelve meetings, which won him reelection as president on Sept. 2. Nine meetings were convened in 1856 and two in 1857.

Dr. David was host to the meeting of Aug. 15, 1858, one of ten that year. He was elected secretary on Nov. 20, 1858.

As an officer of the congregation he remitted £50 to Sir Moses Montefiore in 1859 in aid of the distressed Jews in Morocco.

On behalf of the Shearith Israel synagogue he rejected the fraternal invitation of the emerging Shaar Hashomayim Congregation in the summer of 1859 to the cornerstone ceremony for their house of worship. (July 8, 1859) There were eight meetings that year, one in 1860, fourteen in 1861; eight in 1862.

In Oct. 1860 Dr. David was appointed "Mohel to the Congregation, for the city only, and that both he and his wife be given their seats free."

The record continues, six meetings in 1863; one in 1864, seven in 1865, etc.

The organizational minutes are significant because they document the definition of minute-by-minute Judaism of the two centuries, the concrete substance of Jewish life, the cultural reality of Jewish participation, membership, communion, loyalty. It is an epic of social achievement in religious, national and social form. The medium of Jewish organization is the message of Judaism ever since it discovered democracy and personal involvement. The consequences of the unique framework have been immense.

David Ansell recalled that Dr. David participated in the founding of the Young Men's Hebrew Benevolent Association in 1863.

Dr. David acted with M.J. Hays in 1869 in protecting the David family interests in the Montreal Jewish cemetery.

He continued his association with the military, attached to Sixth Fusiliers, and served with them during the Fenian Raids.

In 1861 Dr. Hart was living at 146 Craig St. with his family. Of his seven children, two, Tucker age 17 and Ian age 24, were listed as clerks in the census of that year. There were three servants in the house. (Charles Cole, The Montreal Jewish Community in 1861 and 1871: Its size, Occupational and Ethnic Composition, Relative to Comparable Jewish Communities in the United States. Thesis in Geography, McGill University)

By 1871 he was residing at 42 Beaver Hall Terrace.

He passed away in 1882 at his home at 42 Beaver Hall Terrace. His wife had died six years earlier.

Dr. David's son Samuel (1837-83) attended the meeting of the congregation convened under the new dispensation of its charter granted in 1846 by the now constituted establishment of the United Province of Canada. The gathering of July 15, 1846 was convened by notice affixed to the principal door of the synagogue as well as per personal letters. We find him subsequently at the meetings of Sept. 9, 1860 and Sept. 14, 1862.

In 1867 he married Claudine Joseph of New York.

Dr. David's son Tucker (1843-91) attended congregation meetings on Sept. 14 and Oct. 26, 1862 and on Sept. 6, 1863.

He married Miriam Phillips of New York.

Another son, Robert Sullivan, (b. 1847) attended congregation meetings on Sept. 6, 1863, Sept. 18, 1864 and Sept. 10, 1865, when he was elected a member.

He married Frances J. Little.

His military activities are on the record.

The third son of Lazarus David, Moses David (1768-1814) made his Canadian mark in an outpost which was an important colony of the colony for many years. He was one of the several Montreal Jews who saw the Lower Canada promise of Detroit, Sandwich, Michilimackinac and Windsor. It is an area of Jewish history quite unexplored. A. Brodey seems to be one of few aware of its significance.

Prof. Alvard of the University of Illinois approached the subject some seventy-five years ago. In response to an inquiry from Brodey in 1933, historian M.M. Quaife, editor of the Burton Historical Collection at Detroit, wrote, "the presence of Jews at Detroit presents too large an order for me to undertake. There were a good many Jews engaged in the Indian trade at different times and I do not, of course, pretend to be informed, except now and then, concerning them." (Letter, Aug. 9, 1933)

Quaife told the story of Moses David in his Askin volume,

"We have a considerable number of letters from and to David. On March 16, 1808, David writes from Sandwich to James Henry, Detroit merchant, asking for some tobacco, his own supply being exhausted; also asking when Henry is coming over to pot luck. On January 30, 1809, he writes regarding the settlement of his account with James May. On June 23, 1812, he duns James Henry. On July 3, 1814, he writes again.

"August 25, 1804, Francis Badgley writes to David about collecting some of his accounts and bringing the money to Montreal when he comes there as he is expected soon to do. March 12, 1805, James May writes about accounts and also inquires about David's health following his night trip across the river after the frolic at Henry's."

David's vision of this region was so intense that, alone of the Jewish Upper Country entrepreneurs, he settled there; his bones rest in Sandwich, outside Windsor, in a twenty-five square foot lot he had set aside in the back of his residence. Scores of his archival records, elements of Michigan history, have been issued by Irving I. Katz in Michigan History. ("Moses David of Windsor and his Family," in vol. 47, no. 2, June 1963, Pp. 156-60)

Moses David was intensely loyal to his crown. When the British left Detroit in 1796 he moved to the Canadian side of the river and resided in Sandwich during the rest of his life.

Louis Rosenberg refers to his services as lieutenant during the War of 1812. His signature appears on a petition of Upper Canadians to the governor in chief for a regular force to be stationed to secure the area against the Americans.

We have noted that he was the first Jew to encounter anti-Jewish discrimination. (Pp. 145-46)

The Sulpician seminary in Montreal conserves the transfer of an obligation from his widow, Mrs. Charlotte David, the daughter of Aaron Hart, to the seminary. (Carton 135, Dossier 9)

When the Montreal congregation was erecting its synagogue on Chenneville St. in 1835, Charlotte David contributed \$100 to the building fund.

She passed away on Jan. 5, 1844. (Canadian Jewish Archives, new series, no. 15, P. 103)

Their son, Moses Eleazar David lived in Montreal and was admitted to the bar in 1845. (Lefebvre, P. 287) The following year he married Rosena Florance of New Orleans. (The family name had been Levy and was changed to Florance. One of their children was given the first name of Florance. This young man was on very friendly terms with the de Solas and the members of the Hart family, including Emile A. Hart and his brother Gerald Ephraim Hart.)

Moses E. David, Esq., contributed \$100 towards the building of the Chenneville St. synagogue in 1835. The list of contributors also lists Mr. Moses E. David (not Esq.) as assisting the project with \$20. Is this a further contribution or another, a minor David, not yet Esq?

The name of Moses Eleazar David appears on the list of 1838 seatholders in the synagogue.

M.E. David was named to the committee of the congregation to consider a plan to endow a chair at the University of McGill College. (Minutes, Dec. 21, 1856)

He was chosen trustee of the Congregation on Sept. 6, 1857 and attended six meetings in 1858. But on Aug. 15 he announced he was leaving Montreal. Nevertheless, he was reelected trustee a fortnight later.

The 1861 census was informed that M.E. David, advocate, was residing with his London-born daughter Florence, age 12, and two servants at 138 Sherbrooke St. (also in 1871) His office was at 48 Little St. James St. (also in 1871). (Cole. The Montreal Jewish Community)

Moses Samuel David (1816-54), another son of Samuel David, was witness to the marriage of Levi Bibo to Adelaide Mendels, daughter of Emanuel Mendels, shamas of the congregation, on June 5, 1844. David Piza was the minister who officiated. M.S. David was admitted to the bar in Nov. 1837. (Lefebvre, P.287) He passed away in Feb. 1859.

M. Samuel David, advocate, was one of the petitioners in Nov. 1842, for a meeting of Jewish residents of Montreal to elect new trustees for the congregation. (Canadian Jewish Archives, original series, May 1962, P. 24)

He married Gertrude Virginia Joseph in New York on Nov. 4, 1846.

He is on record as of Montreal when his son Augustus was born on Dec. 14, 1847, but is described as of St. John's, Canada East, two years later, on Feb. 7, 1850 when the child died.

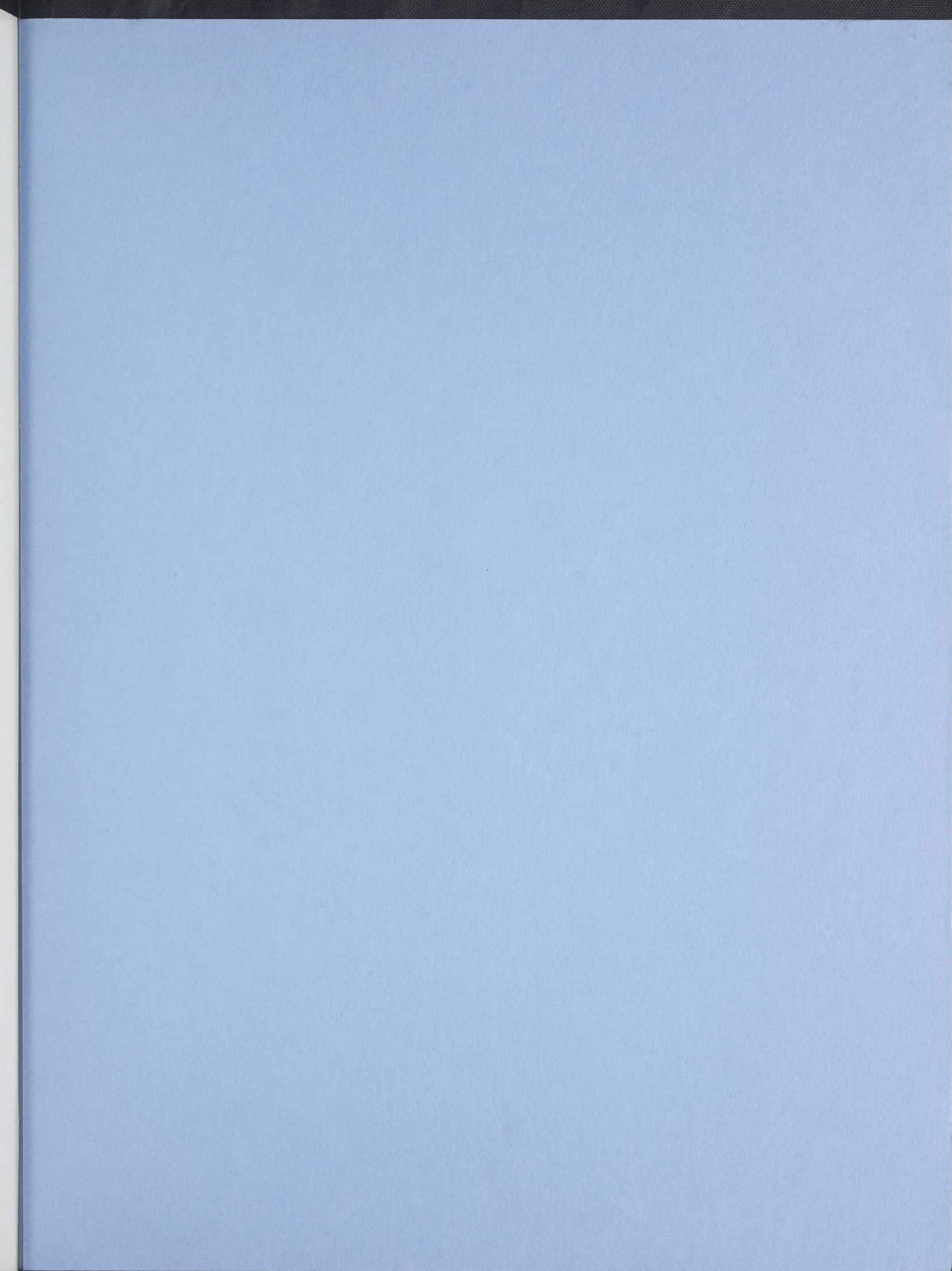
When he was named clerk of the circuit court of St. John's in July 1846, the Occident in Philadelphia took it as evidence of the absence of illiberality and bigotry. (Sept. 1849; Sack. P. 147)

He was elected trustee on Jan. 5, 1843 and president on Nov. 4, 1847. We find him attending at least nine meetings before he became trustee in 1850.

The burial record of his young son, Augustus, who died at the age of two on February 7, 1850 notes that the bereaved father was a resident of St. John's, Canada East.







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