

971.004924
C35
v.19-23
1981
v.23

CANADIAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

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 TWENTY-THREE

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

ON THE EARLY HARTS - THEIR CONTEMPORARIES PART 5

Compiled by
DAVID ROME

NATIONAL ARCHIVES
CANADIAN JEWISH CONGRESS

MONTREAL CANADA
1982

ISSN 0576-5528



Bibliothèque Nationale du Québec

CANADIAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

FOUNDED BY DR. HAYEL, M.D., D.C., LL.D., F.R.S.C.
FIRST EDITOR LOUIS ROSENBERG, F.R.S.C., F.R.C.

Read about ourselves

NEW SERIES
NUMBER TWENTY-THREE

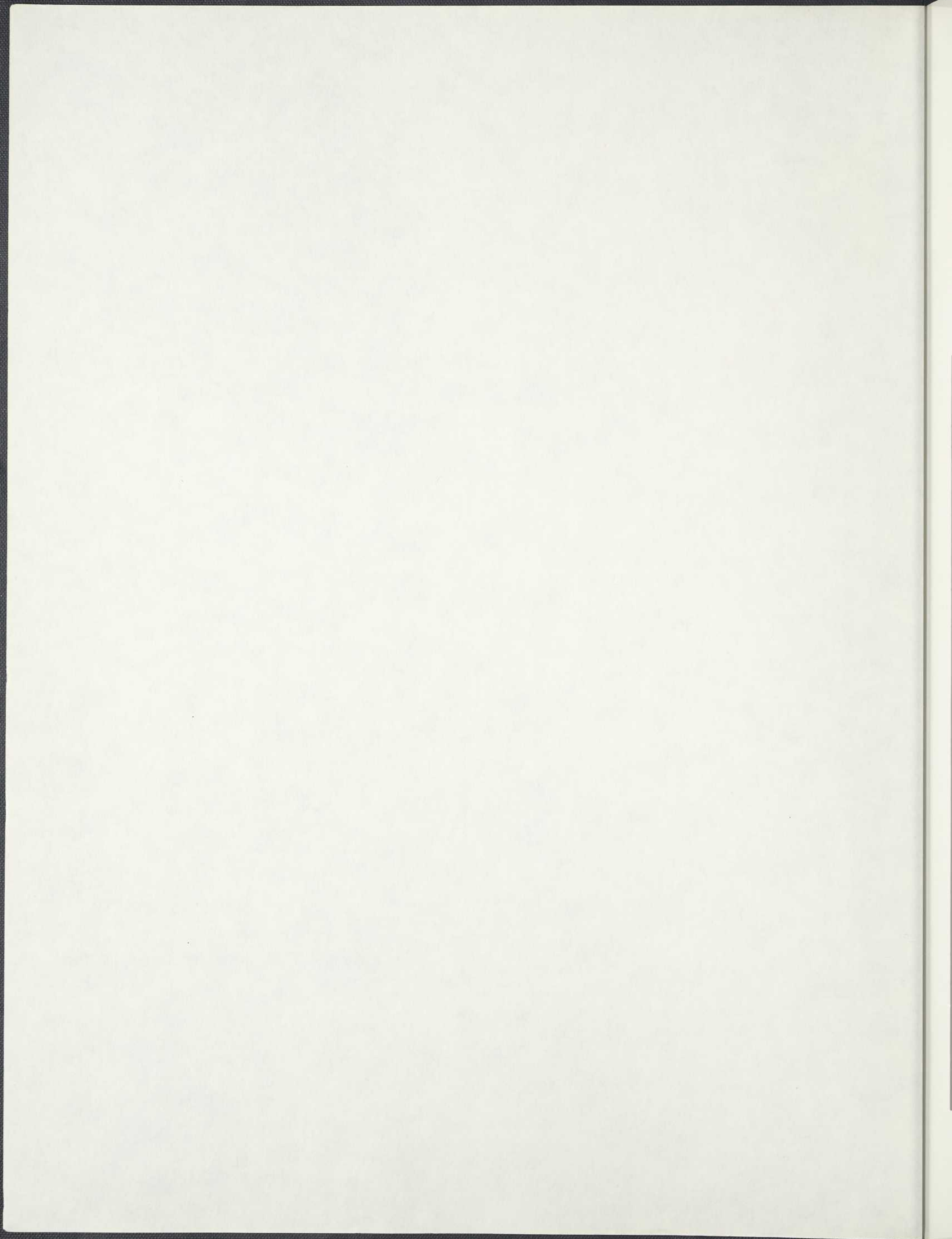
Forget about death to Holocaust
Remembering it the right way
(Read from page 10)

ON THE EARLY HARTS - THEIR CONTEMPORARIES PART 2

Compiled by
DAVID HENK

NATIONAL ARCHIVES
CANADIAN JEWISH CONGRESS

MONTREAL CANADA
1988



CANADIAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

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 TWENTY-THREE

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

ON THE EARLY HARTS - THEIR CONTEMPORARIES PART 5

Compiled by
DAVID ROME

NATIONAL ARCHIVES
CANADIAN JEWISH CONGRESS

MONTREAL CANADA
1982

ISSN 0576-5528

CANADIAN JEWISH ARCHIVES



FOUNDED BY RABBI HAYIM COHEN, D.D., LL.D., F.R.S.E.
FIRST EDITION FOUR HUNDRED AND FIFTY-THREE

THE CANADIAN JEWISH ARCHIVES, 1000 UNIVERSITY AVENUE, TORONTO, ONTARIO, CANADA

For information on the scope
of the collection, or for a list of
donors, please contact the
archives at (416) 593-1111.

NEW SERIES
NUMBER TWENTY-THREE

ON THE EARLY HARTS THEIR CONTEMPORARIES PART 2

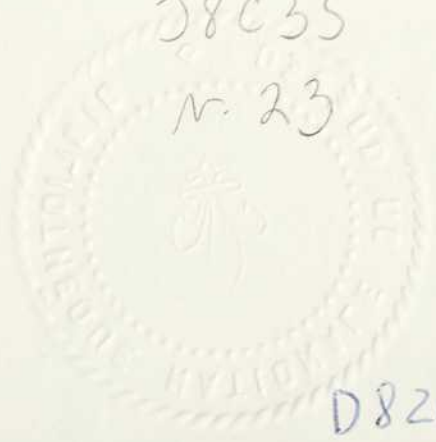
Compiled by
DAVID HART

FC

106

J8C35

N. 23



MONTREAL CANADA
1982

D8200065

CONTENTS

Eleazar Levy	Page 1
...and Aaron Hart	Page 2
Wilson Case	3
Opposing the Governor	7
Land Sales	11
End in New York	14
Other Levi'im	16
Maritimes	17
Cemetery	18
Fergusson	19
Rosenberg	20
Mauger	22
Nathan & Hart	23
In Fiction	25
South of Halifax	28
Israel Abrahams	29
Isaac Levy	32
John Franks	33
Jacob Calnek	34
Other Maritimers	36
The Michaels	37
Myer Michaels	37
Levy Michaels	38
Hyam Myers	41
Military Intelligence	44
Solomon Myers	46
Heineman Pines	47
Lyon Jonas	49

Jacob de Maurera	50
Joseph Bindon	51
Jacob Kuhn	54
Les Frappier	55
Schlemiels	56
The Community Begins	58A
Unclear Beginning	59
Another Beginning	61
Complex Meaning of Sephard.	62
Sepharad	63
Sephardim in Montreal?	66
Organizing	71
Physically	74
A Precious Gift	78
Remarkable By-Laws	80
A Minister	85
Drunkard?	86
Cantors	86A
Disintegration	88
Young Benjamin Hart	89
The Brothers	90
Schooling	91
Entering Business	94
Orphaned	95
Benjamin and Alexander	100
Marriage	105
Articles of Agreement	109
Family Life	110
Military	113
In Business	117
The Congregation Reawakens	119
The Tradition Hart Remembered	121

ELEAZAR LEVY

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.

Vaugois notes that there are important documents relating to Eleazar Levy in the Hart Papers, the Phillips Collection and in the Miscellaneous Papers among the Additional Documents of the British Museum.

The Ottawa archives contain numerous references to Levy's business transactions in Lower Canada in the 1760's. (PAC, MG 23, I, 13, vol. 2, Pp. 185-86, 220-27, 237-38, 265-68, 278-79, 280-90, 295-300, 304-8)

A 1760 account of spirits stored in cellars of Quebec City merchants on which duties had been paid includes the property of "Finlay and Eleazar Levy". (PAC, RG 1, E 15A, vol. 9)

The Hart Papers hold his signature on a receipt for £6 from Aaron Hart, on behalf of Hugh Finlay, dated Aug. 12, 1761. (J-A-1)

A 1761 note of hand reflects the close commercial relations of the several Jews in early Quebec. It involves Eleazar Levy of that city, Benjamin Lyon of Albany, N.Y., Samuel Jacobs and Gershon Levy of Montreal. (PAC, microfilm reel C-1339, P. 1695)

Vaugois notes a statement of accounts between Eleazar Levy, Aaron Hart and Samuel Jacobs dated at Quebec on March 28, 1761, telling of merchandise shipped to Jacobs since Jan. 1, 1760, including 3 dozen packs playing cards, coffee, beverages, cloth, etc. Levy acted for Jacobs in the affairs of the distillery. (Vaugois, D., Les Juifs et la Nouvelle France. Trois-Rivières, Editions Boreal express, 1968, P. 126)

Levy and Hart, lifelong friends, supplied each other with their requirements, helping each other fill orders from their customers and often arranging deals in partnership to lessen risks of losses.

In Nov. 1761, he sent 300 pairs of mittens to Aaron Hart in Three Rivers on the order of Samuel Jacobs (noted by J.R. Marcus, Early American Jewry. Philadelphia, Jewish Publication Society, 1951, p. 211.)

It was his constant initiative that led Levy, together with several other merchants, in 1761, to refuse to pay duties on rum and liquor. (CO 42, vol. 5, Pp. 237, 260)

There is a record of a shipment of 52 kegs of brandy and 3 packs of peltries for Eleazar Levy, now residing in Montreal, on Oct. 17, 1763. (MG 19, A 2, Series 3, vol. 77)

Levy needed recourse to the military court to win possession of a slave he had purchased from Joseph Lorrain. He was contested by a Mr. Folson who claimed he have acquired her from a ship's surgeon. The court supported Levy. (Marcel Trudel. L'Esclavage au Canada français. Quebec, Presses universitaires Laval, 1960. P. 123, citing the Registre de la cour militaire, IV, 118)

In 1763 (or 1764) he was among the signers of a request for an assembly for the colony. (Sack, B.G. History of the Jews in Canada. Montreal, Harvest House, 1965, Pp. 43, 57; PAC, series B, vol. 8, p. 6)

The Wilson Case

A very serious turn in the life of Levy took place that year, in part because of the high repute in which the business community held him.

He was named the agent for the trustees of T. Wilson, a bankrupt merchant. As an honourable businessman he was appointed by the trustees of a bankrupt to handle the estate and make proper payments to the creditors as the assets were liquidated.

Lieut. D. Robertson, demanded treatment as a preferred creditor, and, despite the fact that he had no right to make this demand, he appealed to General Ralph Burton, the governor of Montreal, to help him. The city being under martial law, the military were not only willing but able to do so.

They issued an order for payment, even though Levy did not as yet have any funds of the bankrupt in his possession. They then entered Levy's store, seized his wares, and sold a part of them. The remainder, stored in the military provost marshal's office, was later destroyed by fire.

Levy appealed to the civil courts for justice, eventually taking his case to the Privy Council in London, the highest court of appeals for colonial cases. For ten years he was entangled in litigation. (J.R. Marcus. American Jewry, Documents, Eighteenth Century. Pp. 227-32; PAC, Microfilm reel B-32, CO. 42, vol. 33, P.67)

As Levy told it himself, in his petition to the Earl of Dartmouth, Secretary of State for the Plantations, in 1774, "Your petitioner did, in May 1760, go from New York to Quebec, carried with him a large quantity of various goods and merchandizing, did there establish himself, and followed merchandizing.

"In 1763, your petitioner established a store or warehouse in the city of Montreal, in the Province of Quebec, wherein he had for sale divers goods and merchandize to a very considerable amount.

"That on or about the 20th of January, 1764, the late General Ralph Burton, Esquire, since deceased, was military governor of Montreal. The said General, by a most arbit(ra)ry act of power, did cause, by warrant under his hand, the good, wares and merchandize

belonging to your petitioner to be seized, taken, and carried away from his store, to the amount of £ 700 and upwards, and no part thereof has ever been restored your petitioner.

"That in October, 1764, civil government was established in the province of Quebec and proper courts of judicature were erected. Your petitioner brought a joint action against General Burton and the officers that seized the goods under his authority and warrant of seizure.

"The defendants pleaded their several justifications and authority and, issue being joined by plaintiff and defendants, the cause was tried in the Supreme Court of judicature of the province, at the city of Quebec, the 24th day of August, 1765, before the Honourable William Gregory, Esq., Chief Justice of the Province of Quebec, and a special jury, when counsel was heard for both parties and several witnesses examined. A verdict was given in favour of your petitioner for £ 500 sterling, damages and costs, which costs were afterwards taxed by the court at £ 26 17s. Sd., and judgment signed for £ 526 17s. Sd. sterling.

"The defendants, in order to avoid payment and to vex and deprive your petitioner of the benefit of his judgment, appealed from the verdict and judgment of the Supreme Court to the Governor and Council of Quebec, and proceeded therein till the same was ready for a hearing. They then dropped their appeal, it being ordered by the Governor and Council to be quashed, and brought a writ of error (a method to have a judgment reviewed on the basis of errors in the lower court) on the aforementioned judgment, also returnable before the Governor and Council of Quebec, as no precedent could be found of an appeal for the verdict of a jury in civil causes.

"Your petitioner, being put to great expence in defending said appeal, did by his council (counsel) move in the court of the Governor and Council, praying they would be pleased to order your petitioner (to) be paid his charges in defending the appeal, before defendants (General Burton and officers should) be admitted to proceed in their writ of error, which (was) not only being equitable, but usual in like cases. The Governor and Council refused to order said payment saying all cost would be paid on the determination of the suit.

"The cause in error came to a hearing at Quebec, the 18th of May, 1767, before Governor (Guy) Carleton and the Council of Quebec, when they reversed the verdict and judgment of the Supreme Court, and ordered the same should be null, void, and of no effect.

"Your petitioner, being advised there was not any material error in the record and proceedings of the Supreme Court to warrant setting aside the verdict and judgment; that if any error there were, it was only mere forms of law, omitted by your petitioner's attorney, and not in any matter affecting the merits of the cause, which ought to have been amended by the Court of Errors (the Governor and Council), more especially as the courts were newly erected, and the forms of their proceedings not as yet firmly established and fixed.

"Your petitioner, therefore, agreeable to His Majesty's instructions and order of the mode of proceeding established in the colonies, and thinking himself aggrieved by the judgment of the Court of Error, appealed from the said judgment of the Court of Errors to his Majesty and (Privy) Council, for which purpose your petitioner in few weeks after left Quebec and came to England and entered his appeal, which was attended with great expence and loss of his business.

"The appeal was heard (heard) at the Cockpit (the Privy Council room), Whitehall (London) the 31st of July, 1771, before a committee of lords of his Majesty's most Honourable Privy Council. When council (counsel) was heard for both parties, their lordships were pleased to reverse the judgment in error of the Governor and Council of Quebec, of the 18th of May, 1767, and confirmed the judgment of the Supreme Court of Quebec, of the 24th of August, 1765, in favor of your petitioner. Report thereof being made to his Majesty in Council, his Majesty was pleased to approve thereof and confirm the same, and the governor, lieutenant governor, or commander in chief of his Majesty's said Province of Quebec for the time being, were ordered to take notice thereof and govern themselves accordingly."

But this was only the beginning of the type of judicial proceedings that were food for Dickens a century later. Levy continued his petition.

"That though your petitioner is possessed of every judgment in his favor, yet is in a much worse situation than those against whom such judgment stand (s), he (being) dispossessed of his property and interest thereon due, which they have possessed and kept upwards of ten years. No part thereof has ever been restored him, and as, your petitioner has been informed, the greatest part of his goods, taken from him as aforesaid, has been destroyed by two fires at the military provost martial's (marshal's) house at Montreal, and what little yet remained in 1770 are by time, neglect, and the moth rendered of no value.

"Your petitioner is informed, and verily believes, that (the) government has paid the representatives of the late General Burton a considerable sum of money, to the amount of several hundred pounds, for the reimbursement of the law charges they expended in this long litigation.

"Your petitioner, from this circumstance, hopes and believes (the) government means to release (relieve) your petitioner on proper application made, which mode of application, your petitioner apprehends, is in Your Lordship's department. He therefore humbly present to Your Lordship this his petition and case." (Public Archives of Canada, Q.10; also MG 21, B.M. Add. MSS 35915, Pp. 139-54)

After eleven years of litigation, even after a verdict had been rendered in his favor by the Crown, after the expense of hiring competent counsel and of making two trips to London, he still had not been able to collect a single penny. All in all, his loss on this suit must have amounted to at least £1,500. It was a bitter and costly pill to swallow.

Opposing the Governor

A reference to Levy in the biography of Gov. James Murray places him in the framework of the colonial society of his time.

Writes G.P. Browne, "Murray had to wrangle with several undisciplined officers...as well as a pack of discontented traders who followed George Allsopp, William Grant, Edward Harrison, Eleazar Levy, James Johnston and the brothers Alexander and William MacKenzie." Gov. Murray was antagonistic to the English mercantile element which he saw as hostile to the interests of the French Canadian population and not helpful to his plans for integrating them into the empire's pluralistic society; hence his support of elements of French law in the colony and of local French Canadian squiredom.

The soldiery run amock on Dec. 6, 1764 was seen in the light of the governor's policy, and this was aggravated by an intense debate on where the accused would be tried and within the jurisdiction of which judge. The protests reached London authorities. Within the year the governor was invited to London. He never returned. (G.P. Browne. "James Murray", in Dictionary of Canadian Biography)

Levy was among the petitioners seeking the recall of Gen. Murray.

The name of Eleazar Levy headed the signatures on the address of welcome to Gov. Carleton in 1766 from the merchants and other inhabitants of the District of Quebec. (PAC, microfilm reel B-23; CO 42, col. 5, Pp. 290 et seq.)

Michael Hayman situates this petition in his review of the relations between the Jewish merchants in the colony and their Christian confreres.

"The Protestant community recognized the mercantile abilities of Canada's Jews. They could see that Samuel Jacob's potash and pearl ash plant in Quebec City was eminently successful. They were acutely aware of the lucrative fur trading ventures of Samuel Judah, Levy Solomons and Aaron Hart. The Protestant community welcomed Jewish participation in colonial politics and economics. Canada's Jewish population, although small in number, were deeply immersed in the course of events in the metropolis and in the country in general."

"The petition sent to London was signed by virtually all of the prominent Protestant merchants. But the Jews represented about ten per cent of the merchant class and Molson, McGill and Allsopp insisted that the Jewish community be represented on the petition. A fraternal union of merchants, Jew and Gentile, was obviously going to share a common burden. Thus, affixed to this first petition, was the signature of Eleazar Levy, the Jewish merchant from Montreal.

"It was perhaps fitting that Levy's name should appear on the petition. The Jewish merchant was himself embroiled in a bitter personal grievance with an intransigent administration, and his Protestant colleagues were showing their spirit of camaraderie by giving him their unqualified support...

"The incident reflected the antipathy which existed between the civil authorities and the merchant class. It served, as well, to indicate the solidarity among the merchants, a solidarity which transcended ethnic and religious differences. The Protestant merchants represented a mere one per cent of the total population of the colony, a hopeless disparity of numbers. Only if every merchant, regardless of religious affiliation, was willing to share in the trials and tribulations of his fellow merchants could they hope to demolish the destructive barriers they felt were being placed in their paths.

"The ensuing ten years were to bring further outbursts of protest from Protestant and Jewish merchants...

"Throughout the period prior to the outbreak of violence, the fledgling Jewish community continued to play an active role in the political, economic and social issues of the colony. And there seemed little doubt that Jews must join the new English-speaking coalition against the French. Indeed, British acceptance of the Jewish presence in Canada had permitted John Franks to become the first chief of the Quebec fire brigade, David David to be a director of the Bank of Montreal and a member of the Montreal Board of Trade, and Myer Michaels to serve as a juror in the same city. The English, too, would rally to the support of Ezekiel Hart during his abortive attempts to take his seat in the assembly as the duly elected representative of Three Rivers. The Jewish community would reciprocate by making significant contributions,

both in manpower and materiel, to the English cause during the tumultuous decade of the 1830's. Thus, by 1837, on the eve of Lord Durham's famous report, a report which ominously described Canada as 'two nations warring within the bosom of a single state', the Jews of Canada had linked their destinies with Quebec's English-speaking, Protestant community." ("Common Goals," in Jewish Standard, Jan. 15, 1977)

In 1764, he was trustee in the estate of Levy, Lyons & Co., merchants, insolvent. In this capacity he advertised in the Quebec Gazette of July 19, 1764 the sale on "public vendue" on Aug. 10, "of a large parcel of furs, consisting of beavers, raccoons, deer leather and other small furs" belonging to the late partnership of Levy & Lyons, insolvent.

Evidence of the losses of Lyon & Levy through the Indian wars is documented in the Canadian Archives (MG 28, E 6, vol. 1, folder XIV).

We know of Hayman Levy's transactions with Montreal merchant Laurenz Ermatinger in 1766 when he paid Levy a note in favor of Eleazar Levy.

The notices about the sailing of the Hope referred all interested persons to Eleazar Levy in Lower Town, Quebec. (Quebec Gazette, Sept. 5, 1765)

In the execution of his suit, the property of François L'Huilier Chevalier was sold on Aug. 29, 1765. (Gazette, Aug. 8, 1765)

As described in the legal notice, the house is an excellent example of urban bourgeois architecture:

"A good commodius house, situate in the streets of St. Paul and St. Gabriel, fronting St. Paul St. near the water side, of thirty-five feet long and forty-two feet broad, two stories high, and four large rooms on a floor. The ceiling of the second storey plastered, and two good garrets one above another, one of which may be made into good rooms. There is a well in said house from top to bottom and very good cellar; also a salt-store adjoining, built of stone, and will contain 1200 bushels; a stable of twenty feet long, and a shed fifteen feet long, and a large coach door to the yard. The whole built last year and as good as new, and stands upon a lot of land of forty-two feet in front, and seventy-eight feet deep."

Next year he testified in the press that merchant Philip Payn is a man of honesty and integrity. (Gazette, Aug. 18, 1766)

Francis Maseres, who was deeply involved in the merchants' commercial and legal problems, referred to "my client Mr. Levi" in a letter to Fowler Walker of March 30, 1768. (PAC, MG 21, B.M. Add. Mss. 35915, P. 260)

The Quebec Gazette advertised on Jan. 31, 1765 that there was an unclaimed letter from E. Levy of Montreal in the Quebec Post Office.

Levy and John Franks stood surety for Levy Simons in a 1763 law case.

L.S. Hayne, a French immigrant about to establish a liquor business in Montreal in 1765, was receiving his mail in that city, care of Eleazar Levy, (letter from Hayne at Montreal to Maurendo & Gratz at Philadelphia June 22, 1765, in Library Company of Philadelphia, reprinted by Jacob Rader Marcus. (American Jewry, Documents, Eighteenth Century. Cincinnati, Hebrew Union College Press, 1959. Pp. 373-74)

Levy was described as a merchant of Quebec in June 1767 when he went security for Acklom Bondfield, another Quebec merchant, in the adjudication of a lot in the colonial capital. (Archives nationales de Québec, Notaires, pièces détachées, 1609-1723)

In the summer of 1768 his Mulatto man Will, "much known in Canada; he speaks French, English and Spanish," ran away. The Levys advertised, cautioning "all masters of ships and others against conveyance or assisting him to get off." They offered a reward of \$4 to any person that will return him to the house of the master or give intelligence that will be the means of his being taken. The advertisement was signed by Sarah Levy. (Quebec Gazette, July 14, 1768)

Levy was admitted as notary public and advertised to solicit clients in the Gazette of Oct. 27, 1768.

Land Sales

In March of that year he advertised a sale of sundry goods at his home. (Quebec Gazette, March 3, 1768)

Solomon Myers Cohen was living at the home of Eleazar Levy in 1768 when he advertised the sale of rum, groceries, etc. (Ibid., March 29, 1768)

Land and the house on Sault au matelot St. in Quebec belonging to Joseph Maillou was sold by the provost marshall at the suit of Eleazar Levy in 1769. (Ibid., July 13, 1769)

We read an advertisement in the Quebec Gazette of Nov. 28, 1771 and Jan. 2, 1772:

"To be Sold.

"A lot of ground, and dwelling-house thereon erected, situated along the street called the Sault-au-Matelot, in the lower town of Quebec, containing in front, on the said street, 13 feet by 36 feet in depth, bounded by the estate now or late of Pierre Badit, by the southwest by Monsr. Perrault, and by the northeast by Jean Roslett, with the benefit of the partition wall; which said house is two storeys and a half high, and consists of 6 rooms and apartments, together with good cellars, a garret, and other conveniences.

"And also another lot of ground, and dwelling house hereon erected, situated along the said street Sault-au-Matelot, containing in front, thereon 35 feet and 5 inches, and extending behind to, and bounded by, the foot of the cape; the house thereon standing, comprehending one foot on the house now or late of Le Clare, on the south side, and on the north side, to a lot of land formerly belonging to Maillou, the father of Viollette Mallau; Which last mentioned house is likewise two storeys and a half high and consists of 8 rooms and apartments, together with good cellars and garrets, and also a gallery, yard, stable, cow-house, and other conveniences thereunto belonging -- These houses are in very good repair, and may be immediately taken possession of by the purchaser or purchasers."

"Apply to Mr. Halsted, in the Lower Town or to Mr. Davidson at Henry Kneller's, in the Upper Town."

The second lot and its dwelling house where St. James Street runs into the Sault, was the home of Eleazar Levy.

On Apr. 2, 1772 a similar advertisement appeared again.

"To be sold, peremptorily, to the highest bidder, on the 10th day of June next, between the hours of 12 and 1, at the British Coffee House in the Lower Town.

"A lot of ground and Dwelling House thereon erected, two storeys and a half high, situate in Sault au Matelot St., containing in front 35 feet and 5 inches extending behind to, and bounded by, the foot of the Cape, and consisting of eight rooms and apartments with good cellars and garrets, together with a yard, stable, cow-house, and other conveniences thereunto belonging; and as the same was formerly occupied by Mr. Eleazar Levy...the premises may be seen and examined by enquiring of Mr. Williams', attorney at law, Quebec, March 30, 1772." (Gazette)

He was advised in the press to remove the horse he had left at the Sans Gruit farm above two years earlier. (Gazette, Oct. 1, 1772.)

There are 1772 records of barracks accounts with Levy as of Sept. 1772 and a 1773 F. Oakes account with him.

Notice of the sale of Levy's property at the suit of the Quebec seminary appeared in the Quebec Gazette of July 14, 1774.

Provost Marshall James Jeffry had on July 6, 1774 by order of the Court of Common Pleas "against the Goods, Chattels, Lands and Tenements of Eleazar Levy an Absentee, to me directed, have seized and taken in Execution as the Property of the said Eleazar, a House, situate on a Lot of Land fronting the Street called Sault-au-matelot, being thirty-five Feet nine Inches in Front, comprehending one Foot on the pinion of the House of Le Clerc on the South Side, joining on the North to a Lot of Land lately belonging to Maillou the Father of Vital Maillou, and extending back as far as the Foot of the Cape; the said House is built of Stone, two Stories high, with a Garret containing thirty-two Feet and nine Inches in Front and twenty Feet in Depth, with Cellars under the same." This at the hands of the Seminarians of Quebec.

As Marcus tells it, late in May 1772 "he had lent £1,000 on a large plot of ground on the Hudson River known as West Point. The army had moved in, taken over, used up much of the timber for fuel and fortifications, and had thus reduced the value of the land. The borrower had finally agreed to pay the mortgage in paper money at forty to one, but Levy had indignantly refused to accept this offer which practically wiped out his equity. In 1779 he petitioned John Jay, President of the Continental Congress and in 1783 the honorable delegates of the United States and their president, Elias Boudinot, asking for relief. He received but cold comfort from them. In 1779 they told him his petition would be acted upon at the conclusion of the war; in May, 1783, they informed him that in their opinion it is not expedient for Congress to take any order therein." That ended the matter.

The distinguished New York merchant Hayman Levy transacted business in Canada.

A 1766 record from the papers of Laurenz Ermatinger notes that he paid Levy on account of his partner Oakes' note in favour of Eleazar Levy. (PAC, RG 19, A2, Ser. 3, vol. 87 and 88, pages for Sept. 1772)

Again, we hear of him drawing bills of exchange of John Franks in 1774. (Ibid., vol. 89, Pp. 3, 7)

End in New York

The years of frustration and disillusion cooled the British patriotism of Eleazar Levy, and the republican, separatist ideas developing south of Lower Canada came to appeal to him. When the colonies revolted in 1776 he became an avowed whig. He fled to Philadelphia when the English occupied New York.

Quebec merchant George Allsopp was giving introductions and instructions to his son Robert about to visit New York. He told him, "Mr. Eleazar Levy is a very old friend of mine, a very sensible, judicious man, somewhat peculiar but good-hearted and friendly." (July 21, 1796, PAC, reel C-4472, p. 144)

His friendship with Aaron Hart, which dated back to the first days of the British conquest, grew warmer with time, of which there is much evidence, none more eloquent than his letter about the education of Hart's son Benjamin. After expressing some dissatisfaction with the arrangements which Hart had made in this matter, Levy invited him,

"I wish you would come to New York this summer, as it is said you had some inclination thereto. I will come a considerable part of the way to meet you, and at New York my house and everything therein will be as your (own). You need be at no other expense than your pocket money and of Y'r journey; nay, shall be glad if you will spend the winter with me.

"I think you can easily come now as your two sons are grown up and in business, and there is no great business doing in the winter.

"It is unnecessary troubling you with any Congregation news or a description of people here, your sons having been so recently here and at Philadelphia.

"Wishing happiness to yourself, wife, and family, I am Truly and sincerely your friend, Eleazar Levy" (June 4, 1794, Hart Papers at Séminaire St. Joseph, Trois-Rivières.)

Raymond Douville finds this correspondence revealing of the character of both friends "Success in business had turned Aaron Hart's head. By sending his sons to New York for their studies he hoped to add brilliance to the name of the family. But Levy's enlightened wisdom easily turned him away from megalomania, for education can be very expensive when approached in this manner." ("Années de jeunesse et vie familiale de Moses Hart," in Cahiers des dix, no. 23, 1958, p. 198)

The later years of Eleazar Levy's life were not very happy, even though he was deeply respected by Canadians and Americans. As a friend of the renowned American patriot Haym Solomon he attended the dedication of the Cherry Hill synagogue, the first real synagogue building in Pennsylvania, in 1782. Solomon entrusted Levy to help him ensure that the aid he sent to his parents in Poland actually reached them. This Levy took care of through his friendship with Samuel Myers of Amsterdam. Subsequently Solomon received at least four letters in Yiddish from his folks which Levy had Israel Myers of New York reply for Solomon.

When Solomon passed away, Levy was administrator of the estate. (Early American Jews, II 146-49)

He died in 1811, a helpless, impoverished old man, a respected pensioner of the New York Jewish community, more than twenty years after he left Canada.

OTHER LEVI'IM

There were a number of other Levys in the early Montreal community about whom we know little.

One of them owned a meeting hall which was the scene of early Canadian theatre. It was there that She Stoops to Conquer with actor William Moore opened the theatre season on March 16, 1786. ("William Moore" in Dictionary of Canadian Biography)

Prof. Marcus refers to two Levy brothers in Canada who exchanged letters in Yiddish, the earliest Canadian Yiddish documents. He recalled that the brothers were Gerson and Isaac. (Letter to B.G. Sack, Oct. 14, 1953)

The Montreal post office held a letter destined for Abraham Samuel Levy. (Quebec Gazette, Aug. 5, 1784)

The signature of George and John Levy appears on the memorial of St. Johns citizens to the Duke of Kent. (Quebec Gazette, Oct. 22, 1821)

The same month, L. Levy at St. Roch, Quebec advertised an auction sale of his household furniture. (Gazette, Oct. 18, 1821)

THE MARITIMES

As America was being slowly discovered, the milder climes of the middle of the continent and the luxuriant warmth of the south exerted their attractions.

But each sector of the New World had its rewards; Laurentia and the mouth of the great river no less than the Atlantic seaboard, than flowery Florida, than the Western Indies, or the gold-plated neck of the American hourglass.

Among the London migrants to the northern colonies thus opened were Jewish merchants, members of the then century-old little Sacred Kehilah reestablished by Cromwell after 350 years of Britain Judenrein.

Aaron Hart and his children probably never met or knew of their Jewish contemporaries who first came to Canada. These were the pioneers of the Maritimes. (Canadian Jewish Archives, no.16)

B.G. Sack notes that "the first English proposals for colonizing certain parts of Canada struck a responsive note in Jewish circles. In 1749 these circles seriously considered establishing some Jews in Nova Scotia. At that time a project for settling English, Scottish and Irish colonists was being developed in England. Protestants especially were encouraged to emigrate to Canada. As a potential new point of settlement it was also recognized by Jews, and great pains were taken to persuade impoverished Jewish families to settle there. Plans were even made to support such settlers for a period of three years. Not a single Jew, however, was to be found amongst the colonists then transported here, the majority being English Protestants.

"Nevertheless we find that from the outset Jews had evinced a certain amount of interest in the Canadian Province of Nova Scotia and had come in contact with it even before the whole of Canada was occupied by the English. They had frequently journeyed there from the nearby English-American colonies, but only for business purposes

and as purveyors to the English Army, an occupation in which many of them were engaged. In this connection several letters are to be found in the Canadian archives extolling the promptness and conscientiousness with which they transacted their affairs with the army.

"It may be concluded that Jews had most certainly settled there even before they settled in Montreal and before the entire country fell to the English." (History of the Jews in Canada. Montreal, Harvest House, 1969. Pp. 38-39)

James S. Macdonald, writing on the "Hon. Edward Cornwallis, Founder of Halifax," in the Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, vol. 12, 1905 noted that there were a few Irish, fewer Scotch, a number of Germans and Jews in Chebucto (Halifax) in 1749.

There must have been a number of Jews in eighteenth century Halifax, the first Jewish settlement in Canada, for they had their own cemetery; other Jews had been laid to rest in the interdenominational cemetery. (Canadian Jewish News, Aug. 19, 1977)

The Jewish community followed the frontier pattern consistently all the way to California, to Trois-Rivières and to British Columbia; before all else -- before synagogue, minister or school -- a consecrated cemetery. For the wandering Jew, borne so far from kith and hearth, feared lest his end be not a Jewish grave -- Kever Israel.

The minutes of the Colonial Assembly of Nov. 2, 1758 contain a report of a joint committee of Assembly and Council which had waited on the Governor as to land upon which to build a courthouse and workhouse. "They then view'd a piece of Land where the Jews Burying ground was and made a favourable report thereof which piece of Land his Excellency said might be laid out when they pleased." (Nova Scotia State Papers, series D, no. 1, P. 84)

Provincial Archivist, C. Bruce Fergusson locates the plot which was set aside for a Jewish cemetery near the present Halifax Memorial Library and St. David's Presbyterian Church. There is no record of Jews being buried there. Later, however, he notes, there was another cemetery on that site for a time. (Letter to L. Rosenberg, May 27, 1960)

As he put it in his address to the Halifax Jewish Community when it was marking the bicentenary of Canadian Jewry in 1960,

"Shortly after the foundation of Halifax a burying ground was set apart for the Jews here. By 1750, however, it must have been decided that the old St. Paul's Cemetery would be used for all denominations, for on November 2nd of that year a committee of the Assembly and Council reported in favour of using that piece of land where the Jews' burying ground was as a site for a Workhouse."

John Bartlett Brebner notes that "there were in Halifax enough Jews to need a burying ground." (The Neutral Yankees of Nova Scotia, a Marginal Colony during the Revolutionary Years. New York, Columbia, 1937)

In his survey of Canadian Jewish history L. Rosenberg notes,

"Among these early Jewish settlers were Israel Abrahams, Isaac Levy, Nathan Nathans, and the four brothers Abraham, Isaac, Naphtali and Samuel Hart, all of whom were the sons of German Jews who had settled in England.

"They were merchants, importing and offering for sale tobacco, cornmeal, iron, soap and candles from the New England colonies; molasses, lime juice, rum, sugar and spices from the West Indies; tea and manufactured goods from England, and port wine from Portugal; and exporting timber and potashes from Nova Scotia to England, and dried fish to the West Indies. It is recorded in the Public Records Office in England that Isaac Levy, one of the early Jewish settlers in Halifax applied in 1759 for the right to mine coal in Cape Breton Island, and in 1752, Israel Abrahams successfully developed a method of manufacturing potash from the trees growing in Nova Scotia...

"Although a plot of land was set aside for a Jewish cemetery in Halifax as early as 1750, it was never used for that purpose, and the number of Jews was too small to permit of the establishment of a congregation at that time. Following the Non-

Importation Agreement made in 1765 by the merchants of Boston and Philadelphia, and the outbreak of the American War of Independence in 1776, trade between Halifax and the New England colonies dwindled. Some of the Jewish merchants left Halifax for England or the New England colonies, and those who remained died and were buried in the graveyard of St. Paul's Anglican Church in Halifax." ("The Earliest Jewish Settlers in Canada -- Facts vs. Myths")

The place of interment of Samuel Hart, one-time member of the legislature in 1810, is not on record, (Halifax Gazette), but the burial of his widow on Apr. 27, 1817, is noted in the register of St. Paul's Anglican Church in Halifax. (1960 letter of Fergusson)

Again Rosenberg writes,

"The first Jews seem to have settled in Halifax, Nova Scotia, in 1751, eight years before the British conquest of Quebec. Founded by the British in 1749, Halifax attracted a number of Jewish merchants from Newport, R.I., whose families were from England. Although they may have met occasionally for religious worship, there is no record of an organized Jewish congregation in Halifax at the time. A plot of land was set aside for a Jewish cemetery as early as 1750, but was apparently not so used. On November 2, 1758, a committee of the legislative assembly and council of Nova Scotia reported in favor of 'using that piece of land where the Jews' burying ground was as a site for a workhouse.' Isaac Levy, Nathan Nathans, and Samuel and Rebecca Hart, all of whom died between 1752 and 1817, were buried in the cemetery of St. Paul's Anglican church....The small number of Jews in Nova Scotia in 1751 became still smaller after the American War of Independence, and there is no evidence of any Jew living there between 1821 and 1851. The community dwindled away and was not reestablished until the last quarter of the 19th century." ("Two Centuries of Jewish Life in Canada, 1760-1960," in American Jewish Year Book, vol. 62, 1961, pp. 29-30)

Archivist Fergusson said,

"British plans for colonizing Nova Scotia in 1749 struck a responsive chord in Jewish circles in England, although not a single Jew was among the founders of Halifax in that year. When the great harbour of Chebucto was transformed into a strategic strong point as an offset to a Louisbourg restored to France, this town, which was the only colony in America established wholly at the expense of the British government, beckoned to colonists to the south. Before long, New Englanders and others swarmed into this port for the opportunities in trade and settlement. Jews were among their numbers.

"Governor Cornwallis, Provincial Agent Christopher Kilby and Victualling Contractor Chauncey Townshend turned to New England, New York and Pennsylvania for some of the supplies and credit needed, and such men as Moses Levy and Israel Abrahams, as well as such firms as Levy and Franks, of Philadelphia, were soon drawn into their orbit. Within a year of the founding of Halifax some of these merchants and traders were doing business in this new town, and by another year -- if not earlier -- some of them had taken up residence here. These included Israel Abrahams, Isaac Levy, Nathan Nathans, Isaac Solomon and perhaps Naphthali Hart, Jr.

"The surviving portion of a list of settlers at Halifax in 1752 contains the names of Israel Abrahams and Nathan Nathans. Abrahams' household comprised 3 males and 7 females; Nathans' was composed of 5 males over 16 years of age. But these were not the only Jews here at that time." (Address at celebration of bicentenary, 1960)

Mauger

But this ancient Canadian history begins with legend whose origin it is difficult to explain.

For whatever reason the Jewish label has become attached to one of the outstanding names of early Nova Scotia's Justice Mauger, Channel Island-born capitalist, industrialist, political boss, M.P., financier. (Donald F. Chard, in Dictionary of Canadian Biography)

On the level of documented history, Mauger was no Jew, and historians who have searched British and Channel Island records have found not the vaguest hint of such a Jewish connection; the contrary is reasonably well documented.

Yet, John Quinpool calls him the son of a London Jewish merchant engaged in the French West Indies and Jamaica trade.

When Mauger settled in London, where he entertained in princely style, he became a political power, one of the prominent men of Jewish extraction in Europe, Quinpool reports, (First Things in Acadia. Halifax, 1936. Pp. 275-77), probably based on what James S. Macdonald had written in the 1905 Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, vol. 12: "Mauger was the son of a London Jewish merchant who started Joshua out at an early age from home with an assorted venture to Jamaica. It turned out well." (P. 22)

Thomas H. Raddall invoked author's license in picturing Mauger as a bony, blue-jawed, treacherous man with ferret eyes in his fictional Roger Sudden (N.Y., Doubleday, 1945). As we shall see, he is more "informative" on other Jewish persons in early Halifax on the pages of other of his novels.

Nathan and Hart

It is very difficult to sort out the four Hart brothers of early Halifax of whom Rosenberg writes.

Samuel was probably the successful merchant and legislator who is on our record (Canadian Jewish Archives, new series no. 16, Pp. 150-61)

Naphthali Hart Jr. was the partner of Nathan Nathans in the firm of Nathans & Hart,

In his history of the founding and development of Halifax, Warden of the North (Toronto, McClelland & Stewart) Thomas Raddall reports that by 1751 "Jews were already established in the firm of Nathan and Levy, which later became Nathan and Hart."

"A court record of 1761 noticed by Fergusson helps us identify the partners. This Nova Scotia Inferiour Court of Common Please document calls upon the partners, identified as Naphthali Hart Jr. and Nathan Nathans, to answer the suit of Naphthali Hart and Isaac Hart, both of Rhode Island, on Dec. 1, 1761." (Canadian Jewish News, Dec. 30, 1977)

The firm entered the history of printing in Canada.

New France did not risk the hazards of Pandora's Box of a printing press. Who could be certain that everything that would ever be printed in the colonies would be valuable, or even good?

The English, on the contrary, brought printing as one of their first benefactions. So we have Canadian imprints, even Canadian newspapers, from these early English days in Canada. The fourth product from a Canadian press is a commercial form from two Jewish merchants in Louisburg, a 1752 price list of the merchandise sold by Nathans and Hart.

It is a price list, printed by John Russell listing the products sold by Nathans and Hart, with blanks left for the prices which presumably varied from day to day. It includes English, Jamaica and Leeward Islands rum, linseed oil, sweet oil, clove water, mint water, orange water, cinnamon water, anniseed water, brandy, gin, lime juice, port, claret, madeira, Lisbon wine, Vidonia wine, refined and double refined brown, midling and Muscovado sugar, rice, ship bread, hay, fine, common and rye flour, Cornell, pitch, tar, turpentine, pork, beer, porter, cider and Indian meal, butter, Cheshire, Gloucester and Rhode Island cheese, gammons, smoked beef and mutton, chocolate, Bahea and green tea, cut, Virginia leaf, No. 2 England, roll and pigtail tobacco, dipped and mould candles, Castel, New England and Philadelphia hard soap, indigo, allspice, ginger, water bread, milk bread and butter bread, Indian corn, barley, oats, rye and Indian meal, salt, peas, white beans, onions, bristles, 18' and 3' shingles, clapboards, pine and oak boards, pine juice, oak planks, hoops, red and white oak staves, white oak heading, sweets and whippeny iron, stone lime, lemons, onions, pickled cod, mackerel, fish oil, Jamaica and mercantile fish, refuge fish and Toliquial fish.

In Fiction

Because of the blessing of a press in the colony, the Halifax Gazette of April 13, 1752 ran an advertisement by a firm of merchants by the name of Nathans & Hart, offering various products such as rum, tobacco, spices, etc. for sale. Another advertisement in the Gazette of May 4, 1754, announced the dissolution of partnership of the firm of Nathans & Hart.

This business might be the seed of Thomas H. Raddall's fictional concept of the Hart store at the far end of the merchants' walk which he describes in His Majesty's Yankees (Toronto, McClelland and Stewart, 1942, XIII, 409 p.):

When hero, David Strong, with his brothers came to Halifax, all stores closed because of unrest, 'There's a Jew down by Market Square that'll open any time.'

"During a fight with a press gang David was saved when 'There was a shoot of bolts behind, and the door gave at our backs and in we fell; the stranger (Richard John Uniacke) and I. We leaped up and saw a handsome, gray-bearded Jew holding a candle and a young woman fastening the bolts. A stick thumped on the door violently. The woman turned a pair of dark frightened eyes to the old man, but he shook his gray locks and put a finger to his lips.' The press gang tried to break down the 'stoutest door I ever saw, six inches of native oak on a pair of enormous H hinges and barred and studded with iron. There were four bolts, each as thick as a handspike'...at last a voice said, 'Ah, save your breath lads. It's old Hart the Jew -- they'd never get in there.'..."

"The Jew urged us to an inner chamber, a comfortable place with a thick Turkey carpet under foot and fine mahogany furniture, a mahogany table that gave back the gleam of two silver candelabra, and walls hung with prints and small printings...The young woman fetched a decanter of wine and glasses, and we drank, nothing loath, while old Mr. Hart got a basin of warm water and a soft cloth and washed our cut knuckles and faces'..."

"After trial and acquittal of hero at Halifax he found himself outside court house, supported by my old friend and benefactor Hart the Jew who helped him into a waiting sleigh. Hart reassured him he had no need to fear Capt. Helyer immediately for he is posted at Fort Cumberland. Mob attacked Fear who saved him at the cost of her good name. 'I had a dim glimpse of Aaron Hart shielding that someone with his arm and cloak against a shower of snowballs.

"David nursed back to health at home of 'the good Hart,... the kindly Hart and the women of his household.' 'My son, you are in my house.'"

In his novel Raddall tells of the fictional feat of St. Aspinquid, but he fixes this tradition into history in his factual Halifax Warden of the North. (Toronto, McClelland & Stewart) There he writes that "Northwest Arm at the fishing station of Nathan and Nathan, a prominent Jewish merchant, became known subsequently as Horseshoe Island.

"Indians from district celebrated feast of St. Aspinquid, their patron at the station of Captain Jordan and his Hebrew partner, Nathan Ben Sodi Nathan on the Northwest Arm. They were friendly to the Indians and encouraged them to hold their feast at this spot... I suspect that Jordan and Nathan did this at Michael Francklin's urging.

"White men came to look, but soon left, except Nathan and Jordan and Francklin. Nathan and Jordan were busy lighting candles and lanterns in the big shed where Indian men of all ages were now gathering."

"The old Jew spoke mildly "about the state of affairs in Halifax, with press gangs threatening fishermen and merchant seamen. The war and the Americans' 'non-intercourse decree' cut off Halifax trade with the colonies. Garrison left the town a corpse. This is Halifax today, my friends, a wooden corpse lying unburied on the side of Citadel Hill; and the press gangs are the worms in its rotten flesh."

"I turned to Aaron Hart, "What of my brothers? Isn't there something I can do?." "My son, there is nothing to be done here. Take your vessel home and explain to your father...I knew him" (twenty years ago)'...

"Uniacke asked him "And what d'ye think of the troubles in America?"

"Mr. Hart lifted and dropped his thin shoulders in the gesture which comes so naturally to his people. "In these times a man may be hanged for what he thinks. Nevertheless, I think the troubles in America will bring about, in one way or another, a great change in British colonial policy, which you have so well described. I am an Englishman -- if a Jew can claim nationality in this world -- and the colonists are fighting for their rights as Englishmen. I see nothing strange in this. In England itself Englishmen are crying for their rights. A man named Wilkeson."

"And Nova Scotia?" Uniacke interrupted eagerly. "What about Nova Scotia?" Aaron Hart looked at him somberly. "Nova Scotia has neither the men nor the means to fight the Crown. She must get rid of the British Colonial policy in some other way."

"What with -- words?" Uniacke asked contemptuously.

"Why not? I come of a race which has long found words more effective than cudgels." He went on to speak of Michael Francklin. They escaped during fire at dockyard that evening."

South of Halifax

Marcus notes (in his American Jewry, Documents) that this Hart later settled in Newport, R.I., where he was active in the new synagogue, now one of the shrines of American history.

"In 1764, a year after the house of worship was erected, the congregation found itself unable to maintain it and to meet payments. Indeed, there was danger of forfeiture.

"In this plight the Rhode Island Jews addressed themselves to the Jews of Curacao." (Notice how lines of communication -- Halifax, Rhode Island, Curacao -- run north and south rather than east and west before the fall of Quebec).

Hart's partner of Halifax days, Nathan Nathans, we learn from Marcus, had lived on Rhode Island in 1745 before coming to Nova Scotia.

This record of the Harts formerly of Halifax underlines the position of the Jewish residents of the northern maritime colony: aside from the tentative matter of a cemetery probably never put to use, the Jewish residents of Halifax never seem to have met as such, never formed themselves into a Jewish group, never acted for their continuity as Jews, observed no Jewish community life and maintained no religious facilities. The same persons, as we have seen, relocated elsewhere and were active components in organized community life.

In this regard they differed distinctly not only from those of Montreal, but even from Three Rivers.

Whether the impermanence of the Jewish settlement was the cause of this lack of community sense or its consequence cannot be established.

The same year we find the signature of Hart Jr. on a petition of Rhode Island merchants addressed to the colonial assembly for a clearer regulation of customs. The merchants complained of 'the grievous exactions of His Majesty's customs house officers who, without any pretense of law or equity, have burthened our trade with the most unreasonable and extravagant impositions.'

Marcus notes: 'the petition complaining of British acts was addressed to the colonial legislature, an early and modest example of conflict in jurisdiction and prerogative between motherland and colony.'

"Within a decade the former Haligonian found himself forced to move further south to the West Indies.

"In a new country, under a new flag, the Dutch, Hart found the going very rough. Neither at Barbados nor at St. Eustatia was he substantially encouraged by the few Jewish merchants there.

"'What adds to my grief is that I have no one to advise with, as there is no sincerity among those of our society, being jealous of each other,' he complained to merchant prince Aaron Lopez, on March 12, 1773." (Canadian Jewish News, Dec. 30, 1977)

Israel Abrahams

Nathan Nathans was associated on Rhode Island with another Jewish merchant, Israel Abrahams.

As Marcus wrote,

"These Rhode Island merchants were not the first or the least prominent in the merchant community to find themselves insolvent. On Sept. 24, 1745 they duly declared the state of their affairs before the governor and council.

"Three commissioners were named to whom their assets were transferred for proportioning among the creditors. On Oct. 30 these commissioners required the sheriff 'to discharge the said Abrahams and Nathans from His Majesty's gaol in Newport to their full enlargement.'

"In spite of this experience Abrahams was reestablished in Rhode Island society and, after his stay in Nova Scotia, he returned to the southern colony where we find his name on the membership roll of the congregation, beside that of his fellow Haligonian of former days, Naphthali Hart Jr."

Israel Abrahams was probably in business in New York in the early 1730's. We know of his partnership in Rhode Island with Nathan Nathans in 1745. After this venture failed the partners moved to the new city of Halifax in 1751 where presumably they continued their partnership.

He is recorded as settling in Nova Scotia since 1749, and as residing "within the pickets" of Halifax between Buckingham St. and the present Blowers St. in 1752. ("History of Halifax City", in Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, 1892-94, vol.8, P.257)

His was the second largest household in Halifax that year serving as home for ten persons, two of them male adults and five adult women, one boy and two girls.

By 1752, if not earlier, the partnership was dissolved, and Abrahams turned to the manufacture of potash.

On Oct. 18, 1752, Abrahams asked the Board of Trade and Plantations, the chief British colonial office in England, to employ him to further the manufacture of potash in Nova Scotia:

"In the month of April last, I tried an experiment in making pot ash of the wood that grows in the Province, and made about 60 lb. weight of the Flemish sort.

"I acquainted and laid the sample before the Honourable Edward Cornwallis, governor of Nova Scotia. He sends for two men, soap boilers, that had served their times in London, who examined and tried said pot ash, and reported their opinion to the Honourable Edward Cornwallis, Esq.

"I made 200 lb. more of the same sort, which I have sent home to lay before Your Lordships, that Your Lordships may have the same proved by those that are judges in London. I have likewise sent home to Your Lordships the charge that will occur in making one ton weight of this Flemish sort, and likewise beg leave to acquaint Your Lordships the great benefit this branch of trade will be to this new colony.

"First, it will clear very large tracts of land of the wood, and secondly, of consequence that will employ a great number of men in cutting and clearing the same, and thirdly, will be the means of making large remittances home, besides of course impoverish those foreigners that has enriched themselves by supplying us with this commodity.

"The men that Your Lordships sent over to make an experiment in pot ash arrived here several months after I had made my first experiment, and wanted to put this government to £ 8 charge.

"I would have sent an equal sample of pot ash of the same sort as Russia in every degree, but for the want of ability to purchase the proper iron work required, was obliged to decline. I have, My Lords, by building works and lost time in making this experiment in pot ash, reduced my circumstances to a very low ebb.

"There is many here, as well as in other parts of this continent, that has got large tracts of land and would be glad to have so advantageous a way of clearing their woods, and also to carry on such a manufactory as will make remittance home, but are prevented for want of knowledge in that art.

"Therefore, I am willing to make the thing public that every one as it suits, to instruct them in the business of making pot ash, in consideration of my being allowed a salary from the government in England for a term of years for the art, trouble and attendance in instructing them, or allowing me a premium to make the thing public in such a manner as Your Lordships shall give instructions, as Your Lordships shall be pleased direct in promoting this great branch of trade." (Public Archives of Canada. Nova Scotia, A49, Pp. 122-28; Pp. 330-32, Marcus, American Jewry Documents)

This communication was accompanied by a statement from Justice of the Peace Charles Morris of Halifax affirming that Abrahams had sworn on October 17, 1752 to manufacturing in Nova Scotia about 260 pounds of potash after the manner of Flemish Pott ash and this is about to be shipped on board H.M.S. Torrington for Great Britain under the care of Gov. Cornwallis.

There was also a notarized affirmation by Emanuel Abrahams trader, and Christopher Shaffner, laborer, the following day that they had assisted Israel Abrahams in the making of this potash.

Another document from I. Abrahams estimated the cost "according to the wages we are obliged to give here, but if we could have servants from Home, it would not amount to three-quarters the charge, and would be good wages to encourage men to come over to settle this colony without any expense to the Government.

"The detailed costs included,

"5 men in 26 days can fall and cutt up trees as they run large and small into lengths of 24 feet as many as is sufficient to produce ashes to make one tun of Pot Ash.

"4 oxen maintenance for 26 days to draw the above loggs to the place of burning.

"4 men to attend these oxen.

"3 days for fire tenders.

"The rate for men and oxen alike is 2/- per day. The total cost, £ 35.4.0." (Canadian Jewish News, Aug. 26, 1977)

Louis Rosenberg notes that a Mr. Abrahams, a Jew, a landowner in Halifax of this time, is mentioned in the Amherst Papers.

Isaac Levy

Through Fergusson we learn of another early Jew in Halifax.

"By April, 1752 we hear of merchant Isaac Levy, late of Halifax. All persons indebted to his estate were asked, in the Halifax Gazette, to settle their accounts with Nathan Nathans. (Canadian Jewish News, Dec. 30, 1977)

A record of Levy's activities in Halifax and Montreal has been noted in the survey of the Lower Canada community of the late eighteenth century. (Canadian Jewish Archives. On The Early Harts -- Their Contemporaries)

John Franks

John Franks, probably a contractor for the British forces attacking Louisburg, is on record as purchasing properties in Halifax in 1751 and 1752. The census of 1752 lists him as a resident of the city with his wife and two children. (Letter from B.C. Cuthbertson, Jan. 16, 1979)

C. Bruce Fergusson reports (Oct. 25, 1977) that there is mention of John Franks in the colony's records of the Inferior Court of Common Pleas for 1752, 1758 and 1760.

Samuel Oppenheim notes that "A Philadelphia Jewish Merchant's Day Book, 1755-61", has an entry of a consignment to John Franks on a voyage to Halifax (Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society, no. 26, 1918, Pp. 231-34)

J.R. Marcus, the eminent historian of Canadian and American Jewish annals, identifies John Franks of Quebec with a 17th century German family that came to the U.S. after 1700.

A John Franks may have transacted business with Halifax in mid-century.

The day book of Philadelphia merchant Frank Marx Etting for October 1, 1756 notes an expenditure of £8.19.0 regarding a "Voyage to Halifax per Brigg Camilia, Capt. Robert Smith, and consigned to Mr. John Frank, Dr. to merchandise, for 50 boxes Sope, 50 IACH is 400; boxes and hawling 1.3-

There exists a 1758 letter from John Franks from Halifax dealing with a remittance of £52.10.0 to Enoch Hobart in the form of a bill of exchange upon His Majesty's Officers of the Ordnance in London. (Library, American Jewish Historical Society, Waltham, Mass.)

John Frank, Philadelphia Jewish merchant, is recorded as partner with an associate in Halifax in taking title to a sloop captured from the French in 1760. Wolf, author of the history of the Jews of Philadelphia, notes (p. 43) an entry to this in the Ship Registers in the Philadelphia Magazine (vol. 27, 1903, Pp. 95-96, 107)

Jacob Calnek

The Daily Hebrew Journal of Toronto told the story of Jacob Calnek of Annapolis its own way:

"At the time of the American Revolutionary War the British government hired the services of some Hessian soldiers to fight the battles of the British against the colonial rebels. Jacob Calnek, "a Hebrew of the Hebrews" was commissioned quartermaster of an Anspach battalion in that army of mercenaries. The war lost and over, he obtained the support of Sir Guy Carleton, and by virtue of his commendation was given a grant of land in Clements, Nova Scotia.

"His military days being over he sent for his wife, also Jewish, and having some means were able to establish themselves with some comfort and solidity. But a fire destroyed their home and all their wealth shortly after, and they had to leave their home and settled in another part of the province, in Granville. There they lived out their full lives as pioneers in British Canada, and among the first Jews in the maritime provinces, and only twenty years behind the first Jews in Canada.

"Time passed. Their children married and died, and their grand-children grew up and married. Inter-marriage wiped out the Jewish strain, and not even Jewish historians knew of this early Jewish pioneer in Canada's 'far east.'

"In Toronto in 1940 there is a bookstore which goes in for books of Canadian historical interest, and the bookdealer likes to look at the prefaces and appendices of books.

"A young Jew came in and asked if he had anything dealing with Jews in Canada, and, not having anything on hand yet wishing to make a sale, he dug out of his memory that somewhere in a history of Nova Scotia he saw that a Jew was bound up with it. He had had the book in stock, but he could not remember any details. Does he remember who bought the book? Yes, it was Col. F---, a great name and not one to be approached for petty information without trepidation. But when the memory does not respond, and the information is tantalizingly interesting, awe will not stand in the way.

"'Yes...No, it was not a history of Nova Scotia, but of Annapolis. Yes, by Calnek.'

"This is enough. A short trip to the university library, a glance in the catalogue, and a picture appears out of the haze of the 'Einikel' of the Hessian 'Hebrew of the Hebrews.' The grandchild of Jacob Calnek is the author of A History of the County of Annapolis including Old Port Royal and Acadia with memoirs of its representatives in the Provincial Parliament and biographical and genealogical sketches of its early English settlers and their families. He died before he completed the work and Judge A.W. Savary edited and completed it. The Toronto firm of Briggs published it in 1897.

"From various points throughout the volume we get a picture of this grandchild of a Jewish pioneer:

"The obituary notices speak of him as having been a school teacher, a surveyor of Anticosti Island, and editor of country papers in Nova Scotia. He founded the Western News in Nova Scotia. A man of strong political opinions, a patriot, a loyalist, 'the most intellectual and brilliant Nova Scotian of his day. A bit of a poet too, for his poem 'In Memoriam to Henry Godfrey, commander of the privateer Rover' was published in Murdoch's History of Nova Scotia. A scholar, a friend of archivists and historians, of pioneering stock. A typical figure of the best early tradition of Canadian pioneering life -- the grandson of a 'Hebrew of the Hebrews,' and of one of the first Jews in Canada, a fighting Hessian Jew."

Other Maritimers

There is a record of Naphthali Franks among the first applicants for free land in Cape Breton. (Report in Canadian Archives for 1894, P. 296; B.G. Sack, P. 51)

David Franks, a New York loyalist, left for Halifax after the U.S. War of Independence and eventually to England. (Leon Hershkowitz. "Some Aspects of the New York Jewish Merchant and Community, 1654-1820," in American Jewish Historical Quarterly, vol. 66, no. 1, Sept. 1976, Pp. 27-28)

Lawrence M. Lande lists an 1821 register certificate of a deed of feaffment of Halifax signed by J. (or I.) Solomon, district registrar. The certification is dated Oct. 11, 1820. It relates to the transfer of 500 acres in Halifax County on Windsor Road on Feb. 12, 1819. (Canadian Historical Documents, no. 212)

Nehemiah Marks, formerly of Derby, Conn., founder of St. Stephen, N.B., is occasionally referred to as being of Jewish origin.

Similarly, Esther Clark Wright of Acadia University notes a Samuel family on the Miramichi River early in the nineteenth century.

Another possibly Jewish family among these United Empire Loyalists were the Myers from Rhode Island. The mother, Rachel, came in the first fleet, in May 1783, with six children, among them Benjamin and Abraham. An affidavit signed by officers of the 43rd. Regiment attested to Benjamin having served in the army. (Letter July 31, 1946)

THE MICHAELS

The Michaels in Montreal, Myer and Levy, were descended from Solomon Hays, a member of an old American Jewish family of German origin. His daughter married a Michaels.

His grandson, Levy Michaels, while living in South Haven, L.I. in 1759, married Rachel Hays, daughter of Judah Hays, merchant of New York (1703-64), without the permission of her father.

A year before her father died he signed a will in which he excluded her from benefitting from his estate. She was to receive but five shillings. (Marcus, American Jewry, Documents, Pp. 12-14) There might be family history behind this hostility for Judah Hays had married a Rebecca Michaels, daughter of Moses Michaels of Germany in 1734-35.

Hays' forebodings and lack of confidence in his son-in-law were somewhat justified on one level, for in 1764, while residing in Montreal, Michaels had occasion to apply for a loan from the fund for the needy maintained by the New York Jewish congregation. His petition: "The petitioner, being alarmed with the unexpected and disagreeable situation of his daughter in this city, induced him to leave home and come to New York in the month of November last, and being unhappily detained here beyond the time he had fixed, has caused his money to become nearly exhausted.

"Labouring under the most pressing difficulties and a heavy expense for his support, and the great distance he has to travel home, lays him under the necessity of taking this method to lay his difficulty before you, and humbly prays you to take his case into consideration and grant him such a sum of money, upon loan, as you in your wisdom shall see meet and, as in duty bound, etc., which sum shall be returned as soon as possible after his arrival home." (P.90)

There is a complex tragedy behind this request, for what could be "unexpected and disagreeable situation of his daughter" in New York some five years after she married?

We note that Rachel Michaels died not long after, in Quebec, on May 2, 1768.

Yet Michaels' situation seems to have stabilized. A 1779 document in the Public Archives of Canada describes him as a butcher. (MG 8, C9, vol. 1, pt. 1, P. 170)

A son, Myer, was born to Levy and Rachel Michaels (July 1, 1760-1815) He married Fanny David, daughter of Lazarus David.

Myer Michaels was issued a licence to send goods to the west in 1780 and in 1781. Levy Solomons acted as his security. (PAC, RG 4, B28, vol. 115, Trade Licences, 1774-90)

By 1778 we note that he was chosen Hatan Bereshit in the Montreal synagogue.

The following April, he was among the seven signatories of a strict new code of member's ethics.

In the fall, he attended the election meeting of the congregation and contributed half a guinea towards the purchase of a third Scroll of the Law for the congregation.

Mr. Michaels and M. Michaels appear on the list of contributors to the cemetery fund in 1798.

We find Michaels' name on the merchants' petition of 1784 praying London to institute government by legislature. (PAC, MG 11, series Q., vol. 24-1, Pp. 1-16)

Michaels was in partnership with David David, his brother-in-law, for a time.

By the end of 1792 Michaels was in partnership with Samuel David. That November, teacher James Tunstall gave Messrs. David and Michaels a bill of exchange, being the amount of his salary from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. (MG 19, A2, seri. 3, vol. 71, P. 1533)

In Feb. 1793, David David was advertising that he will do business under the firm name of David & Michaels. (Quebec Gazette)

The partnership was dissolved on Nov. 10, 1795 "by mutual consent, all persons having any demands against them, are required to bring in the accounts for payment, and all those who are indebted to the said Partnership or either of them, are desired to pay the same without delay.

"N.B. They have on hand a compleat assortment, which they will sell Cheap for Cash. The business after that Period will be carried on as formerly by David David." (Ibid., Oct. 29 and Dec. 10, 1795)

The diary of Samuel David records that Myer Michaels arrived from the Mississippi via New York on Jan. 4, 1801 and set off for the upper country on Apr. 14. Similar entries appear on Sept. 22, 1802, Setp. 5, 1803.

The same document notes Michaels' departure for New York on Jan. 4, 1803 and on March 4, 1805. But this last voyage was not successful, for the roads being very bad, they had to leave from St. John the next day.

He died on Aug. 30, 1815, a fortnight before his father.

After his death, his widow, born a David of the family of constructive Jewish dedication -- the Davids who provided the sites of both cemetery and synagogue -- left a sum of money towards the building of a synagogue on condition that the Portuguese rite be followed within its walls. Benjamin Hart confirms this and he called upon this pledge in his battle for the perpetuation of this tradition.

Indeed, during the years of planning and social change and development which followed, the trustees of the old tradition often invoked the name and the presumed intention of Mrs. Michaels in support of their conservative case.

Yet, Michaels probably never saw Iberia.

Of course, the entire Portuguese story took place in a Spanish castle. Like so many legends, all the evidence in detail proves its falsity. Yet the story is true.

HYAM MYERS

Hyam Myers, one of the first Jews to settle in Canada, was a Schochet.

He began his career in 1750 at the bottom of the economic ladder when he arrived in New York from Amsterdam without any resources. He was named schochet for the Shearith Israel congregation in New York at £ 10 per annum with the tongues thrown in.

The name he brought with him from the Netherlands was Chaim Mears. (Rosenbloom. A Biographical Dictionary of Early American Jews. Pp. 100, 126; cited by Vaugeois) We do not know whether we face an example of not yet standardized spelling of the name at this time, or whether this is an index of acculturation; if the latter, to which culture, and from which culture?

It was not until 1759 that he went into business for himself; this soon grew considerably, much of it with Lower Canada.

The outbreak of war that year brought losses to merchants particularly to those dealing with the Indians, and Myers was one of the traders who appeared to Sir William Johnson, responsible for Indian affairs, for compensation or assistance. (Vaugeois, Les Juifs et la Guerre de sept ans, 1756-63. Thesis presented to Laval in 1967, notes that most of the documents in question were destroyed in a fire in 1911; the surviving papers survive in the New York State Library.)

Myers seems to have travelled much between New York and Canada. Vaugeois places him in Canada in the summer of 1760 and again in Montreal in March of 1761 and 1762. While en route from Montreal to New York that June he stopped off at Crown Point; possibly there were two return voyages to Montreal that summer.

By 1761 Myers was doing business with Quebec. Indeed, Vaugeois speaks of him as Jacobs' agent in New York, keeping him informed of market conditions, watching over his interests and filling his orders. His letter to Jacobs from New York, dated Nov. 23, depicts the business activities of this Jewish mercantile society.

"I received from you this date dated 8th October with your Drafts Enclosed on Capt. Dunbar, Capt. Witherstrom and Major Skey which I wish had come to hand sooner as the U.S. Army is gone from here this 4 dayes. But we hear here the Rendezvous is to be at Barbados, and as I have good Correspondence there, shall send the Drafts of Capt. Dunbar and Major Skey there which I hope will be honoured. I shall go to Morrow over the River to Capt. Witherstrom. I have likewise recd. 20 pieces Scotch Lawn. There was a Draft of yours drawn on a Major whose Name I don't recollect which was going about Town and nobody would take it, so I thought a Friend's Note should not go a begging. I bought it for £ 24 which was the sum drawn for. I have sold your house for £ 8. Mr. Levy's Clerk would not take him up with him. He would soon have eat himself up here. I have send by Mr. Levy's Clerk your Seal.

"I expect to be in Canada by the latter end of January where I hope to have the Pleasure of seeing you. I likewise hope you have located the goods I sent you by Capt. Simonson, with your Negro wench which sailed from here 2 Months ago. I remain your Loving Friend,

"P.S. Please my compliments to Mr. Isaac Levy. I hope he has located the goods I sent him. My compliments to Mr. Eleazar Levy."

The chase for the delinquent officers continues long, for the following March, Myers was reporting from Montreal to Jacobs at Quebec,

"I received letters from my wife which acquaints me your bills I sent to Barbados are come back as the officers they were upon did not touch there. Likewise cant receive any money of Capt. Wallerstrom for want of a power..."

In June 1762 Myers was able to report that Capt. Dunbar had died; of Maj. Shey there was no advice; John Law at Crown Point would not accept the draft, "so I left it at Gershom Levy."

We hear of Myers that year shipping rice, skates, coffee mills, buttons and fruit juice to Samuel Jacobs and to Aaron Hart.

In November Jacobs was writing Hart that the goods aboard the William and Mary were on the Quebec docks, but that Jacobs could not forward them to Trois-Rivières for lack of a bill of lading. (J.R. Marcus. Early American Jewry. Philadelphia, 1951. vol. 1, Pp. 211-12; Public Archives of Canada. Jacobs Letter Book, 1761)

A November 1761 letter cited by Vaugeois (P. 109 note 76) from Myers, presumably from Canada addressed to Samuel Jacobs in New York refers to goods Myers shipped to Isaac Levy and mentions Leazar Levy in a very friendly manner. He was rushing back to New York to be present at the birth of his youngest son Jacob. He made it by three days.

Possibly tiring of these dangerous trips which involved enormous risks, Myers decided the next year to bring his wife and three sons to Quebec and to settle there, in the home of Eleazar Levy who, at this point, removed to Montreal. (Jacobs Estate Papers, 1760-63, vol. 8, p. 95; cited by Vaugeois, Pp. 105-11)

A business document of 1761 indicates that Jacobs drew an order on John Law for goods bought that year in favour of Myers who had endorsed the order. Another draft on Law for £ 138 from Jacobs payable to Myers is dated April 18, 1762.

The following year we know of a long dispute in which the arbitrators held, on Aug. 1, 1763, that Myers should pay Jacobs' bill on Law. Arbitration did not end the differences and the case went on for years.

For a more balanced picture of the aspects of life in early Quebec we go to the advertisements in the Gazette of that city, e.g., that of Dec. 17, 1767:

Myers' wife was pregnant, but the child was born dead and "It has been industrially reported by some ill-minded persons that Mrs. Susanna Furth of Quebec, midwife, was blamable and unskilled in her profession." Not so, advertised Mr. Myers. "Noticing an irregularity early, Mrs. Furth had sought the assistance of a Doctor. In fact, it is verily believed that she was the means of saving the life of the mother."

We know of Myers going south in 1770 to visit the well-known Newport, R.I. merchant Aaron Lopez. Benjamin Lyon, who was living at Mackinac at the time, used the occasion to send a letter to Lopez through Myers, as Irving Katz reports in his The Beth El Story, with a History of the Jews of Michigan before 1850. (Detroit, 1955. P. 38)

Myers lived in Canada for many years. A census of the "Protestant" population of Quebec prepared about the year 1773 lists Hyam Myers. (National Historic Sites Office, Ottawa, Inventory of Historic Buildings)

During the War of the American Revolution he was taken captive by an American ship while on a voyage to New England. He sent a declaration of the intelligence gained during his captivity to the English authorities on July 12, 1778:

"Coming from Portsmouth last Spring with the Quebec Fleet on board the Garlo Quiver, I was on the 24th of June taken about ten leagues off Cape Rozier by the Harlequin Privateer belonging to Salerne, was carried there and thence conducted to Boston, where I remained a prisoner upon parole for six weeks, and then obtained liberty to come home to Quebec by land.

"On my arrival at Boston I heard that our troops left Philadelphia taking their route through the Jerseys and the Hook, and that an engagement happened near the Feron house at Monmouth, where General Lee was put under arrest. A short time after a report prevailed of a French fleet being arrived at the Delaware, and that it proceeded from thence to the outside of Sandy Hook, but did not choose to enter in on account of the preparations made by Lord Herve for their reception. Thence they proceeded to Newport where some of them lay at Nanaget, and their landed between three and four thousand French troops with some field pieces. By the best information I could get I learned that they did not remain there twenty-four hours before they embarked, and stood to sea, on their perceiving a fleet, on the day following, there was at Boston the strongest gale of wind that had been felt a long time, and I heard no more of either Fleet, until a French twenty-four gun ship came to Nantasket, which had fallen in with an English sixty-four gun ship and engaged three hours. I saw the French ship myself. She was much shattered. I was informed that General Sullivan continued his approach on Rhode Island with about eight or ten thousand men, a train of artillery, from Boston, and about 120 Matrossis,

in high spirits as if sure of succeeding in a few days after the French fleet returned to Point Judith, the French admiral, a ship of 90 guns entirely dismasted, expresses then went backward and forward between Rhode Island and Boston. The next account was that the French fleet put out to sea again, and a French officer arrived at Boston to desire that the Council may order necessities for the Fleet which he expected to arrive there incessantly. Messrs. Price and Haygood undertook the supplying them.

"Reports immediately prevailed that Sullivan was coming away from Rhode Island. This Report was strengthened and gained more credit every 12 hours. The day before I left Boston I saw Mr. Hancock who commanded the Massachusetts Militia returned from Rhode Island and it was then publicly known that their army got off the Island. I also heard that this was done in consequence of orders to that purpose received from General Washington -- I saw the captain of the French 74 gun ship, part of his arm was shot away, and sixty or seventy of his men were killed and wounded. Pilots were despatched away to look for the Fleet, and as I crossed Charlestown on my way to Canada, I heard between fifty and sixty guns fired, which the people in the ferry boat apprehended to be a salute, and that the Fleet was arrived. And I do believe it was." (PAC, MG 21, Pt. 1, vol. 278, Pp. 26-28)

It was this adventure that led Myers to be in London just when the Montreal community was requesting the rabbi of the metropolis to help them choose a minister. So it happened that Hyams signed the agreement, on Feb. 13, 1778, with the Rev. Jacob Raphael Cohen which brought Cohen to Lower Canada as the first schochet and Hazan in the annals of Canada.

In Nov. 1784, Hyams was one of the signers of the petition for a constitution and for a government based on "fixed and liberal principles."

SOLOMON MYERS

Solomon Myers Cohen was living at Eleazar Levy's in Quebec on March 3, 1768. At the time, he was advertising the best Jamaica rum, cordials, vinegar, green and Canzo tea, snuff, and groceries for sale. (Quebec Gazette)

We hear of him in New York in 1786, from a letter from Dorothy (Mrs. Aaron) Hart to her son Moses.

A letter was waiting for him to claim in the Quebec post office early in January, 1808. (Quebec Gazette, Jan. 13, 1803)

At the end of June 1810, Solomon Myers' lot of ground in the Quebec Suburb of Montreal, was seized and placed at auction. (Quebec Gazette, July 1810)

Another son of Myers, Myer Myers, died in Haiti on April 5, 1791. (Rosenbloom, P. 115)

HEINEMAN PINES

We find the name of Heineman Pines among the dozen signatories to the remarkable code of laws adopted by the Montreal congregation in 1779 and note his contribution towards the purchase of a third Scroll, in addition to the two which "came out under the care of Mr. Jos. Pines."

The Lawrence Lande Collection of Canadian Historical Documents and Manuscripts (Montreal, 1980, p. 544) holds a March 6, 1781 letter from Heineman Pines at Rivière du loup to W.D. Powell, later Chief Justice of Upper Canada, regarding one P. Giron, a witness in a case. (no. B534)

Vaugois places Heineman Pines at St.-Antoine de la Rivière du loup.

On April 14, 1783 he advertised in the Quebec Gazette that "he has purchased on the 11th instant of Joseph Joyal, dit Carssi, a lot of land situate in the fief of St. Jean, on the road leading to Masquinongé, in the Seignory of the Religious Ladies of the Ursulines of Three Rivers, consisting of three arpents in front by twenty arpents in depth, joining on one side to Mr. Amable Belaire, and on the other side to Alexis Pichet.

"All persons having demands on the aforesaid lot of land are requested to give notice thereof to the underwritten proprietor." He gives his address as Machiche.

In Dec. he had the sheriff seize "and take in execution, as belonging to the said Jean Baptiste Goyet, a lot or piece of land situate at the River David, in the Seignory of Yamaska, in the district aforesaid, containing three arpents in front by twenty-five arpents in depth, bounded in the front by the said River, and on each side by ungranted lands, with a log house and a stable thereon erected; and also, as belonging to the said Michel Ritchot, another lot or piece of land situate in the said Seignory of Yamaska, containing four arpents and three quarters in front by the whole depth thereof, bounded in the front by the Great River Yamaska, and behind by the line of Saint Francis, on one side by the Widow Gaucher, and on the other side by....Garsonnet, with a house, a barn and other

buildings thereon erected; and also, as belonging to the said Joseph Laferté, the Elder, and Joseph Laferté, the Younger, a lot or piece of land situate at the River David aforesaid, containing three arpents in front by twenty-five arpents in depth, bounded on one side by Jean Baptiste La Rivière, and on the other side by Michel La Rivière, with a log house and a stable thereon erected:" to be sold at auction in April 1784. (Gazette, Dec. 18, 1783)

Towards the end of 1790 Heineman Pines and his wife, Elizabeth Holmes of Rivière du loup, lost their properties to John Blackwood in the Court of Common Pleas. The list takes a column in the Gazette of Jan. 13, 1791:

Four concessions of land on the Chacoura River in the Parish of Rivière du loup, 12 by 30 arpents,

An arpent in area on the Rivière du loup,

A Potash manufacturing plant with kettles as heavy as 1400 lbs. on a point of land on the Rivière du loup,

A lot 2 by 30 arpents in Mr. Guky's seigneurie,

Lots 4 by 20 arpents on the Rivière du loup, with the rights of common thereto belonging,

Half an arpent in the common,

Land on Lac St. Pierre,

Three other lots, Rivière du loup.

For whatever reason, Rev. J.R. Cohen listed the passing of Moses Joseph Pines in London on Dec. 2, 1779 (23 Kislev 5540). His Hebrew name is given as Moses Joseph bar Phineas Abraham bar Abraham bar Joseph Hachohen. (Carré, P. 52)

LYON JONAS

The name of Jonas appears in early synagogue records.

From the fall of 1783 we have his business card:

"Lyon Jonas, Furrier, Living in St. Paul's Street, opposite Mr. St. Dezier, has for sale: A General and complete assortment of Muffs and Tippetts, in the newest taste, Ermine Cloak Linings, &c. &c. Also a parcel of ground Squirrel Muffs and Tippetts, and the very best black Martin and Martin throat ditto for exportation.

"He likewise manufactures and sells Gentlemen's Caps and Gloves lined with Furr, very useful for Travelling, he also Trims Ladies' Robes and riding Dresses, and Lappels Gentlemen's Coats and Vests.

"He buys and sells all sorts of Furrs, wholesale and retail."
(Quebec Gazette)

His name appears on the record of 1798 contributors to the cemetery.

JACOB DE MAURERA

Rosenberg notes that Jacob de Maurera came to Canada with Gen. Amherst's army in 1760. Sack refers to him as a sergeant, (P.41). Rosenberg notes he was a lieutenant in 1780 and a captain eight years later. He married a French Canadian girl in Christ Church in Montreal on Sept. 10, 1768. (G. Malchelosse. "Les Juifs dans l'histoire canadienne", in Cahiers des dix, no. 4, 1939, P. 170.)

His name appears on 1773 and 1774 petitions of Montrealers in regard to constitutional questions. (Vaugeois, P. 91)

JOSEPH BINDON

Joseph Bindona might have anglicized his name to Bindon. Denis Vaugeois evokes the possibility that he may be the Joseph Benden who married Ann Wagins in the Montreal Church of England before the Rev. David Chabrand Délisle in 1771. Experience in research in the period indicates that there is no necessary connection between this possibility and our finding a Joseph Bindon on a list of Montreal Protestant residents. Neither of the two facts brought to light by Vaugeois supports or negates that the person or persons mentioned was of Jewish origin or even of Jewish affiliation. (Les Juifs et la Nouvelle France. Trois-Rivières, Editions Boréal express, 1966. P. 113, note 27)

He appears in the business records of the 1770's, at least once in association with such Jewish merchants as Lyons, David and Levy Solomons (in supporting Abraham Jacobs' petition for a liquor license). (PAC, Shop licenses, vol. 120, 1772)

Lawrence Ermatinger's records tell of transactions with Joseph Bindon in Sept., Oct. and Nov. 1770, including a cash loan to Bindon.

A Sept. 17, 1772 Barracks account for rum exists.

On Nov. 13, 1774, Edward Harrison draws on Ermatinger in favour of Bindon, and as late as July 16, 1776, Davis, Strachan and Co. of London accepted bills of exchange in favour of Bindon. (PAC, MG 19, A2, ser. 3, vols. 87 and 88)

The name of Joseph Bindon is on the Nov. 29, 1773 and Nov. 12, 1774 Quebec petitions on constitutional questions.

Marcus places Bindon on the side of the southern rebels when the American Revolution broke out. He ascribes a Jewish concern for Bindon's support of these "petitions for more political autonomy. These indicated that they shared the views of the overwhelming mass of English-Canadian merchants. But a signature to a petition did not necessarily constitute an act of rebellion, and by 1776 the majority of the merchants were disposed to rest contentedly in the shadow of the British lion.

"The recent Quebec Act of 1774 tended to revive the reactionary, discriminatory, pre-English pattern of the French, and augured ill for the future of the Jews in Canada. By implication at least, this new act, which became operative in May, 1775, closed the door to Jewish emancipation less than two weeks after the outbreak of the revolution which these Jews sensed would bring that equality, now becoming more elusive than ever in Canada! It is not strange that several Jews went along with the Americans in Canada; it is surprising that the others did not share or express the same sentiments.

"There were some Canadians who were pro-American. Carleton, the governor, listed twenty-nine of them. A few merchants who loved liberty more than shillings and pence sacrificed the logic of personal gain and rallied to the American cause. Among the Jews, Franks was such a man; Joseph Bindon -- who may have been a Jew -- and Levy Solomons were two others. Bindon, or Bindona, one of the earliest of the pioneer English merchants, helped the Americans as they advanced up the Richelieu Valley on the way to Montreal and to Quebec. There was no question about his fervent loyalty to the ideals of the invaders. Later, when the Americans retired, he fled the country and in 1786 was named to the important post of clothier-general in the American government." (Early American Jewry. I. 253-55)

In his Additional Papers, de Maseres cites an incident involving Bindon as proof of the friendly intentions of the Americans,

"As to the party that appeared at St. John's, in the province of Quebec, their proceedings were a proof that they did not intend to invade Canada, or molest any of its inhabitants: For when a Mr. Bindon, an English merchant in Montreal, fell into their hands at St. John's (whither he went, by the permission of a Field-Officer, of the 26th regiment, to look after some goods which he had sent there, in order to be carried over Lake Champlain to Major Skeene's settlement, called Skeene's-Borough, near the Lake,) they treated him well, kept him all night, and then sent him back with a letter, writ by one Allen, to the people of Montreal, in which he assured them that the provincials had not the least intention of committing hostilities, or any way molesting the Canadians or the Indians; that their business was only to procure stores, provisions, and some ammunition, to the amount of 500 l. which they would pay for." (P. 193)

Always assuming that we are dealing with the same person, and that he was Jewish, we might care to note a 1791 sheriff's sale in Montreal of the property of Samuel Judah on St. Paul St. in Montreal in which Joseph Bindon was involved. (Quebec Gazette, notice of sale dated July 18, 1791)

JACOB KUHN

Some records indicate that Jacob Kuhn, a German who had served in the British army, was of Jewish origin.

In 1777 he was bailiff in Montreal and probably held this post for a decade. In 1887 he testified at hearings on proposals for the reform of the administration of justice.

Later he was, in effect, police commissioner for many years.

His name appears among the signers of the November, 1774 petition for a legislature. (Sack, Pp. 63, 66)

A September 20, 1787 document refers to Jacob Kuhn as bailiff in Montreal for upwards of ten years. (Public Archives of Canada, Series Q, MG 11, vol. 30, Pt. 2, P.536; Canadian Jewish Archives, n.s. no. 19, P. 84)

His name occurs in the records with Protestant connections, so that there is reason to question whether he was Jewish.

LES FRAPPIER

The Frappier family of the Gaspé have it as a tradition that its Quebec founder was Martin Samuel or Samuels or Samuelson, who came to the area 1797-1800. He settled at Rivière au Renard, some 22 miles west of Gaspé, and married Barbe D'Anharque at that time. He was French or German, and may have come from Russia.

A great aunt, now 92 years old, remembers that her great uncles wore skull caps and were bearded.

The family tradition has it that the pioneer Martin Samuel was particularly generous to the missionary sisters and brothers who visited the area. In appreciation they named the parish, when it was established in 1860, the Parish of Rivière au Renard de St. Martin.

SCHLEMIELS

Schlemiels were a constant element of all frontiers. (It belies their mobility to call them a fixture.) The early Canadian frontier was no exception whether mid-eighteenth century Quebec or mid-nineteenth century Victoria.

To appreciate them as persons or as Jewish social function we must not think of them as comic figures or ask their credit rating. After all, the name means the "Peace of God." To think of them as misfits is to impoverish our conceptions of society and of types within the society of Judaism.

We were better to relate them to the much higher category of Batlonim who resign from the vocational structure and dedicate themselves to the roles of musing and of thinking and of the ethical presence in society. (After all, the etymology of their name refers to the philosophy and to psychology which rests upon annulment of the irrelevant world that surrounds us, particularly upon the insistent, often human, evil world to which category belong violent forces of nature, anti-Semitism, floods, earthquakes, etc. Therefore, it matters not to them that those outside their craft find them impractical and useless to the ends of these observers.)

As such they are at the foundations of society and almost as essential to its existence as the Tzadikim. For the Batlonim and these Holy men are applying the complex and far-reaching concept of Bitul (annihilation) to a world and to a mankind that may not deserve better, just as the Chakramim, the musing folk philosophers, are subjecting them to an endless purposeless study all their own.

To "Help Wanted" ads they do not apply, even when Judaism wants help.

In any case, these peripatetics also knew early Lower Canada.

We came to know Shimeleh (familiar and diminutive form of Simon) of Montreal when he turned up in New York. When asked such unreal questions as to where he was going, he condescended to speak of London; he would land wherever it was the ship docked -- if he was on board.

But everywhere there were friends, and this time it was Moses Myers, the rich merchant who had grown up in Quebec as the son of Hyam Myers and who by now had prospered in the southern colony. He still had a warm spot in his heart for anything Canadian, even for a needy one. Now he helped raise £ 14 for him and put him on board the fast packet Speedwell. But the following morning Shimeleh was back on shore still in New York. He explained that he could not use his phylacteries on the ship.

So Shimeleh was sent back to Montreal. (J.R. Marcus. Early American Jewry. II-205)

It is from Samuel Jacobs that we learn of Mr. Aaron, whom he engaged and posted briefly at St. Anthuene on the Richelieu in 1761 -- without much satisfaction.

In November he wrote his agent Curtius (Marcus cites),

"As for that fellow I sent you up, as I believe he is of no service to you, send him to Montreal. There he (w)ill find some Jews that will be more agreeable to him. By all means I would have you send him."

The same month he wrote Aaron,

"It is my desire on the rec't of this letter you (w)ill leave my house at St. Anthuene. You have been at a good expense to me and of no service; therefore you (w)ill try if you can be of any to yourself, and prepare to Montreal where you (w)ill let each of our brethren take an equal trouble with you as I have done. For had you staid much longer in York, you would tire out your friends there, which was but few.

"Let my advice still be to you, not to aim at merchandise to raise yourself by, at the present, but go into some honest house and work for your victuals, and if you get nothing too aforehand you (w)ill still keep yourself out of trouble and be an honest man.

"Ingenuity will shine in a man even if he is carrying a log of wood, therefore let the man you are with find out your ingenuity by merit, and not by them horn buttons you have brought with you, which are not worth five pence, and you have exposed me with them, both here and there, if it had been in your power.

"Therefore I have no more to say to you, and you will be careful not to take anything in my name any where for yourself, or go to any of my houses either at Montreal, here, or any where else where I have any intrust. Or else I shall bring you in trouble. Therefore endeavour for an honest livelihood and (I) may be your friend when deserving."

The letter is of considerable cultural interest. It reflects the ethos of the merchant community, its measure of moral qualities, the modes of success. Although the English language in which it is written is imperfect, the sources of its contents are clearly not Jewish. Some parts are almost copied from English moralizing books. It was a literary style that Jacobs did not reserve only for Mr. Aaron. His letters to Christian gentlemen such as Mr. Singleton which Marcus quotes are written in the same manner. Or do we have the intervention of a well read clerk into Jacobs' Yiddishisms?

At the same time Jacobs recommends action on a Jewish plane of living, within the Jewish community of Quebec, Montreal and New York.

In fact, this failed businessman and Schlemiel, as Marcus calls him, for half a year was schochet in New York, which confirms something about the background of "the Jewish civil service" at the time. (Marcus. I: 209-11)

Readers of such documentation of daily life on frontiers will recognize that the ends of the line, whether Quebec or the Pacific coast, or earlier twentieth century railroad termini and small towns in the west and in the north, are familiar with these Jewish rolling stones of unexpected background.

Dealing with them, if only on a charity basis, often furnished early occasions for the settled Jewish community to meet and to organize into rudimentary social service institutions.

THE COMMUNITY BEGINS

By the mid-1760's or so, Jewish businessmen had settled in Montreal and their operations extended over what is now Quebec and Ontario and into Michigan. Marcus computes them to count a tenth of the city's mercantile community. (Early American Jewry, II, 413)

Some of them remained in Montreal to Hart's day, after they had intermarried with each other, and came to constitute a useful and viable Jewish sub-culture, with such names as Davids, Franks, Hays, Jacobs, Judahs and Solomons -- all of them prominent in the civic and business life and in their own congregation. (Canadian Jewish Archives, new series, nos. 15-20)

As one regards the organized structure of the Canadian people and corporate bodies of its citizenry for purposes of action for the ends of each group and of Canadian citizenry for its common ends, we need to note their pioneer step towards giving the Jewish citizenry of the nation their instruments for the realization of the intention of these groups and for the realization in the Canadian conspectus and in Canadian soil of the ancient and durable intention of Judaism.

There is literalness in the Jewish tradition of calling each Jewish community a Kehillah Kdoshah, a Sacred Community.

Unclear Beginning

We know very little of its first organization; even its date is a matter of tradition, most firmly recorded a century later by the de Solas who were very conscious of the "ancient" antecedents of the synagogue.

It has often been stated that the Montreal Jewish congregation first organized in 1768. Indeed, the memorial plaque to mark the site of the first synagogue put up during the Fêtes de Montréal in 1890 gives that as the date of the foundation of the congregation.

Yet, B.G. Sack is precise in the date he gives of the first convening of the Jews of Montreal: Dec. 30, 1768. (History of the Jews in Canada. Montreal, Harvest House, 1965. p. 50)

The 1768 date is not confirmed by any contemporary document, and is mentioned later in 1892 by J.D. Borthwick, who is also the first to describe the 1779 building. In his History and Biographical Gazetteer of Montreal to the year 1892 he notes,

"In 1768 this little band of early Hebrew pioneers formed themselves into a congregation and took the name of 'Shearith Israel' (Remnant of Israel), and thus was founded the Spanish and Portuguese Congregation which still bears that name; for the first colonists being nearly all descended from Hebrews of Spain and Portugal adhered to the impressive and venerable ritual of the Sephardic (Spanish) Jews, a ritual to which the descendants of these founders have ever since clung with unswerving loyalty.

"After worshipping for nine years in a room, they, in 1777, built the first synagogue ever erected in Canada, upon a piece of property between Notre Dame and St. James street, near the Court House, and belonging to the David family. It was a low stone building with a red roof, and was surrounded by a high stone wall."

In all likelihood Borthwick received his information from Clarence I. de Sola, son of Rev. Abraham de Sola, who at this time was also preparing his historical sketches for the Jewish Chronicle of London and the Montreal Star.

M. Brown gives the 1768 date as the origin of the congregation in his Ph.D. thesis on Jewish Foundations in Canada: the Jews, the French and the English, to 1914. (State University of New York at Buffalo, 1976, P. 90)

Assuming it was founded in 1768, the Montreal Jewish congregation was the ninth on the continent, according to the compilation of Rudolph Glanz. It was preceded by New York (1655), Newport (1658), Schaefferstown in Pennsylvania (1732), Savannah (1733), Boston (1733), Philadelphia (1738), Lancaster in Penna. (1747), Charleston (1749) and Reading in Penn. (1761). Montreal thus anteceded New Haven, Baltimore, Cincinnati and Cleveland. ("The Twenty-five Oldest Jewish Communities in the U.S.", in YIVO Blaetter, vol. 26, Pp. 37-49. Yiddish)

The earliest sketch of the history of the congregation which we have was composed by the Rev. Abraham de Sola and appears in the Jewish Calendar for Fifty Years from 5614 till 5664 (1834-1904) which he published together with Rev. J.J. Lyons in Montreal in 1854. That two-page entry contains no reference to any congregation before the erection of the synagogue upon the property of David David.

When the officers of the congregation laid the cornerstone of the Stanley St. synagogue in 1887 they included a "history on vellum of your congregation from 1777 to 1887, with the names of officers in 1887." No reference to 1768. (Report of P.B. Hart, treasurer. to Board of Trustees, Aug. 22, 1956)

So Rabbi Solomon Frank notes that no records of 1768 have survived. Even no memory, for only well after a century had passed, long after the source or the memory of the tradition of any participants or even of their grandchildren, was this date first mentioned.

Rabbi Frank follows a tradition by stating that services were first held in rented quarters on St. James St. (Two Centuries in the Life of a Synagogue. Montreal, 1968. p. 28)

Rosenberg, too, states that "the small Jewish community in Montreal had met occasionally for worship in temporary quarters in a room on St. James St. until 1777."

This would be in conformity with the pattern of the beginnings of the first Jewish congregation in various cities on the continent, fully documented, for instance, in the case of Toronto, Victoria and Vancouver. But Rosenberg gives no supporting source for his report.

Whatever the precise date, the convocation of Montreal Jews with the purpose of organization was a historic event sweeping far beyond the religious. It was the first step towards the establishment of the Montreal -- and indeed of the Canadian -- Jewish community.

Another Beginning

The convocation of the synagogue must be taken in conjunction with another institutional development, although it came through a more personal initiative.

As vital and primary as the synagogue in the life of a Jewish community is the cemetery, for the commandments regarding proper burial in properly consecrated ground is far more binding than communal prayer. The first Canadian Jew of record to expire in Canada, a trader in Yamachiche, invoked the urgent need of a cemetery and of Chevrah Kadishah facilities. Neighbour Aaron Hart did his best, (Canadian Jewish Archives, new series, no. 15, p.91)

So it was that this Trois-Rivières Jew set aside land as the sacred repose for any of Jewish origin whose life ended in the colony.

At about the same time, in 1775, Lazarus David probably also on his own initiative acquired a plot for the same purpose in Montreal. (Canadian Jewish Archives, new series, no. 19, Pp. 57-69)

In keeping with these traditional priorities we note the brief sketch history by Rev. de Sola. He records the consecration of these cemeteries at greater length allotting barely two lines to the early synagogue,

"In 1775, was purchased a piece of ground in the St. Antoine Suburbs, Montreal, for a Beth Haim to which an additional piece of land was added in 1809, the gift of David David, upon whose property was erected in Notre Dame Street, adjoining the present Court House, the first Synagogue building possessed by the Jews in Canada. The earliest record of interment in the Beth Haim of Montreal, is that of Lazarus David, 22nd October, 1776; while the oldest standing grave stone is that of Moses Nathan, 7th March, 1804, the first mentioned tomb-stone having been replaced in 1824 by another under which it was placed. In the town of Three Rivers, a piece of land was appropriated by the Hart family for a Beth Haim, one half retained by the family, the other for the use of all Israelites. The ground which is in Alexander, off Hart Street, is still used."

The Complex Meaning of Sephard

The terms Ashkenaz and Sephard occur as place names in the Bible, and their identification in the original texts is unclear. Only much later in Jewish history, as late as the Middle Ages, did Sephard come to mean Spain and Ashkenaz, Germany. By this association the terms came to describe the Jewish cultures which developed in each of these European centres. For much more than a millenium Judaism was equally but differently creative in each of these regions -- on the Mediterranean and in the east where Islam in its time exerted its influence on the one hand, and in northern Europe which came to know the impact of German and its Jewish offshoot, Yiddish, and of Rashi's emphasis on the Talmud on the other. These Jewish civilizations constitute Judaism since the eastern Gaonic period.

Among the minor differences that developed over the ages between these Jewish cultures were some variations in ritual, a very considerable body of liturgical poetry which each of the centres incorporated into its worship, and totally different musical traditions in their synagogues.

To complicate the subject some Ashkenazi groups adopted some elements of the Sephardi order of services, so that the liturgical library contains the Sephardi's own prayer books, the East European Ashkenazi prayer book and the East European Ashkenazi prayer book of Sephardi rite.

Another pairing of the terms is in the realm of pronunciation of Hebrew; over the years each of the two centres adopted their own pronunciation systems. But, with the emergence of the Hebraic movement a century ago to revive Hebrew as a language of speech, basically an element of the Zionist movement in Eastern Europe, the Ashkenazi accepted the Sephardi as the more legitimate mode and today a modification of the Sephardi pronunciation is dominant, especially in Israel.

It is barely necessary to state that in factual terms there is very little distinction between the two Jewish historic streams; the Ashkenazi and the Sephardi. They are of the same familial origin going back to the Biblical Abraham; they subscribe to the same Jewish religion, observe the same rituals, festivals and religious law, cherish the same cultural traditions, build on the same history and revere the same sages and heroes. This ancient people has resided in many lands and among many nations.

Those who are descended from Jews who have for long lived in Iberia and in Moslem lands have added traditions and lore of their own, while others who are similarly marked by residence in Germany and then in Russia have their own -- all superimposed on the fundamental underlying Jewish heritage.

Dealing as we are with an ancient history enacted on a very extensive geography, we can now be precise in regard to the Montreal phenomenon.

In history the two terms, Ashkenaz and Sephard, have shed at least as much heat as light on the annals of Canadian Jewry.

Historians of western Jewry agree that after 1648 -- a century before the coming of the first Jews to Canada -- the Sephardi influence in the western hemisphere has been at best vestigial.

The flow of migrants westward from Eastern Europe since the holocaust of mid-seventeenth century has been continuous and sweeping.

As Edwin Wolf and Maxwell Whiteman put it,

"A movement started westward, and stragglers from the east gravitated to those places where the Spanish and Portuguese Jews had found havens. Holland was the choicest refuge, for Amsterdam was the richest Jewish community of Europe, but soon under Cromwell the back door of England was opened.

"At first the Sephardic merchants and then a steady, if small, stream of Jews from Germany and Poland began to settle there. A new flow and a new route opened up. From Poland to Germany -- where old communities like Frankfurt, Worms and Hamburg were augmented, and new settlements began where the authorities begrudgingly granted permission -- from Germany to Holland, from Holland to England, from England to America -- one by one, and but rarely family by family -- stopping a generation or two on the way -- thousands of Jews from the troubled east headed west.

"After the first wave of Jews of Iberian countries settled here, there was little pressure on them to emigrate in numbers from Europe, for by 1700 they were successfully and prosperously established in Amsterdam and London and Hamburg. From that time on comparatively few Sephardim crossed the ocean.

"On the other hand, the continued chaos in Poland, the War of the Austrian Succession, and the aggressive progress of Prussia through Central Europe kept pushing the uneasy Jews of the east westward; and in increasing numbers they made their way to the American frontier: the Levys, the Cohens, and the Isaacs of New York, the Gratzes and the Franks of Philadelphia, the Harts of Canada, the Myers of Charleston, and the Sheftalls of Savannah." (The History of the Jews of Philadelphia from Colonial Times to the Age of Jackson. Philadelphia, Jewish Publication Society, 1957. Pp. 6-7)

They comment on a world-wide phenomenon which occurs also in Montreal,

"It is curious that before American Jewish history began to be written there had already grown up a myth of the predominance of Spanish and Portuguese Jews in colonial America. As a matter of fact, by the time of the Revolution there were far more Ashkenasic Jews in North America than Sephardim.

"Yet the myth was based on a germ of truth. All the earliest congregations of America used the Sephardic ritual, and it was not until 1795 that the first Ashkenazic synagogue was founded in Philadelphia. However, the reason is clear. The New York synagogue and the Newport synagogue were actually founded by men of Sephardic ancestral heritage, and those who followed them were not inclined to argue ritualistic points. They accepted what was there. More important, and as was the case with Mikveh Israel in Philadelphia, there was a social *éclat* attached to Sephardic practice and Sephardic society. In Amsterdam and in London, through which most of the early immigrants passed, the descendants of the Marranos were the leaders of the community, the established, the cultured, the integrated Jews.

"So it was that in America it seemed better to begin at this level of society, at least as far as form of worship was concerned, and throughout the country Sephardic synagogues were joined and founded by Yiddish-speaking Jews."

SEPHARAD

One tradition that was established early and was zealously guarded in Montreal was the particular London Sephardic rite and pronunciation of Hebrew.

Within the widely spread Sephardi world London was one of the secondary centres. Yet, as Montreal adopted its custom, this ritual definition of Sephard legitimized the title of Portuguese on the congregation.

The term Sephard in the Canadian context refers to the background of some Jews in England who derive from Amsterdam where a number of Jews had migrated from Iberia, the heart of the Sephard tradition.

On the world map of Sephard this early Montreal is distant from the homes of the occasional Italian or Rhodes Sephardi who appears later on the rolls or cemetery records of the congregation, and still further from Morocco or Algiers which enter the Canadian scene in the 1960's.

But there is a much greater distancing. As we note the link between Iberia and the founding community of London Jews in mid-seventeenth century, we know that in the course of the decades that followed many other Jews from other countries, often from areas not very far east of Amsterdam, added to the number of the original handful of Jews in London. Their history had been rooted not in the Torquemada country of Spain but in the Slavic and Germanic geography of Chmielnitzky. Their language of history was not Ladino but Yiddish. Their vague toponymy and their strong semantics were not Sephard.

Being later and poorer arrivals in Britain they were slower to build synagogues and to acquire for them the prestige of the temples of Spanish origin Jewry. When business venturing took them to the New World and to its English colonies they were not opposed to attaching to themselves and to the New York congregation the label and the rite of the premier synagogue of the empire. When Montreal became a daughter synagogue of London, they were pleased to call themselves the grand-daughter of London and adopted the London name of Shaar Hashomayim.

It could comfortably have been otherwise. If the same Lower Canada pioneers had come directly from their Hertz Mountains area homes without a London stopover, they would have attached as loyally to the Ashkenaz label which, substantially, was not so different.

As examples of the distinctive Sephard traditions we can note: a slight difference in the pronunciation of some Hebrew vowels and consonants, and another musical tradition in the chanting of the prayers.

The meaning of these essentially minor characteristics in the history of the synagogue has been misunderstood for many years. Indeed, this failure of recognition has grown over the years and has assumed new dimensions two hundred years after its Quebec origin.

In its day it was natural for the colonial frontier synagogue to relate to the older and major synagogue of the imperial capital. The Jews of New York and other colonial centres had followed this procedure, so that Montreal adopted the rite of the London establishment and the name of the New York synagogue.

It was an index of loyalty and of integration into the Jewish culture of the empire. Indeed, the condescension towards the later comers, new immigrants many of whom were poorer and closer to the Yiddish (the language was then called German) than were the English-rooted older settlers, was an early manifestation of the usual resentment of newcomers.

Since this phenomenon was not confined to Montreal but appeared at this time in England and many other countries, a folkloric tradition developed of the pride of the "pure" Sephardi "aristocrats", all of them descendants of Iberian ministers of state, in contrast with the impoverished German Jews. Israel Zangwill gave literary immortality to this snobbish fiction in his tale of a proud Sephardi beggar contemptuous of a wealthy Ashkenazi from whom he sought alms.

The folkloric differentiation persisted long after the advantages of the older-settled Jews had dissipated and the newer arrivals had caught up economically and in terms of integration into Canadian society; indeed, later the despised "Germans" were able, in turn, to look down upon the wave of immigrants who had followed them, and who could be called "green" Russians and Poles. A century after the name Sephard attached to Montreal, the "German-Slavic" confrontation proved much more serious in Jewish history, culture and religion throughout Europe, America and Palestine.

In the meantime, French Canadian readers of Jewish history often misunderstood the distinction in the process of seizing the concept of the Quebec Jew. It seemed to them that it was parallel to the Catholic-Protestant and anglophone-francophone differences, and represented a serious feature of the Canadian Jewish scene.

In the 1960's Canada received many thousands of Sephardim, this time francophones from North Africa and the Moslem lands to the east.

This opened another chapter in Canadian history. But just prior to that development Rosenberg had occasion to write to Dr. Ignacy Schwartzbard of the World Jewish Congress,

"The situation in Canada, insofar as Jews of Sephardic origin is concerned, is entirely different from that in the United States. We did not have in this country prior to 1948 any groups of appreciable size of Jews of Sephardic origin who came from Bulgaria, Salonika, North Africa, Egypt, or the West Indies. It is possible, however, that a number of Jewish families of Sephardic origin from Greece, Bulgaria, Egypt, Algeria and Morocco have settled in Canada in the post-war period since 1946.

"I have visited and have personal knowledge of practically every Jewish community in Canada with a Jewish population of more than 30 families, and many communities which are even smaller, and my estimate of 100 as the total number of Jews of Sephardic origin in Canada was, I believe, close to the actual number in Canada in 1951."
(May 27, 1954)

After the middle of the twentieth century the concept became more complex with the arrival in Canada of tens of thousands of Jewish newcomers who differed from other Jewish immigrants in that they were francophone, coming as they did from North Africa and the near east. They appeared to Québécois as a distinct Jewish group, nearer to them at least linguistically. In cultural and political terms there were important openings and accesses, so that interesting and fruitful relationships were created.

It was the easier for French Canadians to develop these differences and to comprehend them by distinguishing, and even making, a contra-distinction between these new francophone Sephardi Jews and the earlier waves of immigrants who did not know French when they arrived.

These conditions cohered with the confrontations that these new arrivals -- like all streams of new immigrants -- encountered with those Jews who had arrived earlier. These went beyond the social process of this wave of immigrants -- like the earlier -- establishing their own social and cultural structures, their adaptation to the local scene, their integration into the milieu. All of this serving to highlight anew, and more strongly, the Sephardi identity, quite without any continuity with the first emergence of the term in Canadian history.

Sephardim in Montreal?

The Montreal Star of Dec. 30, 1893 gives the names of Sephardi Fernandez de Fonseca, Uriel Moresco, Hananel Garcia, Emanuel de Maurera and Joseph Bindona. But the historical records of early Canadian Jewry scarcely mention their names.

Rosenberg has adequately disposed of the myth that Lower Canada Jews of the eighteenth century were Sephardi Jews.

"It would appear that most among the earliest Jewish settlers who were of Spanish origin and who bore Spanish or Portuguese names left Canada during the first quarter of a century after their arrival, and the majority of those who remained and were among the earliest members of the Spanish and Portuguese Congregation in Montreal were actually Jews of Ashkenazi origin.

"It is often assumed that the wealthier and permanent early Jewish residents of London, England during the second half of the seventeenth century were Sephardic Jews, particularly since the first Jewish synagogue in London was a Sephardic synagogue, and it was on behalf of the Sephardic Jews that Menasseh ben Israel pleaded with Oliver Cromwell for their admission to England.

"There are grounds for believing that there was a considerable settlement of Ashkenazi Jews in London during the last quarter of the seventeenth century, and some of these Ashkenazi Jews were quite wealthy. Moreover, prior to the erection of the first Ashkenazi synagogue in London in 1690, some of the wealthier Ashkenazi Jews were accepted as members of the Spanish and Portuguese Congregation in London.

"Although a resolution was passed by the Spanish and Portuguese Congregation in London, England in 1768-69 that "no 'tudesco' (Ashkenazi Jew) be allowed to hold office in the synagogue, to vote at meetings, to be called to the Law, to receive congregational honors, to pay imposts or make offenses without special permission", this permission was usually granted to Ashkenazim who were sufficiently wealthy or influential, and the prohibition was modified in 1682 permitting the presiding parnass of the Spanish and Portuguese Congregation to call Ashkenazi Jews to the Torah at his discretion.

"Even in London in the last quarter of the seventeenth century and the first quarter of the eighteenth century, there were a number of cases where Ashkenazi Jews had become members of the Spanish and Portuguese Congregation in London, and had subsequently become members of the newly established Ashkenazi congregation in that city, retaining membership in both.

"It has often been assumed that the early Ashkenazi Jewish settlers in London were German Jews, but there are grounds for believing that a considerable number of them were not only Polish Jews from Posen, that portion of Poland which had been annexed by Germany, but that there were also a considerable number of Jews who came from Lithuania, and Russian and Austrian Poland." (Memorandum to S. Hayes, Feb.5, 1953)

"These early Jewish settlers in some cases came direct from England, in many other cases from the English colonies in what is now the U.S.A. where they originally settled. Some of them were engaged in the fur trade in Canada, while others were engaged in the export and import trade between the Americas and Great Britain.

"Some of them were Ashkenazim of Polish-Jewish and German-Jewish origin who had settled first in Great Britain, had then come to Canada or the American colonies, and had become members of the Shearith Israel Congregation in Montreal, not because they were Sephardim but because that was the only synagogue in existence at that time in Montreal and in Canada as a whole."

Rosenberg points to the publication of the prayer book which Aaron Hart supported by his subscriptions.

"Alexander Alexander, a printer and a son of Judah Leib Alexander produced and published in London in 1770, in collaboration with Benedict Just of Halberstadt (also known as Baruch Meyers) the first Ashkenazic Hebrew Prayer Book printed in England accompanied by an English translation, and at the end of this volume there is an extremely interesting list of subscribers who ordered and paid for the Prayer Book before publication. Among the names of these subscribers are those of 'Mr. Aaron Hart and Mrs. Dorothy Hart, both of Canady'. From this it would appear that Aaron Hart and his wife, although living in the distant colony of Canada, felt sufficiently interested in an Ashkenazic Prayer Book with an English translation to send his subscription before publication to England in 1770. It is hardly likely that a Sephardic Jew of Spanish and Portuguese origin would have taken the trouble to have ordered an Ashkenazic Prayer Book from London in 1770."

J.R. Marcus wrote that by the time the Jewish community in Montreal was organized, there was not, apparently, an Iberian Jew left -- certainly not in the religious community. The congregation was Sephardic in ritual, but not a single name in the extant minutes (1778) reflects Spanish or Portuguese background. All members, to judge by surnames, were of German or Ashkenazi origin. (American Jewish Archives, June 1953)

One tradition that was zealously guarded in Montreal was the particular London Sephardic rite and pronunciation of Hebrew. This was indeed a ritual definition of Sephard which legitimized the title of Portuguese on the congregation.

Beautiful and precious as this loyalty to a Sephard way of life was, we shall see that it became a barrier for the newcomers from other linguistic traditions, and was one of the elements which led to the setting up of the second congregation. But within Shearith Israel it preserved a Jewish sound and a Jewish aesthetic which is unique to it in Canada, and is enriching Canadian Jewish music and semantics to this day.

The tradition came to be cherished for very many historical and social reasons and almost became one of the definitions of Judaism in many societies. So we read that when the New York Sephardi-rite Shearith Israel appealed to the Jews of the West Indies for aid, the well-informed Raphael Jeshurun responded that the Sephardi Jews of the Curacao are deeply concerned that the Sephardi ritual be retained in New York.

"They are aware that the Ashkenazi Jews outnumber the Sephardi there, and they call upon you not to consent, even though they are the majority, and not to permit them to have more votes and more powers than hitherto." (cited by R. Glanz from D. de Sola Pool. The Mill Street Synagogue, P. 49)

The persistence of the Sephardic rite in communities largely Ashkenazi is most boldly illustrated in the major case of New York. There the much larger community did not have an Ashkenazi congregation until 1825, even though the majority of contributors had been of the northern tradition for a century. (Doris Groshen Daniels. "Colonial Jewry: Religion, Domestic and Social Relations," in American Jewish Historical Quarterly, vol. 66, no. 3, March 1977, Pp. 375-400)

Nor was the New York influence upon Montreal in the Sephardi direction. Albert M. Hyamson, in his The Sephardim of England shows that always the Shearith Israel Congregation was largely Ashkenazi in membership and very soon there were more Yehidim of Ashkenazi origin than of Sephardi. In little over a generation, by 1766, of the four principal honorary officers, three had Ashkenazi names (Adolphus, Jonas and Jacobs), and of the five adjuntos four were similarly named...By 1742 Sephardi names among the honorary officers had become rare." (Pp. 146-47)

The pioneers of the Montreal community subscribed to the Spanish liturgical ritual, but this is not to imply any relationship to a Spanish connection. Even in the United States, two generations before the arrival of Aaron Hart, "the ethnic composition of Jewry had changed by the 1720's from the Spanish and Portuguese to German and Polish." (Jacob R. Marcus. "The Periodization of American Jewish History," in Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society, vol. 47, no. 3, March 1958, P. 127)

But even in the United States, the Jewish community overwhelmingly Ashkenazi by tradition worshipped in synagogues following the Sephardic ritual. As Rosenberg put it,

"There were no Ashkenazic synagogues in America prior to 1802, when the first Ashkenazic congregation, Rodeph Shalom, was founded in Philadelphia, followed by the founding of the first Ashkenazic congregation B'nai Jeshurun in New York in 1825, and there was only one synagogue in each of the cities of New York, Philadelphia, Newport, Savannah and Charleston, which was attended by all Jews in the community, whether of Sephardic or Ashkenazic origin. While all of these congregations followed the Sephardic form of religious service, most of their founders and early members were Ashkenazim.

"The Jews who first settled in Montreal had all lived for some time previously in New York, and had been members of or had attended religious services at the only synagogue in New York in 1760, which was that of Shearith Israel (Spanish and Portuguese) Congregation, and it was therefore quite natural that the congregation which they founded in Montreal followed the Sephardic form of religious service and was subsequently named after its New York counterpart.

"The oldest existing documents concerning the first Jewish congregation in Montreal are the minutes of the Congregation for the year 1778. In these minutes, it is expressly stated that 'the synagogue is meant for the use and service of all Israelites, and although the elders or trustees of the congregation are referred to in the minutes as members of the Junto or adjuntos,' there is no mention whatsoever of it being called the Shearith Israel Congregation nor is it prescribed in those early minutes that the religious services must follow the Sephardic or Spanish and Portuguese minhag. It was evidently taken for granted that the Sephardic or Spanish and Portuguese minhag would naturally be followed, since all Jewish congregations in America at that time followed that minhag."

The story of Sepharad in Canada is confusing because of its very absence at the time when it was present to some extent in the colonies to the south. The name of the old synagogue adds to the confusion.

There is no reference to the Sephardi or Ashkenazi rites in Canadian documentation for the first eighty years of the community history, and specifically not in the records of the first congregation of the 1770's and eighties. It could be assumed that the Mediterranean rite was followed, but it was not even prescribed in the constitution. There may be implied evidence in some of their customs to Sephardi usage, and it was the Portuguese Congregation of London that provided Montreal with its Scrolls of the Law. Presumably the Sephardi connection came into being spontaneously and without debate even in the virtual absence of any "Sephardi Tahor" (pure Sephardi) for nearly two hundred years except for the de Sola family.

When the Rev. Abraham de Sola arrived in Montreal in 1847, he was probably the first Sephardi in our history. In 1860 we find another authentic Sephardic Jew in Montreal in the person of A. Brahadi, who operated the first premium fur establishment at 113 Notre Dame St. near the court house and "imported French and English furs; also Patent Ventilator Silk Hats for gentlemen desirous of preventing premature balding caused by the heat engendered between the head and the crown of the hat." (Transcript, Apr. 10, 1860)

In Oct. 1862 Mr. Fonseca appeared at a congregation meeting.

Organizing

The organization of the synagogue was an informal matter, an agreement with little force in the law of the land, but considerable moral force, broadly accepted and obeyed by the citizen-members. It was a case of organization rather than incorporation, for constitutional considerations rendered such a creation of a Jewish legal body quite premature. That was to come later as a development of religious freedoms and equalities in the half-century to come.

This form of congregational structure did not trouble the participants then, as Jews were not alone in the colony to suffer from this incapacity. Furthermore, this informality and ease of synagogal organization was to remain nearly universal and characteristic in Ashkenazi Judaism for nearly two more centuries.

The congregation not being legally incorporated -- that came half a century later -- their house of worship stood on land belonging to one of their members -- Mr. David David, son of Lazarus David who died in 1776.

Failing legal ownership of the property and of the building which they erected at the expense of the group, eight of them signed a joint statement, about a year after the construction of the building:

"The synagogue built in St. James Street, Montreal, is purchased and built with the money arising from subscriptions and offerings from us, the subscribers, and others. It is therefore the property of us and our heirs jointly, but not individually and separately. Neither can we, on any pretence whatsoever, claim any part separately of the said synagogue further than the privileges here agreed to, hereby revoking all title and claim to the same, as if no money had been given by us.

"Provided always the said synagogue, as we all comprehend, is meant for the use and service of all Israelites who conform to our laws and our regulations, and under the management of a parnass (president), gabay (treasurer), and a junto (board) of three of the elders, to be annually chosen by a majority of us, the subscribers to all laws and regulations, which shall be made by the consent of the said junto of five persons.

"We do, in the name of Almighty God, promise most strictly to abide by (them), in every shape whatsoever, paying every due submission and respect to the said five persons who constitute the junto:

"David bar Abraham, Levy Solomons, Uriah Judah, Samuel Judah, Andrew Hays, Myer Michaels, Myer Myers, Abraham Franks."

The two names with historic continuity on the 1778 list are those of Judah: Isaac, Samuel and Uriah; and of Andrew Hays. Significantly, three of these four were fined at the first meeting on record, on September 17, 1778, for refusing to accept office or honours. Uriah Judah was chosen Parnass.

Nearly all the Jewish merchants known in the colony were among the organizers except, remarkably, the Harts and their extended family who were to become, years later, practically the only members.

Another name conspicuously absent from the record is that of Lazarus David, the man who permitted the young congregation to build on his land.

As in nearly every roll of signatures of pioneer Jewish communities, one had signed in Hebrew, David bar Abraham.

But this particular signature has very special interest for it is very likely that of David Salesby Franks, who later entered the history of the United States in its making.

The 1778 meeting at which this declaration was adopted and signed, to cite the minutes, "in the name of God. On the 25th day of Ellul, 5538, the congregation met to elect a parnass and gabbay in the room of Mr. David Franks and Mr. Ezekiel Solomons."

This has been interpreted by historians as placing the locale of the meeting. But it more likely means that the meeting was held to elect new officers in lieu of the earlier office holders. This would confirm the tradition that David S. Franks had, indeed, been head of the synagogue. It would also justify David bar Abraham being at the head of the roll of signers. He signed in Hebrew again in December 1778 to signify his consent of the by-laws.

(There may be a discrepancy in date and even in identity here since his biographers place Franks on the staff of Count d'Estaing in 1778.)

If David bar Abraham is David Salesby Franks, his signature is an expression of intense Jewish loyalty and an awareness of the semantics of Hebrew names.

Yet this synagogue president, son of a pioneering Canadian Jewish merchant, "cut himself off almost entirely from Jewish associations when he left Canada and became American consular agent in Europe." (Marcus. Early American Jewry, II, Pp. 508-9)

Vaugeois points out that there were Jews scattered across the colony, probably more dispersed outside the big city than they were ever to be again. This in a Canadian region where the metropolis was home to a larger proportion of Jews than in any other province. He lists Eleazar Levy, Elias Solomon, Levy Simon, Hyam Myers and Abraham Franks of Quebec City; Moses Hart, brother of Aaron, at Sorel; Uriah Judah at Verchères; Emanuel Manuel of Yamachiche; not to speak of the Josephs of Berthier and Samuel Jacobs of St. Denis.

The absences from the new Montreal congregation are surprising. Notably the Harts of Trois-Rivières do not appear in the Montreal organization; their family worship and interment facilities only 90 miles away seem to have sufficed for them.

Heineman Pines, whom Vaugeois places at St.-Antoine-de-la-Rivière-du-Loup, at least at one time, and Barnet Lyons of Berthierville appear in the Montreal synagogue record of 1779. So do Abraham Chapman and Benjamin Lyon much further away at Michilimackinac near Detroit; Joseph Judah of Berthierville.

Samuel Jacobs of St. Denis on the Richelieu, to our knowledge, seems to have had no contact with the organized Montreal Jewish group.

Physically

We know little of that first Canadian synagogue. The building completed in 1781 was low, with a high red roof, (enclosed by a high, white meshed wall).

No pictures or plans survive. We have some constitutional records from those days, but little or nothing about the religious life in that house of worship.

The synagogue was not burdened by a mortgage or lien, as soon became frequent in New World congregations; even the second home of the Montreal congregation came to suffer from this condition.

The congregation not being legally incorporated -- that came half a century later -- their house of worship stood on land belonging to one of their members, D. David, son of Lazarus David who died in 1776.

John Irwin Cooper, historian of Montreal (Montreal, McGill Press, 1969), wrote that it was the first house of worship built by the English newcomers to the city.

Artifacts dating from the day the synagogue was begun still exist: memorial articles laid within the cornerstone in 1779 were in due course placed in the cornerstone of the second synagogue on Chenneville St. in 1835; then in 1887, in the cornerstone of the Stanley St. synagogue; then in the cornerstone of the synagogue on Lemieux St.

In all propriety it was a Hart, in the event P.B. Hart, treasurer of the congregation in 1956, who recorded that among the most ancient relics of Canadian Judaism thus surviving over the generations there were "Three copper plates, in good condition, one in Hebrew, two in English, the latter with the names of Andrew Hays and his wife Breney David. They are dated 5537 and clearly legible. (1777) They came from the old St. James St. synagogue erected 1777-1778.

"On a piece of vellum is a narrative of the laying of the first S. & P. cornerstone in 1777-8 with a list of the subscribers.

"Eight very old coins from the first synagogue cornerstone. One British coin, a 3d coin dated 1763 (George III). The other seven are from Spain and Portugal, five are dated 1700, 1739, 1748, 1763 and 1778. The other two have no dates thereon.

"Three coins placed in the Chenneville St. synagogue, a USA 10 cent piece dated 1823, a USA 5 cent piece dated 1834 and a British 6d piece dated 1834. (William 4th)

"Two small pieces of vellum.

"Small metal box containing sand from the Holy Land (Israel)." (Memorandum to Members of the Board of the Congregation, Aug. 22, 1956.)

It is interesting that some of Hart's 1956 wording derives from a scroll composed by the congregation in Sept. 1877 and placed within the cornerstone of the Stanley St. synagogue.

Presumably for the same legal reasons that governed the cemetery, the two-storey, stone synagogue, 40' x 36', which stood walled on a site made available by Lazarus David remained registered as the property of the benefactor of the community, not in the name of the congregation.

In 1781 detailed Déclaration du Fief et Seigneurie de l'Isle de Montréal, describes the oldest synagogue in Canada (p. 57),

"Les heritiers Lazare David, Quarante deux pieds sur Cinquante quatre et environ cinquante pieds sur soixante dix neuf sur lequel terrain est batis en pierre un Maison d'une Etage de 40 sur 36, une Voute en plafonds un Temple à l'usage des Juifs. Le reste en Cour et Jardin, clos en murailles."

Quit rent on the land is recorded as £3.2.10.

Victor Morin describes the location of the synagogue in relation to the geography of the city in "1642" (in Cahiers des dix, no. 7, P. 75)

He locates it at the west of the terrace between the church and the monastery of the Jesuits.

"There a congregation of Spanish and Portuguese Jews built the first synagogue in Montreal in 1777. It is here that the Tercentenary wishes to create La Place de la Dauversière, clearing away the outdated buildings there now."

Montreal was not the only community where the synagogue site and the cemetery were purchased by individual citizens. In New York too in 1655 and in 1682 cemeteries were purchased by Jewish citizens because only the Dutch Reform and the Episcopalians could hold property. (D.G. Daniels. "Colonial Jewry", in American Jewish Historical Quarterly, vol. 66, no. 3, March 1977, P. 384)

Gérard Malchelosse records that the Davids stipulated in their acte de donation that the lot on which the synagogue was erected in 1777 should be returned to their children after the death of the donors. Abigail, Fanny, Moses, David and Samuel had not yet all died in 1825, when it became necessary to abandon the synagogue. ("Les Juifs dans l'histoire canadienne," in Cahiers des dix, no. 4, 1939, P. 184)

A.J. Livinson noted that the Notre Dame Street site of the first synagogue was the only Jewish house of worship located within the old walled city of Montreal. "All subsequent synagogues were built beyond the limits of the city's fortifications." (Address before Canadian Jewish Historical Society, June 6, 1944, on "Looking at Old Jewish Montreal"; and J.I. Cooper. Montreal. Montreal, McGill University Press, 1969)

The description of the synagogue as "a low stone building with a red roof...surrounded by a high stone wall" dates from Rev. de Sola who arrived in Montreal as late as 1847. The synagogue had been demolished before the rabbi was born. (L. Rosenberg, Letter to J.R. Marcus, Oct. 27, 1960) But Mr. de Sola's terms are confirmed by the 1781 declaration.

The site was long marked by a plaque erected on a building, no. 2 West End Court House Square, since destroyed to make room for the Palais de justice.

It is reproduced in The Historical Tablets of Montreal. The text reads,

"Here stood the first Synagogue in Canada, erected 1777; A.M. 5637, erected by the Spanish and Portuguese Congregation 'Shearith Israel' founded 1768."

It was the initiative of Gerald Hart, historian, that ensured that the history be so remembered.

The plaque was one of a series put up by the Montreal Society for Archaeology and Numismatics, on the suggestion of Viscount de la Barthe, proposed in October 1890. Mr. Hart was a member of an ad hoc committee to realize the project. (Victor Morin. "Les Fastes de Montréal," in Les Cahiers des dix, vol. 9, 1944, P. 11)

The marble memorial for the Jewish synagogue on the eastern wall of the building on the corner of Notre Dame and St. James facing the old Palais de justice, written in the English language, was donated by the family of Rev. Meldola de Sola. (Morin, P. 54)

The plaque was long treasured. On June 1, 1935 H.M. Caiserman wrote to the Canadian Jewish Chronicle,

"The Canadian Jewish Congress Archives Committee has renovated the mural tablet on the building on St. James St., by repolishing the surface, edges, and repainting the letters.

"This tablet commemorates the site of the first synagogue built in Canada in 1777. The synagogue is the congregation of Spanish and Portuguese Jews, Shearith Israel, founded in 1768 in Montreal.

"The tablet was originally erected and placed by the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Canada."

Martin Wolff authorized the Smith Marble and Construction Co. to repair it,

"Take this marble tablet down, take it to your shop, repolish the surface and edges and repaint the letters, re-install it in place, for the sum of \$23.75 sales tax included.

"Please take this work in hand as soon as possible and carry it out with the best of care.

"The account of this work is to be sent to me and kindly notify me when it is completed, so that I can inspect it." (June 4, 1935)

A Precious Gift

This new congregation was the owner and trustee of a rare treasure. It requires little historic imagination and a feeling for the traditional responsibility to appreciate the gift of two Scrolls of the Law from the Portuguese congregation of London to the Montreal synagogue in the fall of 1779.

The sheer monetary value of such Scrolls is such that the munificence is remarkable; particularly when we realize the situation from the metropolitan perspective. In the middle of the century, with the burgeoning of the empire's settlement, such new congregations destined to adorn and to firmly establish Jewry in new centres were arising in substantial numbers, all of them similarly looking at London as their political and spiritual centre. Could London be as generous with them all? Did Montreal stand out in the British capital?

There was also the moral and ritual responsibility. By ancient tradition the Sepher Torah is very rarely accorded as a gift, even to Jewish persons, unless there exists very far-ranging assurances that it will never be exposed to neglect or disrespectful treatment, or become alienated from Jewish ownership.

For the London synagogue to send two sacred Scrolls overseas to a not yet established congregation was to risk an unknown fate for this venerable object which is the bearer of the highest Jewish sanctity. How could anyone be certain that it would always be protected from desecration? In point of historic fact, such desecration did befall them in the course of time, and more than once.

There might have been personal elements. The gift was made to Abraham Judah while he was in London, and Judah was probably well connected with English Jewish businessmen who trusted him greatly.

B.G. Sack has seen a business letter that estimated the volume of Samuel Judah's fur trade with London at £ 30,000. (History of the Jews in Canada. P. 55)

Abraham Judah had not joined the other Montreal Jews in the congregation initially. But after procuring this unusual gift -- indeed, a year later, the synagogue noted, on September 22, 1780, "the unanimous consent and approbation of the congregation of Jews to accept with satisfaction Mr. Abraham Judah to be a member of this society; that from this day he shall be on the same footing and enjoy the same privileges as any member belonging to us, the same as if he had been a subscriber from the first establishing of this congregation."

Two months later he was named together with Levy Solomons, to arrange for the completion of the synagogue building.

The Scrolls were delivered to Montreal by Joseph Pines, together with a third Scroll which was paid for by subscription raised in 1778.

A century later, in the 1870's, the Montreal congregation had occasion to write to their London brethren to recall that gift of friendship and to assure them that the Scrolls were still in the possession of the Shearith Israel of Montreal.

For two centuries these Scrolls were in the trusteeship of the Montreal Jewish Congregation.

Remarkable By-Laws

A year after the construction of their synagogue, in Ellul 5538, they turned their attention to drafting a constitution unlike any that we have in Canada. In spite of -- or because of -- the absence of any legal status, this document is intensely inspired by legalism and profound Jewish ideals.

Several months later, on Dec. 22, 1778, they adopted "a proper code of laws for the better regulating of this Kahal." The last word might be significant. It may refer to the institution of the synagogue, and it may mean the "gathering" of the community. Uriah and Samuel Judah, Levi and his cousin Ezekiel Solomon and Mr. Hays participated in the drafting of these by-laws. (Canadian Jewish Archives, original series, vol. 1, no. 4, March 1969. Pp. 11-14)

The name Kahal Kadosh Shearith Israel is on the record for the first time in 1826, in Benjamin Hart's remarkable address to the Jews of Montreal.

Kahal Kadosh, the Sacred Assembly, or Congregation, is a term long traditionally applied to any group, usually of at least ten adult males, who meet to establish permanency, usually for public worship or for other representative purposes. In the nature of the organization of Jewry, these groups are totally autonomous and of equal authority, there being no regional, diocesan, national or international superior authority or even register.

A 1779 entry in the minutes of the Montreal congregation refers to this Kahal.

The term Shearith Israel (Remnant of Israel) which Benjamin Hart attached to the Montreal Kahal is found from the Bible (Jeremiah 31:7; Ezekiel 9:8 and 11:13; Micah 2:12 and 2 Chronicles 39:9) Almost certainly Hart chose this name because it was the appellation of the major congregation in New York which shared with London the patronage of the northern colonial synagogue; New York lacked the antiquity and the authority of London, but was closer.

This choice of name bore consequences many years later when the other Montreal synagogues which had got along with such names as the Polish, Russian, German and English (also traditional with synagogues; even the Shearith Israel was often known as the Portuguese) decided upon a Hebrew name and chose Shaar Hashomayim (The Gate of the Heavens) as its Hebrew and formal name. But this happened to be the name of the London "mother synagogue" of the Shearith Israel congregation. It was considered provocative and added to the tensions between the Montreal synagogues.

Clearly the concerns of the congregation went far beyond its own orderly administration. The congregation was an instrument that governed the life of its members in their relations with each other and, in part, with the broader society.

Such by-laws were the more important in this case in view of the legal status of the group; the absence of clear laws had already raised problems for the Kahal, as in the matter of the burial of Ezekiel Solomon's child.

The by-laws followed the Takanot of Amsterdam and London of an earlier century. In the English-language document we find Spanish-Jewish words, and nothing Yiddish. Management is by junto, the members are adjuntos; the Parnass sits on a banco. Hebrew words are transliterated in the Sephardic mode of pronunciation. There is particular concern with the major "honors" of Hatan Bereshith and Hatan Torah.

Despite this early disclaimer the original subscribers to the synagogue provided certain privileges for themselves "in preference to any others who may hereafter settle here. Agreed unanimously that the present subscribers only shall have, on all occasions, a double vote hereafter for ever, them and all their oldest sons, after they attain twenty-one years of age.

"2nd. No stranger to be entered in this congregation hereafter, but on the following conditions: 'To enjoy no office for three years, to have not vote for two years, and then to have only a single vote afterwards, and that every such stranger shall pay ten pounds, Halifax currency, before he enjoys any such privilege.'

"N.B. The intention of this 2nd order is meant to preserve to those, the present subscribers, the founders of this congregation, which has been (so) far established at an expense beyond the bounds of our circumstances, that we may enjoy certain privileges beyond any stranger that may hereafter settle here."

The intention behind this clause was not personal or familial, but a reflection of the anxiety of the founders that later comers may alter the nature of the synagogue. It may have been an anxiety for the continuity of the London Sephardi connection, or were they aware of the movement for reform already budding in the western Jewry?

"7th. The seats in the synagogue has already been fixed on for the subscribers and numbered. Those seats to be kept for them and their sons for ever, and not to be taken away on any pretence whatsoever.

"13th. Any Israelite that will not sign these our laws and regulations (that are inhabitants of this town) within twenty days, and those out of the town (temporarily), within six months, shall for ever be exempted (barred) from having any privilege, honour, or employment in this congregation, and be looked on as no member thereof, except only Chapman Abraham (usually at Detroit) and Benjamin Lyon (usually at Michilimackinac) who are at too great a distance, but allowing them twenty days after their arrival in this town."

Emphasis on decorum, again so typical of London and Amsterdam and of much less concern in Ashkenaz; "Any person or persons making a disturbance or having the least controversy in the House of God, to be liable to be fined, exempted from all Mitzvahs for a limited time, his name in Capital Letters inserted in this book with the crime he has been guilty of to deter others from such misbehaviour in so sacred a place."

There is significance to such clauses in the by-laws. Even as bland clichés, they are characteristic of norms in western European Jewish organizational structures. They did not become widespread among east European Jews in Canada until well in the nineteenth century, when the fraternal societies came to shape the forms of meeting and conversation.

The 14th. clause reads, "We do jointly and separately promise to promote harmony and unanimity amongst us, and endeavour as far as lays in our power to assist each other as circumstances will permit."

The 29th. clause provided for "severe penalties on those who shall be the means of giving a bad name to any of the congregation by which a disgrace may be brought on any of the Israelites."

The 33rd. is even more specific, "If any dispute should arise between any members of the congregation they shall be obliged to come before the Mahamad that they may endeavour to settle before they go to any magistrate, or be liable to such a penalty as they may think proper."

In the case of early Montreal, we learn from the same brief minute of 1778-80 that the clauses applied specifically and directly to daily living.

The tiny community was concerned with the effects of the actions of their individual members upon the entire society.

They seemed to feel that they were a beleaguered group surrounded by an unreliable and unpredictable majority. How else understand a clause in the synagogue regulations providing a penalty "to be paid by anyone who shall expose or divulge the proceedings of any meeting provided secrecy is required?" Fines and other sanctions are also provided for "any persons absenting themselves from the House of God on any frivolous pretence from any controversy with others, or for refusing a Mitzvah, for not giving attendance at any meeting, for presuming to say he would have his name erased out of the Congregation books...the party to not come to any Dibrah Kedusha until he pays a considerable fine. No private quarrels to extend so far as to make a disunion in this Congregation. Severe penalties on those who shall be the means of giving a bad name to any of the Congregation by which a disgrace may be brought on any of the Israelites."

These provisions, so unusual in our history, were not merely abstractions that reflect a closeness between men bound by ties of faith and heritage.

Within months of the members subscribing to these pledges, the brief minutes of the congregation record that "Whereas the brethren of the Congregation have at divers times most shamefully, maliciously and wickedly aspersed the characters of each other, by which means shame and disgrace has fell on the reputation of individuals, those proceedings is contrary to our laws and sacred religion and turning the vengeance of our Almighty God on us by which means Destruction now threatens us and our posterity, in order to prevent in future such misconduct and such abominable practices, we have unanimously resolved and agreed first to take the oath by the laws of Moses that we will never hear of or speak against the Character or prejudice the persons of each other by which means any disgrace may be brought on us. We, at the same time, agree, and by the above oath bind ourselves, that we shall and will be obliged to make known and discover the person spoken of or injured by any vexation whatever. We do likewise, and by the said oath bind ourselves, that we will jointly and separately detest, abhor and despise any Israelite belonging to this Congregation inhabitants of this town that will not join with us in

this our well meant determination. We do further agree, and bind ourselves by the above oath that for every time any of us shall be found guilty of any article that is contained herein and convicted by the majority of us, that we will pay for every such crime the sum of forty shillings Hallifax currency."

Apparently the offender who so aroused the congregation was the Parnass himself, whose signature we do not find on the oath we have quoted. I. Franks convened the junto to complain that Levy Solomons "had made of expressions to the manifest injury of this congregation." He was therefore informed in writing that as the "subject appeared of the greatest consequence to ourselves and the future welfare of our religion in this province...you are suspended acting, neither are you to take your seat in the Banco of the synagogue as Parnass until you are heard." Since the offender did not appear and "sent word he would have nothing more to do with us," Uriah Judah was elected in his place as Parnass.

The problem could not have been vital in spite of the impressive language, for a few months later, Mr. Solomons was awarded the honour of Hatan Bereshith, and that winter he was authorized to complete the synagogue.

The Toronto congregation, when it was established four score years later, also fixed fines for non-attendance and for offensive behaviour such as smoking during worship.

The tradition of fining members absent from, or even late in arriving at, meetings continued long in Canada. As late as 1868 the Toronto Chevre Gemilas Chesed Hebrew Ladies' Sick and Benevolent Society -- which also acted as Chevra Kadisha -- imposed such fines. They also fined officers decling to serve or neglecting the duties of their office and those who behave unbecomingly. ("Constitution", in Jewish Standard, Feb. 15, 1960; and Davis Eisen in Bulletin of Holy Blossom Temple, Feb. 3, 1969, Oct. 22, 1973; Brodey, P. 172)

A MINISTER

The tiny community even engaged a minister, Rev. Jacob Raphael Cohen, who came from London to function as Schochet, Hazan and reader (1778-80)

For a period of time he apparently served the community quite satisfactorily. We have his record of circumcising the two sons of Aaron Hart at Three Rivers: Benjamin on Aug. 22, 1779, and Asher Alexander who was born Jan. 31, 1782, and the two sons of Isaac Judah.

When Mr. Cohen performed the wedding rites of Berla and Betsy (Fegla) Judah in 1781 he included his own translation of the Aramaic Ketuba, probably the first English version of this ancient and complex halachic document. The same year he married Kaufman and Betsy Abraham.

He maintained a ritual record book during his ministry in Montreal. This rare document is one of the most important records of this period of Canadian and U.S. history.

Trouble arose during his last year in office. The nature of the difficulties does not appear in contemporary records.

As Rev. Cohen claimed, he was not paid his salary during the last seven months. In September 1782 he instituted proceedings against Levy Solomon, Parnass (lay leader) of the congregation, before the Court of Common Pleas for £ 50 due him. (PAC, MG 11, vol.33, Pp. 18-30)

Disputes of this type leading to the scandal of civil proceedings are not unheard of in modern Jewish history, in the absence of rigid and legally binding structure of Jewish society in exile conditions.

The court sustained his claim but, on appeal largely on a technicality -- "the cause appeared so clear that the judge did not attend to taking down the evidence, not foreseeing an appeal",-- the judgment was reversed in the Court of Appeals on May 6, 1784.

But a document fifty years later recalls either the truth of the events long ago or their memory as they lasted in the mind of the congregation.

Long after, in arranging for the services of a minister for the synagogue in 1839 -- in fact, the successor to Rabbi Cohen -- Dr. Aaron Hart David justified the stipulation that "arrangements are only for so long as they conduct themselves in such a manner as to command respect of trustees and congregation...for the old congregation, some fifty years ago, imported a Reader who, in a year or two, turned out to be a drunkard, and families had to make up £ 300 before they could get rid of him."

If this were all, the scandal would not surprise us. Until well into the twentieth century the Jewish "ministerial" profession knew of cases of such misconduct, a phenomenon aggravated by their working conditions, the complex personal relationships with the employer authorities and the problems of moral and theological inconsistencies in the society. Usually in such conflicts between civil servant and community -- or one influential member of the community -- there is a predisposition to accept the judgment of the community. In this case one may wonder that a memory persisted in the congregation for half a century which justified the action of the congregation in the treatment of its minister in spite of consequent developments.

For, remarkably, this first Hebrew minister in Canada followed his unhappy Montreal experience with a most distinguished 25-year career as spiritual leader of the important Mikveh Israel Congregation of Philadelphia.

Cohen left Montreal, and the community remained without a permanent Hazan for many years, in effect until 1840.

Cohen boarded ship for England, but the vessel was diverted to New York where it was requisitioned for the repatriation of British troops after the American Revolution. Thus, by chance, began his distinguished American career.

His fuller biography has entered into the Dictionary of Canadian Biography, but we may cite a moment in his life which is central in the symbolism of American democracy: when Philadelphians marched in 1788 to celebrate the state ratification of the constitution, the clergy of all Christian denominations marched arm in arm with Mr. Cohen, "the rabbi of the Jews" to indicate that the new republic was founded on religious toleration. Max J. Kohler compares the event with the Landing of the Pilgrims and Washington Crossing the Delaware.

Hazan de Lara officiated in Montreal until 1810. We have no information about him, whether he resided in Montreal, his religious background and experience, his family or his formal relationship. But his name does occur and, if he resided in Montreal, we could deduce from his name that he may have been the first person of certain Sephardi origin in the community.

Similarly we have the name of Dr. De la Motta of Charleston who celebrated "the Holy Days services as each year rolled by" in a large room in an upper storey of Benjamin Hart's home, as his very devoted son Arthur Wellington Hart tells us. No confirmation from other sources clarify this assertion. If it is correct it probably derives from an unusual personal relationship with some Montreal residents.

The history of The Jews of Charleston (by Charles Reznikoff with the collaboration of Uriah Z. Engelman. Philadelphia, Jewish Publication Society, 1950) tells us of the Savannah-born apothecary-physician (1789-1845), corresponding member of the Royal Academy of Medicine in Paris, politician, philosopher, botanist, and reader at Charleston Beth Elohim synagogue, as well as at Savannah. Like his father Emanuel, Dr. De la Motta was an officer on the Supreme Council, Scottish Rite Masonry and later was grand commander. Dr. De la Motta served with the American forces during the war of 1812.

When reform ideas split the Charleston synagogue, Dr. De la Motta emerged as the leader of the proponents of the Sephardi custom opposing the reformers, and became head of the rump synagogue, the Shearith Israel. Incidentally, some years after his death this congregation sought to entice Rev. de Sola from Montreal to lead them.

Myer Levy, who is also mentioned by A.W. Hart, and Isaac Valentine led the services from time to time, particularly as the congregation had practically disintegrated well before 1830.

A layman from Rivièrè du Loup, Barnet Lyon, officiated in 1803 at the marriage of Henry Joseph and Rachel Solomon at Berthier. The minister of the New York synagogue, the Rev. Lyons, came to Montreal in 1811 to circumcise the sons of Ezekiel and of Benjamin Hart, and of Henry Joseph at Berthier.

As we shall read of Benjamin Hart's seminal document of 1826, we shall need to remember the early Jewish community of Lower Canada to which he refers -- indeed, to the very physical structure whose ruins are the points of departure of his far-reaching and far-sighted action.

After the St. James St. synagogue had to be abandoned because the land on which it was built reverted to the David family on the death of David David, worship continued temporarily at the south-west corner of St. Helen and des Recollets St. (William Henry Atherton. Montreal. vol. 2, Under British Rule, 1760-1914. Montreal, Clarke, 1914. P. 285)

According to a current tradition in the expanding world, when the N.Y. Mill St. synagogue began to rebuild in 1817, it circulated congregations and philanthropies for assistance, including Montreal. In this sense the Canadian congregation had entered the roll of Jewries. Bernard Hart transmitted \$100 from David David of Montreal. (Hyman B. Grinstein. The Rise of the Jewish Community of New York, 1654-1860. Philadelphia, Jewish Publication Society, 1945. Pp. 407, 588)

DISINTEGRATION

As sometimes happens in the histories of new countries and new communities, after six or seven years the congregation seems to have died out. The building on the David property fell into disuse and dilapidation, the cemetery was neglected. Most of the early settlers died or moved away. Only the Judahs, the Davids, the Hays, the Josephs remained. For forty years Shearith Israel remained but a memory which proved hard to refresh.

It is a long, blank half-century. The David heirs took possession of their inheritance. The synagogue, then old and decrepit, was torn down. Montreal remained without a semblance of religious organization. There had been no legal status of the congregation, no charter or incorporation. No rights were involved, and no problems were to be raised.

The state of the community during the following five years is implied in a petition sent by Lower Canada citizens to London in 1784 praying for government by constitution. Describing the sorry state of the colony during this period following the War of American Independence, this document bore the signatures of many of His Majesty's ancient and new subjects, inhabitants of the Province of Quebec, among them some fourteen Jewish citizens; it included virtually a roll call of the Jewish merchant community, as did a similar 1774 petition. But the 1784 petition failed to include nine Jewish names known to have been in the colony five years earlier.

YOUNG BENJAMIN HART

Towards the end of the 1820's Montreal Jewry suddenly experienced a new beginning which is difficult to account for.

The story has been told, but not explained, in the context of the world-wide movement of equality and emancipation. Jews, too, were being accorded rights equal to those enjoyed by inhabitants of the European-American continent; so the legislature of Lower Canada decided to pass laws giving equality to its Jews and emancipating them from handicaps which had been theirs throughout the centuries of exile -- this a score of years after this same legislature refused to seat an elected Jew. Whence the initiative?

Some day the resurrection of the past -- so far historians have been the only eschatologists -- will reveal to us just who, and why just then, brought the issue to the fore.

The story might be told as the realization of one Montreal Jew, with his particularly intense Jewish impulsion and his business-like drive for orderliness and legality.

Benjamin Hart was born at Three Rivers on August 10, 1779 (28 Menahem Ab, 5539 on the traditional Jewish calendar) the ninth child of Aaron Hart. He was circumcised by Rev. Jacob Raphael Cohen, the first professional Jewish functionary in Canada, twelve days later, on the 10th of Elul. It was the Rev. Cohen's first circumcision in Canada, and the second he had ever performed according to his very precious record book. (The only other circumcisions he performed in Canada were for Abraham Judah, the son of Isaac Judah, on March 8, 1781, on Benjamin's brother Asher Alexander on January 31, 1782 and on Uriah Judah, brother of Abraham; the same day. Alan D. Carré and Malcolm H. Stern, "The Record Book of the Reverend Jacob Raphael Cohen", in American Jewish Historical Quarterly, vol. 59, no. 1, Sept. 1969, P.36)

The age order of the brothers is significant.

Moses, being the first-born of Aaron Hart, seems to have enjoyed the particular trust of his father, and this sense of due priority and of privilege did nothing to weaken his aggressivity or to develop his compassion even for near ones.

Ezekiel, born in 1770, when Moses was two years old, was not unnaturally more modest, in spite of adequate talents which became more evident only with time, as he assumed his solid place in the business community of Trois-Rivières. There was a strange element of retirement even during the political conflict which centered about him. There is often a feeling that all he had to say in the situation was, "I am here." The younger Benjamin is heard more, at least during the campaign, than his brother the candidate.

Benjamin was born seven years after Ezekiel, and there were six children between them. He was indeed the benjamin, and he had difficulty -- as did everyone -- in securing the respect of the elder Moses. It is probable that only his uprooting from Trois-Rivières to the new arena of Montreal, where he became the Hart presence in the metropolis, together with the milder Alexander, three years younger, enabled him to develop his personality and his presence so fully on so many levels.

This family chronology facilitates an appreciation of the complex interweaving of Quebec historical and Canadian Jewish development as we follow the lives of the father and these three sons.

There is a pause between the passing of Aaron Hart and Ezekiel's political adventure, and another between Ezekiel and Benjamin's stirring on the military parade grounds and in the synagogue, then his role in the events of 1837 and 1838, and in the subsequent development in Anglo-Quebec politics -- before the end of his career so enriching to Montreal life; an end that is often sad with the pressure of the years.

But he left a fine foundation for the De Sola Sephardi community and for the Ashkenazie tradition which he had regarded with hostility.

When Benjamin was eleven he was living in Philadelphia with his younger brother Alexander. But father was watching the details of his progress very closely, with a homey humour, not least in the matter of religious observance.

On March 28, 1790 he wrote his sons,

"Dear Benjamin and Alexander:

"Your letters of the 29th May I received last post. It came by post, not by ship. I cannot say that you write better than when you went from here. (I mean Ben.) We were all glad to hear you were well, and I hope you both like the congregation.

"Master Ben, you will let your uncle know what your grandmother (Judah) bought for you when you went to housekeeping, in order that those things may be sold. The money they sell for is for you and Alex.

"Master Alex, I will send you some money and write to London for a set of prayer books, the same as Mo bought for Ben. I know you will mind your learning, and you always were a good boy. God bless you both, dear Ben and Alex.

"Your loving father, A. Hart

"P.S. Pray write me by the first post. You will both write in one letter when you write by post."

The same day he wrote to his eldest son Moses at William Henry (now Sorel),

"Dear Mo:

"I see no way for you to keep Passover at William Henry. Therefore, you had better come over here the Sunday before. Then you need not do anything to your house to get the leaven out of your house. It (closing the store) will be attended with no loss, as it's all holydays when people buy nothing.

"I have written to H. Judah and to Ben and Alex to set off for New York the 1st of May next, as I am determined to have them here. If you can, at any rate go across the lakes for them; I will pay all expenses you may be at. As I hope you will not fail

being here Passover, shall then say more to you about that journey. It will save you trouble and expense of baking unleavened bread if you come here." (Canadian Jewish Archives, original series, no. 5, P. 30; Letters in Séminaire de Saint-Joseph, Trois-Rivières; here in the transcription of Jacob Rader Marcus in American Jewry, Documents. Eighteenth Century. Such a transcription is essential in view of Hart's treatment of the English language, a condition that will warrant careful analysis by a student of eighteenth century Yiddish.)

Douville quotes a letter from father to Benjamin at Philadelphia dated June 20, 1790:

"Your mother and I are never happier than when we have news from you and know that your are well." (Aaron Hart, Récit historique. Trois Rivières, Editions du Bien publique, 1938. Pp. 103-4)

In 1790 Benjamin Hart was in Philadelphia, as he wrote to Ezekiel Hart in New York, "Today we begin our Hebrew and next Monday go to college." (McCord Museum, Hart Papers, no. 18655)

A page of writing exercise in beautiful script, with lines of aphorisms such as "Riches have wings," and "Time is invaluable," with a print-like neatness he was never to recall after graduating from public school, survives, with Benjamin's signature, dated in New York in November 1792.

In a letter of June 14, 1794, in the family archives, Eleazar Levy of New York, "the excellent man, certainly one of the most lucid intelligences in the Jewish colony of America at this time,...once again poured the balm of his wisdom to assuage the paternal apprehensions" of father Aaron Hart. (R. Douville. "Années de jeunesse et vie familiale de Moses Hart," in Cahiers des dix, no. 29, 1958, Pp. 199-200),

"I am favoured with yours of the 29th April regarding your son Benj.

"If you intend him for a doctor, he should have the Latin language in some degree of perfection. Therefore not a day should be lost to put him to a Latin School, and that can be done under your own eyes at Montreal or Quebec Seminary, tho' I believe his cousin, Bernard Judah, is to be a doctor without Latin. He is with Doctor Bard where he is fully employ'd in carry'g out medecines, and he has an uncle who, if you will believe what some of his good family say, he was eminent in his proffesion in England. Inclosed is one of his advertisem'ts.

"All over this continent a practitioner, of what is called a D'r, is included an apothecary, a surgeon, and physician. This can be learn'd in N. York, Philadelphia, etc., and can be learned equally as well in Quebec or Montreal where there are equal as good practitioners as here. You will be at less expense, and he be under the superintendence of his parents and family, and that he stands much in need of.

"I neither know your intention and for what purpose the boys were sent here, but as you say in your last letter, for them to learn to be good Yehudim. Mr. Uriah Judah's family was not so well suited for that purpose as that was your object. Yourself and family and Moses who placed them there know more than I do, tho' I have heard from a person of veracity a true description of the Jews at Montreal.

"I wish you could come to New York this summer as it is said you had some inclination thereto. I will come a considerable part of the way to meet you, and at N. York my house and every thing therein will be as yours. You need be at no other expense than your pocket money and of y'r journey; nay shall be glad if you will spend the winter with me.

"I think you can easily come now as your two sons are grown up and in business, and there is no great business doing in the winter.

"It is unnecessary troubling you with any Congregation news or a description of people here, your sons having been so recently here and at Philadelphia." (Archives du Seminaire des Trois-Rivières, G-A-1; also published in Jacob Rader Marcus.

Early American Jewry, vol.1, The Jews of New York, New England and Canada. Philadelphia, Jewish Publication Society, 1951, and also reproduced by Louis Rosenberg in his Canadian Jewish Archives, vol. 1, no. 4, March 1959, P.30)

Raymond Douville finds this correspondence revealing of the character of both friends. "Success in business had turned Aaron Hart's head. By sending his sons to New York for their studies he hoped to add brilliance to the name of the family. But Levy's enlightened wisdom easily turned him away from megalomania, for education can be very expensive when approached in this manner." ("Années de Jeunesse et vie familiale de Moses Hart," in Cahiers des dix, no. 23, 1958, P.198)

The Judah the New Yorker refers to was the local Dr. Bernard Samuel Judah who was to marry Aaron Hart's daughter Catherine. Their son Samuel Judah became attorney-general of Indiana. (C.I. de Sola in Encyclopaedia Judaica. s.v. Hart, Canadians)

When Ezekiel Hart was married in 1794, the father began to plan ahead for his own continuity and for his children's future. He was getting along and, in fact, he had but six years to live.

Elder son Moses had not done satisfactorily in a venture at "Hartsville", known outside the family as Nicolet. Then it was that the father dictated a new contract by which he invested £5000 in a firm in which Benjamin had a sixth share. He was to care for the retail trade in the store and maintain an inventory of merchandise. (Douville. Aaron Hart, Pp. 118-20)

When the family set up a brewery at Trois-Rivières, it was Benjamin who went on the road along the river and into the countryside to sell beer coupons that Moses had invented -- for cash or on credit.

By Sept. 1798 we find Benjamin Hart in the court or in lawyers' records of Three Rivers. These financial documents indicate that, together with Francis Fraser, he was indicted for assault on A. Badeaux; there was a five-guinea charge for the removal of the case to the second sessions and for conducting the trial to judgment.

Similarly he was indicted for riot and assault on Badeaux together with Mark Fraser, Francis Philips and Stewart Fraser. The draft and engrossed copy of the indictment cost £2.0.0. (American Jewish Archives, Cincinnati)

Following a local tradition Benjamin Hart, together with his father and his brother Ezekiel, joined the leading citizens of Trois-Rivières on May 31, 1799 in an address to Capt. Thomas Boyes of the 26th Regiment, commander of the garrison for nineteen months, on his departure. During that period, the citizens noted gratefully "not a single soldier has either injured or molested any citizen of this town." (Quebec Gazette, June 13, 1799)

Benjamin Hart and brothers Moses and Alexander joined a number of trifluvians in a similar tribute to Lieut. Daniel Dupré, commander of the garrison at Trois-Rivières on his departure, for the discipline and good order under his command. Among the other signatories: René Kimber, F. and J.-B. Rientard, H. Blackstone. (Ibid., June 11, 1800)

The partnership which the father had set up of Aaron Hart & Sons was formally dissolved in his last months, and all concerned were invited to take note (ibid., May 1, 1800). "All those who are indebted to them by book debt, bond, note, or otherwise, are requested to pay the same, without delay, to Aaron Hart. Notice is hereby given to those that do not discharge their Accounts long since due, they will be put in hands of a Lawyer for the ensuing September Term...The Stock on hand will be sold at Prime Cost. Ezekiel and Benjamin Hart inform their Friends and the Public, that they expect out by the Ships this Spring, from the Manufactories direct, a compleat assortment of Goods, which they will dispose of on very low terms for cash or short credit."

But the liens are not cut so abruptly. Ezekiel and Benjamin Hart advertised on Feb. 5, 1801 that "a Cask, marked E & B H No. 22 containing iron ware, cutlery &c., was shipped from Liverpool last Summer in the Lively, and which was landed at Quebec. -- The undersigned to whom it was consigned request those having the same in possession to deliver it without delay to the Printer." (Ibid.) The same notice appeared on May 24 signed only by Benjamin Hart.

The time came at the end of 1800 and the sons, now testamentary executors, advertised officially for all concerned in the estate to make their representations. (Ibid., Jan. 2, 1801)

The official notice to debtors and creditors of the late Aaron Hart was signed by only two of the brothers, Moses and Ezekiel, and Robert Lester,

"The Subscribers Testamentary Executors of the late Mr. Aaron Hart, in his life time of Three Rivers, Merchant, hereby give notice to all persons who have any demands or pretensions against the said succession of the said Aaron Hart, deceased, to make them known to Messrs. Moses and Ezekiel Hart; and all persons who are indebted to the said estate as well as the late Co-partnership known under the Firm of Aaron Hart and Sons, either by book, debt, promissory note or otherwise, are hereby required to pay the same immediately to the said Moses and Ezekiel Hart who are authorized to that effect." (Ibid., Jan. 22, 1801)

But the three elder brothers advertised on Feb. 3, 1801,

"The Public are informed that there will commence a Vendue at this Town, on Monday 23d instant and continued daily, until the whole is sold, of all the Merchandise of the late Aaron Hart, Esquire, comprising a large Assortment of Goods and Liquors, also Household Furniture, Cattle &c, &c. likewise all his real estate, except the premises he lived on, and the Seigneuries. -- N.B. Those persons purchasing upwards £ 50 Goods, will have credit till 1st June next on giving approved Notes." (Ibid.) The advertisement is countersigned by the mother, Dorothea, as tutrix to Alexander Hart.

In accordance with Aaron Hart's last will of Dec. 11, 1800, Benjamin Hart was heir to a two-storey stone house on Notre Dame St. which was occupied by a store.

Characteristically, the will of Aaron Hart left property to his son Benjamin -- who was not, as it turned out, to marry until 1806 and whose son was not born until 1811 -- with a provision that the property thus willed Benjamin was his only for his lifetime, and was not to be reserved upon his death to his eldest son.

In spite of the father's foresighted efforts to ensure an amicable transfer of his earthly goods to his family of legatees, the results were unhappy and litigious. Moses was born to be blamed and to be guilty, but none of the four sons emerge as filial heroes; the older the uglier. Douville traces the outlines of the conflict.

The demise of the patriarch brought about a series of painful conflicts between the brothers, not apparently concerning the division of the estate but involving rather petty differences in accounting, routine expenses, etc. (Douville. Aaron Hart, Pp. 178-79)

Moses laid formal claims to goods taken from the estate by the mother. She wrote him, "Moses, I have no ill will to any part of our family. The suit now pending between us prevents my going to your house. Mr. Berthelet is my lawyer. You can go there, take up the writ, pay the expenses, the year's interest due, sign a mortgage to pay me the interests yearly. I will then go to your house."

The mother's capital was involved in the dispute, and Benjamin seems to have found the controversies particularly unpleasant, even though he was soon to put some distance between himself and the quarrelsome brothers by removing to Montreal.

A codicil of the will was questioned; it was unsigned and Moses may have influenced father on his deathbed to add it. All the sons took this position against mother who agreed to abandon her claim in return for their paying her £ 1,500.

The sons questioned precisely what her husband's will had provided for her. Rather than face family litigation she agreed to a settlement with the sons.

Soon after the father died, Benjamin and Alexander sold her a large plot of land in the fief Godefroy, which resulted in claims upon her.

The elder brothers took action to claim estate ledgers from Benjamin.

Even while they shared common business interests, the brothers communicated only by formal letter. After nearly half a century of orphanhood, their mail addressed each brother, "Sir..." (R. Douville, "Les Années de jeunesse et vie familiale de Moses Hart," in Cahiers des dix, 23, 1958. Pp. 213-15)

As Douville put it,

"In business Moses Hart seems to have shown no evidence of morality or dignity, and we must not forget that he was above all a businessman. Under all circumstances he proves miserly, selfish, mean. As soon as his father died he began to quarrel with his mother and brothers about the estate. It seems that even though they had much in common, the brothers avoided meeting. Like schoolgirls experiencing a mild misunderstanding, they write notes recording their grievances to avoid meeting."

It was a family condition that endured in all its bitterness. Forty years later these brothers, long sexagenarians, corresponded drily in letters addressed to "Mister". Benjamin, well-established in Montreal, wrote on May 22, 1845 to Moses for clarification of details in accounts which he called obscure, and seeking justification of payments. Moses responded on Sept. 22, 1845 to "a letter of Aug. 22 to which I thought proper not to reply earlier because you had apparently forgotten to pay carriage (post) costs, as I would have done in your place."

Douville further notes, "So Benjamin writes in the third person in 1801,

"Benjamin Hart will be happy to be informed by Mr. Moses Hart on what authority he charges him with £ 39.7.4 and £ 4.10.2 in the estate account...Benjamin Hart is always ready to meet Moses Hart to settle the same in a kindly manner, but if not so settled, must and shall be settled by the Court, when Mr. Moses Hart will be heard on facts and articles to his accounts.'

"A year later on July 12, 1802, he writes, 'Since my return from the Country, I have not been able to see the state of the Brew House Books and Accounts.'" (P. 214)

Douville notes that, in his will of Jan. 22, 1810 Benjamin names his wife, mother, sisters and his brothers as beneficiaries, and brother Alexander as executor; there is no mention of Moses. (Cahiers des dix, P. 214)

Moses and Ezekiel sued mother for moneys and goods claimed under the will. A year later they sued Benjamin in the courts for the production of accounts and documents.

They blamed their mother for siding with Benjamin and Alexander in the complex dissensions. Benjamin was so disgusted that he sold his interests in their partnership to his elder brothers. In a special document he gave power of attorney to Ezekiel Hart to act in all matters concerning the will of Aaron Hart.

In 1802 Benjamin Hart went for an extended visit to Britain to establish trading relations with a number of his father's suppliers. In his absence the older brothers turned upon their youngest brother Alexander. (Alexandre St. in Trois-Rivières was named for Alexander Hart. B. Sulte. Trois-Rivières d'autrefois. Montreal, Edouard Garand, 1931. P. 76)

Upon his return to America Benjamin found that his three brothers had filled the calendars of the courts with claims on the estate; some of them ridiculous, all of them aimed eventually at their mother's interests. He succeeded in arranging for a settlement by arbitration; David Ross and James Reid, who were chosen, made short shrift of the mess of claims.

Benjamin continued his business activity from Trois-Rivières, much of it in land.

Samuel David's diary helps us follow the movements of Benjamin Hart. "He went off to Boston on January 15, 1804.

"Feb. 9, 1806. Benjamin Hart went off for New York, with his sister.

"Feb. 22. By Mr. Fleming, arrived from New York this day. I received a hand bill from Albany from Benjamin Hart, with London dates to 18th Dec. given an account of a victory obtained by the Russians over Buonaparte, and he being wounded.

"May 5, 1806. Benjamin Hart came in from New York, brings accounts of a sail of the Brest Fleet being taken."



Benjamin and Alexander

Benjamin and Alex (Asher) Hart were associated in business in Three Rivers in 1804, and business letters from them to attorney James Reid in Montreal, dated June 22, Sept. 5 and Oct. 5 of that year, survive in the Baby Collection at the Université de Montréal.

In 1805 the brothers advertised the sale of properties at Shipton and Hereford; land in the Fief St. Jean and in Fief St. Antoine in the Parish of Rivière du Loup belonging to Isaac Phineas; land at Ascott and at Rivière du Loup, and at Michel de Yamaska. (Mercury, Dec. 9, 1805)

The partnership of Benjamin and Alexander, "merchants of Three Rivers," is on record as having made a hunting "engagement" in 1806 with Moses Nathan, in the legal study of L.S. Chaboillez. ("Repertoire des engagements pour l'ouest conservés dans les archives judiciaires de Montréal," in Rapport des Archives de la Province de Québec, 1945-46, P. 243)

In July 1811 the brothers were advertising as Hart & Co., offering their services "to the public and to resident or visiting Americans, as brokers and cashiers to purchase or sell at auction or otherwise. Merchandise will be received at moderate storage charges and with all possible attention." (Quebec Gazette, July 11 and 25, 1811)

In Nov. 1808 Benjamin and Alexander Hart, trading at Three Rivers under the name of B. and A. Hart, secured from the Court of the King's Bench at that town order of seizure of land and property of Joseph Hicks on the 13th range at Shipton.

At their suit the sheriff of Trois-Rivières put on sale a lot belonging to Charles Clark, Shipton trader, on Apr. 16, 1809. (Quebec Gazette of Dec. 14, 1809) A good part of their investments were in that part of the colony.

An 1808 business letter from brother Moses survives by which he draws 10 guineas on Benjamin Hart in payment for some merchandise. This document was located by "Lorraine" in an old letter book and was published in a Montreal newspaper in late August 1888 as an antiquarian find.

That winter Benjamin Hart was curator to the estate of Hyman Lyons of Three Rivers. He advertised in the Quebec Gazette of Dec. 14, 1809 for all concerned with the settlement of the estate to come forward.

In March 1809 Benjamin and Moses Hart, together with Lewis Gagy and J. Badeaux, lost a court case in Three Rivers, when they bought a raft of lumber which turned out to have been stolen. (Mercury, May 29, 1809)

Pending cases, such as that against Nathaniel Wales of Shipton, continued under their names jointly as they put his Compton lots on sale, (Ibid., July 2, 1812) and a year later they put on sale three lots in Melbourne Township and in St. Antoine Parish at Rivière du Loup belonging to trader George Knopp of Melbourne and the property of William Armstrong. (Ibid., July 15, 1813)

A year and a half later, on Oct. 15, 1814 Benjamin Hart put on sale portions of land in Melbourne belonging to Knopp; he had purchased part of this land earlier. (Ibid., Jan. 12, 1815)

In Oct. 1815 Sheriff L. Gagy seized a lot and house in Brompton and two lots in Hereford at the suit of the two Hart brothers, the property of Benjamin Abbott. (Ibid., Oct. 26, 1815)

At their suit the sheriff advertised the sale of the Ascott property of Osgood Ward of Kingsey in the Gazette of Feb. 7, 1811.

Similarly the two brothers had the sheriff sell lots of Stephen Burroughs at Shipton and Stoke. (Ibid., June 20, 1811 and Jan. 9, 1812)

Again in July 1811 they took possession of eight lots in the Shipton township belonging to lawyer William Barnard. (Ibid., July 4, 1811); and in Jan. 1812 the Shipton and Ascott lots of Timothy Miles of Ascott. (Ibid., Jan. 9, 1812)

The firm was located at the Palace of the Intendant at Quebec but Alexander Hart was residing in Montreal, and Benjamin Hart was described in the records as of Trois-Rivières.

We find Benjamin Hart and his brother Alexander, like Moses and Ezekiel, among the businessmen of Trois-Rivières who order sheriff's sale of seized properties. So on March 9, 1807 we hear of the sale of land on the Yamaska River in the Fief of Tonnancour belonging to Antoine Pépin. (Gazette de Québec, Feb. 5, 1807)

As we note, their frequent transfers of property through court seizures and subsequent auction on sheriff's order indicate that the Hart brothers were deeply involved in real estate transactions in Montreal, Trois-Rivières, the Eastern Townships and elsewhere. Their partnership was dissolved on Apr. 10, 1812, as we see from their notice in the Gazette of Apr. 27,

"Notice is hereby given, that the Co. partnership heretofore carried on by the Subscribers, in the Town of Three Rivers, under the Firm of Benja. & Alex. Hart, & Co., and in the City of Montreal, under the Firm of Alex. Hart & Co. was dissolved on the First instant past, by mutual consent. All those who have demands upon the said Firms, are requested to present them for adjustment, and those indebted to make immediate payment to either of the Subscribers."

A month after the dissolution of the partnership with his brother, Benjamin Hart advertised that he intends after the first day of June of that year "to commence business as a Commission Merchant, Auctioneer & Broker -- hopes by the facility he will afford, by reasonable advances on Consignments, and unremitted attention to the interests of his employers, to merit a share of the public confidence, and support of his friends." (Ibid., June 4, 1812)

The partnership which the two brothers had with Nicholas Osborne in the firm of Nicholas Osborne & Co. was dissolved on Sept. 30, 1812. (Ibid., Oct. 14, 1813)

It is, therefore, not totally surprising to read a notice of the sheriffs' sales of Ezekiel Hart's properties at the suit of Benjamin Hart. (Quebec Gazette, Feb. 9, 1815), and again six years later, of the sale of Benjamin Hart's property at the suit of his brother Ezekiel. (Quebec Gazette, May 24, Aug. 2 and Sept. 13, 1821)

A notice by Thomas Jacobs indicates that these instruments were not always cases of the more powerful businessmen foreclosing the mortgages of the weak. So he advertised on May 23, 1805,

"To prevent all doubt which might arise unfavourable to the credit of the House of Messrs. Peter Brehaut & Co. in consequence of the seizure of the immoveable property of Mr. Peter Brehaut at my suit as advertised in the Quebec Gazette, I hereby declare, that the whole took place at his own particular desire, for the purpose of acquiring a clear title to the property; the whole of which he has bought in from the Sheriff." (Ibid., Apr. 27, 1812)

The columns of official notices often record the Hart names, and imply a misleading extent of real wealth. Apparently the instruments of investigation, as so often, impose their own conclusions until further more sophisticated analyses of the country's economy will come to be applied to this area. Realty and court records are too complete to give a balanced portrayal of the life of the citizenry of this period.

Benjamin Hart continued his business in Three Rivers as commission merchant, auctioneer and broker. Among other of his dealings he sold cottons, earthenware, hose. (Quebec Gazette, June 2 and Nov. 12, 1812)

The detailed ledgers of the Hart business, its "inland invoice book, 1813-27," preserved by the American Jewish Historical Society at Waltham, Mass., contains many entries "bought of Benjamin Hart" as well as other purchases from M. Hart, A. Hart of Lacombe, Ezekiel Hart, Judah Joseph, Alex Hart, Henry Joseph and L. and B.S. Solomon. Among the articles purchased: Sheridan's Dictionary, Virgil and Horace.

The Day Book, 1820-22 contains similar entries. (AJHS Archives, P-18, Box 5, vols. 1 and 3)

He subscribed to the local Fire Society and, as its treasurer, published the statement of its accounts. (Ibid., Jan. 9, 1812)

In a remarkable transaction on Nov. 7, 1814 Benjamin Hart sued Ezekiel Hart in the Trois-Rivières Court of the King's Bench and won possession of a piece of land on the Côté St. Louis with 80' frontage on rue du Coteau. (Ibid., Feb. 9, 1815)

In 1817 he advertised three valuable farms for sale.
(Ibid., Jan. 16, 1817)

He advertised as general agent and commercial agent in
the Gazette of May 14, 1818.

The following year the heirs of his father's estate advertised their intention to petition the legislature to be allowed to divide lots of land bequeathed them. (Nov. 11, 1819)

In July he advertised that he was relinquishing the business carried on in his name to Isaac Valentine. (July 17, 1820)

But he continued active in land. His name appears in the sheriff's notice of sales of the properties of Joachim Tellier, (Gazette, July 30 and Sept. 7, 18, 20, 1818) and François Rocheleau (July 20, 1820).

At his suit the property of Ezra Dorman was sold (Aug. 10, 1820) and that of Caleb N. Mallery (Jan. 3, 1821).

He found himself in a law suit involving F.W. Ermatinger and E.W. Gray. He wrote out a power of attorney to attorney, later chief justice, James Reid. (L.M. Lande. Canadian Historical Documents and Manuscripts. Montreal, 1980. no. 131, Pp. 77-78)

Marriage

On February 9, 1806 he went to New York, significantly with his sister.

We remember the isolation of Lower Canada at this time and its hunger for news of the world when we read that David received a hand bill from Albany on February 22 which Hart had sent him from New York at the hands of a mutual friend, who arrived from New York that day.

When Hart came in from New York on May 5, 1806 he brought accounts of a sail of the Brest fleet being taken.

This had not been a business trip, for in the American metropolis he married Harriet Judith Hart, the only daughter of Ephraim Hart of New York (1747-1825) on April 1, 1806. The American Hart was a wealthy stockbroker, who served as senator of the state in 1810. He crowned his services to the New York Shearith Israel Congregation by serving as president in 1794. At the time of his death he was a partner of John Jacob Astor. He was one of the organizers of the New York Stock Exchange. Harriet's mother was an aunt of Mordecai M. Noah.

There is significance for the critical reader of history even in the formal expressions of how members of the family perceive their intimate history, no matter how much is hidden from prying strangers.

Readers will, of course, be critical of such idealization, but they will also be critical of the evidence, often of subsequent date, which often "prove" and document the later perception of earlier times. So with all the caveats we note a sketch of the Hart family furnished by Benjamin Hart's son, Arthur Wellington Hart in 1873 to the New York Shearith Israel Congregation. The young man's lifetime career is marked by devotion to his father and to assuring due recognition for his character and services.

We will note a very close attachment to the New York Congregation by this branch of the family, also evident in the writings of A.W. Hart's younger kinsman, historian Gerald Ephraim Hart.

There are powerful and self-evident reasons for such a loyalty and identification with the august American institution, in its own way as much the mother congregation of the Montreal synagogue bearing the same name as the older London congregation. But there are more personal circumstances for the warmth to the American institution which other members of the Hart family had served with such conspicuous devotion.

Arthur Wellington Hart wrote,

"The third son of Aaron Hart, Benjamin Hart, a merchant at Three Rivers, married Harriet Judith, the only daughter of Ephraim Hart of New York, then a merchant in the full tide of prosperity. This marriage was a most happy and blissful one; their progeny today are scattered over the world. The fulfillment of prophecy as regards the scattering! One resides in New York, one in New Jersey, one in Missouri, another in Louisiana, a daughter in California. The third son Theodore and his sister Constance in Canada, and another sister residing in Heidelberg in Germany. As Benjamin Hart of Three Rivers and afterwards of Montreal always identified himself with the Congregation of Shearith Israel, it is necessary to allude to his family in order to connect the history of Ephraim Hart with that of this Congregation.

"There emigrated some century ago a family of Noah, Manos or Manuel was the grandfather of the present generation. He had a sister Frances, a woman of pure morals, true benevolence and a worthy daughter of Israel. She married Ephraim Hart of this city, at that time a man of moderate fortune and one universally respected for his love of our holy religion, and his generous support of the Congregation.

"Ephraim Hart was always a great speculator in property and among his possessions at one time were the titles of some of the most valuable properties in this city. He owned his own Town House in Broad Street, then the quiet abode of the merchant princes in New York. His country seat, being about 11th Street, consisting of some acres which he sold to the late John Jacob Astor for some \$10,000, a property worth today some millions!

"In Oliver Street burial ground the tomb of his eldest son Asher is still to be seen. Another who was distinguished for his professional attainment died in this city and was well known for his fund of humor, overflowing spirits that no adversity could dampen and a generosity which to a great extent always kept him impoverished. I allude to Dr. Joel Hart. He lies interred in the burial ground in Eleventh Street where the remains of his father also rest.

"The object of this work is to give some historical sketch of those who by blood-connexion or marriage, here or elsewhere, were connected with the Congregation Shearith Israel from its earliest date. To do this we cannot confine ourselves to the lives of those that lived and died among us. It is our duty which we fulfil with pride to point out those lovely religious traits of character to be found in the members or children of members who constituted the Congregation," he continues,

"Ephraim Hart, be it said to his credit, was a consistent and a faithful worshipper of his Congregation; his wife was imbued with similar sentiments and love of religion. These were faithfully impressed into the youthful mind of their only dutiful and loving daughter and Harriet Judith as a mother fulfilled the hopes of her worthy and good parents. Her union with a Canadian gentleman of the same name and yet no relation, was blessed with every earthly gift of wealth, health and domestic happiness. They were further blessed with a large family, some 16 children of whom, as narrated before, 8 survived.

"Benjamin Hart was distinguished for his philanthropy and unbounded hospitality. In building his mansion in Montreal, he dedicated to the service of God a large room in the upper storey, where his family congregated on Sabbath evenings and mornings, and during the Holy days his portals were opened to the rich and poor, the resident or traveller, and as each year rolled by the Holy days' services were celebrated by Doctor De La Motta of Charleston or Myer Levy, Esq., now a venerable and aged member of this Congregation.

"The establishment of religious service in a room set apart in a man's house for the benefit of whoever chose to call, points to a moral of the present day when religious reform and freedom opens the Jewish pulpit for the occupancy of a Christian clergyman. The Jew neglecting his own faith yet beckoning to his Christian mentor to explain 'the doubtful truths' which seize his mind; alas, to what are we drifting? Is religion unshaken in trust or creed for 6000 years to be set aside for the free religious sentiment which pervades the the Jewish pulpit of the present day? We have strolled off to moralize, but our history of this worthy family must close.

"Benjamin Hart was committed to the silent dust in February 1855 and his remains lie interred in the family plot at Levy Island of Col. A. Wellington Hart, his eldest surviving son, residing in New York and a member of the third generation of Worshippers with this (N.Y.) Synagogue.

"Harriet Judith lies beside her Mother and her son Aaron Philip Hart, a distinguished Barrister of the Montreal Branch who died at the early age of 32 years, in the family plot in Montreal. -- Another member of the family of Benjamin Hart was connected with this Congregation: Frances, his eldest daughter, married Raphael Schoyer. They were members of this (N.Y.) Congregation. Mrs. Schoyer was a most accomplished musician and linguist, the charm of the social circle, and one who was held in love and respect by all who knew her. She died in New York, and with her infant son lies buried in the Beth Hayim in Twenty-first Street." She died on Oct. 10, 1849. (Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society, no. 27, 1920, Pp. 490-92)

Articles of Agreement

For reasons which developed later in the life of Benjamin Hart, a copy was made of "Articles of Agreement indented and made at the city of New York in the United States of America, this first day of April, 1806 between Ephraim Hart of said city, merchant, on the one part and Benjamin Hart of Three Rivers in the province of Canada on the other part. Whereas the said Benjamin Hart, son of Aaron Hart of said Three Rivers has proposed to Harriet Judith Hart, daughter of said Ephraim Hart, to become his wife according to the laws of Moses and of Israel, to which proposal she has assented as set forth in a contract of marriage written in the Hebrew language, bearing even date herewith. Now, therefore, it is hereby understood and declared in the said Ephraim Hart on his part for himself, his heirs, executors and administrators, and assigns that hereby agree and covenant with the said Benjamin Hart, to have his heirs, executors and administrators, that he shall settle on his said daughter as her marriage portion the sum of \$5,000 as follows, that is to say. That the interest of said sum of \$5,000 shall be paid on the first day of April in each and every year during the joint lives of said Ephraim Hart, his wife, during the life of the survivor of them two, for the use of their said daughter, Harriet Judith Hart: or in case she shall depart this life before the death of such survivor, then to her heir or her heirs and, upon the death of such survivor, the said principal sum \$5,000 to be paid to the said Harriet Judith Hart or her heir or her heirs, for which he, the said Ephraim Hart hath this day signed and delivered to the said Benjamin Hart a bond; and if the said Harriet Judith Hart shall die without issue by the said Benjamin Hart, the said Ephraim Hart doth hereby for himself, his heirs, executors and administrators from thenceforth relinquish and give up all claim and demand on the said Benjamin Hart or his Estate or on his heirs, executors or administrators forever for and upon accounts of said marriage contract or engagement and bond aforesaid or in virtue hereof. And the said Benjamin Hart on his part doth hereby for himself and his heirs, executors, administrators and assigns, agree and covenant with the same Ephraim Hart that his heirs, executors, and administrators that he, the said Benjamin Hart, will within three years of the date of this instrument pay to the said Harriet Judith Hart the sum of \$3,000. If the said Harriet Judith Hart shall die without issue by him the said Benjamin Hart, doth hereby from

thenceforth for himself, his executors and administrators relinquish and give up all claim and demand on the said Ephraim Hart or on his estates or on his heirs, executors, or administrators forever for or upon account of the said marriage contract or engagement and the bond aforesaid or in virtue hereof. In witness whereof and previous to the said marriage between Benjamin Hart and Harriet Judith Hart the said parties to these presents have herewith interchangeably set their hands and seal this day and year first written above." (signed by Ephraim Hart and Benjamin Hart)

This deed was copied on the authority of John Keefe, public notary in and of the State of New York and Charles Keese.

The document was certified a true copy by the prothonotary of the Court of the Queen's Bench in Montreal on Nov. 3, 1848 in connection with a case before the Court of the Queen's Bench in which Mrs. Benjamin Hart was the plaintiff and Mr. Benjamin Hart the defendant.

Family Life

The marriage contract which young Benjamin Hart signed turned out to be more than a formality in the life of a decent citizen.

In January 1810 Benjamin wrote a will, commending his soul to the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, and naming younger brother Alexander as executor. Beneficiaries of this testament would have been his wife, mother, sisters and brother Ezekiel. (R. Douville, P. 214)

For two score years we have no indication that the respectable Benjamin Hart family life was less than satisfactory. There is a foreboding document, however, of November 18, 1824 that suggests a cloud on a fine day.

That fall November Benjamin appeared before his notary B. Doucet to prepare his will. His desires: to be interred decently but without pomp and with as little expense as possible, and the wrongs or injuries he may have done to others to be repaired. He provided for his children. His wife is to have for her natural life the enjoyment of the family dwelling at the corner of St. Helen and des Recollets St. on the condition that she does not maintain or have residing with her or in her employ any of her relations such as her father, mother, brothers, sisters, uncle or aunt and, further, that she relinquish all her rights that she may have on the estate by virtue of the marriage contract of 1806.

Mr. Hart explains ninthly, that whereas by this marriage contract Ephraim Hart made a bond, made over to Naphtali Judah of New York certain lands in payment of this bond which lands cost Benjamin Hart upwards of £500 for the recovery of this property in the chancery court of New York for fees and disbursements and in land taxes. These lands came into the possession of Benjamin Hart by deed from Thomas Bridgeon, master in chancery for New York State, and Herman Hart of Albany and his wife Miriam on Apr. 26, 1823. They were situated in New Athens in New York State and in Melbourne township in St. Francois district. Executors of the estate: his wife Harriet Judith Hart, brothers Moses and Alexander "and my particular friend Joseph Barrett."

His revised will of Dec. 27, 1831 omits the clause which is hostile to his wife's family. That remarkable paragraph may be understood when seen in relation to its dating. It was composed only a few months before the demise of Ephraim Hart in July 1825 at the age of 78. In the disarrangements and family disturbances which are common before the prospect of the passing of such a paterfamilias, possibly envisaging the New York family moving into his home and estate, Benjamin Hart, always fast to anger and quick to resort to pen to respond to threats, provided in his first will to defend his household.

In point of fact, Mrs. Frances Hart did move in with her daughter, Mrs. Benjamin Hart, and lived with her until her own death, on June 11, 1843, at the age of 75. As kinsman Gerald E. Hart wrote,

"After the death of Ephraim Hart his widow took up her final earthly home at Montreal with her devoted daughter who soothed her evening life till the close when, full of years, she peacefully yielded her dying breath in that city, and lays with the rest of her kin in the family burial ground."

But this apparent idyll might well be an element in the painful legal conflict that clouded Benjamin Hart's last years.

Indeed, even the second will provided fairly for his widow; yet it stipulated that she renounce any claim she might have by virtue of the marriage contract of Apr. 1, 1806 (sic).

This second will enumerated his properties, totalling 18,000 acres, in the townships of Warwick, Windsor, Chester, Brompton, Eaton, New Port, Ascott, Melbourne, Shipton, Ely, Hereford and Simpson.

Mrs. Hart and brother Moses remain executors together with cousin Henry Joseph.

A third will, dated Feb. 23, 1846, is much simpler and leaves most of the estate to his widow. The executors: advocates Henry Judah, Samuel M. David and Adolphus M. Hart.

The tragedy of life in that distant frontier is reflected in the family history. In August 1809 the young couple lost a daughter Henrietta Sarah, and in September 1810, a son, Ephraim Ascher.

An infant daughter died in December 1820 and was laid to rest in Three Rivers. (Quebec Gazette, Dec. 28, 1820)

On the first day of 1815 Benjamin Hart's father-in-law, Ephraim Hart of New York, applied to the Department of State in the metropolis,

"My daughter, Mrs. Harriet J. Hart, wife of Benjamin Hart, Merchant of Three Rivers in the province of Lower Canada, has for some time been in delicate health. Having been advised by her physician to remove to a more southern climate, she is anxiously solicitous to come on to this city as soon as permission from our government can be had and before the winter sets in with severity. You will materially serve me by procuring from the Secretary of State the necessary passport for my daughter and children together with a female servant." (MS. RG 59, General Records, Department of State, Miscellaneous Letters, Jan.-March 1815, National Archives. Reproduced in Joseph L. Blau and Salo W. Baron. The Jews of the United States, 1790-1840, a Documentary History. N.Y., Columbia, 1963, vol. 2 Pp. 311-12, 606)

Not long after his marriage, Benjamin Hart took advantage of the auctioning of French-language books from the library of his father's neighbour, Protestant rector Veyssière, as did Ezekiel Hart. (Veyssière, in Dictionary of Canadian Biography)

The Military

In February 1811, Benjamin Hart petitioned the Governor for a commission to the colonial militia. The petition was referred to Col. Coffin for an opinion which, Mr. Hart learned indirectly but credibly, was that commissioning a Jew would create dissatisfaction among Roman Catholics

So, on August 26, 1812 Hart wrote the Governor that this assertion was without the least foundation and a misrepresentation.

"Your Memorialist, though impressed with the sentiment that the present urgency of time leaves to your Excellency few moments to be spared on private concerns, yet is emboldened to recall to your Excellency by your Memorialist of having been omitted in the promotion of the Militia of Three Rivers.

"Your Memorialist having been informed by an indirect but credible channel, that Colonel Coffin's objection to your Memorialist being promoted was that it would give dissatisfaction to people in general and more particularly to the Roman Catholics on account of your Memorialist's Religious Profession. Your Memorialist conceives it to be his duty to submit to your Excellency that this objection (if made) is without the least foundation and a misrepresentation.

"Your Memorialist begs leave to refer your Excellency to the enclosed certificate from the Hon. L.C. Foucher, Judge of this District and Lieut. Colonel of this Division, from the Rev. François Noisieux, Grand Vicar of this District, from the Rev. Doctor Short and as well one Signed by Major Courval and the Officers and Privates of this Town.

"To prove how insincere has been Colonel Coffin in his representation your Memorialist will point out to your Excellency a public fact, that your Memorialist's Brother Ezekiel Hart was twice elected a Member of the House of Assembly and once to the exclusion of Col. Coffin himself. And to show to your Excellency how inconsistent is this representation of Col. Coffin with his own conduct, your Memorialist will recall to your Excellency's memory, that but lately Mr. Isaac Phineas was promoted as Ensign to the Division under Col. Coffin, though of the same Religious Persuasion as your Memorialist.

"If Col. Coffin made such a representation he followed only the dictates of some private resentment against your Memorialist.

"Your Memorialist in making this application for a Commission is induced by his zeal and loyalty in supporting the cause of his King and Country, and whatever may be your Excellency's pleasure, your Memorialist will feel gratified in having expressed the truth to your Excellency."

The Colonel's representations are insincere, for another Jewish citizen, Isaac Phineas, has just been promoted to ensign in the division under Col. Coffin's command. (reproduced by Louis Rosenberg in his Canadian Jewish Archives, vol. 1., no. 4, March 1959, P.30)

On Oct. 10, 1808 Sheriff L. Gagy of Trois-Rivières sold lots in Melborne, Warwick, Tingwick, Wickham and Hereford, the property of Isaac Phineas, merchant at Rivière du Loup, on the order of Benjamin and Alexander Hart. (La Gazette de Québec) Some of these lots may have remained in Benjamin Hart's possession as late as 1831 when he listed his land holdings in his revised will.

Isaac Phineas, the son of Heineman Phineas or Pines, was born in 1764. The father was a German Jew who arrived in Lower Canada in 1776; we find his name (Heineman Pines) among the signatories to the 1779 code of orders and regulations of the Montreal synagogue and among the contributors towards the purchase of a Scroll of the Law later in the year. (Canadian Jewish Archives, original series, no. 4, March 1959)

Both J. Phineas and Mr. Phineas were among the contributors to the Jewish cemetery in 1798.

Young Phineas was commissioned on July 28, 1812 and promoted on Jan. 12, 1813. On Nov. 19, 1827 he was named paymaster of the Second Saint-Maurice Battalion. He died at Yamachiche March 11, 1855. (G. Malchelosse. "Les Juifs dans l'histoire canadienne". Cahiers des dix. no. 4, 1939. P. 182)

A circumstance that may give some of the background for any preference he may have enjoyed: He married Hanna Cook, not known to be Jewish.

Which may give some colour of explanation to a letter he had occasion to write from Maskinongé to Moses Hart at nearby Trois-Rivières on Jan. 9, 1828.

"Yesterday I received a letter from a friend at Montreal who acquainted me that you had told Mr. Aaron Hart (would that be Aaron Ezekiel Hart, son of Ezekiel Hart, 1803-57? -- D.R.) of that Place, that I had changed my religion. I should be very much obliged to you if you would be so good and inform me from whom you obtained that falsehood; your reply to this will very much oblige."

We find the Phineas name among those doing business with the Hart firm at Trois-Rivières in 1812. (Hart Papers, "Aaron Hart Account Book")

Hart puts his finger on a possible cause of Col. Coffin's hostility. Ezekiel Hart was seeking a seat on the Legislative Assembly; he was elected twice from Three Rivers, "once to the exclusion of Col. Coffin himself." This electoral defeat by the brother of Benjamin Hart, but three years ago, was still fresh in 1812 and was unforgotten in 1833, but equally fresh was the good will of Capt. Badeaux. (Julius J. Price, "Unpublished Canadian State Papers Relating to Benjamin Hart." in the Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society, no. 23, 1915. Pp. 137-40)

The testimony of Judge Foucher goes beyond the personal, for it tells us something of the state of prejudice in the colony.

"Mr. Benjamin Hart having asked me if I am aware of any prejudice existing among the French-Canadians against him because of his religion or other motives, which (as he was told) should be the cause of his being refused a commission in the militia; and wishing to have my testimony regarding this, I state that to my knowledge no such prejudices exist, and, on the contrary, that for the many years that I have lived in the same city as Mr. Hart, he appeared to me as being generally beloved. I further note that his conduct has always been that of a loyal and devoted subject of His Majesty."

Judge Foucher had been candidate against Ezekiel Hart in the celebrated election of 1808, when Benjamin's brother had fought so valiantly for the rights of Jews to sit in the legislature. His defeat did not embitter him for he testified respectfully as knowing Mr. Hart since 1803, who had always been consistent in taking oaths in the Jewish custom and had even asked for permission to absent himself from "court on Saturday, his day of rest and the day of rest of all Jews."

And the Rev. F. Noiseux added,

"I certify that for sixteen years I have been residing in Three Rivers, and that I have always known Mr. Benjamin Hart, with whom I have often had business connections, to be an honest merchant, a good citizen and a loyal subject of the King."

Hart also enclosed a statement in French, signed by 45 officers and privates (both francophones and English-speaking) of Trois-Rivières, certifying "que nous n'avons aucune objection ni répugnance à servir dans la milice avec M. Benjamin Hart soit comme officier ou comme autrement." Among the first signatures on this list we find the name of Capt. J. Badeaux.

On September 2, 1812 the governor promised that the matter would receive attention. Hart pressed the issue. On the 29th he wrote of his hope that the Governor would do him justice and not be prejudiced against him because of his being a Jew. He especially hoped that the Governor would pay little attention to Colonel Coffin's letter, "for your Excellency well knows that should I have failed by merit I would gladly have become a volunteer in the line, rather than apply for a commission. But inasmuch as I am a very loyal subject I would rather seek a commission. I have been informed, your Excellency, by several of the militia, that Colonel Coffin had remarked that he had advised me to join the volunteers and train three times a week, but this advice was given to me while I was sick and could not avail myself of that opportunity. I was also informed recently that I was undesirable because I was a Jew, yet I have sent you a number of names of the militia who are very willing to serve with me in the ranks."

The subject remained unadjusted for some time, and no final decision is recorded.

We are fortunate enough to have Benjamin's version of his services, for by his character he considered it a derogation of justice for modesty to silence his case. So he wrote on July 14, 1840 from Liverpool to Lord John Russell, the King's Secretary of State for the Colonies, in connection with a grievance that arose later,

"On my arrival in this Country from Montreal, Lower Canada, on the 9th, I have had communication of your Lordship's letter, as well as a communication from His Excellency the Right Honourable C.P. Thomson, addressed to my son, A.W. Hart, of this city, on the subject of my not being called to the Council of Lower Canada.

"The vague explanation in the letter addressed from the City of Toronto by His Excellency, impels me now to come forward and state to your Lordship in your official capacity the loyal services I have rendered Her Majesty's Government of Lower Canada during a period of sixty-one years.

"In 1812 and subsequent to that period, I trust the officers to whom I refer may still be alive to attest to the veracity of my statements, although a reference to the records of that period, I make no doubt will affirm to the truth.

"In 1812, at the period when Sir George Provost was desirous of arming 100 men, accounting them for the purpose of forming a garrison at Fort William Henry, now known as Sorel, Lieut. Col. Battersby informed the governor that it was impossible to carry his wishes into effect, without money to pay the recruits their bounty and daily pay -- and the Paymaster W. Leslie was called forward and stated one thousand pounds at the least would be required, and that he could not obtain one dollar in the Town of Three Rivers or from Quebec, in this emergency. I stepped forward, and offered His Excellency, the Commander in Chief Lieut. Col. Battersby, the amount, and received their acceptance and thanks. This money was returned in about one month, by the issue of Army Bills, as the dearth of money continued.

"In the month of November following, being in Montreal, the volunteers of that city crossed the river to meet General Dearbourne's Army then advancing against Montreal. I joined Captain Ogilvy's company of Light Infantry as a Private and I remained on duty day and night for some days -- was then relieved by Lieut. Col. Battersby with orders to proceed down to Three Rivers -- ordering all the militia to hold themselves in readiness to march against the enemy."

The document continues with his further record, and the full text will also shed light on the state of his affairs anno 1840. We shall have occasion to read the other paragraphs in due course. In the meantime we violate chronology by noting the response to Hart's letter in the reply dated July 25, 1840. (PAC, Colonial Office Records, Q series, MG 11, vol. 277-2, P. 215)

"I am directed by Lord John Russell to acknowledge your letter of the 14th Inst., detailing the services which, during the course of your residence in Canada, you have at various times rendered to the Govt. in the Province, and submitting your claim in consequence to some mark of The Royal favour.

"I am directed to reply to inform you that, without meaning to depreciate the value of those services, Lord John Russell is of opinion that he could not with propriety bring your name under the notice of The Queen unless your claim were supported by the recommendation of the Governor General of British North America. Is it Lord John Russell's intention to make this reference?"

In fact, it was not until Oct. 1820 that Hart was commissioned -- in Montreal -- a lieutenant in the First Battalion of the militia, although he had enlisted as a private in 1813, also in the metropolis. (Sack, Pp. 98-103, and in Quebec Gazette, Oct. 26, 1820) He was subsequently promoted to the rank of lieutenant-colonel. (Gerald Hart)

In 1812 Benjamin Hart was treasurer of the Fire Society. In 1813 he continued his participation in the group.

In Business

A printed leaflet dated Dec. 24, 1818 announces that,

"Benjamin Hart, General Agent and Commission Merchant, St. Paul St., Montreal, Respectfully informs his Friends and the Public, that he has formed connections in England, with respectable Merchants and Manufacturers, and will constantly have a supply of Goods, suitable for Upper and Lower Canada, and the northern parts of the United States. By the Spring ships he expects an extensive assortment of all kinds of Goods; and he has on hand at present, some superior manufactured Ironmongery and Hardware Goods, which he can recommend with confidence, and which will be sold at reduced prices for Cash or approved Credit, or for Produce at the best Market prices."

Yet his interests in Three Rivers continued. It was there that the property of Benjamin Abbott was sold by the sheriff in 1815 at the suit of Benjamin and his brother Alexander Hart. (Quebec Gazette, Oct. 26, 1815)

Thomas Doig's Alphabetical List of the Merchants, Traders and Housekeepers Residing in Montreal, which is appended a Descriptive Sketch of the Town (Montreal, 1819, 192 p.) lists Benjamin Hart, as well as L. & B.S. Solomon & Co., David David, Samuel David and Mrs. Michaels, as subscribers.

Benjamin Hart is listed as commission merchant at 69 St. Paul, residing at 10 St. Urbain St.

Alexander Hart is recorded as a Craig St. merchant, with a Counting House on Fortification Lane. He was the son of Aaron Hart, brother of Benjamin. His widowed mother, Mrs. Dorothy Hart, lived at 13 St. Gabriel St.

The directory helps us locate each of the few Jews resident in the city a century and a half ago.

The same directory lists David David, director of the Montreal Bank and of the Savings Bank and merchant at 14 Notre Dame Street, and Samuel David, merchant at 1 Place d'Armes, residing at 103 St. Antoine Street.

John Levy was a dry goods merchant at 43 St. Paul St.

Mrs. Michaels resided at 21 Notre Dame Street.

Levi and Benjamin S. Solomons were tobacconists and chocolate manufacturers at 41 St. Paul Street, the latter residing at 5 St. Sacrement Street. Henry Solomons was a furrier at 138 St. Paul Street.

Hoffstetter and Bros. were merchants at 28 Notre Dame Street.

Henry Valentine resided at 13 Wolfe Street. In 1820 he sold his business in Montreal to Isaac Valentine.

When Levy Solomons, the son of Levy Lucius Solomons (who was the first of that branch of the family to settle in Lower Canada in the 1760's), wrote his will in 1820 he named Benjamin Hart as one of his executors. Among the witnesses: Alexander Hart. (L.M. Lande. Canadian Historical Documents and Manuscripts, Montreal, 1980, no. B546, Pp. 551-52)

Benjamin and his brother Ezekiel were formally partners, but this firm of Ezekiel and Benjamin Hart was dissolved in 1822. (Quebec Gazette, May 2.)

We find Benjamin Hart as juryman at the court of oyer and terminer. (Quebec Gazette, May 24, 1823)

The By-Laws, Regulations and Statutes, Made and Established by the President and Governors of the Montreal General Hospital for the Government of the Officers, Members, Patients and Servants of the Hospital, Passed on the 6th Day of April, 1823 lists Benjamin Hart, Baruck B. Levy, L. & B.S. Solomons and Co. and Henry Solomon as contributors of £5 each to the building fund.

In 1829 Hart served as officer of the Montreal Committee of Trade. (F.W. Terrill. Chronology of Montreal and of Canada. Montreal, Lovell, 1893. P. 113)

Benjamin Hart was one of the eight who requested the incorporation by the legislature in October 1829, of the Montreal Savings Bank.

Benjamin Hart, together with his brothers Ezekiel and Alexander made some efforts to collect from the government of the United States what was due to their father's estate for merchandise the elder Hart had given to the revolutionary army more than half a century ago, but their efforts apparently met with no success.

A tantalizing scrap of an 1826 letter from Benjamin Hart to Dear Mariam (? - sister-in-law, wife of brother Uriah) gives broken fragments of a view of the family and of current business problems about an Albany case; "Mr. Baird returned to town last week, says Hart informed him in Albany the debtors would have a meeting it was supposed would offer a compensation for their loss. I think I myself would have done different from your father. I should have ordered Aaron to () the petition in Quebec and retained Mr. Black -- since the () was illegal in Quebec but little in the damages would be given, here a jury of perhaps half his own countrymen would give £500. Roy paid £500 damages for the same act not long ago. "

THE CONGREGATION REAWAKENS

By this time Benjamin Hart was the acknowledged father of the Montreal Jewish community. He had settled in Montreal about the time of his father's death at the turn of the century.

There is much on the record of Benjamin Hart that is of great human interest, and a great deal of it throws a clear light on social conditions and relations around the lives of the early Jews in Canada.

At this time the affairs of the congregation -- formally already nearly three-score years old -- were in an unsatisfactory condition. The old synagogue building, erected in 1777 on Notre Dame St., at the junction with St. James St., was demolished. To quote from the History of the Congregation of Spanish and Portuguese Jews "Shearith Israel" of Montreal, Canada, Published on the Celebration of its 150th Anniversary in the year 5679 - 1918 (P. 33), "Some time, however, passed before anything definite was accomplished."

The date of Yom Kippur was at least noted in Samuel David's diary in 1801. In 1822 services on that sacred occasion were held at the home of Benjamin Hart, according to the same source.

The David children -- Abigail, Fanny, Moses, David and Samuel -- were still among the living, Gerard Malchelosse points out, in 1825 when it became necessary to abandon the ancient synagogue, and the congregation met in the Hart home at the corner of Sainte-Hélène and des Recollets. ("Les Juifs dans l'histoire canadienne," in Les Cahiers des dix, no. 4, 1931. P. 184)

We have a filial tribute from historian Gerald E. Hart, "Benjamin Hart was distinguished for his philanthropy and abounded hospitality. In building his mansion in Montreal he dedicated to the 'Service of God' a large Room in the upper storey where his family congregated on Shabbatt evenings and mornings and during the Holy days...."

"The establishment of religious services, in a room set apart in a man's house for the benefit of whoever chose to call, points a moral in the present day, when religious reform and freedom open the Jewish pulpit for the occupancy of a Christian clergyman, the Jew neglecting his own faith..."

A scrap of a chatty family letter of 1826 from Benjamin Hart describes a moment at home,

"I think Craigh (son of Ezekiel, born 1809) improves a little in writing. His month will be up the 8th, when he shall stop. He attends Mr. B...from 2 to 4 to go over the tutor's assistant. He cannot have had up over four lines without error. He improves in Hebrew.

"My little Henry (son of Benjamin Hart, born 1817) reads the best of all the class: Sarah, little Moses next..."

"No letters from Frances (mother-in-law of Benjamin Hart, mother of his wife Harriet) this three weeks. Aunt Harriet (Mrs. Benjamin Hart, probably called out by his sister-in-law) wishes her home. She grumbles all day long because she don't get letters. In the evening she turns to translate Hebrew, calls Gen. Craig a dunce and me a blockhead."

THE TRADITION HART REMEMBERED

Each of the early settlers in Canada left the society of Europe for the wilderness of the new world for his own reason.

Governors were sent here to govern, settlers to populate the land, missionaries came to convert the heathen, girls came or were sent to seek out husbands, soldiers came as a military duty.

All migrants came for the same purposes, whether it be to establish a New France, a New England, a New Scotia, a New Brunswick, a London in Ontario, a Mont Réal in Québec, a Victoria on the Pacific, a Regina on the prairies, or a Bishop's College in Lennoxville.

The Jews also hoped to establish on this untrod soil a Jewish community which would be as Canadian as Toronto, Quebec, Vancouver, Kingston or Winnipeg, yet as Jewish as the Jewries of London or Posen or Vilno or Berdichew, as the case of the individual dreamer or planner may be. (Canadian Jewish Archives, new series, no. 19, P. 6)

Was there conflict between the dreams? French and English and Hebrew found the working out of their intentions very complex, yet successful. The story of these multiple achievements is the story of the Canadian people. The saga of the whirlpools of problems they raised in the processes is also the story of Canada.

Most often it is the same persons riding the double trail of Canadian and of Jewish history.

The first Jewish settlers on this territory found that they could succeed by assiduity, and by sacrifice. Their daily life consisted of very hard work, great concentration and constant abstinence -- the price of successful living on the distant frontier.

Conditions in Three Rivers and in early Montreal were not designed easily to perpetuate the covenant of Abraham or the Law of Moses or of Moses Maimonides.

The evidence indicates a remarkable success in the transmission of the Jewish heritage of loyalty, and even of Hebraic knowledge.

Even Ezekiel Solomon, patriarch of a generation of Indian voyageurs, stood with both feet in the early synagogue. (Canadian Jewish Archives, new series no. 21, Pp. 46-47)

Samuel Jacobs, married to Marie Josette Audette, engaged in debates in defence of Judaism against a Christian. (Canadian Jewish Archives, new series, no. 22)

Although eventually the few pioneer families and their early community were to fade out, they did persist long enough for new arrivals to take up the task. For the last 150 years there was continuity and growth in the exercise of the Judaism initially established quite firmly 200 years ago in Canada.

To understand the intensity of family feeling among the early Lower Canada Jews it is helpful to recall that the Jewish people by history and by religion are substantially one extended family which calls itself the Sons of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob. Thus the early Canadian community is for many years largely one extended family of intertwined Harts, Judahs, Davids, Josephs, Solomons, Hays, Valentines. They seldom forgot it and constantly nourished this identity cemented with creed, language, culture, folklore. (Canadian Jewish Archives, new series, no. 15, P. 63)

So Aaron Hart went to England for his bride and, together with his brother-in-law, ensured that early Canada should have Sidurim and Scrolls of the Law. Their aversion to intermarriage led to constant, and even confusing, intertwining of the Hart and Judah family branches, keeping mixed marriages to a minimum for a good many generations -- during all these years always strengthening the family tradition, religion and the institution of the synagogue and the community.

Benjamin Hart knew the loyalty which had animated the several dozen Jewish pioneers in Lower Canada from the observances in his own home. His father had gone to England for his bride and, together with his brother-in-law, ensured that early Canada should have Siddurim and Scrolls of the Law. Their aversion to intermarriage led to constant, and even confusing, intertwining of the Hart and Judah family branches, keeping mixed marriages to a minimum for a good many generations -- during all these years always strengthening the family traditions, religion and the institution of the synagogue and the community.

Indeed, that seems to have been the secret of the persistence of the Harts in Jewish history. Other pioneers may have been as colourful, inventive, prominent, active. But the Jacobs, the Solomons and the Abrahams left no generations loyal to the continuing Jewish family tradition as did Aaron Hart and several of his sons.

The eternally crucial question of loyalty was intermarriage. But upon analysis it proves an unfair test because irrational and emotional elements enter to corrode and to sweep away loyalties and decisions. There is also the factual consideration of the ambient society. In a setting of sheer paucity of potential Jewish mates, the determination to marry within the fold means less than in an urban setting.

When intermarriage did occur it was regarded most severely, and there remains no record of continued contact between such intermarried and the rest of the family.

By and large the traditions of family purity were strictly observed. The cases of deviation from the strict standards are noted with severity. Moses Hart is not above suspicion, as is one of his sons. But illegitimate children were harshly separated by parents and by others from the Community of the family. The one instance, again by Moses, of treating an illegitimate child as if legitimate brought down prophetic anger from the entire family, near and far, young and old.

Under the circumstances of the Canadian pioneers the wonder may well be that intermarriages were so few, rather than so numerous. It may, indeed, be that the demographic diminutions of the early families were due as much to non-marriage because of abhorrence of intermarriage as to intermarriage. There is some documentary evidence that several who died unmarried had determined to forego families rather than to marry outside Judaism.

Without compromising their assiduity and their concentration upon their affairs, they sought to maintain their Jewish tradition under these nearly impossible conditions.

This recalls the very real element of Canadian Jewish history which consists of the isolated Jewish loyalist living for years in an environment devoid of the social facilities requisite for observance of the law and for the continuity of the family creed and without the usual human reinforcement of idea and of practice. It is a complex and profound phenomenon in Jewish history in Canada, a country that has known pioneering, isolation and solitude over a vast area for centuries. The eighteenth century Yamachiche experience is paralleled in the nineteenth century homesteading experiences of the Ascher Pierces on the prairies and on the north Pacific in the nineteenth century, and in the Jewish settlers in far northwest British Columbia in the twentieth century.

Aaron Hart sent his son to New York for some Jewish education. (Canadian Jewish Archives, new series, no. 15, P. 84)

Yehiel Bronfman, coming from Rumania a century later to settle on the western prairies, brought a Hebrew teacher with his family to ensure that the voice of the Torah should not cease from the mouths of their children even as they cleared the land of Manitoba.

Benjamin Hart remembered his father's phylacteries; his father arranging for the burial of the Jew who died in Yamachiche, the tradition of Hebrew learning for the children, the observance of the Passover ritual in the family, the siddur which bore his father's name -- and Benjamin's own as well as Benjamin's father-in-law's -- among the subscribers.

The Jewish calendar of festivals was in the minds of the family. Aaron Hart bore the Passover season in his intentions while planning the movements of his children. It was unthinkable that they should spend the festival week in William Henry; they would return home for the holiday, or would proceed to New York.

The patriarch consecrated cemeteries in Trois-Rivières for members of his family or any other Jews who may pass away in the colony -- as did the Jewish merchant from Yamachiche. The story of these cemeteries constitutes no minor chapter of Canadian Jewish history.

Hart also set aside a synagogue room for the sacred hours. (Canadian Jewish Archives, new series, no. 15, Pp. 86, 90-91) Henry Joseph did no less in Berthier.

When the Davids established their family cemetery in Montreal, and in addition, permitted the synagogue to be erected on their land, they virtually created the Canadian Jewish community. (Canadian Jewish Archives, no. 19, Pp. 57-70)

Early Montreal probably had a schochet who could supply the Jews there with Kosher meat. Hyam I. Myers, who had been a schochet in New York, lived in Montreal between 1763 and 1774.

In the early Canadian colony, to some extent at least, the Sabbath was observed, for the Journals of the Legislature recall that Ezekiel Hart habitually would not appear in court on Saturdays. This was adduced as evidence that Hart was known generally to be Jewish.

Later Isaac Valentine, a long-time resident of Quebec and of Montreal with his sister Kitty, served as Hazan to the small community before the days of the de Solas. In 1830 he married Phoebe Hays.

If Three Rivers was the home of Jewish continuity, Berthier was apparently the seat of Jewish piety.

A remarkable document survives attesting to "the marriage ceremony according to the Law of Moses and Israel", which bound Henry Joseph and Rachel, daughter of Levy and Rebecca Solomon, in the presence of nine witnesses (four of them Josephs, three Solomons, the others a Benjamin and a Lyons) on the 12th of Tishrei, officiating: Barnet Lyon, merchant, of Rivière du Loup.

We have already noted the browned copy of a document, which was in the National Archives of the Canadian Jewish Congress and has since disappeared, attesting to this marriage. The ceremony was also noted by Samuel David in his diary entry of Sept. 28, 1803.

We have subsequent documentation on the House in Israel that was founded at that sanctification ceremony. In comes in the questionable form of a sermon more than three decades later. Such writings are difficult evidence, but there is sufficient external indication of continuing religious piety in the family to make us read seriously de Sola's funeral oration upon the passing of the matriarch who had been married that day by the Jewish merchant from down the river:

"And God having blessed them in their worldly circumstances, they spared not their means in meeting all the requirements of their faith, isolated as they were. But what though but one family of their coreligionists resided near them, they yet as earnestly devoted themselves to their Maker's service and as fervently proclaimed His unity in that higher spot, as they were in a large assembly of His people. A calendar which the husband carefully and admirably completed showed them when Israel's most sacred days would arrive, and at the happy family board, prepared and superintended by her as Jewish matron should, were the Sabbaths and Festival eves duly consecrated, and the days duly hallowed by them in the presence of the offspring with which God had blessed them. Then taught she these children, only as a mother can teach, how they should adore their Maker and love their father; how they should affectionately regard each other and the good and the pious of all creeds; how, they might mix, yet that they must never be mixed in unlawful communion with those around them; how they should heartfully join in their father's prayers, and attentively listen to his instructions when, as on the Passover eve, he spoke to them of the testimonies, statutes and judgements which God gave unto Israel". (Published as "Weep Not for the Dead, a Discourse on the Completion of the Shivah Period" in Occident, vol. 13, Jan. 1856, Pp. 469-76) Anyone with a

Anyone with a general impression of the complexity of Jewish 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.

More than a century later a direct descendant of that couple requested permission from Principal Dawson of McGill for dispensation from writing his A.A. examinations on a May 1880 Saturday.

Circumcision was a particular challenge. If nothing else there was the hazard involved in surgical operation in those days, especially when performed by someone of uncertain skill. They were keenly aware of these risks.

The papers of the New York congregation record that its Rev. Mr. Seixas journeyed to Montreal in Oct. 1811 to circumcise the first born son of Benjamin Hart, Aaron Philip. (B.G. Sack, P. 97) This is confirmed by Samuel David's diary which tells of Mr. Seixas of New York coming to circumcise his son in Montreal and proceeding to Three Rivers with Mrs. Aaron Hart. (That was the year of the birth of Aaron Philip, son of Benjamin Hart.) This is also attested by the records of the American Mohalim. By the time of Benjamin Hart's controversy in mid-century, two surgeons in the community, as well as a mohel, provided a choice for the parents.

It was probably the isolated condition of the scattered Jews in the colony which established a tradition which was probably local in regard to circumcision; it was the personal responsibility of the parents to secure the professional facilities required for this fundamental Jewish ceremony. Years later, when the men of the early pioneering tradition lived to see an organized synagogue with a rabbi, they still objected to the institution assuming social responsibility for the provision of a mohel and continued to insist, as did Benjamin Hart, that this remain the personal responsibility of the parents. It was an element in his running battle with the avowed Ashkenazim in the growing Montreal community and congregation. It was a skirmish in a long battle to preserve old Sephardi traditions in the Portuguese synagogue.

The issue arose, characteristically, when the Ashkenazim sought to have the congregation provide the services of a Mohel as well as of a Schochet and Reader, as was customary in their Jewish universe. Hart recalled the Canadian practice which was already hallowed by age, by which parents arranged for Mohalim to come all the way from New York City, under the difficult conditions of travel, to bring Montreal and Three Rivers infants into the Covenant of Israel.

Canadian-born girls were formally named in the New York synagogue. So Ephraim Hart wrote from the American metropolis to Ezekiel Hart in Three Rivers on June 21, 1809: "I had your daughter named yesterday in the synagogue by the Hebrew name of 'Chayah' which denotes to Live, and in English, Harriet; the above is one of my daughters' Hebrew names."

The first dozen or so Jews living in Montreal came there at the time of the American Revolution, organized very informally according to the pattern of the London and Amsterdam Sacred Communities, with a written constitution and by-laws which can usefully be compared with their.

Soon after the sad experience with Rabbi M. Cohen, Simon Lazarus was apparently looking for a replacement in New York. (Canadian Jewish Archives, new series, no. 19. P. 10)

From the surviving evidence there was a completely functioning community at the time of the consecration of the synagogue: institution, financing, structure, discipline, ritual, consensus, concern.

Did this arise suddenly? We have no evidence of gestation before 1778.

Was it extinguished suddenly, and did it disappear for decades? Or was it the accidental non-survival of the inflammable paper documentation of the period after 1780 which by chance patterned the historic drama of Benjamin Hart?

In the heritage from this congregation which was a flash from the past there was a loyalty that remained for Benjamin Hart's generation and progeny, a heritage that was strengthened by the political and cultural ideology of the anglophone community of the colony: attachment to London and to the central synagogue of the empire. The devotion to the liturgy of that London congregation, consecrated by the gift of the Sifre Torah, has been continuing for centuries.

As the congregation was being organized in 1779 it appeared that a Mrs. Davis, not otherwise identified, had a shofar in her possession. The synagogue purchased it for a guinea.

Abraham Joseph's Quebec City diary (Canadian Jewish Archives, new series, no. 19) enables us to live the day by day lives of the Jews in the colony.

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 Hebraic knowledge.

A visit to Montreal was probably arranged because, "Wednesday, Sept. 23 was a day of solemn assembly -- a fast day -- a day of humiliation and prayer -- one that is kept holy by the worst of Jews -- offices, stores, factory are always close on Kipur -- I was up at 10 -- did not leave the synagogue all day. In the evening after supper I wished to leave. Called on Davids."

On a visit to New York on Saturday, Dec. 28, he noted that he did not go to Shool this morning, but "I said my usual prayers on my own."

The following Passover he was in Montreal for the festival. He attended "Shool" (note the Yiddish term) on Friday and Saturday before the Passover. "Attendance at the synagogue was very good on the evening" of Monday, Apr. 21, the commencement of the festival, and "also on Tuesday morning. Service out at 11. Afternoon service at 2:30 when Rev. Mr. Piza gave us a sermon. Dinner at mother's at 3:30. The Davids dined there. Service again in the evening at 7."

On the morrow "I attended synagogue this morning...Being Passover I could not dine with the Governor and avoided being invited by saying that I would have to leave the city tomorrow."

On the Passover Sabbath he was again in synagogue Friday evening and Saturday morning. In the afternoon he visited elderly Benjamin Hart, one of the important men in the annals of the congregation. Hospitality was mingled with resentment, for a lawsuit was pending between them. The minister of the synagogue, predecessor of Rev. Abraham de Sola, "Mr. and Mrs. Piza, dined at mother's."

Most of his friends were aware that he was an Israelite. "Sunday 18 Sept. '42...Lavincourt told me of a long conversation he had with Mrs. (Capt.) Fraser about me. Mrs. F -- it appears -- would not believe I was an Israelite -- When convinced by L. I was a real one, she expressed a great wish of becoming intimately acquainted with me -- to hear my views and sentiments."

Moses Hart remembered to present Adolphus M. Hart with a book as a Hanukah morning gift in 1824.

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, 1801-5 are noted.

Remarkably, one of the earliest documents of our Canadian history is a scrap among Jacobs' papers upon which are written the technical names of the five categories of imperfect Shechitah with fine explanations of the terms into English. This was an aide-memoire, a talisman as well as a charm, a halachic document, to bring to a tiny settlement in Quebec to help preserve Judaism on the new continent.

Information is scarce about religious observances during the early years, but from the middle of the century we have complete descriptions of Bar Mitzvahs, weddings and funerals.

The festive occasions were remarkably like our own, especially since the records that survive are those of the more prominent families -- those of the de Sola family and the papers of the distinguished benefactors of the synagogues. They bear little resemblance to the ceremonies of contemporary eastern Europe.

There are ornate dinners, with not a few Christians present as guests. The social appeal is strong. But the Bar Mitzvah boy could read the entire portion of the Torah. As early as 1847 there were speeches, more than today. In at least one case the boy was subjected to a catechetical examination covering the entire field of Judaism, and not superficially.

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.

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.

Benjamin Hart was to live to see this tradition elevated and concretized in his lifetime, with the coming of Rev. Abraham de Sola, into a full-fledged community with permanence, continuity, learning, educational institutions, regular public worship, kashrut, philanthropy, mutual assistance -- and a place among the communities of the world.

INDEX

- Abrahams, C., 73, 82, 85
- Abrahams, Emanuel, 31
- Abrahams, I., 19, 29-31
- Additional Papers, 52
- Alexander, A., 67
- Alphabetical List of Merchants, 116
- American Jewry, 3, 10, 27, 30-31, 37, 92
- Astor, J.J., 105, 108
- Atherton, W.H., 87

- Badeaux, J., 113B-C
- Baron, S.W., 112
- The Beth El Story, 44
- Bindon, J., 50, 66
- Biographical Dictionary of American Jews, 41
- Blackstone, H., 95
- Blau, J.L., 112
- Borthwick, J.D., 59
- Brahadi, A., 70
- Brebner, J.B., 19
- Bronfman, Y., 124
- Brown, M., 60
- Browne, G.P., 7
- Burton, R., 3

- Caiserman, H.M., 77
- Calnek, J., 34-35
- Canadian Historical Documents, 36, 47, 104, 117
- Carré, A.D., 89
- Cohen, J.R., 45, 48, 85-86, 89, 130
- Cohen, S.M., See Myers Cohen, S.
- Cook, H., 113A
- Cooper, J.I., 74, 76

- Daniels, D.G., 76
- David, A.H., 86
- David, Abigail, 76, 119
- David, B., 74

- David, David, 8, 38-39, 60-61, 71, 74, 87-88, 119
David, Fanny, See Michaels, Fanny David
David, L., 38, 61, 71-72, 74-76
David, Moses, 76, 119
David, Samuel, 38-39, 76, 99, 119, 125, 129-30
David, S.M., 111
De La Barthe, Viscount, 77
De La Motta, J., 86A, 108
De Lara, Cantor, 86A
De Maurera, E., 50, 66
De Sola, A., 60-61, 70, 76, 87, 128, 130
De Sola, C.I., 59, 94
De Sola, M., 77
De Sola Pool, D., 68
Doig, T., 116
Douville, R., 15, 92, 94, 96-98, 110, 119

Early American Jewry, 2, 15, 43, 51-52, 57-58, 73, 93
Eisen, D., 84
Engelman, U.Z., 86
L'Esclavage au Canada français, 2

Fergusson, C.B., 18-21, 23, 33
First Jews in Acadia, 22
Fonseca, F.U., 66
Foucher, L.C., 113-C, 115-16
Frank, S., 60
Franks, A., 72-73
Franks, D., 36, 72-73
Franks, I., 84
Franks, J., 8, 10, 33
Franks, N., 36
Les Frappier, 55

Garcia, H., 66
Glanz, R., 60, 68
Gray, E.W., 104
Grinstein, H.B., 87
Groschen, D.G., 68

Halifax, Warden of the North, 23, 26
Hart, Aaron, 1-2, 14-15, 42-43, 67, 85, 89-96, 122, 124-25
Aaron Hart, Récit historique, 92, 94, 96
Hart, Aaron Ezekiel, 113B
Hart, Aaron Philip, 109, 127
Hart, Abraham, 19
Hart, Adolphus, M., 111, 129
Hart, Alexander, 85, 89-92, 95-98, 100-2, 110, 116, 118

- Hart, A.W., 86A, 107-9, 114
Hart, Asher, See Hart, Alexander
Hart, Asher (N.Y.), 108
Hart, Benjamin, 14, 39, 80, 85, 86A, 89-130
Hart, Bernard, 87
Hart, Catherine, See Judah, Catherine Hart
Hart, Constance, 107
Hart, Dorothy, 46, 67, 96-98, 116
Hart, Ephraim, 105-8, 109A, 127
Hart, Ephraim Asher, 111
Hart, Ezekiel, 81, 86A-87, 90, 92, 94-96, 98, 102, 110, 112, 113A-B, 117-18, 127
Hart, Frances, 107, 111, 122
Hart, G.E., 76-77, 107, 115, 119-20
Hart, Harriet Judith, 105-12, 120
Hart, Henrietta Sarah, 111
Hart, Henry, 120
Hart, Herman, 110
Hart, Ira Craig, 120
Hart, Isaac, 19, 23
Hart, Joel, 108
Hart, M. (of Sorel, 73
Hart, Moses, 46, 73, 90-92, 95-98, 101, 110-11, 113A, 123, 129
Hart, Naphtali, 19, 23-27, 29
Hart, P.B., 60, 74-75
Hart, Samuel, 19-20, 23
Hart, Theodore, 107
Hayman, M., 7-9
Hays, A., 72, 74
Hays, Judah, 37
Hays, Phoebe, See Valentine, Phoebe Hays
Hays, Rachel, See Michaels, Rachel Hays
Hays, Solomon, 37
His Majesty's Yankees, 25-26
Historical Tablets of Montreal, 76
History and Biographical Gazeteer, 59
History of the Congregation, 119
A History of the County of Annapolis, 35
History of the Jews in Canada, 2, 17-18, 59, 73
Holmes, Elizabeth, 48
Holy Blossom Congregation, 84
The Hope, 9
Hyamson, A.M., 69

- Jacobs, S., 1-2, 7, 41-43, 58, 73, 122, 130
Jewish Calendar for Fifty Years, 60
Jewish Foundation in Canada, 60
Jonas, L., 49
Joseph, A., 128-29
Joseph, H., 73, 86A, 111, 125-26
Joseph, J., 103
Joseph, Rachel Solomon, 86A, 125-26
Judah, A., 78-79, 89
Judah, B. S., 94
Judah, Berla, 85
Judah, Bernard, 92
Judah, Catherine Hart, 94
Judah, H., 91
Judah, I., 72, 85, 89
Judah, J., 73
Judah, Naphtali, 110
Judah, Samuel, 7, 53, 72, 78, 80
Judah, Samuel (Indiana), 94
Judah, U., 72-73, 80, 84, 89, 93
Les Juifs et la Guerre de Sept Ans, 41
Les Juifs de la Nouvelle France, 1, 51
Just, Benedict, 67
- Katz, I., 44
Kimber, R., 95
Kohler, M.J., 86
Kuhn, J., 54
- Lande, L.M., 36, 47, 104, 117
Lawe, J., 42-43
Lazarus, S., 130
Leslie, W., 114
Levy, A.S., 16
Levy, B.B., 117
Levy, Eleazar, 1-15, 42-43, 46, 73, 92-94
Levy, George, 16
Levy, Gershon, 1, 42
Levy, Gerson, 16
Levy, Hayman, 9, 13
Levy, Isaac, 16, 19, 42-43
Levy, John, 16, 117
Levy, L., 16
Levy, Meyer, 86A
Levy, Sarah, 10
Livinson, A.J., 76
Lopez, Aaron, 28A, 44
Lyon, Benjamin, 1, 44, 73, 82, 86A, 127
Lyons, H., 101
Lyons, J.J., 60, 86A

- Macdonald, J.S., 18, 22
 Malchelosse, G., 50, 76, 113A, 115, 119
 Manuel, E., 73
 Marcus, J.R., 2-3, 10, 13, 15-16, 27-31, 33, 36, 43, 51-53
 57-58A, 68-69, 73, 92-93
 Marks, N., 36
 Maseres, F., 10, 52
 Mauger, J., 22
 Meyers, Baruch, See Just, Benedict
 Michaels, Fanny David, 38-39, 76, 119
 Michaels, Levy, 37-38
 Michaels, Myer, 8, 38-39, 72
 Michaels, Rachel Hays, 37, 119
 Montreal General Hospital, 117
 Moresco, U., 66
 Morin, V., 75, 77
 Murray, J., 7
 Myers, B., 36
 Myers Cohen, S., 11
 Myers, H., 41-45, 53, 73, 125
 Myers, M., 57, 72
 Myers, Myer, 46
 Myers, R., 36
 Myers, Solomon, 46

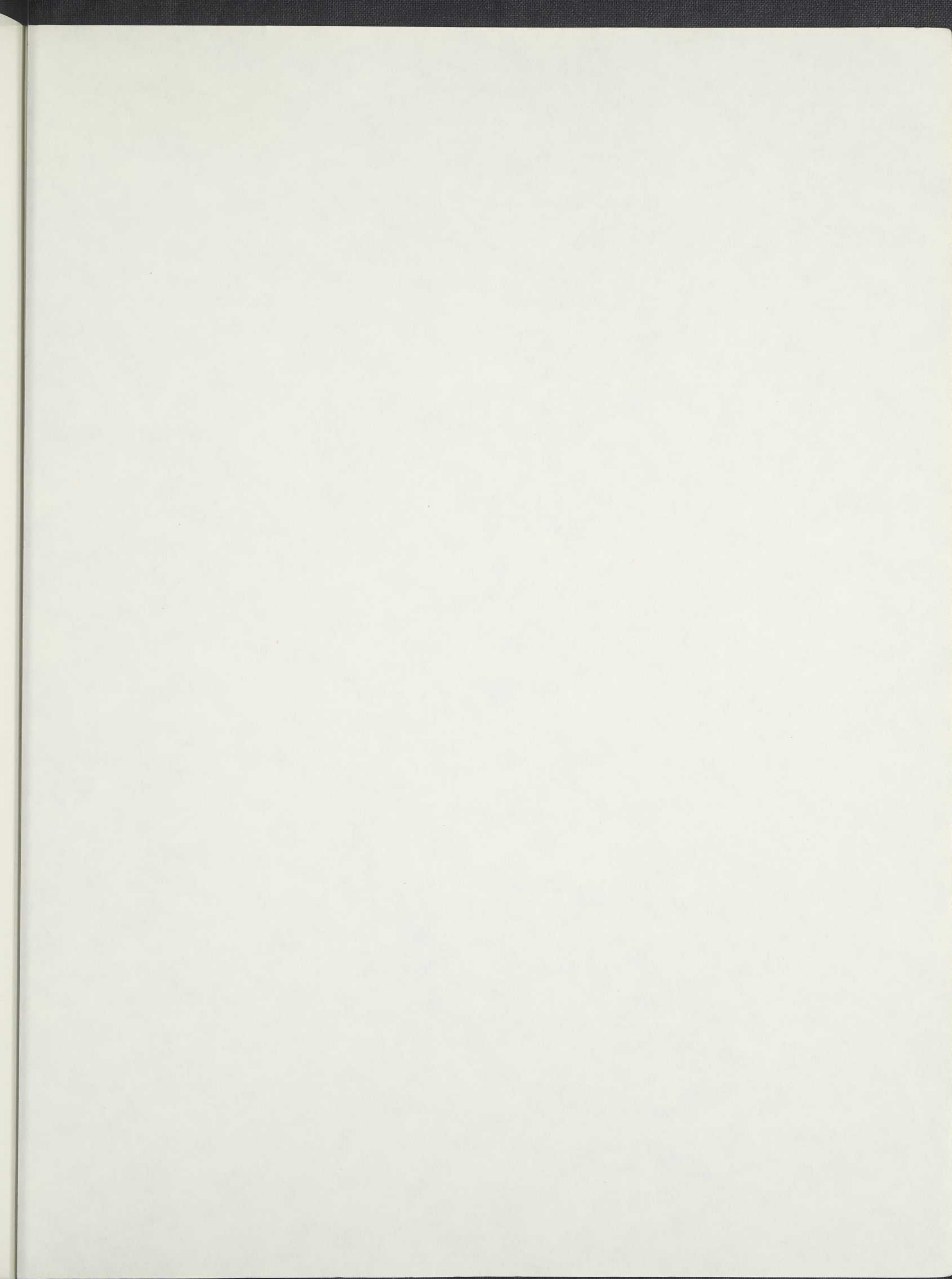
 Nathan, M., 61
 Nathans, N., 19, 23, 27, 29, 32
The Neutral Yankees of Nova Scotia, 19
 Noah, Frances, See Hart, Frances Noah
 Noah, M.M., 105, 107
 Noiseux, F., 113, 113B, 116
 Numismatic and Antiquarian Society, 77

 Phineas, H., See Pines, H.
 Phineas, I., 100, 113A
 Pines, H., 43, 73, 114
 Pines, J., 47-48, 79, 113A
 Piza, D., 129
 Price, J.J., 113B
 Provost, G., 114

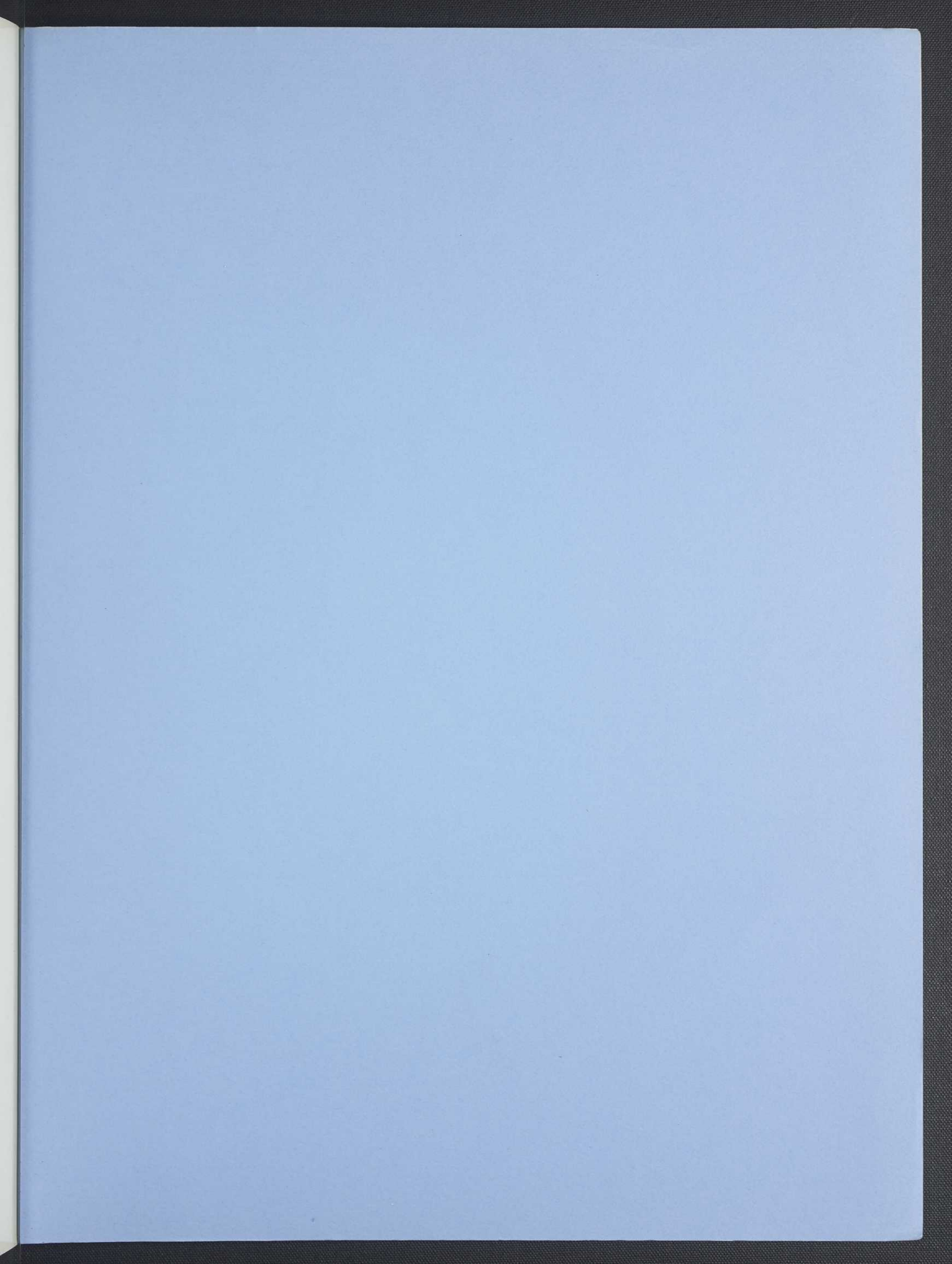
 Quinpool, J., 22

 Raddall, T.H., 22-23, 25-27
 Reid, J., 99, 104
 Reznikoff, C., 86A
 Rientard, F., 95
 Rientard, J.B., 95

- Roger Sudden, 22
Rosenberg, L., 18-20, 31, 50, 60, 64-67, 69-70, 76, 93, 113A
Russel, J., 114-15
- Sack, B.G., 2, 16-18, 50, 54, 59, 78, 115, 127
Schoyer, Frances Hart, 108
Schoyer, R., 108
Schwartzbard, I., 64-65
Simons, L., 10, 73
Solomon, Elias, 73
Solomon, Rachel, See Joseph, Rachel Solomon
Solomons, B.S., 117
Solomons, Ezekiel, 72, 80-81, 122
Solomons, H., 15, 119
Solomons, L., 7, 38, 51, 79-80, 84-85, 103, 117, 127
Stern, M.H., 89
Sulte, B., 98
- Terrill, F.W., 117
Thomson, C.P., 117
Toronto, 84
Trudel, M., 2
Two Centuries in the Life of a Synagogue, 60
- Valentine, H., 119
Valentine, I., 86A, 104, 119, 125
Valentine, Phoebe Hays, 124
Vaugeois, D., 1, 41, 43, 50-51, 73
- Whiteman, M., 62A-B,
Wilson, T., 3-6
Wolf, Edwin, 62A-B
Wolff, M., 77







BNQ



000 325 898