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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-TWO

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

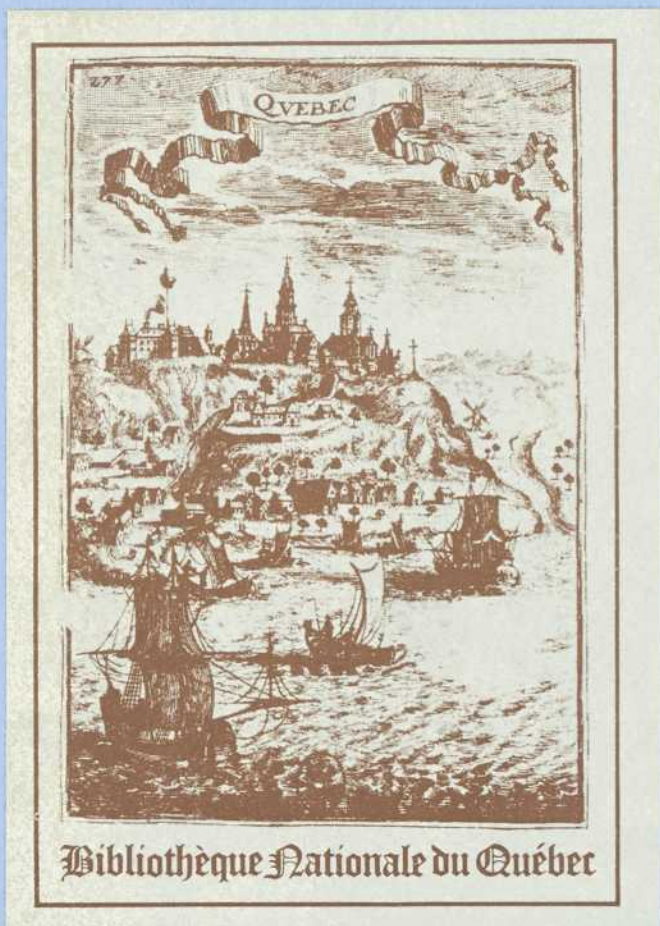
ON THE EARLY HARTS - THEIR CONTEMPORARIES PART 4

Compiled by
DAVID ROME

NATIONAL ARCHIVES
CANADIAN JEWISH CONGRESS

MONTREAL CANADA
1982

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FIRST EDITOR LOUIS ROSENBERG, F.R. C.M.S., F.R.S.

More than 100 years

now again
March Twenty-1992

From the very heart of Montreal,
Remembering is the root of strength.
(New York Times)

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NUMBER TWENTY TWO
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ON THE EARLY HARTS -
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PART I

EDITED BY
LARRY BOWEN

NATIONAL ARCHIVES
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1982

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THE PARTNERS: ISAAC LEVY

On the assumption that there was only one Isaac Levy in the colonies during this period, this trader, who is cited by Vaugeois as associated with "the consortium", ranged very far. He was one of the few whose lines ranged eastward from Montreal instead of west or south.

By April 1752 Isaac Levy had been in Halifax and had gone, but not necessarily for good.

On April 6, Nathan Nathans, executor of his estate, advertised in the Halifax Gazette that all persons indebted to the estate of Isaac Levy, late of Halifax, merchant, were desired to settle their accounts with Mr. Nathans.

Isaac Levy did business with Gershon Levy in 1761.

Isaac Levy of Quebec's Upper Town was advertising the sale of sugar, tea and coffee in the Quebec Gazette of Jan. 26, 1766.

There are 1766 references to Isaac Levy in the Public Archives records, MG 23, 1, 13, vol. 2, Pp. 211-12, 263-64.

Marcus notes in his Early American Jewry, (I, 208, 232-34) that he was a co-signer of the petition from the partners to Guy Carleton for a commission of bankruptcy.

He was also among the merchants who sought compensation for losses incurred while serving the forces during the Indian wars. They met with little support from Gov. Murray who treated them as "damned rascals". (PAC, Phillips I, p. 264; MG. 23.1. 13, vol. 2, Pp. 211-42, 263-64) Two years later, on Feb. 8, 1768, he applied for the issuance of a commission of bankruptcy.

The same year he took a mortgage on a piece of land belonging to Madame Huitt in St. Paul St., Montreal, which was registered.

In 1770 he wrote,

"I am advertising same for sale. It was claimed by Mess. De Pume, a butcher in Quebec, by a prior mortgage he says he has on the said estate. I shall take it as a particular favour if you will be so good as to examine the register and let me know if there is any such mortgage, or how the mortgage runs, as this claim hinders me from recovering my money which I can not well lay out." (cited by Brody).

When Capt. Philip Payn of Quebec had occasion to require character references, Isaac Levy signed the assurance of his honesty and integrity. (Quebec Gazette, Aug. 18, 1768)

Nova Scotia Trade and Commerce

It was probably the same Isaac Levy, an American merchant, who figures in a Library of Congress 1768 petition. He had asked for some lands in the West Indies or the coal mine in the Island of Cape Briton (Cape Breton, Nova Scotia), "and for a term of years and under such other conditions as his Majesty thought proper, which petition his Majesty was pleased by an order of Council to refer to Your Lordships, and Your Lordships were pleased to refer the same to the Lords of Trade and Plantation to consider thereof and report their opinion thereon; your memorialist is informed that the exception made to the granting it is that it will be prejudicial to Great Britain; for that it has been urged that if the Americans can be supplied with coals at a moderate price, it will enable the Americans to rival England in the iron manufactory.

"Your memorialist begs leave to represent, first, that the expence of labour in America is at present near double of what it is in England, and if, in course of time, the expence of labour should decrease, yet the colonies will absolutely be unable to manufacture iron in any proportion so cheap as in England, because of the want of slitting mills, plating forges, and steel furnaces, which, by an act of Parliament of 1750, are absolutely prohibited from that time to be erected in the colonies; and therefore, they are thereby totally disabled from becoming competitors with England, as they have at present but two slitting mills on all the continent which were erected before the year 1750.

"In the next place, your memorialist begs leave to represent that he conceives that opening the coal mine at Cape Breton will tend to the advantage of Great Britain, because it will enable many ships that sail from England to America, which now proceed in ballast (especially such as go to South Carolina, Virginia, and Maryland), to load coals, and thereby making a tolerable freight, which now they cannot do, because coals are not vendible, except small quantities (in capital towns) to black smiths and in the interior towns, charcoal is substituted in the place thereof.

"Your memorialist apprehends that as soon as the Americans find the advantage of burning coal, they will certainly prefer it to wood in most places, because it will be less expensive and has many other advantages, experience of which is only wanting to give it the preference and make it the general fuel. And in order to

bring the Americans to this experience, coals must be supplied them at a very moderate price for two or three years, after which the price may be advanced. And in this case, most of the ships that go from England will find their account in loading coals, when they can readily sell them, which at present they cannot.

"Your memorialist must observe to Your Lordships that coal from Cape Breton cannot be carried to any part of America and there sold (a place or two excepted) for a less price than coals can be carried from England, because no advantage of a freight from any place in America to Cape Breton can be made or had. But ships must go there in ballast, whereas many ships from England can load coal in prosecuting their voyage to American without going much out of their way and at little or no expense on that account.

"Your memorialist therefore begs leave to lay before Your Lordships his proposals of the terms and conditions on which he is ready to take a lease of the said coal mine:

"For a grant or lease of 30 years, your memorialist humbly proposes for the first ten years thereof to pay only a pepper corn annually, and for the remaining 20 years thereof to pay the Crown one shilling and six pence per chaldron (equal to 32 bushels) for every chaldron to be there dug for sale.

"For a grant in fee (full title), to pay the Crown two shillings and six pence for every chaldron to be dug there for sale." (J.R. Marcus. American Jewry, Documents. Pp. 218-21)

We find him a resident of Quebec in Apr. 1770. (PAC, microfilm reel B24, Ser C042, vol. 8, P. 10)

That year on Oct. 29, 1770, he assumed responsibility, together with Aaron Hart, for the debts of Uriah Judah. The form of this acceptance is a document that reads,

"Know all men by these presents that we, Uriah Judah, Aaron Hart of Three Rivers, and Isaac Levy, late of Quebec, are held and firmly bound unto George Allsopp, Esquire, deputy secretary of this province, in the sum of five hundred pounds lawful money there of, to the true payment where of we bind ourselves, our heirs, executors, administrators, and assigns firmly by these presents.

"Witness our hands and seals this 29th day of October,
one thousand seven hundred and seventy.

"The condition of this obligation is such that if the
above bounden Aaron Hart and Isaac Levy do well and truly pay,
or cause to be paid, all such debts as the said Uriah Judah hath
contracted in this province, then this obligation to be void, or
else to remain in full force and virtue." (J.R. Marcus, American
Jewry Documents, p. 413)

SAMUEL JACOBS

Samuel Jacobs proves one of the most fascinating pioneers of Canadian Jewry; if only because we know so much about him and because of the possibility that we may learn so much more.

Samuel Jacobs, whom Marcus considers of Alsatian origin, was probably the first Jew to settle in Quebec at the time of the British conquest.

Denis Vaugeois places him among the important merchants in Canadian history at this time. In their Canada-Québec: synthèse historique (edition corrigée, Montreal. Editions du Nouveau paedagogique, 1978, Pp. 340-41), Vaugeois and Jacques Lacoursière find him attached to the invasion army "in the wake of the English conquerors, as early as 1758, from Fort Cumberland to Quebec...After the Treaty of Paris some Jews who were in the Upper Country trade came to Montreal, so that the Jewish presence became quite important in the new English colony."

Vaugeois traces Jacobs' footsteps as the Jewish merchant follows the 43rd Regiment during the 1758-59 winter. Maj. Skey's purchases are invoiced fortnightly: soap, candles, "a set of China," a case of gin, butter, tea, etc. (Juifs et la Nouvelle France. Trois-Rivières, Editions Boréal express, Pp. 120-21)

Vaugeois places Jacobs at Fort Cumberland, now New Brunswick, formerly Beauséjour, in the timber trade as early as 1758 or earlier. By 1761, there took place "The Sales of the Effects belonging to Mr. Samuel Jacobs Exposed to Publick Vendue at Cumberland the 19-20 November, 1761."

The historian has reason to assume that he had lived at that fort on Chignecto Bay, three miles from Fort Lawrence, and had not purchased these effects for the purpose of resale.

Jacobs had made himself quite comfortable in that remote home with "a large table" a set of six chairs in addition to eight "old brother chairs," cutlery and other furnishings to a value of £ 190.

As early as 1759, according to Marcus' Early American Jewry, I. 204-10, Jacobs was doing business with Robert Grant, a Canadian merchant, and he was also in close touch with a Jewish friend in New York, Abraham L Abrahams, schoolteacher and circumciser in that Jewish community.

After General Amherst occupied Crown Point, New York, in 1759, Jacobs made an effort to develop business there. The following year he sold Major Elliot, the commander, a sizeable order of whiskey, wine, candles, flour, loaf of sugar, and molasses, to say nothing of a load of pork, delivered to the Major through Simon Levy of Montreal. Thirteen years later Jacobs was still trying to collect this bill from the Major, who was then in Europe!

From his Canadian beginning Jacobs was engaged in fairly large-scale business. Vaugois notes that his 1760 accounts with Laurent Bertrand indicate Jacobs' purchase of £ 2,525 of furs from Bertrand and sales of £ 1,450 of wine, whiskey, lard, coffee, salt and sugar.

Vaugois notes Jacobs' interest in a brewery in Louisbourg from 1759 to 1761. ("Samuel Jacobs", in Dictionary of Canadian Biography)

Eloquent Documentation

Like his confrère Aaron Hart, he has bequeathed us a voluminous documentation.

Remarkably, the two hoards of early Canadian Jewish history, the Hart and Jacobs papers, have come down to us not through the provision of these community ancestors but because of the vagaries of their executors. This might account for the emphasis upon their business transactions and the paucity of personal and cultural papers.

For nearly a century and a half the memory of Jacobs was buried with him in a grave somewhere; the continuity of community history knew not where, and its writers rather told the stories of those whose families have survived. But researchers such as Price and, above all, Marcus and Vaugeois, discovered him in the twentieth century, and he has become one of the promising subjects of study among the Jewish pioneers of the continent, as the Yad Vashem of paper has compensated for the absence of Jewish progeny.

The notarial records of the region, many of them preserved in the prothonotarial registries, are full of the complex transactions of Samuel Jacobs and, after his death, of his family. (Canadian Microfilm Co.) Together with the documentation in the Public Archives of Canada, within the Ermatinger Papers, they add to a history no less complex, complete and impartial than that of the Harts.

One of the lesser reasons for Jacobs' popularity with the researchers is the literary and linguistic wealth of his heritage. There is a variety of humor and folklore in hundreds of his letters which is rare in the tonnage of commercial records of the age. Jacob Rader Marcus has assembled some of these in the biography of Jacobs in Early American Jewry (vol.1).

Significantly the Hart papers constitute the quotidian voice of at least two generations with foretelling of later times, while the Jacobs papers speak of his own years only with an awareness of a family silence which is to descend.

There is personal and community tragedy in Jacobs' failure to establish a Jewish or any other dynasty. He doomed this continuity in full awareness when he married outside his faith, even while Hart journeyed overseas to marry a Judah girl and worked assiduously to attain the full fruits of this intention.

Both fathers knew the universal pain named in the Jewish tradition -- the Agony of Raising Children. But Hart had ground to believe that he was entitled in all justice to family fulfillment. By and large, such dynastic fulfillment was his, as it was not Jacobs'. Indeed, the reader of Canadian Jewish history has reason to be careful lest he permit Hart and his progeny to colour this history as a simple dynastic document. He is aware that it is the survivors who write history. The Harts lived purposefully to survive and to write history. Jacobs and some of his contemporaries did not.

The Public Archives of Canada notes that Frederick William Ermatinger succeeded his uncle William Gray (1742-1810) and Michel Cornud as executor of the estate of Samuel Jacobs. On his death, his brother Charles Oakes Ermatinger (1776-1833) and Samuel Gale became executors.

In consequence the quite voluminous Jacobs papers came to form part of the very valuable Ermatinger Papers at the Public Archives of Canada. (MG 19, A 2, ser. 3)

Vaugeois writes of the vast storehouse of Jacobs documents conserved in the Public Archives of Canada, some 600 volumes. They have only been touched by historians, but even so they promise a great variety of illuminations on aspects of the history of the time.

There are even Jewish documents whose linguistic character is uncertain, not to speak of their social and psychological character.

There are dozens of pages which are clearly enough written but, in the present state of research, have revealed only questions to those who have examined them. The very language in which they are written is not determined; the alphabet is probably Hebrew cursive. Not even the subject matter is clear, nor the identity of the author or the date of their provenance to us.

Prof. J.R. Marcus admitted that he found them indecipherable, as did scholars whom he consulted on three continents. He summarized the situation,

"The American troops marched north in 1775 to conquer Montreal, Quebec and Canada. This was under General Montgomery, primarily. When they passed through St. Denis, the habitants, apparently, welcomed the newcomers. Jacobs was a fervent British Loyalist or Patriot and he made notes, apparently intending to report to the British authorities the misconduct of the peasants. He employed the Hebrew alphabet but wrote in English. Inasmuch as he was a German, probably an Alsatian, his brogue makes transliteration very difficult. For instance, 'sir' is his way of writing 'third'. (Letter to Canadian Jewish Archives, Oct. 5, 1977)

Brian Sabin Hill submits some phrases he has elicited and deciphered from Samuel Jacobs curious Judeo-English historical document:

"But he was determined not to leave any hidden enemy men on the back of his...

"Go and fight them with what...volunteers he had in the afternoon...

"Eighteen men armed men crossing the river again the forest in the way.

"Had gone from here to Montreal with arms, returned but came from Chambly.

"Was coming to...St. Denis." (Jan. 2, 1981)

Remarkably, one of the earliest documents of our Canadian history is a scrap of paper 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-mémoire, 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.

The nature of the document in the collection is clear, even though its date, authorship, raison d'être and history are not.

It is a set of definitions of five terms out of the science of "Shechitah" (the slaughter of animals for human consumption in accord with the Jewish laws). These are terms, conditions which render the flesh of an animal slaughtered unfit (or "Traifah") for consumption:

Shihyeh is called Stopping is, suppose you begin to kill, make a pass and repass, & then stop before you finish killing. This is Trefa. Stopping even so short a time is Trefa.

Drasach is called Pressing. Suppose you begin to kill, to cut both semonim at one time without a pass and repass, or if your Thumb or fingers lean on the knife, this is Trefa; but if you make a pass and repass, if your knife was a little longer than the Breath of the creature's neck or if twice as long is agreeable to Rule; pressing in any shape is Trefa.

Chaldah is called Sticking. Suppose you stick your knife in between the two semonim or on one side, this is called sticking, is Trefa. Sticking is in this shape & every shape whatsoever, Trefa.

Hagramah is called Limits for cutting beyond Rule, yet you must not Cut the great Ring or root of the windpipe... You must not cut the lower part of the windpipe so far below towards the body as to touch the . . . & you must not cut the upper part of the woosen so that it will appear as remains in its place, but after cutting the upper part of the woosen, towards the head must go inwards. You must not cut the lower part of the woosen, so as to touch the Roof or upper part of Craw; a goose has no Craw and therefore you may cut the lower part of woosen, until you come to the Hollow part of the body contiguous to the wings. A Pidgeon has no. Therefore you may cut the upper part of the woosen until the swallows or upper part of the woosen that first receives the food.

If you exceed any of these Limits, Trefa.

Ikoor is called Tearing. Suppose you kill with a knife that has got a gap or if you stand near a wall in killing & the fowl struggles & kills his eggs against it & you hold the simonim in your hand, & tears them, this is Trefa. Or if you Tear them from the place to which they are grown fast, Trefa. Tearing in any & every shape, Trefa.

It is very likely that the testimony of these documents will shed light on many economic relationships in the colony just as the Hart Papers at Trois-Rivières are likely to tell more on the land and family history of the St. Lawrence Valley and those at Waltham, Mass. can illuminate the international trade of the colony.

There is a German aspect to the Jacobs career that researchers will develop and may add facets to this very interesting personality. The provenance of some papers in the Jacobs collection are unclear, and many of these may be in German. But certainly a receipt in German dated in the summer of 1778 indicates something of Jacobs' dealings. It is signed by Lt. Schroeder of the Friedrich regiment, and is made out "von dem Juden Samuel Jacobs".

There are not many commercial papers where Jacobs -- or any other businessman in Lower Canada -- is referred to as "the Jew, Samuel Jacobs" before this German document.

This element in the Jacobs biography coincides, as Marcus suggests, with the arrival of German mercenaries at the time of the American War of Independence.

Possibly because of the sheer volume of documents he bequeathed us, but also because of the articulation he displays in his not quite literate style he come to life as an individual more even than Aaron Hart. The very distance from formal literary structure permits his idiosyncrasy to breathe life into the image of the man.

Doris Daniels notes that Jacobs was one of only two Jews of the period in the American colonies who owned extensive libraries. The other was Nathan Levy of Philadelphia.

It is not to be assumed that Jacobs read much of the library, but the very desire to own books, and possibly to be perceived as owning books, and his concept of the proper appearance of a home do help us to reconstruct the cultural elements of his mind. ("Colonial Jewry," in American Jewish Historical Quarterly, vol. 66, no. 3, March 1977, P. 392)

Which of his contemporaries in the colony owned a violin and read plays? (Letter from J. Fish to Jacobs, Jan.28, 1778)

He was probably one of the very few businessmen to arrive on the St. Lawrence from Nova Scotia, having participated with William Buttar and William Mackenzie in a distillery at Louisburg since 1759. He thus forms a link between Lower Canada and the Canadian eastern province. The partnership had originated in Louisbourg and was dissolved at Quebec on April 10, 1761. (Jacobs Estate Accounts, 1759, P.63; cited by Vaugeois, P.101) And there is a record of Jacobs ordering the roof of his Quebec distillery repaired in December 1762. (P. 107)

Vaugeois notes, "With an astonishing lucidity Jacobs quickly grasped the importance of the Richelieu route and established stores there all the way from Crown Point to Sorel." He secured the services of confidential agents at sensitive points; among them Elias Solomon at Quebec, Hyam Myers in New York and Charles Curtius at St. Denis. (Les Juifs et la Guerre de Sept Ans, 1756-63. Thesis presented to Laval University. 1967. P.105; and in Dictionnaire biographique du Canada, s.v. Samuel Jacobs)

The historian notes that a 1760 document indicates that Jacobs knew French.

Sous le fort

Samuel Jacobs' 116-ton schooner, the Betsey, played a part in establishing the English in Quebec City during its first months after the Battle of the Plains of Abraham.

J.R. Marcus places Jacobs' arrival in Canadian waters in May or June, 1759, with the English armada that sailed up the St. Lawrence for the reduction of Quebec and the end of French rule. He may have been on board his own schooner, the Betsey, with the other ships that spread canvas that summer and headed for Quebec. He was in that city, at the very latest, about a month after its surrender.

Indeed, one month after the deaths of Wolfe and of Montcalm he was already preparing for his outgoing trip from Quebec and had secured a letter of commendation from Capt. Thomas Martin to a merchant in Oporto, his destination.

Suddenly his plans to sail for Portugal with a cargo of fish and to return with wine were changed for him.

As Jacobs himself told it in his petition to Governor James Murray on March 22, 1762,

"In the year 1759, your memorialist was sole owner of the schooner 'Betsey', Capt. Coalman, burthen one hundred sixteen and half tons, king's tonage, laying in the river St. Charles, well fitted and mann'd for a voyage to Oporto with fish, and to return to this place with a cargo of the commodities of Portugal, the truth of which fully appears by the letter of recommendation herewith dated at Quebec, the 11th Oct'r, 1759, from Capt'n Thomas Martin to Mr. George Bullimore, merch't in Oporto.

"Which said voyage to the great detriment of your memorialist he was prevented from putting in execution by an order from your Excellency to Lieut. Robert Paleshall, town adjutant, as appears by this certificate, herewith dated the 14th November, 1759; to employ said vessel in the service of the government to bring cattle and stores from the Island of Orléans.

"And that said vessel, in the course of the repeated turns she made, was at last froze up at the said Island of Orléans and there remain'd with four men on board, maintained with bread at the extravagant price of ninepence per pound, and pork at one shilling, which is well known to the people in trade here -- until the 13th April, 1760, when, by your Excellency's orders, your memorialist had then, with much labour and expense, got her brought from said Island and put into the dock of this garrison with her cables quite chafed, ropes cut, planks started, and seams entirely open'd by the frost during the winter; as appears by Lieut. Paleshall's certificate dated the 13th May, 1760, as also by the return dated the 14th April, 1760, which your memorialist did himself the honor of delivering to your Excellency, setting forth that your memorialist had taken such measures as to put her in a proper condition for service in seven days.

"That at the end of that time your Excellency was pleased to send for your memorialist to inform him that said vessel was still wanted in His Majesty's service.

"Whereupon Lieut. Chas. Stuart of 78th Regiment, then agent for transports, by your Excellency's orders directed me to get her portholes made larger as she was to be arm'd; which was immediately complied with, and your memorialist did himself receive, from Capt. Chas. Leslie's of 48th Regiment's schooner, six swivel guns and put them on board the said schooner Betsey, so continued in the service and wholly own'd by your memorialist until the 13th June, 1760; when by many disappointments your memorialist had met with, he was reduced to the necessity of selling three-fourths of said vessel to Mess'rs Algeo and Connor with the entire management of her; which said gentlemen have received certificates for the hire of her from the 14th day of the said month of June, 1760.

"Therefore your memorialist must beg your Excellency will be pleased to grant him a certificate for the hire of said schooner Betsey from the 14th day of November, 1759, to the 13th June, 1760, both days inclusive, and to excuse the delay of applying to your Excellency for the same, which is entirely owing to the situation of your memorialist's affairs being such at Montreal and New York, as required his presence there."

(Public Archives of Canada, S Series, Internal Correspondence, Public Accounts, 1759-66)

His Managers

M. Josephson of New York named Samuel Jacobs his agent as he sought to collect £ 317 from his debtor, Edward Watt, on Sept. 8, 1761 and June 25, 1762.

An unusual document of his official status is an envelope cover franked "On His Majesty's Service" addressed to him as "A Deputy Commissary General at St. Charles."

He had set up stores at Crown Point, St. Ours, St. Charles and Sorel. In 1777 his stores had 183 outstanding accounts receivable totalling £ 5,270. Within fifteen months, 1769-70 he acquired land at St. Denis valued at £ 2,700. He had always appreciated the economic possibilities of the Richelieu route. (Vaugeois)

As early as 1916 the Toronto historian Rabbi Julius J. Price "discovered" pioneer Samuel Jacobs of St. Denis on the Richelieu. He noted that from 1762 to 1790 his business extended to Montreal.

"We see that at various times he is advising Mr. Gatien, his manager at St. Charles, to put his books in order so he may exactly know his business standing; at other times he is reprimanding his managers in the other three stores for not having their books in order; this generally means a loss of money.

"When reports would reach him monthly that certain people were not paying as they ought, Mr. Jacobs would write his managers to go to the churches and announce that the good Christians should kindly pay their debts. This public reprimanding as a rule brought in outstanding cash. 'Pray try once more to advertise at the church, and acquaint those people that have been advertised to come and settle their accounts.'

"When on Sept. 25, 1775 Mr. Gatien wrote Jacobs that his clerks were drinking themselves sick and not attending to business, and that the clerks were trusting the people too much when he is out, Jacobs replied at once to keep the money back from their wages, and that they will hear from him from Montreal (meaning that he will take legal action).

"From his day book we see he sold shawls, pins, meat, dress goods, whiskey, wagons, powder, guns, silk, alum, paper, Russian sheeting, rum, coffee mills, candles, cotton, raisins, as well as lumber for building houses.

"He owned property in Sorel, Montreal, Quebec, St. Charles, St. Denis, Albany, New York and Philadelphia." (In Canadian Jewish Chronicle, June 23, 1916 and American Israelite, June 28, 1916)

The extent of his business can be gauged from an account of the sales of his Mr. Curtius, July 20, 1761 -- Apr. 15, 1762: 20 barrels of British Brandy; 10,000 bushels of wheat. (P. 125)

Vaugeois notes entries in Jacobs' ledgers showing 18 shipments aboard as many vessels in the one month of Nov. 1763. The merchandise included coffee, salt, sugar, whiskey and wine. He exported wheat, apples and fur.

By that time his business concentrated in St. Denis on the Richelieu. Trade was largely in potash, distilling, in wheat and in flour which he had milled.

The agreement he entered into with Mars. Decouagne of Varin on May 16, 1764 documents the conditions set with agents.

"I, Mars. Decouagne have Engaged myself for the term and Space of three years -- commencing this day and Ending the Same date in the year One thousand Seven hundred and Sixty-Seven to Sell Goods or merchandise for the said Samuel Jacobs at St. François in the Government of Trois-Rivières, and furthermore of the said Mars. Decouagne oblige myself to keep a regular set of Books, with accounts of Sales & ca. in the name and on account of the said Samuel Jacobs, and furthermore, I, the said Mars. Decouagne am obliged not to Trade for myself or make Use of any money, that I may at any time, or times, receive from the Sale or Sales of Said Goods, but remit him the said Samuel Jacobs or his order, as often as Safe Opportunities may permit from time to time, Furthermore I, the said Decouagne, oblige myself to be careful and diligent in my business, and advise him the said Samuel Jacobs from time to time what goods may answer said Trade on which account the Said Samuel Jacobs, will purchase such goods as he may think necessary for said trade at St. François, and allow me, the said Mars. Decouagne, half what profit may arise on the sales of any merchandise shipped me by him and furthermore the said Samuel Jacobs is not to be charged with any part of the said Mars. Decouagne's

expenses, maintenance, board, servants wages or any thing that relates to his family defence. But if the said Mars. Decouagne's family, should make any Shirts, coats, stockings, ornaments or blanquets for the Indian trade, they are to be pay out of the benefit, arising from the said Goods. And if any bad debts or goods, remaining on hand at the Expiration of said Term of three years or any other Separation that may happen, the said Mars. Decouagne is to half loss in the debts or goods then remaining on hand, for the non performance of which, I, the said Mars. Decouagne, oblige myself in the penalty of one hundred pound current money of Quebec." (PAC, MG 19, A2, ser. 3, vol. 9, Pp. 200-1)

Jacobs' very personal relationship with his employees is reflected in a May 1773 letter to his Mr. Burn in thee-terms:

"I hear the devil has got into thee again. Avoide that evil spirrit that makes thee go astray in that manner, and don't oblige me to neglect my bussiness to look after that which is in thy care. Thou will answer my letter I sent you yesterday and behave thyself better, or else I shall play damnation with you. I still remain, thy abused friend." (Marcus, I, 242)

His Mr. Curtius

In 1761 Jacobs wrote from Quebec to one of his agents, Curtius, to collect a bill for port and shoes sold at Crown Point and to keep on piling up goods at the fortress. He hoped to develop trade there with the troops and with the Indians in the neighbourhood. (See also Jacobs' letter to Curtius, or Curtis, June 8, 1763, in Canadian Jewish Archives, original series, no.3, Aug. 1959, P.1)

It was in Jacobs' warm and tempestuous character to become privy to the personal life of his agent Charles Curtius. So the latter addressed a letter to his employer as "Sir and dear father,

"The thanks I have to give you can not be expressed seeing the good will you had for my establishing, I believe it can not be, seeing the family of the girl will not allow the marriage by an English minister; I was a fool to do all the demarch I did, but seeing it will not answer, Dr. father if you'll allow me to call you so, you mai be sure, I shall not think more on any love in this country; I shall settle all the accounts and get in the debts before the month of April, where you'll see that my only intention is and shall be till at Death to be allwais your obedient servant." (Jan. 28, 1762)

But whoever the bride and whoever the clergyman, on June 8, 1763 Jacobs wrote Curtius,

"I hope these lines will find you and yours in good health. I wish you and yours sincerely joy and happiness on your marriage. I am so confident in your understanding and integrity, of strict honor and honesty, makes one but slow in writing as I do much depend upon your judgment. As to the corn you wrote me about, I have order you up a large bateau, which you may make use of to bring the corn from sundry places. You'll please to try to get Liberty to send down some corn. I suppose you know how this must be managed. Get the Liberty in your own name and don't ask permition for all at once. I am waiting for a vessel from London and hope to send you up such an assortment of goods as will please you. You will forward what corn down you possibly can;take your bills of lading for the corn to Jacobs & Comp'y. Fail not to compleat this offhand."

Soon Curtius was in a bankruptcy condition and was petitioning Jacobs,

"The confidence in you, the promises I so often had of not distressing me, give me the liberty to ask your assistance, which never you denied, though to people undeserving by you. In this affair where I apply to all my creditors for a certain term to satisfy them. And as you are one of the first, and nothing can neighter be made or concluded without your advice or consent, I trustfull file in your arms, in hoap you'll not denie my most humble petition -- tomorrow being the day when all my superior creditors will be assembled at 11 a clock at Mr. Simon Levys in the lower town; I state myself to know the honour of not denying me the favour by your person -- This particular favour joined to so many others will be rewarted by the Almighty, & token in the highest admiration."

Less than a year later Jacobs published the following notice,

"Whereas there are many people in this Parish who have debts with Mr. Charles Curtius during the time he was clerk to Samuel Jacobs, Merch't of Quebec from the year 1761 to May 7th, 1762 -- These are to give notice to all such persons from whom such debts are due, that they do not pay them to said Charles Curtius but that they come to settle their accounts immediately with Samuel Jacobs at St. Denis as otherwise for the security of his interests he will be obliged to pursue them in justice --"

Jacobs and Curtius continued in a complex relationship, for on Sept. 3, 1767 Curtius advertised on public auction "at the British Coffee-House, in the Lower Town of Quebec, a Lot of Ground, in the said Lower Town, with a Stone Dwelling-House thereon, of about Twenty-four Feet in Front, Three Stories high, now in the Possession of Henry Goldup, Inn-holder, known by the Sign of the Bell, bounded in the Front by Champlaine Street, and in Depth by the River St. Lawrence, adjoining on the one Side to the House of Madam Dufault, and bounded on the other Side by a small Lane; being the Property of Mr. Charles Ferdinand Curtius, and stands engaged to Samuel Jacobs, of Quebec aforesaid, Merchant, for Payment of the Sum of Seven Thousand Two Hundred and Twenty-Six Livres and one Sol." (notice of sale dated Aug. 27, 1767)

By an order of the Court of Common Pleas, at the suit of Alexander Dumas, a three-storey stone home and land in Lower Town Quebec on the Cul de sac, was seized on July 31, 1770 in a claim against Curtius. But on Aug. 6 Jacobs advertised that,

"Whereas there appeared in the Quebec Gazette, of the 2nd of August, an Advertisement signed by Jacob Rowe, Esq. of his having seized, at the suit of Alexander Dumas, against Charles Ferdinand Curtius, a House, situate in the Lower Town of Quebec, and bounded as per said Advertisement does appear. This is to acquaint the Public, that the said House is the Property of the Subscriber, and does not belong to Charles Ferdinand Curtius; well known to Mr. Alexander Dumas, who is desired not to make too free with the property of other People." (Quebec Gazette, Aug. 9, 1770)

At that time he sent a sloop up the Richelieu with a load, but the rascal in charge stole a barrel from the cargo. Jacobs was indemnified by the owner of the boat, but was determined to have the thief flogged as an example to others.

Distilling

Towards the end of 1765 Jacobs secured a very valuable grant of permission from Governor Murray which reads,

"Whereas our loving Subjects, the Honble Benjamin Price, Esqr., John Hay and Samuel Jacobs, Merchants of our City and Province of Quebec in America, have Personally presented and applied by Petition on the Fifteenth day of July last, to Our Trusty and well beloved The Honble James Murray Esquire, our Captain General and Governor in Chief in and over our said Province of Quebec in America and Vice Admiral of the same, In Council, then Setting forth that by encouragement given they had, at an Expense of not less than One Thousand five hundred Pounds, Improved certain Ruinous Buildings and erected certain Houses for making malt and Distilling Spirits from Corn upon a Lott or Lien of Ground in the Province of Quebec Situated near the Intendant's Palace within the Garden wall of the same, and as such a work is of Great Advantage to this Province by the consumption of one of the staple Commodities thereof, therefore they prayed a Grant thereof, under such Restrictions for the use of His Majesty as should seem meet, which said Petition having been then and there read and Considered of our said Council, our said Council did afterwards, on the sixteenth day of the said Month of July last humbly advise with our said Governor to grant unto the said Benjamin Price, John Hay and Samuel Jacobs a lease and Demise of the said Lott of Ground with the Improvements and Buildings thereon for such Term of years and Subject to such yearly Rent and Conditions as are hereinafter mentioned of and concerning the same.

"Wherefore in obedience to our Royal instructions for that purpose our Surveyor General or his Deputy appointed for the Surveying and setting out of Land to be granted within our said Province hath surveyed and set out for them the said Benjamin Price, John Hay and Samuel Jacobs the said Lot, Piece or Parcell of Land in the Province of Quebec situated near the Intendant's Palace within the Garden wall of the same beginning on Palace Street and running along the Wall adjoining the said Street south Seventy Nine Degrees, west three hundred and one feet corner of the said Wall, then along the Wall adjoining to the Street leading to Saint Roch north eleven Degrees, west one hundred and thirty seven feet to the second Row of Trees in the Garden, then along the said Trees north seventy nine degrees, east three hundred and one feet to a Post then south eleven Degrees, east adjoining the Garden wall occupied

by Captain Zachariah Thompson one hundred and seven feet to the first Station, as by a platt and certificate thereof under the Hand of the Deputy Surveyor General of our Said Province of Quebec bearing date of the 12th day of November instant entered of record in our Registrar's Office in our said City of Quebec and also hereunto annexed may more fully appear, which said Lott of Ground with the Improvements and Buildings thereon, we being willing to Grant unto them the said Benjamin Price, John Hay and Samuel Jacobs, their Executors, Administrators and Assigns for such Term of Years and at and under such Yearly Rent and Reservations, Provisos and Conditions as are hereinafter mentioned of and Concerning the same.

"Know Ye therefore that we have Granted and Demised Ratified and Confirmed, and We do by these Present for Us our Heirs and Successors Grant Demise, Ratify and Confirm unto the said Benjamin Price, John Hay and Samuel Jacobs their Executors, Administrators and Assigns all the above mentioned and described Lot Piece or Parcell of Ground in the said Province of Quebec, situated near the Intendant's Palace within the Garden Wall of the same, with the Buildings and Improvements thereof, together with all and Singular the Hereditaments, Privileges, Emoluments, Profits, advantages and appurtenances whatsoever of the same belonging, or appertaining, to have and to hold the said Lot Piece or Parcell of Ground, Hereditaments and Premises of these Persons granted and demised and every part and Parcell thereof with the appurtenances, unto the same belonging unto the said Benjamin Price, John Hay and Samuel Jacobs their Executors, Administrators and Assigns, from the day and date of these Presents for during and unto the full end and Term of ninety and nine years from thenceforth next ensuing, and fully to be compleat and ended yielding and paying therefore yearly and every year during the same Term of ninety and nine years, hereby granted unto us our heirs or successors at our Castle of St. Lewis in our said City of Quebec unto our or their Receiver General there for the time being on the Feast Day of the Nativity of our Lord Christ, the sum of five Pounds Currency of this Province in Lieu of all the Rents, Services, dues and Duties and Demands whatsoever for the hereby Granted and Demised Lot of Land and Premises or any part thereof.

"Provided always and upon Condition nevertheless, That of the said Benjamin Price, John Hay and Samuel Jacobs their Executors, Administrators or Assigns, do not yearly and every year on the said Feast day of the Nativity of our Lord Christ well and truly pay or cause to be paid unto our Heirs or Successors at our Castle of Saint Lewis in our said City of Quebec unto our or their Receiver General there for the time being the said yearly Rent of five Pounds of Current money of our said Province, Provided also and Reserving to us our Heirs and Successors whenever our or their Service may require, at any time during the Continuance of this Present Grant and Demise, our or their Right of using the said Lot of Ground with the buildings thereon for Barracks or other uses paying to the said Benjamin Price, John Hay & Samuel Jacobs their Executors, Administrators or Assigns a reasonable Price for any Improvements and building which may happen to be thereon made Standing and being." (Nov. 23, 1765; P.A.C., RG 1, L3L, vol. 160, P. 78528)

Current Business

In June 1765 he was advertising a sale of peltries and sundrie goods, in the dwelling house that formerly belonged to him. (Quebec Gazette, June 20, 1765)

"The Two Dwelling Houses and Butchery, formerly the Property of Samuel Jacobs, situate in Sault au Matelot: Also the Granary and Bake-House at St. Roch, formerly the Property of Monsr. Foucault. For Conditions of Sale enquire of Stephen Moore."

James Stewart of Montreal introduced himself to Messrs. Watson and Blue in 1766 as being associated with Jacobs and with Allsopp, in a potash venture.

Samuel Jacobs appears on an advertised list of persons whose letters have been returned to the post office as undelivered. (Gazette de Québec, Jan. 30, 1765, P.6)

In the fall of 1766 he advertised that "All Persons, without Exception, Who have any Demands on Samuel Jacobs, are desired to bring in their Accounts, as he will pay each, and every one, their just Balance, within the Space of ten weeks from the Date. -- He also Requires that those indebted to him might exert themselves in their Payments, on doing of which he will still grant further Indulgence." (Ibid., Sept. 5, 1766)

The same day Samuel Morin announced the sale of "a very good dwelling house, situated at Crown Point, formerly belonging to Samuel Jacobs." Also, "a few strings of East Indian Pearl for Lady's necklace, also some dry goods and some very good Port Wine, and on Monday following a parcel of plate consisting of water pots, spoons, basins, etc., with a parcel of goods suitable for the Indian Trade."

On Feb. 9, 1768 he was involved in a lawsuit with Jeremiah Daly.

Jacobs was advertising property for sale in Quebec on Jan. 5, 1769 (Quebec Gazette).

An agreement with a London commission house which Jacobs signed in 1768, as published by Marcus, is of general interest. (American Jewry, Documents, Pp. 390-91) It reads,

"The terms and conditions on which Messrs. Watson, Olive, & Rashleigh transact the business of their correspondents in America, Vizt.:

"To pay commissions

"On all goods bought in London and shipt on their account and risque, and when they have money of theirs in hand to pay for the same: two and a half per cent commission, and half per cent on making insurance.

"On all goods bought and shipt on their accounts and risque, when they have not money of theirs in hand to pay for the same: five per centum, and half per cent for making insurance.

"On goods ordered by them from any foreign market, for which Messrs. Watson, Olive, & Rashleigh are to pay and forward from England; as above, free from all other charges; that is to say, their commission to be allowed to them and all other charges.

"On all effects remitted to, and sold by them: two and a half per cent.

"On all bills paid and received and also on all moneys paid and received: half per cent.

"On all insurances made: half per cent.

"On all other transactions: as customary to America.

"The credit they agree to allow

"On goods shipped on their accounts and risque is nine months from date of invoice, unless on such goods as are bought with ready money or at a shorter credit than nine months, in which cases interest for the difference of time at and after the rate of five per cent per annum, to be charged in the invoice, so as to make whole amount at nine months' credit.

"To pay them interest

"On whatever sum or sums of money may remain unpaid for goods shipped on their account, at nine months' credit from the expiration of that time; and on all other sums, from the date of the advance, at and after the rate of five per cent per annum.

"The interest account to be settled on the last day of December yearly, and the ballance thereof, if any, carried to the debit of their account current, and from that day (to) be deemed a part of the principle debt, as shall all premiums of insurance, postage of letters, and every other incidental charge."

It was on these terms that London sent goods to Jacobs on March 6, 1769.

"We duly received your esteemed favour dated of 10th November last and pay due attention to its contents the high opinion our BW entertains of your Integrity and Industry and the engagement Messrs. Allsopp & Wells have entered into with you in our behalf has induced us to deviate from our General Rule not to ship Goods without having some money in hand, and to ship you One half of the goods you ordered, which we have done on board our ship the Canadian, Capt. Abbott as Invoice, Bill of Lading inclosed amounting to Seven Hundred & Ninety-Four Pounds Fourteen Shillings & Sixpence. These Goods have been bought on the best terms and chose to the best of our Judgment. We have shipt them for Montreal being much nearer the Place of your residence than Quebec. At the same time they are stored in such manner that you may take them out altogether when and where you please.

"You will be pleased to observe that our Commission is all we gain by our Trade to Quebec consequently we cant afford to be kept out of our Money. Nor will we on any Account labour under an Advance for any man for a bare Commission and Common Interest. Therefore, we expect a remittance for the Goods we ship in the Spring by the Ships the next fall and we do hope and expect that you will not disappoint us, to enable you to judge how far it may be your Interest to remit us in Furrs, we send you a price Current Inclosed also a List of Dutys paid on the different Species.

"We have by this Conveyance sent Messrs. Allsopp & Wells on Account Sales of the Pearl Ash shipped on the Peters, Capt. Woodes, in which you was one part Concerned and for the Net Proceeds of which we have Credited your Account. It was the worst ever Imported being much inferior to the Common Pott-Ash.

We sincerely wish your next adventure may prove more fortunately, and that the Goods now shipt may arrive in good order to a good Market. If you have any goods to ship for England next fall you will oblige us by shipping them on the Canadian." (MG, 19, A2, Ser. 3, vol. 10, Pp. 468-69)

A partnership with John Grant was dissolved in 1770. (Gazette, July 19, 1770)

We find Jacobs' name, together with Aaron Hart's and Levi and Ezekiel Solomons', on the 1770 petition for government by a legislative assembly. (Public Archives of Canada, Ser. Q, vol. 7, p. 359, cited by Sack, P. 65)

The passing of the Quebec Act in 1774 disturbed the English merchants in the colony even more, for they saw in it a diminution of their rights and they petitioned again for an assembly on Nov. 12. Jacobs was among the signers.

On Nov. 30, 1773 Jacobs petitioned the Board at the Castle St. Louis, presided by Lieut. Gov. H. Cromahé, for a seignury of three square leagues upon the north east branch of the Yamaska River. His request was referred to the Committee upon Grants of Lands on Dec. 31, 1773. (MG 11, Q, vol. 10, P. 40)

At his suit the sheriff sold the property of Modest Ayst dit Malo in 1779. (Quebec Gazette, Dec. 23, 1779)

Thomas Aylwin was the purchaser of Jacobs' wheat in the 1780's. (Jean Lafleur. "Thomas Aylwyn", in Dictionary of Canadian Biography)

After 1780 Jacobs is listed as owner of property in Montreal.

The American Revolution

When the American colonists began their revolt for independence, Marcus points out, Jacobs was ready. His location on the Richelieu was strategically useful, and his stocks of wheat, flour and meat were precisely what the crown, the military and the newly-arrived German soldiers needed.

Jacobs was again supplying the special needs of the military as he, and some of his fellow Lower Canadian Jews had done fifteen years earlier during the war against the French. His letter to his Gatiens of Feb. 28, 1777 was in the business tradition of the early 1760's.

"I am sorry there appears some misunderstanding between you and the troops at your place.

"If the beef you have killed is not merchantable they, without doubt, have a right to refuse it, and as the Commissary General takes delight in having the troops well served, and does not like to hear complaints of either side, if it can be avoided, it is my advice, (if) the ox, you say, is maigre ('lean'), keep it back and serve the rest of the fresh meat.

"Wait on the commanding officer, tell him you will buy what you can more, which I would have you to do, by giving six coppers per pound, as that will encourage the inhabitants to kill and bring you the quarter which will enable you to judge of its goodness. When the commanding officer finds you do your endeavour, and fresh provisions can't be had at that rate, I dare say he won't blame you.

"As to the cash I sent you up to pay for the rations, if not already done, I would have you to give it into the captain of militia's hands to distribute amongst those to whom it is due, taking his receipt for the same, which is the way I do here to avoid all complaints." (Marcus. I. Pp. 248-49)

A 1783 document sheds a light on the consequences of the American revolution on the lives of residents of the area and on Jacobs' business activities. It comes from the Commissary General's office in Quebec to Mr. Jacobs, dated Apr. 7, 1783.

"Sundry receipts granted by people entitling themselves Royalists and Refugees have been taken by the Commissarate for Rations of Provisions under their own Signature or mark without proper authority for want of which these Receipts have been rejected. To remedy this Imposition in future, the Commissary's and officers of each Magazine & Depot are hereby directed not to issue provisions to any person whatsoever under the above description without an Order from the Commander in Chief or Mr. Gaylor except on the first arrival of such people from the colonies, when with the authority of the Commanding Officer, they are to have one Month's provisions; giving advice to Gaylor Esq. at Montreal, of the Number and description and the time they are victualled."

Trading among Jewish Businessmen

Among the merchants he dealt with were such other Jewish pioneers as Aaron Hart, Simon Levy, Gershon Levy and Hyam Myers.

Soon after his arrival in Lower Canada, when the English had but begun their war to oust the French from the continent, Jacobs was already engaged in extensive business with these Jewish pioneers in the colony. By 1760 Eleazar Levy and Aaron Hart were selling goods to Jacobs. Vaugeois notes a statement of accounts dated March 28, 1761 which records sales of coffee, playing cards, beverages, cloth. Other invoices addressed to Aaron Hart, merchant in Montreal, are dated Oct. and Nov. 1761. These are among the oldest Hart papers extant.

The same Nov. Jacobs wrote to Hart at Three Rivers about merchandise Mr. Hyam shipped to Hart; and again to inform him of 500 barrels of flour he was sending Hart "on different bottoms".

It is of some interest that Aaron Hart calls his home town Trois-Rivières, in the French form, in letters to Jacobs of May 21 and June 25, 1762.

Jacobs' relations with Aaron Hart are very interesting to us as these contemporaries of Trois-Rivières and of St. Denis were so like in their positions, in their commercial aspirations and status and in their family concerns.

Jacobs would inform Hart in May 1762 that "I am sending a vessel to New York with Bohea Tea" and invite him to take advantage of the opportunity. The next month Hart consulted Jacobs on the fur market. (Vaugeois, P. 127)

Vaugeois notes that Jacobs and Aaron Hart from the Canadian end were actively trading with Eleazar Levy in New York, as was Hyam Myers from Quebec. (P. 109)

In Feb. 1763 Gershon Levy cleared his debt of £ 500 to Jacobs. (Vaugeois, P. 103, note 10)

The St. Denis man had reservations about Hart, but was most respectful. We hear of this ambiguity on Sept. 27, 1761 in a letter from Hyam Myers from New York to Jacobs. Myers was sending Jacobs in Quebec a shipment. He was also sending goods for Aaron Hart.

"If Mr. Hart should not be in Quebec when this vessel arrives, beg you'll be good enough to take charge of his goods until you send an express to acquaint him thereof. Would not trouble you as I know you are on no good terms, only desire it for my sake."

In spite of all this, Jacobs offered Hart his full services and suggested that they do business. "If my person, storage, or anything else in which I can be of service to you, please to command me freely," he wrote. As historian Marcus put it, Jacobs was showering Hart with letters, eager to please the seigneur of Trois-Rivières, his "friend and brother and humble servant."

On the other hand, Hart took some care of Jacobs' interests in Trois-Rivières, notifying him when a debtor, Nugent, fled the colony or when "rats have eaten most of your callecocs and cadiz and some other goods in the store they was in. On finding them so eaten, I removed them all I could to my garret. As I never hade goods their, do note no butt rats may be thair, beg you will soon taik thame away. Your ginger bread, tobacco and fige blnc and frying pans ar still in the store house for which you pay one dollar per month. I have long expectted you would send for them and beg it will be soon."

The relations between the Jewish businessmen in the community were complex, varying between creditor-debtor, employee, partner, litigant, executor, purchasing agent or sales agent, relative, security -- and often several of these simultaneously. But they were guided by a strict code which was as much psychological as it was social, and possibly even religious in tradition.

Jacobs' association with Hyam Myers illustrates this. One day Myers is supervising the loading of the schooner William and Mary in New York which would bring Jacobs a Negro girl, seal and blank paper, 16 tierces of rice, 5 or 6 barrels of shrub, a large box containing 250 pair of skeats, coffee mills and buttons. In addition 16 barrels of rice "on my proper account which hope you will dispose of to the best advantage."

The master "will neither take charge of the girl nor horse; as to the latter is really not worth sending, so shall sell him for the most I can as he'll eat himself up...

"He promised me to take particular care of her."
(Sept. 27 and Sept. 28, 1761)

The girl cost £ 65. Later regards from the girl: a letter of Feb. 24, 1763 reports, "The family are well and quiet in house, and the little girl is growing very careful and industrious."

Myers charged Jacobs £ 1.4.0 for blankets for the Negro girl.

Yet, by 1763 a dispute with Myers had to be settled by arbitration by W. Grant and W. Lovett -- in Jacobs favour. (PAC, MG 19, A2, ser. 3, vol. 8, P. 149)

As late as 1783 the Myers' dispute dragged on in the courts, with Roberts Russell notifying him in January of that year that he needs to produce further documents to respond to Myers' claims. (PAC, MG 19, A2, ser. 3, vol. 21, Pp. 284a-49c)

Jacobs had dealt with Levy Simon in 1762 but found the experience unsatisfactory. (Vaugeois, Pp. 129-30)

From 1761 we have a note of hand involving Jacobs and Gershon Levy of Montreal, Eleazar Levy of Quebec and Benjamin Lyon then of Albany. (Public Archives of Canada, microfilm reel C-1339, P. 1695)

Jacobs claimed £ 138 from Chinn and Law for goods received from Gershon Levy. (PAC, MG 19, A2, Ser. 3, vol. 8, ff. 84, 149; MG 17, Pt. 2)

A more substantial loss that year, as J.R. Marcus tells it, was the failure of Gershon Levy & Co. This company owed Jacobs and his partner over £ 1,400; they had promised to pay when the canoes came down from the Upper Country (Ontario), but when the furs finally arrived, Gershon Levy had consigned them to Isaac Levy of Quebec. Jacobs was furious and petitioned Murray to secure the goods for the debt due him. (Marcus. American Jewry, Documents. Pp. 363-64)

In Feb. 1763 Gershon Levy cleared his debt of £ 600 to Jacobs. (Vaugeois, P. 102, note 44)

Many years later, in 1810, we read in the diary of Samuel David of Montreal of his visit to Chambly where he dined at Sam Jacobs'. (Sept. 22, 1810)

So, in a letter to Samuel Jacobs (December 31, 1781) he wrote,

"I am sorry any man should have broke in on our Sabbath (possibly with a letter Jacobs had sent) -- Bless your mark, as the good woman said -- Moses wisely ordered all eatables with its ingredients should be prepared on Friday, the Talmud agrees all good that are packed up that day should have a bill of parcels, as it is the same to that cookery."

Jacobs was appreciative of his friendship with the Judahs. Two months later he had occasion to write,

"Mrs. Jacobs joins in her kindest Respects to Mrs. Judah wishing her joy and a happy Recovery, with him who is pleased that you have got into a regular apartment, as there is no occasion for Baptism or Circumcision in the opinion of Dr. S..." (March 1, 1782)

This reference might be to the birth of their son, Abraham, who grew up to be a doctor and who may have died in Savannah or Baltimore.

Another time he wrote him,

"I should like to live on a good footing with you, sooner than any of the Tribe at Montreal as you understand business." (June 9, 1783)

Mrs. Judah lent Jacobs a book which he returned in Dec. 1781.

Jacobs habitually included very personal phrases in the most routine business communications, not least those addressed to Samuel Judah. Ordering from Judah "sundry articles in your way, I believe shall not break my back carrying any of it away out of your house... Shall we not have the pleasure to see Mrs. Judah and you this winter before the young Messiah comes?"

His Jewish Creed

Samuel Jacobs was constantly aware of his Judaism both in a spiritual, experimental sense and in the social context of relation to fellow-Jews.

His Jewish interests cannot but intrigue us. He considered himself -- and frequently referred to himself -- as a Jew. He frequently added his name in Hebrew to his formal signature.

Indeed, it is in the midst of the voluminous business papers of Samuel Jacobs -- not the religious model of the Canadian Jew -- that we find testimony of intense interest in the Jewish faith, and links between that theological reality and the fate of his soul, as well as a defense of the truth of this tradition-born belief against those of another creed and of another culture. Quite aside from his style of living and from his family structure, Jacobs reacts in the heart of a savage continent very much as his kin did in the communities of Germany or of England at this time.

Prof. J.R. Marcus quotes from Jacobs' letter to a Christian friend, "I was disputing all night with a German officer about religion. Tho' I am not a wandering Jew, yet I am a stirring one." That word is remarkably well chosen for its dynamicism.

Though his will speaks of the Divinity and of the resurrection in conventional terms, there is nothing Christian about his document signed, as was usual with him, partly in Hebrew.

He developed a personal, mocking tone in regard to Judaism that was yet familial, and not dissociative from the tradition.

But his religious sentiments went much more deeply than these indications -- and there was nothing Christian about them. Indeed, he is one of the pioneering Jews of whom we have indication of the most impressive faith in the Creator.

When Jacobs appeared before Judge Edward Southouse in Montreal in April 1783 in the protracted suits against Gershon Levy, it was on the Five Books of Moses that he took the oath. (Letter to Judge E. Southouse, Apr. 29, 1783)

Towards the end of his life, apparently, his son James Levy passed away. This may have coincided with his other son Samuel's painful absence from home, so that the bereaved father was impelled, in his sorrow, to pen "A praier to the Almighty for taking an only Son, this morning I arose from my bed, Afflicted and Distressed in my Soul. O God:

"I offered up my Humble Petition to thee, for Resignation to thy will: and a Calm already pervades my Soul: O, faith, powerful faith: which leads me to the Rock of my Defence: Reign over my Confiding mind: and the allpowerful will hear my prayer: and admit my sorrow, Almighty: thy will, not mine, Be Done, Add Energy to my feeble Endeavours to be Resigned to this trial which infinite wisdom...

"The Difficulties, crosses and afflictions I meet with inspire me with a new Desire: a new ardour to be thine: and thine alone: Let me have Renewed Strength to Pursue thee: All is yours. Lord of Light and Life -- thow has Recalled the Child thow gavest me, and never may I murmur at thy decision or be wanting in heartfelt submission to thy will, for it is the Desire of my Life to please and obey thee: above Every other Consideration. Hear me for Ever and Ever, amen."

On the other hand, he had no contact with the Montreal synagogue; no more than did Aaron Hart.

He maintained better than commercial relations with the few Jews in the colony such as Judah and D. David. When the latter sent him the articles Jacob had ordered, he sent them "by my brother and sister who went off this morning and will be, I believe, on Sunday next at your house." (Feb. 8, 1786)

A reminder of the great hunger for information that was characteristic of the time and place -- expressed in every personal document such as Samuel David's diary -- Jacobs begged Judah (Feb. 7, 1782) for the "monthly magazines of last year or the year before as any of them will be new here, and some English newspapers that you have by you, which shall be thankfully returned."

There is evidence that in remote St. Denis Jacobs read novels.

Family Life

Unlike Hart who married a Jewish girl from England, Jacobs lived with and later married a French Canadian, Marie Josette Audette. His children were, of course, not educated in the Jewish tradition. All this even though his intention to found a sound home for his children was probably as genuine as Hart's. Vaugeois refers to the wedding as a Protestant marriage. But Marcus states that she was Catholic. (I. 265)

There went the dreams of continuity and of dynasty. An advertisement in the Quebec Gazette of Sept. 17, 1767, documents the contrast vividly. On that day, Aaron Hart announced that he was intending to leave shortly for London. In fact he was going to England to seek a Jewish wife. He married Dorothea Judah there on Feb. 7, 1768.

Vaugeois notes that church records at St. Denis sur Richelieu mention the births of children to him in 1772, 1776, 1780 and 1781 (one child died in 1776).

Jacobs married Marie Josette before a Protestant minister only in October 1784; the marriage license is dated October 15, 1784. That was two years before his death.

His will is dated the same day. In this document he describes her as "Marie-Josette Audette alias Lapointe who has lived with me these many years, and has generally been reputed to be my wife and as such has been called by the name of Jacobs."

In a businesslike manner that was not peculiar to Jacobs at this time and place, he "charged Mr. Minictier with at parting to write you the Name of Your Wife, were born, and her Age, likewise the names of Your Children now living, were Born & their Age which are as follows...

"Your Wife's Name - Marie Josette Audete, dit Lapoint, Born in the parish of St. Jean l'ile d'orleans, Gouvernement québec. Aged 39 Years, March 1783...

"Your Son Samuel Jacobs, Born at Quebec, Aged 19 Years, March 1783.

"Your daughter Marie Geneviève Jacobs, Born at Québec, Aged 17 Years, 15th Aug. 1783.

"Your daughter Marie Marianne Jacobs, Born at Québec, Aged 14 Years, 26th Aug. 1783.

"Your Son Jean Levy Jacobs, Born at St. Denis, Aged 10 Years, 20th Oct. 1782.

"Your Son Jean Baptiste Jacobs, Born at St. Denis, Aged 4 Years, 3 April 1783.

"Your Son Baptiste Samuel Jacobs, Born at St. Denis, Aged 3 Years, 13th May, 1783.

"Your Daughter Angelique Jacobs, Born at St. Denis, 16 August, 1783."

Jacobs enumerates his surviving children in his will: Baptiste Samuel, Marie Geneviève, Marie Marianne, John Levy and Jean Baptiste. In his will Jacobs speaks of his "two eldest natural daughters, Marie Geneviève and Marie Marianne." Vaugeois refers to his seven known children, not necessarily all by Marie Josette.

His nuptial record describes Marie Geneviève Jacobs as the natural daughter of Samuel Jacobs and J. Audette.

Educating Daughters

Like the Harts and other Jews in the colony, Jacobs entrusted the education of his daughter -- at least one of them -- to the Ursuline sisters. In his case we know of at least one complication, from the Protestant side.

J.R. Marcus published a letter which Jacobs received from Bryce Cummings at Quebec, dated Dec. 9, 1781,

"I have a very great regard for your oldest daughter because she is like her mother, and I have as much regard for your second, because she is like you. I don't think you mean to make her a nun. Therefor must beg that you would give orders to those that has the care of her to let her come out at least once a week. She wishes it mouch herselfe. And I think it would be of services to her. The alteration is so mouch for the better in your oldest daughter since she went to Mrs. Grant, that I think if you once seed her, that you would never think of confining your second (daughter) amongst a parcel of d_____d idle, usles b_tchs! Since her sister went out, they won't so mouch as lett her speak to any body at the grate, and I am affriad that the litle creator (creature) will break her heart.

"My old woman would take it very kind if you would send orders for her to have leave to come out and stay with her for the holy days. You may depend on her being well taken care off. If you are so kind as grant this request, it will be estaimed a favour; and if you come to Quebec, I hope you will give us a call."
(American Jewry Documents, Pp. 34-35)

Jacobs replied,

"As to our youngest daughter at the Ursuline, those Religious ladies have their own whims, am loath to break in on their Rules, for what time I intend to keep her there so soon she is released from that place shall cleave to Mrs. Cummings' friendship in her behalf."

Again, two years later, Nathaniel Day wrote him,

"Calling Tuesday last at friend Charles Grant's, Miss Jacobs followed me to the door and told me she should be glad to see her father. Seeing her in some emotion, I asked if any person had been talking to her of marriage or (had been) rude to her. She answered No, but something else that made her uneasy, on which occasion she would be glad to see her father, and I promised her to write this letter in order to apprise you of her wish. And if you thought it required your presence for the good of your child, you have my leave to come down, as I am certain you will leave things at St. Denis in such a manner as the service cannot be hurt by your absence." (Marcus, Pp. 36-37)

Jacobs' letter to his dear child tells us much about him, but not less on the paedagogy of his time.

"May God of his Intimate mercy keep you in your resolutions of being a good girl, virtuous, obedient, and not keep up with pride, or flattery.

"You came out the Nunnery an innocent helpless child, under the Father and Motherly Care & Protection of Mr. & Mrs. Grant. On their instruction, depends your future happiness. Think then my dear child those that find fault or even scolds for anything you do amiss, are your friends. Beware of a Flatterer & a Promiser, that says and swears more than he thinks to performe. These are deceivers to all sexes but in particular distruction to yours. I am happy in having all my children round me, & are learning something, so that my present concern, is only for your welfare.

"May God direct you for the best.

"I'll see you this summer if alive. And if I find you deserving, will daily work hard to maintain you genteelly. But should I have the misfortune to find your behaviour contrary to my expectations you may then depend on it I will never more regard you as my child.

"I charge you to write at least once a month to me in French." (March 16, 1783)

Elias Solomon

His son, Samuel, born in Quebec in 1764, called un-Jewishly with the same name as his father, was entrusted to the Jewish merchant of the colonial capital, Elias Solomon, (1778-81) under the further supervision of Charles Grant, merchant, to study in the private school of John Reid. Grant was later to be one of the executors of Jacobs' estate.

Like every considerate father, Jacobs had his son and the young man's tutors on his mind wherever he was. So he wrote to second son, Jacob from Sorel in Oct. 1779,

"By chance I lighted on three barrels of cramberries which I embrace with pleasure by this opportunity. One is for your master, Mr. Reed, one for your friend, Mr. Charles Grant, and the third for your friend Mr. Thos. Ellvin (Aylwin). See them delivered your self with my kindest compliments. Excuse my not writing to them as I hope to be down as soon as His Majesty's service, I am now in, will permit." (Marcus. I. 266-67)

We hear of Solomon in Sept., 1766 when he signed the address of welcome to Gov. Guy Carleton as he took command of the province. The list of Quebec merchants who thus welcomed the governor was headed by Eleazar Levy. (Quebec Gazette, Sept.29, 1766)

Solomon died early in 1800. His household effects were sold at auction on March 22; the advertisement by John Jones, auctioneer provides us with a glimpse of the home of a Quebec merchant. The meubles de ménage consisted of "handsome mahogany Chairs, Tables, Dinner Trays, and Waiters, Sophas, Looking Glasses, Carpets, Chests of Drawers and Bureaus, Stoves, Knives, Utensils, Oysters in barrels, and a few dozen Port and Madeira Wines, Gin and Brandy, and various other articles.

"And at same time will be sold, the House belonging to the Estate of the said Mr. Solomon, situate in Rue Sous le Fort, No. 23 in the Lower Town, at present occupied by Mr. George Chapman." (Quebec Gazette, March 20, 1800)

The humour in the correspondence between these two Jewish paterfamilias is almost literary, and still full of pathos. Solomon wrote to Jacobs on November 2, 1780,

"You have inclosed the account of your son, S. Jacobs, amounts to £69 2s. 8d. currency, which when examined and found right, should be obliged to you for the amount. I should have write to you sooner, but expected to have had the pleasure of seeing you in Quebec when I would have been able to explain my sentiments to you better.

"You'll observe, the board I charge you is much under the current prices of this place, and likewise should wish to observe that as your son is growing larger than smaller, you'll naturally imagine I shall expect more, and also the care taken by me and my wife ought to be considered by you.

"Your son Jacob is such grown; nay, indeed almost to the size of a man. As such, I think the allowance I have hitherto allowed him of 6d. per week for pocket money is much too little, as it's naturally to be expected that a youth of his age is desirous of having a few shillings in his pocket at his own disposal. You'll please write me what sum you think proper to be allowed him for the future.

"My wife and two daughters join with me in compliments to you."

It is surprising that between these two men of business there should have arisen difficulties in collecting the bills, even for out of pocket expenditures, and a very unhappy relationship ensued that could never have been the case with the discreet Aaron Hart.

Whatever cause, whichever effect, there was a touch of scandal. Solomon was accused of showing the correspondence to persons not concerned. Jacobs refused to answer letters -- or to send money. The boy was also troublesome.

Young Jacobs was removed to the home of Mr. Reid.

It shocks us less today that the young lad ran into trouble, that he was caught in a burglary in the house of Mr. Solomon, to the horror of the schoolmaster. Hart, too, had had trouble with his younger children. It was not easy to bring up Jewish children in the forests of Lower Canada.

For Jacobs heard from Schoolmaster Reid, on Dec. 3, 1781.

"I am constrained to inform you of a recent circumstance in your son's conduct which obliges me to request that he may be immediately removed from my family. The dissipated turn of mind he has lately given into has prompted him to commit an action which really shocks me to mention.

"On Tuesday night last, the house of Mr. Solomon was broke open, and a watch discovered to have been stolen therefrom. In the course of a few days, the watch in question was seen in the possession of a person who declared that he had purchased of your son. Upon examining further into the matter and desiring to know how he came by it, the boy made an ample confession, declaring that he himself was the person who broke open the house and stole the watch.

"I need not, sir, aggravate your feelings by pointing out the extreme danger there is of the unhappy youth's falling a victim to public justice should he remain any longer in this place, where, notwithstanding every effort of mine to reclaim him, he has connected himself in such a chain of acquaintances as must necessarily prove his ruin.

"This inclines me to request that you would come down here with all convenient speed and concert some plan for the boy's future destination, as well as to accommodate the affair with Mr. Solomon, who seems inclined to prosecute.

"I have endeavoured for your sake, as well as the young man's, to keep the matter as much as possible a secret, that a chance may be still given him to reclaim." (Dec. 3, 1781)

Mr. Grant confirmed Mr. Reid's report the same day in equal terms of shock,

"Your son Sam has contracted a set of acquaintances here which soon must prove his ruin, if not immediately removed out of the place.

"Last week he committed an act of so horrid a nature that Mr. Reid came and consulted me on, which Mr. Reid at my desire wrote to you the particulars of by this day's post.

"I am convinced Mr. Reid paid every attention to his morals and had a watchful eye over his conduct. But, of late, it has been discovered that young Samuel got out in the night time, when the family were all at rest, and indulged his vicious inclinations amongst his idle acquaintances."

Four days later Jacobs wrote Charles Grant,

"I received your letter, one from Mr. Gill and one from Mr. Ried, all on the unhappie subject of my son. I have done my duty but could not be a Father to him here and their, in the latter part. I thought myself happy under Mr. Ried's Management. Had he but once hinted that my son inclined to bad company, or frequented Mr. Solomon's house after I took him from there, I would immediately bound him prentice under some good Master where he might have learned good Principles which are better than Scholarship without them.

"Dr. Grant, let me but paint the Situation I am in at present having being Confined to my bed this Twenty two days with a strange fever and Rhumatick pains. My Wife that attends me has not had her Cloathe off this Ten days and nights, always by my bedside. Your letter has Sunk her to her Chamber and has took away all other pains I have that I do sit up in my bed dictating this. But let me return to Mr. Solomon. I put my son their a Child;so soon I found it pernicious, he was took away and put him under the sole care of Mr. Ried. My request to you was Your Fatherly care in supplying him with the Needfull. I was glad of his Removal and mentioned to you, my fear was that he had stayed their too long, and finally advised Mr. Solomon not to let my son have anything nor Suffer him to Visit his house. My private Reason were these. Mr. Solomon had two young girls agrowing up with all the knowledge of their Secks, a very indulgent Mother and not over able Carefull. They had instilled these principles of Courage in my son whilst he was their, that he took the fault on himself for anything the family did amiss. When Mr. Solomon charged him there with. It was high time to make him refrain from that house. Nor could I have imagined that Mr. Solomon would have entertained him after I had forbidden it. I was surprized to receive an acct from him of the 26th Allimore for £3:12:9½ and to give Sanction of his performing my Orders, got my son to write a Certificate at the bottom of it, and I dare say to please the two young Misses he would have signed his Condemnation.

"Inclosed have sent the Acct wherein he Charges a Silver Watch. You know, my friend, the last time I had the pleasure of seeing you was going to send him down mine which you wisely advised me against it. How could I imagine that Mr. Solomon would have the Impudence to sell him one without my leave?

"I find it is absolutely necessary to remove my son from Quebec though Mr. Solomon do not keep a publick house. Yet I believe it is Distruction to any Youth that frequents it. The Girls Receiver presents the Mother makes these the Welcome that are the most generous. Mr. Solomon Winks at. So a Youth stands a chance to be Enticed by them to Rob their Father, give them the Produce and be furnished for the Crime. What would Mr. Solomon be at. His house has ruined my son. I never did him any harm. He ought to be Contented and save a stain I believe it would bring on him. That is all I can say on the Subject.

"Now my Worthy friend, what am I to do with this graceless boy? It is certain unless he mends in his further Behaviour, to the Satisfaction of all good men, he shall never enter my Doors, and do I Discard him as my Child. Let me cleave to you as his friend to bind him prentice to some Merchant at Montreal for two or three years if it were only for his Victuals. And let him use him as his behaviour deserves. For God sake do not decline this friendship for, if you do, I will let him go to Destruction without Notice.

"In the meantime 'til you can settle it with some friend their, pray be pleased to order my son the Country some Seigneur below Quebec where I will pay for his Victuals and should be glad that his landlord would make him cutt wood and fetch water. Thereby he might understand that he is now to shift for himself.

"Dear friend, the Gentleman that saw me Yesterday shook his head for my Recovery, though I have neither Slept nor broke my fast since. Think I could set up this 48 hours yet Dictating though not able to staie alive. But as all things must have a finish, pray help the Distressed and Receive their prayers as a thanks from Your unhappie..." (Dec. 7, 1781)

This during the week which brought him the disturbing letters about his daughter in the charge of the Ursuline Sisters at Quebec.

It was the rheumy season and the correspondence was exchanged from bed to bed as Grant wrote Jacobs on Dec. 20,

"When I wrote to you last I was very poorly; but since much more reduced by a severe flux; however, I am now getting rid of it, tho I have not yet ventured out over the door. I am sorry to find you have been so ill; and wish the accounts you received of your son's conduct may not add to your complaint; however I

hope you have a greater share of fortitude than to suffer that matter to prey too much on your mind, for you must consider you have other children that will require your care & protection a long while yet if health serves you.

"Your letter of the 7th Instant came to hand last night -- to which I will make the needful reply after I look about me and try what can be done with that unhappy youth soon. In the meantime comfort yourself with hopes of a reformation in him for which purpose my best endeavors shall not be wanting. All your children here are well."

Helplessly the distraught father wrote Grant two months later in a mixture of Fielding and St. Denis Yiddish,

"Your esteemed favour revived our drooping spirits to find there are hopes in that unhappie boy.

"I did my duty, left the sole management of him to Mr. Reid, and had he but once hinted that the youth inclined to bad company or frequented Mr. Solomon's, I might have prevented the thunder clap that destroys our quiet. For when we come to a certain age, our joyes consistes only in laying a foundation for the welfare of those that are near and tender to us.

"You, my friend, knows the world. Idleness in youth is the forerunner of mischief. Let us request on our knees your friendly protection. Manage him as you please, and receive for thanks the prayers of a fond mother, a tender father, and his helpless children. My heart is full, stops me from dictating. There is hope in relying on him to whom I and my family ever am in gratitude bound." (Feb. 15, 1782)

Educating a Son

An invoice from John Reid for boarding and educating his son in 1782 survives. Total cost for ten weeks, £16.16.7

There seemed no help from any quarter for the boy in Quebec or for his father in St. Denis. Jacobs wrote,

"I hear entre nous that Mr. John Grant likes a glass as usual, & when Capt. Grant's friendly eye nor yours are present, Sam is left to the care of Mr. John Grant. For God's sake prevent that unhappy youth of mine not to follow the example of drinking to excess is my earnest prayer."

In May 1782 he appealed to his friend William Grant,

"Worthy friend I am in a bad state of health, mostly confined to bed. My thoughts are greatly agitated about my son, Sam. I understand he is not viciously inclined. Consider my friend Mr. Chas. Grant has a family and a large business to conduct. Sam's school master turned proud and in love, so this poor child has chiefly the bringing up of himself; therefore allowances ought to be made. You, my generous friend, have had under your care many youths who are bound to have a grateful remembrance of your attention to form them to that which is laudable, useful, and praiseworthy. Take him under your immediate protection, let him copy in your office, do your errands, train him up in your family under your own eye, and be a father. I will find him in cloathing and may the blessing of Almighty God attend you, and our earnest prayers will forever. Mrs. Jacobs joins in kindest acknowledgements, her dependence is on you. Hope and fear changes her countenance."

Jacobs was deeply grateful to Grant for he seems to have sought to utilize his membership in the lodge to secure this recognition for Mr. Grant as early as 1772. But he had to report that "The lodge refusing your first memorial to become a member was that you were only a child, and they would have lost their warrant if they had any for accepting you afterwards; believe there remains part of that body which easily prove the truth of this."

It was human for the suffering father to blame someone else for the misdeeds of his son. Elias Solomon, a man whom he had paid moneys, was therefore a natural victim. So Judah wrote him on Apr. 17, 1782,

"If I am not prevented by sickness will be in Quebec this summer to know what right or reason you had for giving credit to my Son, or suffer him to visit at your house after I had requested you so earnestly to the contrary, when I took him away from you and boarded him at Mr. Reid's. I am, Sir, your much abused friend."

At this point there occurred an incident which was not unusual for that period so devoid of means of communication. Word spread through his friend Uriah Judah that Jacobs had passed away. When the falsity of the report became clear by Apr. 29, 1782, Charles Grant was happy to report to Jacobs,

"Your children here are well. None of them heard anything concerning you but Samuel on whom, I am told, the report had no small effect." (Marcus. Pp. 38-39)

Mr. Solomon was induced to sign a remarkable commitment on October 16, 1782 that he would "not hereafter, on any account or under any pretence whatsoever, either harbour, or advance, or furnish any money, goods, or effects, or other things whatsoever to Samuel Jacobs, Junior, son of Mr. Samuel Jacobs. Neither shall I be any wise accessory to any other persons harbouring or advancing any moneys, goods, or effects, or other things to Samuel Jacobs, Junior."

Matters were apparently patched up. Mr. Reid accepted the youth again.

Things stood excellently with the boy -- for two months.

Charles Grant was able to report on June 27, 1782 that "all your friends here are well, and your children as you could wish, William Grant having taken young Samuel under his management. I hope that he will make something of him and that he may yet give you satisfaction."

Soon the lad was with his father, and he minded the store and the family while father went on business trips. Reports from the son to the father at Quebec survive.

On Dec. 18, 1782 he wrote from "St. Dinnes" to William Grant on St. Helen's St. in Montreal,

"Your favour of 7th Inst. was delivered me by my son Sam. In an humble poster holding out your letter as his sanction. Nature overcame resolution & I took him to my arms. He is very sorrowful & seems to repent past follies. He has been neglected by Mr. Reed & no person to look after him or advise him for his good, tel you took him under your friendly care. I asked Sam what he intend to do now, as there was no time to be lost. He answered, if he was under your care to write in your office he was shure to learn & improve himself. His reply gave me satisfaction and to make him the fitter, Will endeavour to get a French school master here for the winter, as it seems you have no present location for him. But should you at any time incline to take him under your protection, where he may receive your friendly instruction, I will with pleasure send him you at a moment's warning & think myself very happy to have him plased under your eye."

The unhappiness of Samuel Jacobs emerges from a letter to a friend of the family.

"To obey my friend in saying something to the unhappie boy, the lines underneath are for his perusal, if you think proper.

"I was your father and did my duty. Your conduct has made it void and null. If your future behaviour merits every good man's esteem and pity, your past folly, repentance opens your eyes, I then with joy and tenderness will own you again as my child. Till then I am only your well wisher." (Feb. 15, 1782)

On June 30, 1782 William Grant, who was to act as executor of Jacobs' estate in due course, wrote to the father from St. Helen,

"When last in this part of the country, I wrote you a short letter to acquaint you that I was endeavouring to make something of your son. I brought him with me the other day from Quebec to St. Helen and Montreal, not only to show him a little of the country, of which at 19 years of age, he is too ignorant, to also talk seriously with him by ourselves.

"Probably I may leave him sometimes at St. Helen. I am under the necessity, in Capt. Grant's absence, of being there myself as often as possible.

"Sam is very young and inexperienced. Time and application may, however, do something for him."

Seeking an Instructor

Jacobs was seeking a teacher for his children at St. Denis. When Mr. Askwith wrote him that he might be available, Jacob replied to him on July 11, 1783,

"You say that your engagement is finished with Mr. Aylwin. If there is no objection & you like a country life, my house is at your service. I have no use for a clark for my trade as I am supplyd with them, but I want a person to instruct my children. I am satisfy'd with your abilities. If you were aversed in the French language it would be so much the better, but as I believe you are not you may have an opportunity to learn it there. So, if it is agreed for you to come up here to teach my children & to write for me when required, I will allow you thirty pounds this currency for one year with your board, washing & lodgin. As I have no out of door business for you, so if you take a walk it must be for your pleasure; & after you are with me for a time & do not like the place, or think you can better yourself within the twelve months, you shall be free from your engagement & I will pay you from the date you enter into this house to day you leave it in proportion to the above.

"When I leave Quebec I commonly embrace the first vessel & come up with her till the wind gets contrary, then I go ashore & take post."

There was much that was solid at the heart of the son, as of the father.

When the elder Jacobs was in Quebec in Oct. 1783, the son became anxious and wrote him from the family home,

"There is a great while that we have not heard from you, which makes us uneasy.

"I wrote you a letter by Capt. Black. Since his departure we heard that they was a vessel containing eleven hundred bush's salt, etc., cast away in the River Richelieu. And it is sayd that it belongs to us. As we heard nothing about it by you, think it is only a false report, but still makes mamma uneasy." (Marcus. I. 271)

The heritage of young Levi Jacobs is eloquent of the educational processes of his time. On Jan. 9, 1789 he wrote, in perfect penmanship to Mr. Cornud, a friend of the family who was soon to be executor of the Jacobs' estate.

"Having a strong desire to peruse some parts of a work you have in your possession, the title of which is Dictionary of Arts and Sciences, 3 Volumes, you would do me a particular kindness by forwarding them to me the first convenient opportunity."

Son is Sailing

The years that followed were not stable. In the fall of 1785 the son is about to leave the parental home at St. Denis, bequeathing the father one of those heartbreaking letters Jacobs was not the last parent to receive. The father was to die within a year.

"As I see you have no more business for me at present, and I want to be in a way of getting my livelihood; the sooner I go off the better it will be. Would be very sorry to propose this, if I thought that you, or the family, would want me. But as you proposed yourself for my departure -- if you think proper to procure a passage, as I believe there is vessels going off to the place where you mentioned, I should be happy to go, as I am certain I'll have friends there in a short time by my good behaviour, and shall often peruse the good advise you have given me.

"I am certain you will not be sorry for my departure when you'll hear of my welfair, and shall try to be in business for my own account as soon as possible. Should I tell you the reason, you would laugh at my wakeness, but still is the only recourse that can make me happy. Shall say no more on the subject. I am, and shall ever be,

"Your most affectionate and dutiful son till death,

(Sept, 14, 1785)

"Samuel Jacobs"

On the 19th of October the son wrote, hurriedly to "The Honorable Sir," his father, not "having time to make a fair copy as the vessel is drawing out to go.

"I take this opportunity by Mr. Chevrier who sets off immediately, only gives me time to let you know that I inquired what it would cost me for going to West Indies from Captain Boucher, which goes to Halifax and then to the West Indies is lowest price was fifteen guineas; and then I am obliged to buy a matrass, sheets, and blankets for my passage. There is others going. I don't know what will be their price. I shall let Mr. Dalton agree for it. As far as Captain Gill and the other gentlemen that wrote too, they will have nothing to do with it, as they say they would be wrong to have any hand to my ruin.

"You shall have more on my departure. At present have only time to let you know that if I was sure to lose my life I shall go, but remember allways."

Ten days later, on October 30, he wrote father from Quebec,

"This is to let you know that I am to go to Jamaica as the vessel is bound there, commanded by Captain Garnner, which he sales to day or to morrow. Mr. Fraser and Dalton agreed for my passage, which amounts to twenty guineas. I think it is a high price; I said nothing to them about it.

"Mr. Fraser, he is to give me a letter, and yours to him inclosed in it, for Mr. Grant, a capital merchant; and the Chief Justice's brother of that place, which he is an intimate acquaintance of yours, as they say, and has been a merchant here...

"I spoke to Mr. King and showed him the letter that was sent to you for me by his partner. He said that was just the person that he was going to write them. I begged the favour that he should speak to Mr. Blackwood, which he did and got two letters which they were sent to Mr. Dalton's house. I only went there once since I have been here, and then it was to see Mr. King.

"The letters I have received from him are to Jamaica and directed to Messrs. John and James Allen. The other to Mr. J.P. Sunbury & Co. Mr. Gill as gave me one for that place to Messrs. Forbes & Co.

"I have seen Mr.--- and told me that he would speak to Mr. Fraser. I wrote to Mr. Aylwin which he said he was very sorry for me departure and gave me the God's blessing which was all I got from him, except half a dinner on the 15th inst.

"I have been very well used by Mr. and Mrs. Gill. Hope I may have it in my power to serve them. The letter that you wrote to Mr. Bernite (?) to Hispaniola, and that of Mr. McCord to him, I have them by me, but where I am going it is 300 leagues from that, which Mr. Gill tells me,

"Now, my dear father, I take farewell of you and of the family which, I hope to God, I shall see you and them again in good health, but God knows when. Let me be where I am or in what station I shall be: you shall here of me by every opportunity, and shall always be happy to hear of my beloved parents and hope I shall deserve their mention, as I shall do nothing but what is becoming of a gentleman. I hope this voyage will make a man of me.

"But, my dear father, do remember your dutiful son that wishes all they happiness to you and to my dear tender mother which, I hope, shall be all ways in your good opinion.

"Cannot help to make myself some reproaches to see that I have been such an expence and have been so little use. The time past cannot be recalled. I hope future it will be.

"As I go upon a good desire and hope there is no fear of one that wance to do well as I, the fear of God before him. You shall here more of me when I'll arrive to Jamaica which I hope I will. My love to my sisters and brothers. Now my dear father and mother, fare well again and do remember your most affectionate and dutiful one till death."

These are letters that can be read as classics in delinquency. In Jewish family history of these centuries they are standard letters of farewell and of migration -- often a prelude to oblivion -- or to éclat and success.

Daughter's Romance

In May 1786 Jacobs amended his will of October 15, 1784 to read, "should my dear daughter Mary Geneviève marry without my consent whilst I am alive, would be excluded of the sum I left her... of all other rights, privileges or benefits...as thereby cut off my eldest daughter by leaving her one shilling.

"My eldest daughter Mary Geneviève has no share in it, for I hereby cut her off and exclude her from any benefit whatsoever that may arise from her mother's death as well as from my own; that is to say, if my eldest daughter Marie Geneviève marry during my lifetime without my consent, and after my death I give her full leave to marry any one she pleases except one Stanislas Vignois."

Apparently Marie Geneviève (known in the family as Polly; she signs her name P. Jacobs) did marry, but was not happy to break so brutally with her father. Her letter of July 6, 1786 is touching and puzzling from the literary-personal style:

"It would give me undoubted gratuity (gratitude) could I speak to you reather than to write, but I am in such a situation that it would be impossible for me to tell you what my heart subscribes. Let me then, with candor and truth and the help of the education you have given me, request of you the tenderness to look on your poor Polly as your child, to give your blessing, not your curse, on such occasion as present. It is true I have acted in this affair very ill in not telling you my mind, but as I suffer by your taking all away from me, don't make me misarable by rejecting me as not your child.

"Lett me with the greatest sincerity assure the (you), it is not (from) in gratitude (ingratitude), nor for want of love for you, that I marry. Be persuaded that it is the sincere love I have for him. Lett me implore your good wishes -- on my knees I begs it of you -- and be persuaded, if ever I am happy, it will be by your blessing. This is all I want, and was it to be refused, then I am mesarable indeed. And one thing more, is that you must think and believe me sincere, for it comes from my heart and soul. And if I am so happy as to posses(s) what my heart wishes, that is your benediction, then you shall see your poor Polly as happy as it

is possible to be in this world. I ask your pardon for all the antiety (anxiety) I have put you in since that affair. I can't say no more -- my heart is too full -- but this, that I am and shall for ever be

"Your sincere and loving daughter till death."

By August 3, 1786, when he repeats his angry rejection of his daughter, he no longer speaks only of the eventuality of her marriage but describes her as the wife of Vignois.

For the sake of didactic history, it is to be hoped that the same text is not found in some popular book of model letters of the time, possibly translated into Yiddish and published in Vilno during the next century.

The Executors

The passing of Samuel Jacobs, and even the settling of the estate as per the legal notice in the Quebec Gazette of Oct. 12, 1786, did not quite close the Jacobs file in Lower Canada history.

In this case there is the story of the return.

Samuel Jacobs was the only passenger aboard the brig Providence, John Gibson in command, which arrived in Quebec after a voyage of eighty days from Jamaica. (Quebec Gazette, Aug. 17, 1786)

This return of the prodigal son came after the father had died, but we have it on the highest authority that Jacobs Sr. did not mind that he did not live to hear the better news. He had been interested only in favorable developments, and he was glad of them even if he did not know of them. It is in the peculiar nature of fathers.

Among the losses which the Jacobs estate suffered in 1788 was the failure of merchant Edward Harrison. (J.H. Richardson, biography of Harrison in Dictionary of Canadian Biography. The researches of Richardson on the commercial history of the period have proven invaluable for these studies.)

Edward William Gray and Michel Cornud (who died in 1793), whom Jacobs had named as trustees, were very deeply engaged for many years in their responsibilities, both material and familial.

They were succeeded in their offices by Frederick William Ermatinger, nephew of E.W. Gray and son of the prominent Swiss-born merchant Laurenz Ermatinger. On his death he was followed in this function by his brother Charles Oakes Ermatinger and Samuel Gale.

It is through this succession that the Jacobs Papers were preserved for history with the Ermatinger Papers in the Public Archives of Canada, a history that parallels that of the Hart Papers in the Séminaire des Trois-Rivières.

On Oct. 12, 1786 the executors advertised in the Quebec Gazette,

"All Persons indebted to the Estate of the late Mr. Samuel Jacobs of St. Denis, Merchant, deceased, are hereby required to pay their respective balances to, or otherwise settle the same with the Subscribers, or either of them, or Mr. Peter Burn at the house of the said late Mr. Jacobs, at St. Denis aforesaid; and all persons having any claim, or demands on the said Estate, are requested to give in the same as above without delay."

Future Apothecary

Acting as the responsible elder brother, young Samuel Jacobs entrusted the younger brother, Levy, to "Mr. Nelson, the schoolmaster at the Three Rivers which doubt not but he will do justice to him", on Oct. 19, 1786.

Three years later, the younger Jacobs was apprenticed to James Davidson of Quebec City to learn the science, profession, art, trade and mystery of apothecary and surgeon in the course of five years.

Historians of the medical profession will note that the document signed on June 19, 1789 by the Quebec practitioner and the executors of the Jacobs estate, Michel Cornud, Sheriff Edward William Gray, is identical in terms with similar apprenticeship contracts for training in mercantile trade, except that young Levy Jacobs also promises to refrain from frequenting taverns or playhouses or bad company.

At this time the trustees were also busy with the interests of the widow. For whatever reason, they seized, by order of the Court of Common Pleas, a lot of ground on St. Louis St. near the market place, before the walls of the fortification, with a two storey stone house, and another lot on St. Louis St. at the corner of "the little street called Rue Chagwomigon, with a stone stable." They were put up by Coroner John Burke for sale on Sept. 4, 1788. (Quebec Gazette, May 1, 1788)

Two years later, at her suit (she is now Mrs. Smith), the property of Thomas Swan was put on sheriff's sale. (Gazette, March 4, 1790) On May 27, John Peatt was advertising to ask whether anyone had prior claims to her properties which he had purchased.

In the meantime we have the vivid testimony on the life of an apprentice apothecary in the 18th century. It is a precious social document, but its spontaneity is subject to discussion. It was written at Trois-Rivières, eighteen days or less before it was the subject of formal action. Nevertheless it constitutes important reading.

"Although I left Mr. Davidson in this mean way, yet rest assured that I am & have always been endued with more principle of honour than to be guilty of taking the least particle belonging to Mr. Davidson or to his house & had it not been for the extreme ill usage that I received from him, I never should have thought of so mean an action. Rest assured that ever since I have been bound to him he never even so much as spoke a kind word to me, but whenever he came in the shop he would begin a scolding then fall into most violent passions & begin a thumping me & kicking, even turned me twice out of his house, for what, once for forgetting to file up the Newspapers, another time for nothing at all. I must own that I have done some little faults, but when he would thump me at those times, I could only say that I would mend & then it would be over. But nevertheless the next day he would begin the same way about nothing at all, & continue the same every day. Every time I think of it I can't help but blaming myself for not letting you know of it, for I think & am almost certain now that you would never have suffered it; but I, like a fool, always endeavoured to conceal it from everybody, & especially from you. As for Mr. Champaigne, I never would have been there once; but knowing the man I went to see him, & knowing also that Mr. Davidson had some money of mine I got myself in debt there; though at present I see that I done very wrong, but that matter was over & it was only for the reason aforesaid that I ran away, & if I have forfeited my indenture I can't but think & repent of my folly."

The estate complained it was in need of fluid cash to discharge the legacies Jacobs had left in his will and to pay for "Levy's extravagances."

As Cornud wrote young Samuel Jacobs, "the accommodating your brother's affair with Dr. Davidson has given me much trouble."
(May 9, 1790)

Jacobs' tutors took up his case in a dispute with Davidson. The dispute ended in an arbitrated decree on Apr. 22, 1790 whereby the articles of apprenticeship were cancelled and Davidson refunded £56, half the apprentice fee he had received.

A fortnight later we find him in the care of Montreal surgeon Holmes.

On May 17 we hear of Levy Jacobs from Trois-Rivières. There, Dr. Rieutard had married the widow Jacobs, (Vaugeois), and now he found himself with her son on his hands. He knew the lad favorably for two years, and had had him in the house for meals. But now he was scandalized by his behaviour, probably related to his drinking. The trifluvian medical man understood why Levy could remain with neither Homes nor Davidson. He was having Levy and another Jacobs child, who had been staying with the family in Trois-Rivières, return to Cornud in Quebec, possibly with one of the doctor's own, if the cost would not be prohibitive.

In 1793 the troubled trustees heard from the younger Levy Jacobs from Detroit, where he was living with Samuel (May 7, 1793). He was at a loss as to his further plans after two years of apprenticeship there. "I was wishing to have remained a third year with him provided the terms I proposed were agreeable. That's to say that he would provide me in boarding and washing. Mr. Cornud to provide me with suit of apparell without his requiring any further fee: as I thought he might well do it from the trifling expence he was at for me during the two years. But he says he cant think of doing it. Therefore, as it is undoubtedly necessary for me to go to London...will not cost me more when there to...additional years with Doctor Holmes as the advantage accruing from it would at least be thrice as much."

Young Samuel Jacobs

Occupied as Cornud and Gray were with Levy Jacobs, they were even more busy with the older brother Samuel.

As early as 1786 he was proposing to enter the local trade. "I know the country trade & beside that the generality of the inhabitants are very desirous of my settling here, and am certain that I should have a great run of business if I was settling. I don't see anything that I can do better than to follow that trade of my poor deceased father. If you would think proper to trust me the goods that remains here belonging to the estate."

Samuel Junior wrote, from Lower Canada to attorney Michel Cornud, one of the executors of the estate,

"I hope you'll excuse the liberty I take of troubling you with these lines, as I have no father, or no other person that I can have recourse to, for a good advice, except you or Mr. Gray, and am in hopes that I shall not know that want of a father or friend as long as either of you live. At present all my dependance is on you, and hope you'll give me your Candid advice of what I am to propose. --

"You'll please to observe that I know that Country trade: beside that the generality of the inhabitants are very desirous of my settling here, and am certain that I should have a great run of business if I was settling. I don't see anything that I can do better than to follow that trade of my poor deceased father, if you would think proper to trust me the Goods that remains here belonging to the Estate. On a good feeling, you may rest assured of my assiduous in fulfilling every thing that shall lay in my power in discharging the debt that might be intrusted to me, and am certain that mama would give me all her assistance towards my welfare.

"I don't see in any shape that my proposal can harm the Estate, far from that by my staying in the Country. Can receive many small debts that might otherwise be irrecoverable."

"I don't mean to keep a shop in the house where we stay as at present. Hope that you'll give the preference of the purchase of the house that was bought from Murduck Stuart which is at the end of our garden here. I hope you'll be so good to observe, if you'll except of my proposal I'll stay in the country as the lands is very cheap; by saving the thousand pounds that was left me by my father, on lands which they will stand for security of the money. I being on the spot myself, I think it would be as good as fifteen percent which would enable to discharge the debt that might be intrusted to me. As there is very little expense to be maid in the country. I leave all to your better knowledge.

"I flatter my self that you'll give me all your assistance to wards of my settling here."

"I shall set off from Boucherville after tomorrow."
(Feb. 23, 1791)

Young Samuel Jacobs probably did proceed to the upper country, even as the executors of the estate were serving notice of the sale by the sheriff of the property of Joseph Grasset dit La Grandeur consisting of a lot and a house on the Richelieu, St. Charles Parish. (Quebec Gazette, March 15 and 19, 1792)

In a letter to Cornud he was proposing to purchase the seigneurie of Mr. Niverville. There are debts due on it to Mr. Hart (£ 200) and to Mr. Laframboise (3972 livres). Executor Gray has consented to the purchase. His Montreal address c/o David David. (July 18, 1792)

In 1790 Cornud asked Samuel Jacobs indignantly, "How can you presume to think that the estate can advance you such a sum of money when we can hardly discharge the legacies your father in his will has left us, a plan to which we were obliged to conform. We cannot deviate from those rules. I would therefore have you desist from any such notions for the future."
(May 9, 1790)

Soon young Jacobs was "preparing my voyage for the new settlements, to take a view of them places, if there might be in that country any advantage for a new settler, as I intend to take merchandise &c to trade this year with. I am quite tired of an idle life, but I hope I shall have the honor of seeing you in my return which I shall thank you for any advice you might give me for the first setting off.

At this time, Cornud passed away.

Young Samuel Jacobs was among the signatories of an address presented to Governor Robert Prescott on his departure from the colony. (Quebec Gazette, July 25, 1799) Ezekiel, Moses and Alexander Hart also signed this document.

Thomas Jacobs and Thomas Jacobs Jr. signed a similar address a week earlier. (Ibid., July 18, 1799)

In 1800 Samuel Jacobs purchased the property of Joseph Bizard of Montreal. Jacobs is described as merchant of St. Denis on the Chambly River.

The papers of notary de la Gorce preserve the record of a protest by Samuel Jacobs on Aug. 8, 1814 against a note on him drawn by his brother Jean Baptiste, jr., merchant at Michilimackinac, on June 28, 1814, for £ 233.14.2 at the request of one Rousseau. (Document 17 in the de la Gorce records.)

Years later Samuel Jacobs is mentioned in notices of sheriffs' sales of the property of Pierre Poudret dit Lavigne (Gazette, March 20, 1823) and of Charles Bricault dit Lamarche. (Ibid., Jan. 23, March 27 and May 8, 1823)

The Widow

The executors were as deeply engaged with the widow as they were with her children.

On May 1, 1788 they seized for sale two lots on St. Louis St., one near the market place behind the walls of the fortification. (Gazette, May 1, 1788)

All this while she seized a lot on the Yamachiche River belonging to Jean-Baptiste Landrie (Ibid., Sept. 4, 1788). But this transaction may refer to Mrs. Jacobs who does not relate to our history, the widow of Phillip Jacobs, named in the Quebec Gazette of May 27, 1790.

Eighteen months later, on March 4, 1790, when she similarly seized two lots on St. Paul's St., she was titled "Mary Jacobs, now called Mrs. Smith." (Ibid., March 4, 1790)

Busy Executors

By 1793, when Edward William Gray had occasion to seize the land of Pierre Cadieu of St. Denis, he described himself as "surviving devisee in trust, of the real estate of Samuel Jacobs, late of the parish of St. Denis, merchant, deceased; also surviving executor of the last will and testament of the said Samuel Jacobs; and surviving guardian and trustee of the persons and fortunes of the children of the said Samuel Jacobs; and as such charged with the administration of his estate and effects, and with the payment of his debts and legacies." (Ibid., Aug. 8, 1793)

As a further complication in the succession of the executorship we have a legal notice of Dec. 6, 1795 where Gray acted as the "surviving devisee in trust of the real estate of Samuel Jacobs late of Saint Denis on the River Chambly in the Province of Lower Canada deceased; and also surviving executor of the last will and testament of the said Samuel Jacobs, and surviving guardian and trustee of the persons and fortune of his children, and as such charged with the administration of his estate and effects and with the payment of his debts and legacies, against the goods and chattels, lands and tenements belonging to the vacant succession of the late Michael Cornud in the hands of William Lindsay Curator to the said vacant succession, to me directed."

In this capacity he took possession of a lot on rue Sous le Fort running in depth to the hill of the castle of St. Lewis, with a two-storey stone house and other buildings and two lots in the suburb of St. Johns on d'Equillon St. (ibid., Dec. 10, 1795)

Yet both Gray and Cornud seized a parcel of land in the St. Denis parish, the property of Louis Lamoureux Jr., in May 1795. (ibid., May 21, 1795)

By Dec. 1795, Cornud had passed away, and E. W. Gray had to take matters into his own hands. Therefore, J.A. Shepherd, sheriff at Quebec, gave public notice on Dec. 10, 1795, by writ of execution from the Court of King's Bench, for Gray, surviving legatee in trust of "the real estate of Samuel Jacobs late of Saint Denis on the River Chambly in the Province of Lower Canada deceased, and also surviving executor of the last will and testament of the said Samuel Jacobs, and surviving

Guardian and Trustee of the persons and fortune of his children and as such charged with the administration of his estate and effects and with the payment of his debts and legacies, against the goods and chattels, lands and tenements belonging to the vacant succession of the late Michael Cornud, in the hands of William Lindsay Curator to the said vacant succession, to me directed, I have seized and taken into my possession, the following lands and tenements viz:

"I. A lot of ground situate in the Lower Town of Quebec rue Sous le Fort, containing eight toises two feet and six inches in front on the said street, and running in depth to the hill of the Castle of St. Lewis; joining one side to the representatives of Mr. Bellet; and on the other side to the representatives of Mr. Borneuf, with a stone House, two stories high and other buildings thereon erected.

"II. Two lots of ground situate in the Suburb of Saint Johns near Quebec, adjoining to each other, making together fifty-six feet in front by sixty feet in depth, bounded in front by d' Eguillon street, and behind at the end of the said sixty feet; joining on one side to the south west to the street St. Elizabeth; and on the other side to the north east to ungranted lands, with a wooden House thereon erected.-- Now I do hereby give notice that the said premises will be sold and adjudged to the highest bidder at the Court house in the City of Quebec on Thursday, the fourteenth day of April." (Gazette, Dec. 10, 1795)

So executor Gray put up on sheriff's sale two parcels of land on the Richelieu in the Seigneury of St. Ours owned by Michel Lafleur on Dec. 4, 1797. (Ibid., Dec. 14, 1797)

The executors were busy with their responsibilities for many years.

E.W. Gray advertised at the end of 1804, calling upon "All persons having claims upon the subscriber, in his capacity of executor of the last will and testament of Samuel Jacobs, late of Saint Denis, merchant, deceased, and also of trustee of his estate, except the legatees of the said Samuel Jacobs, in so far as regards their respective legacies only, are hereby notified to deliver the same to him, or leave them at his house, in the City of Montreal, on or before the twenty-fifth day of January next, after which period he will consider himself to be exonerated from the payment thereof." (Ibid., Dec. 20, 1804)

In Jan. 1809, E.W. Gray, only surviving executor, took possession of property belonging to Joseph Garant in St.-Antoine Parish on the Richelieu River. (Ibid., Feb. 2, 1809)

In August he seized by court order a property in Chambly Parish, below the Mountain of Boucherville, belonging to Antoine Fremière Jr. of Beloeil, and put it on public sale. (Ibid., Aug. 24, 1809)

Similarly the executor seized the property of Marie Charlotte Glatu in the summer of 1810. (Ibid., Aug. 30, 1810)

By now E.W. Gray was sheriff, so the seizure notice was signed by J.A. Gray, coroner.

In November, Joseph Charbonneau lost land and a house situated in the seigneurie of St. Hyacinthe on the Yamaska River to the estate of Samuel Jacobs. (Ibid., Nov. 15, 1810)

The Montcalm House

One matter which continued for over a decade involved the prominent merchant Allsopp who had in 1777 bought the historic house described in the record as "having been occupied by Montcalm." He lived in two of the houses in this complex at the heart of Quebec City.

Jacobs had dealt with Allsopp in wheat and in other merchandise for many years. When Jacobs died, on Aug. 3, 1786, the executors made a settlement of accounts in which Allsopp acknowledged an indebtedness of 1320 louis which was notarized before Me. P.-E. Descheneaux on Dec. 13, 1787 and was guaranteed by a mortgage on the ancient house.

Allsopp proved unable to meet his obligations (Bulletin des recherches historiques, vol. 8, 1902, Pp. 266-67). By 1798 Mr. Gray, together with William Lindsay Sr. who succeeded Cornud as joint executor and devisee in trust of the real estate of Samuel Jacobs and trustee of the persons and fortune of the children, had occasion to deal with the historically valuable plot of land in the heart of Quebec City.

They secured a writ of execution against the property of George Allsopp, including "a spacious lot of ground situate, lying and being in the Upper Town of the city of Quebec, bounded as follows:

"Beginning at the corner formed by St. Flavien and Rampart streets, and running thence westerly along the different bents of said Rampart Street one hundred and ninety-five feet or thereabouts; thence south along the division wall between the said lot and the ground belonging to the Hotel Dieu thirty-eight feet; thence easterly along part of the wall of the burying ground commonly called Le Cimetière des Picottés seventy feet, thence south along another part of the wall of the said burying ground till it interseects St. Flavien street at the northern extremity

of the premises here described, one hundred and eighty-eight feet; thence northerly along said St. Flavien street one hundred and seventy-three feet to the place of beginning; with a large stone dwelling house, consisting of three distinct buildings or "corps de logis, formerly occupied by General Montcalm, being forty feet upon St. Flavien street afoesaid, one hundred and fifteen feet upon the aforesaid Rampart street and about one hundred and thirty-two feet in the rear thereof." (Gazette, July 12, 1798)

This property was divided into three lots and put on sale together with other Allsopp lands. (Ibid.)

Angélique Jacobs

In 1837 Angélique Jacobs was suing her husband François Xavier Bender in the Court of the Queen's Bench in Montreal. (Case no. 810) One of the documents she filed was a list of tithes, quit-rents, etc. owed to the estate of Samuel Jacobs Jr. on Nov. 11, 1824. (L.M. Lande. Canadian Historical Documents and Manuscripts. Montreal, 1980. no. B23, P. 233)

His sister Marie Angélique, wife of François Xavier Bender, is mentioned in the sheriff's sale of property of Frederick William Ermatinger. (Quebec Gazette, Oct. 12 and Nov. 30, 1820)

Thomas Jacobs

Both Sack and Gérard Malchelosse write of Thomas Jacobs, who also married a Catholic girl, as being the brother of Samuel.

Sack notes that the marriage took place in the Catholic cathedral at Quebec on Feb. 26, 1781. (P. 53)

Relations between the brothers appear to have been normal.

But Vaugeois doubts that Samuel and Thomas were brothers. (P. 114)

We hear of Thomas Jacobs of St. Denis securing a licence (for liquor?) in May, 1779. (Quebec Gazette, June 17, 1779)

An account of "40 livres and 14 sols which is due for 4 years rent on my land at Yamaska" (Feb. 4, 1784) was paid by John Burk to Mrs. Thomas Jacobs.

Thomas Jacobs, merchant at St. Denis, purchased a property from Sieur Benjamin Durocher of Paroisse St. Charles in 1793, and advertised calling for anyone who may have prior claim on the land. (Quebec Gazette, July 11, 1793)

In July 1797 he advertised "Warranted French Brandy, by the Pipe, hhd. or Quarter Cask, also a few cases of Jersey Cordials. Families may be supplied by smaller quantities, not less than three Gallons." (Aug. 3, 1797)

In 1805 he explained in an interesting advertisement in the Quebec Gazette the true intent of a seizure and sale of the property of Peter Brabant which he had seized by suit.

"The whole took place at his particular desire for the purpose of acquiring a clear title to the property." (Ibid., May 23, 1805)

We find him residing at 24 Sous le Fort in Quebec in May 1798 in a house which was home to 8 paroissiens and 4 communicants. It was from this house that he advertised in the Mercury of Feb. 13, 1806,

"For Sale or Barter. 4800 acres of land in lots of 200 acres each, all following one another, in the Township of Stoke on the St. Francis; all sorts of Goods, will be taken in payment by applying to Thomas Jacobs rue Sous le Fort, Quebec, who will show the plan of the same."

In Dec. 1800, he purchased a lot and a house from J. Robert and called for prior claimants to appear. (Ibid., Dec. 18, 1800)

Thomas Jacobs was among the contributors to the Quebec Fire Society in 1797, 1800 and 1803. In the spring of 1801 he was named to the committee of the society for the Lower Town. (ibid., Apr. 30, 1801) He was elected treasurer in 1810. (Quebec Gazette, Apr. 5, 1810)

The "three-storey house, advantageously situated for a retail store at the foot of Mountain Street, occupied by Thomas Jacobs, with a very good vault," was offered for sale or rent by P.E. Desbarats in the Gazette of March 12, 1801.

The Gazette of July 25, 1811 carried a request by his executors to all concerned with his estate to settle their accounts.

Philip Jacobs

Canadian historic records tell of Philip Jacobs of Montreal as one of about fifty merchants on Jan. 22, 1766 asking for general permission to trade with the Indians. They have all sent merchandise to Michilimackinac. (PAC, Microfilm reel C-2998, S series, P. 5626; and MG 21, British Museum Add. MSS 35915, P. 217)

In 1770 we find him trading with Lawrence Ermatinger. (MG 19, A2, Ser. 3, vol. 88, entries for Oct. 1770 and Sept. 1771) That year Ermatinger paid Dessaulles for Jacobs. (entry for Oct. 1770)

THE MERCHANT PRINCES

It is difficult to sort out the many Franks connected with Quebec during the first days or years of the British occupation.

Some Franks in the history books may not be Jewish. In other cases the same given name may refer to one of several persons.

There is also a problem created by the frequent repetition of the same given name within the extended family -- Moses, David, John, Jacob -- possibly reflecting a desire to perpetuate some names in the family.

To situate the Franks name in the history of the Jewish community in the eighteenth century we need to recall that, in addition to the several Franks who resided in Lower Canada, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick or Upper Canada, there are the very great Franks who played a very great role in the history of the colonies to the south, as did the Gradis on the opposite side of the war trenches.

For other reasons, they too, like their contemporaries and antagonists in the drama of Canadian history, may not have set foot on Canadian soil.

Both Jewish families were important instruments in the economics and military mechanism of conquest and of operation of colonies.

Lawrence Montague Lande draws attention to the work of Louis-Joseph Plumard de Danquel, Remarques sur les avantages et les désavantages de la France et de la Grande Bretagne par apport au commerce et aux autres sources de la puissance des états. (Leyden, 1754) which inclined in that direction.

In the case of the Gradis, existing law totally barred Jews from the colony. Jean-Paul de Lagrave lists a series of French measures from 1627, 1670, 1685 and 1707 which ensured that no Jew came to New France. ("La Présence juive en Québec", in La Revue Monchanin, vol. II, no. 8, cahier 60, July 1978, Pp. 32-33)

"The connection between Jews and Canada dates back to 1748 and Abraham Gradis, a Jewish merchant of Bordeaux, who owned and operated most of the merchant ships sailing between France and New France. Nevertheless, in spite of the importance of commerce between France and her North American colonies, a decree of the French government dating back to 1685 prohibited Jews as well as Huguenots from settling in Canada or its other North American colonies."

There was a long and reiterated legislation to this effect. The exclusion of non-Catholics from New France formulated in the Charter of the Compagnie des cent associés in 1627 was but one such far-ranging enactment. (Marc-André Bédard. Les Protestants en Nouvelle France. University of Laval history department thesis, 1972. Pp. 4-25)

This strong legislation, deeply rooted in the political and religious history of Old France, did not totally exclude a certain Protestant presence in the North American colony, but it did prevent any Jew from coming to Quebec.

So Jews in France, even while nursing the young colony with the mother milk of capital, establishing its economic life-lines of supply and watching over the interests of Versailles on the frozen St. Laurent, were perforce unable to accompany their captains and had to conduct their negotiations and their planning by very slow mail.

Historians of the Catholic world and of the universe of the Latin languages must always be puzzled as to how they -- France, Spain, Portugal -- have lost the New World to the English and to Protestant secularism. They may well ponder that Gradis could not settle in Canada, or probably even visit here. Yet what other Frenchman took the trouble to aid soldiers of his king who had been taken to England as prisoners as Gradis tried to do through his London friend Benjamin Mendes da Costa? Of what other Frenchman could the letters patent say that he "had been charged with the complete provisioning of Canada and of Ile Royale from 1748 to the time when these vast regions had the misfortune to fall under British domination?"

But as a central finance and trading company, based for many decades on Bordeaux, the house of Gradis was largely in international, inter-colonial and governmental trade. The scope of this Jewish firm was such that not even anti-Semitic beliefs so generally current impeded its operations. By its very nature it was connected with persons of great influence and prestige. The motives of high profit and of high service to the state became identical in the sophisticated realm, especially since at this time the supply services of the military and naval were entirely contracted to private hands; unlike the present condition when the quartermaster and arsenal services supply and distribute the goods needed by the forces to some extent. Hence the confusion of officer status of commissaries in those days.

Similarly, the personal and financial risks involved in the supply services of those centuries and the patriotic element in the military supply trade. The initiatives and the successes or failures of their private operations had geopolitical and international implications, often deciding the fate of battles and of wars. Hence there was at least a mythical validity to the statements that firms such as the Gradis saved the colony by the timely arrival of needed supplies.

The record of the Gradis is therefore an essential element of the history of colonial Canada. These workings were of a considerable scale -- a fact that established a vital role for Jews in a geography that was "clean of Jews" in terms of settlement.

The Bordeaux family of Gradis had learned to live in the world of religious antagonism that marked the France of that time; yet they advanced their nation and themselves. They established themselves, for example, in Santo Domingo despite strong opposition. Abraham Gradis' brother Samuel was the resident agent of the firm at St. Pierre, Martinique, not so distant from Quebec. On his death there in 1782, he was laid to rest in the garden of the Brothers of Mercy. (Jewish Encyclopaedia)

Louis Rosenberg concludes that "Jewish merchants from France played a prominent part in trade with New France, and some may have visited Canada and lived there for some time during the French regime, although not openly revealing themselves as Jews."

THE GRADIS

The history of the Gradis and its documentation are basic to the annals of New France. They are preserved in daunting volume, as Vaugeois calls it, in the federal archives Fonds français nouvelles acquisitions, in the archives of the Marine française, in "Les Archives de la famille Gradis et le Canada", detailed in Rapport de l'Archiviste de la Province de Québec for 1944-45, Pp. 267-306, and for 1957-59, Pp. 1-52; in the family archives in France, and their story is told by Jean de Maupassant. Un Grand armateur de Bordeaux, Abraham Gradis. (Bordeaux, 1917)

Sack lists the Fort Louis, the David, the Superbe, the Renomé, the Robuste among the Gradis vessels. "It is almost a Jewish squadron that was standing before Louisbourg, offering assistance and upholding the French flag on this continent."

Abraham Gradis had begun forwarding provisions to the French troops and colonists in America in 1744, first as a private individual, then under government contract. In 1748, to encourage trade with the colony, he founded the Société du Canada; it functioned under French government auspices until 1763.

He sought similarly to establish a company to exploit the commercial possibilities of Louisiana that could also enter into relations with the Spanish lands on the Gulf of Mexico, but the Society of Louisiana never came into being.

Gradis armed and fitted ships for the defence of Louisbourg and during the Seven Years' War ran the British blockade, often with heavy losses, to supply New France with valuable cargoes at his expense; to be reimbursed only in part after the war.

The Gradis integrated the export of supplies from France to New France with their widespread international shipping and trading. In this their connections with the French government in Quebec and their relations with the Swiss Jewish house of Reinach (not to be confused with the distinguished nineteenth-century French Jewish family) proved invaluable.

When the British attacked French Canada he recruited troops, armed his ships to run the blockade, and ransomed French prisoners in England.

Marcus refers to the Gradis concern as "almost a whole quartermaster corps in itself." (Early American Jewry, I, 201)

The Marquis de Montcalm referred in his correspondence to Abraham Gradis as his "right-hand man." He wrote his mother that the chief clerk of the Marine is so negligent that she should not communicate with her son through him but through Gradis.

When, in 1756 his Robuste carrying 32 cannon, his Sigittaire, Prince Noir and Renommé sailed for Quebec, they were making Canadian history. The following year six of his vessels sailed bringing 800 soldiers and 925 guns: the David, the Jason, Président le Brethon, the Robuste and the Renommé. But three of them fell into English hands. The David was taken to Bristol.

In 1758 a fleet of thirty vessels, fourteen of them armed by Gradis, reached Quebec. The return sail was less fortunate; Gradis lost his thirteen ships. Almost ruined, he planned a new expedition to keep Canada French, enough to ensure that a peace settlement in 1760 would retain the colony for the French empire. (J.R. Marcus. American Jewry, Documents of the Eighteenth Century. Pp. 326-28; Julius Price, "The Jew who was Prominent in the Development of Canada" in Toronto Jewish Journal, Yiddish, June 13, 1916; Adrien Robitaille, "Un Serviteur méconnu du Canada," in Carnets viatoriens, fall 1946; Léon Trépanier radio talk, CBF, Oct. 16, 1940; Denis Vaugeois, "François Bigot, son exil et sa mort," in Revue de l'histoire de l'Amérique française, vol. 21, no.4, March 1968, Pp. 731-782 and his Les Juifs et la Nouvelle France. Trois-Rivières, Editions Boréal express, 1968. 154 p.; A.J. Arnold, in Canadian Jewish News, May 13, 1977; B.G. Sack. History of the Jews in Canada. Montreal, Harvest House, 1965, Pp. 23-33, and his "A Jewish Defender of French Canada," in Canadian Jewish Chronicle, Oct. 20, 1933; his Yiddish "Abraham Gradis and General Montcalm," in YIVO Blaetter, vol. 15, No. 1-2, Jan. 1940, Pp. 134-39; Encyclopaedia Canadiana and Jewish Encyclopaedia)

In the light of an American parallel two decades later, there is interest in the Gradis effort to exchange French prisoners held in England; these prisoners were supplied with food and clothing at the expense of the firm through agents stationed in London, for which the royal house expressed appreciation. In the absence of an International Red Cross it was feasible for a Jewish house like Gradis, with correspondents such as Benjamin Mendes da Costa, to act in relief of their nationals who fell into enemy hands.

The value of his services was recognized by Louis XVI, who granted full civil rights to the Gradis family. After the French Revolution, the Abbé Grégoire cited Gradis' generosity in sending food to the starving Canadian colonists as an argument for the emancipation of the French Jews.

The Gradis story is a legitimate element of New France history. But in terms of mythology the Jewish financier filled an important need in a people closer to European sociology and religion than was English-language America.

This phase of historiography was the more important in the physical absence of the Jew from the genesis and edenic golden age of francophone American civilization.

La Presse wrote of Jews settling on the St. Lawrence early in the eighteenth century before Gradis' involvement in Canada. (June 10, July 15 and 17, 1967)

Historian Camille Jullian, member of the Academy wrote that Gradis did more for the protection of French interests in Canada than royalty itself. The motives: financial gain from dealings with government, in transactions mutually beneficial, where profit became indistinguishable from patriotism and patriotism from profit. (Histoire de Bordeaux. 1895)

Léon Trepanier recalled that this banker, ship-builder, merchant advanced money to the king, equipped his navy, financed his wars and maintained his colonies.

The first Jewish historians thrilled to discover a Jew at the heart of the ancien régime of Quebec, and one who played a role of initiative in its history. His relations with La Nouvelle France as a victualler on a large scale were dramatic, and his contacts with the makers of imperial history were close and contributory to decisions.

The very fact that, like lesser Jews, he could not set foot where his ships unloaded on Quebec docks resounded with the dimensions of the medieval history in which pre-English Quebec was a part.

The honours he won from his king as a French patriot fed the covertly apologetic Jewish historians.

Faute de mieux they dug hard in the empty soil for foundations for a structure for an emperor giving Labrador to a Jew who saved his life, for an Esther Brandeau, an adventuress who fought off police and bishops to preserve her purity of faith, for secret Jews who retained of their heritage nothing but their names. They missed a Hebrew document in the Samuel de Champlain corpus which will feed imaginative historians a rich diet of mystery and relevance. (D. Rome. The Early Jewish Presence in Canada, a Book Lover's Ramble through Jewish Canadiana. Montreal, Jewish Public Library, 1971. P.4)

But even the archivist who studied the documentation for the Government of Quebec was fulsome in his comments on the French Jew "deservedly considered sympathique by his contemporaries...no more and no less than one of the most important men of his time...more than merely an interesting man...His power extended everywhere -- at Bordeaux, at the exchanges, nothing was done without him. At Versailles the ministers were gracious to him, high officials courted him...He became richer every day, but this only to place his power at the disposal of his king."

Of course, dealing with the officials -- not the first in history to be corrupt -- inevitably meant playing by their rules and making possible their corruption, which happened to be on a vast scale. The discovery, and the scale, were the more scandalous as they followed the loss of a world war for world empire.

Gradis became involved in financial difficulties as a result of his zeal.

But the anti-myth became active on another level.

Gradis has fallen victim either to a revision of history or to the resentment of racists at such a prominent presence of a Jew into the shaping of New France. Questions have been raised as to the patriotism and as to the services rendered to the state by the managers of economics of state and of empire -- even as to the motives of governors and kings. Gradis' association with the governors -- with whom else could he associate if he was to do business with the state? -- has tarred his reputation, especially in view of the scandals of the Bigot regime.

The examination of the transactions came only during the collapse of New France, and two centuries later when the historiography became the revision of history. In the new history, which is no less a servant of another apology, Gradis is seen as the intimate of the royal and aristocratic villains in Quebec's fate. The relations with the powerful nearly always had a mercenary, or at least a profitable face. The kings of France have been dethroned in the Quebec mind in a revolution other than that of 1789. The power men of the colony have been shown guilty of corruption in their time, and were tried a second time in Canadian research institutes. There were harsh investigations.

With the continuous revision of history which gives this discipline perpetual freshness, the view of the Gradis may have altered. The leaders of the colony are seen not as benefactors and heroes but as criminal villains and the heroic collaborators in development and defence are revealed as comrades in crime. The vast and ubiquitous embezzlements of the colony's and the empire's assets were indeed disclosed towards the end of their regimes. The name of Gradis could not escape inquiry.

Guy Frégault, the authority on the period, details the huge profits made by Gradis and other suppliers in 1759 when the French government removed itself from the duty of providing the colony with its needs and left it to that classic agency of virtue, private enterprise. Given the risks of British hostility on the high seas and on the coasts and broad rivers of new England, and the temptations offered by the close interrelationships of government and business, it is not surprising that the imagination of the contractors invented profits seldom invoked before. (La Guerre de la conquête. Montreal, Fides, 1955. P. 329)

The initiatives of such profiteering metropolitan money jugglers as Gradis, Frégault concludes, only fed the greedy politicians of the Quebec autocracy to crush local trade. (Le Grand Marquis, Pierre de Rigaud de Vaudreuil et la Louisiane. Montréal, Fides, 1952. P. 453, and his François Bigot, administrateur français)

There is no denial or contradiction between material interest -- even illicit interest -- in a political and economic condition and an emotional involvement in that society and state. So, regardless of the corruption about him and dishonesty of the chiefs of the French and New French administration, he truly lamented for France and his place in France when he came to see the empire tottering. Louisbourg fell in 1758, and he wrote,

"For twenty months nothing has been done except to allow our marine to be destroyed. We have just lost Isle Royale, and now Canada is threatened. We have not a single warship left; they have all been captured. The price of foodstuffs is enormously high and it is impossible to send a single ship to the colonies." (cited by J.R. Marcus in Early American Jewry, vol.I. Philadelphia, Jewish Publication Society, 1951. Pp. 202-3)

The puzzling and even suspicious conclusion of the inquiry conducted at the time and the historians' researches two centuries later is that only the Gradis of the extensive band of officials and of officers were not found culpable. Some readers of this history see it as proof of his guilt.

Vaugeois notes that Bigot's sister had married Pierre de Reynier, a Reinach of Jewish origin. Their son, baptized as of record, may have been helpful during the Bigot trial and visited his uncle at the time.

Much of Bigot's wealth was confiscated by his government, and he was exiled. The question remains: how did he live, quite comfortably in Switzerland? Hundreds of thousands are missing.

Vaugeois finds clues if not answers:

Record of a transmission from Gradis several months before Bigot's death of 1800.

A document sealed with seven red wax seals belonging to Reinach was found in Bigot's possession after he passed away.

The historian suggests that Gradis maintained Bigot who was careful not to implicate his Bordeaux accomplice in his testimony. (in Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française)

THE FRANKS

Some Franks might have been more to Britain in mid-eighteenth century than the Gradis were to France.

Several of them have entered the history of Judaism on the continent and even of Britain. In the quarter century between the Plains of Abraham and the Liberty Bell, Franks came to be among the operative masons who built the American colossus, others were active in maintaining empire; some were (innocently) connected with traitors, others vaulted walls to bring mercy to captives.

In 18th century America a Franks family (not all Franks were of that family) was one of the greats in the realms of trade and finance. It centered on Philadelphia, with a huge secondary centre in London and extending over the English language map of the Americas and beyond. They were something like the Rothschilds of the time. Much of their activity consisted in serving as the quartermasters of modern armies, like the Gradis of Bordeaux.

Sometimes branches of the Franks firm served armies in conflict with those served by the Gradis -- or served by other branches of the firm. (D. Rome. "The Rothschilds of Early Canada", in Canadian Jewish News, Jan. 13, 1978)

Their operations reached from imperial capitals, war offices and military staffs to the small reconnaissance troop far in advance of their own armies.

It was a risky trade in every sense, what with enemy troops and warships, primitive yet distant transportation, the preservation of sensitive supplies ranging from precision cannons to food, constant movements of officers and command reorganization, Indians, privateers, and sheer complexity of organization.

No less uncertain was the payment for supplies duly delivered and signed for. Trading in accounts receivable drawn upon the United States, now victorious in its War of Independence, and in other papers, were a phase of that economy. The papers were in good order -- the requisitions, receipts, all signed, witnessed: not questioned, yet often they were not paid.

It had to be a profitable trade; otherwise it could not exist. This war trade was as risky as war itself.

The participation of Jews in this finance-centered economic activity led some English and Canadian observers in Richard Jones' terms, "to credit the Jews with almost superhuman powers of acumen, sagacity and cleverness in the business field. In its most extreme form, this becomes the idea of a Jewish world plot -- of a conspiracy of Jewish bankers and capitalists to control and dominate the world." (Idéologie de l'Action catholique, 1919-39)

Jones notes that not all the propagandists of the idea of international plots were superstitious or naive. Some of them found it useful to smear their opponents by tying them to shadow conspiracies. Some were ready to forge documents which would show that Jews planned to dominate the world and thus to hide their own deficiencies. (Pp.51-54)

This conspiratorial anti-Jewish view of history has entered so deeply into the thinking of Canadians that the historian Denis Vaugeois found it appropriate to respond to it in his Laval University thesis, Les Juifs et la Nouvelle France. (Trois Rivières, Editions Boréal, 1968, Pp. 103-4),

"Anti-Semitism has extremely deep roots and is easily fed by the activities of the indefatigable Jews of the diaspora. Anti-Semites like Drumont, Léon de Poncins and Henry Coston have produced works astonishing in their research and popularity.

"It is often said that Jews know how to benefit from the least of wars, either as industrialists, businessmen, suppliers or sutlers. It has even been implied so many times that they are usually responsible for wars. Are they not reputed to be born revolutionaries? And what of the Jewish International and its by-product Freemasonry?

"Reading this history more than one anti-Semite will believe he is facing a new case of this type. Did they not benefit from the Seven Years War? This is clear and undeniable. They were even active on both sides: the Gradis and the Franks."

Vaugeois responds to these implications: "If they benefitted from circumstances it was certainly not as Jews they did so but primarily as businessmen. If it so happened that David and Moses Frank, by virtue of their education, understood marvellously well this type of commercial activity, it is no occasion for scandal. Besides, for the few Jews who made their fortunes, how many were brought to failure?"

"But had not Jewry provoked the conflict? In other words, did not Jews seek out the opportunity to put their talents to best use?"

"No serious historian will make such claims, and this is equally true in all such situations. Little as we may know of the history of France and England, and even less of New France and of New England, the Seven Years War is not only easy to explain; it was practically inevitable." Vaugeois was thinking, "It is not at all necessary to painfully seek out dark Semitic plots."

Farley-Lamarche's Histoire: 1536-1968, compiled by the Boréal express team led by Vaugeois and Jacques Lacoursière, notes that "the ingenuity and efficiency of the Franks made possible the victories of the British...This is not to say that the Franks, or the Jews, were the artisans of the Conquest, but their deeds as suppliers of the troops truly permitted the smooth military operations of the invaders." (P. 340)

Jacob Franks of Philadelphia, early in the 1700's, was the father of the family and the prince of the commerce. He was King's agent for New York and the northern colonies, handling troops' supplies and official exchange.

The Philadelphia House

Deliberately and carefully based in Philadelphia, in New York and in London, the sons of Jacob Franks became army suppliers to His Majesty's forces for a third of a century,

In the London of the 1760's Moses Frank was a member of a firm which contracted to supply the English army on the American continent during the Indian wars and then against the French. The Gentlemen Contractors consisted of Sir James Colebrook, Arnold Nesbitt and Moses Frank; at other moments other partnerships.

The group were responsible "for the supply of all His Majesty's Forces in North America, with provision wheresoever they should be garrisons stationed or employ'd."

The areas covered read like an atlas (which did not exclude Quebec and Montreal).

Like the Gradis, but for totally different reasons, Franks may never have visited Quebec.

G.E. Lewis, in his The Indiana Company, 1763-1798 (Glendale, Cal., 1941, P. 28) tells how in 1760 William Trent "formed a partnership with Joseph Simons, Levy Andrew Levy, and David Franks, prominent Pennsylvania merchants, to engage in the Indian trade. This business enterprise, with Trent in active charge on the frontier, became the largest trading venture in the West, with the exception of the Philadelphia firm of Baynton, Wharton and Morgan. Through Trent's close relations with George Croghan, by this time deputy superintendent of Indian affairs on the Ohio under Sir William Johnson, and with the western military commanders, the partnership of Simons, Levy, Trent and Franks was able to develop not only the largest trade in the Fort Pitt area but also to extend its trading activities to Detroit and Sandusky."

So a letter to Col. Bouquet dated at Carlisle on October 19, 1762 by Alexander Levy reads,

"I delivered a packet of sundry letters to Mr. Flemming which has been a long time on the way from Philadelphia. Mr. Frank gave the packet to Burd who lives at Littleton, but he went from Philadelphia and left the packet at the Indian Queen. Mr. Franks then finding no sooner opportunity than the stage give the men strict charge to deliver it to Mr. Simons immediately at his arrival in Lancaster; instead of doing that kept the packet the whole time at his house which I believe for about three weeks." The letter was forwarded to Sir Jeffry Amherst.

The surviving operational military records are replete with accounts with the various partnerships in these transactions. Almost at random we find a statement signed by T. Page from the Crown "to Levy, Trent & Co. for sundries by order of Col. Bouquet" dated Sept. 1763, "4 tin kettles for the militia, candles for the guard, and 16 bear skins destroyed being part of those sent during the attack the Indians made on the Fort to make a Blind on the Ohio Curtain which was Enfiladed...The within Acct. not coming under any particular Department, except one charge for Candles for the Garrison belonging to the Q.M. gen'l. Col. Bouquet, will discharge the same paying the accustomed prices for the said articles."

Another similar account of Aug. 1763, with Levy, Trent & Co. is similarly endorsed,

"The within Acct. not belonging to any particular Department, but the Articles ordered for the use of the service, by the offr. commdg. Col. Bouquet will order the acct. to be discharged & place it in his Acct. of extraordinarys, deducting what is due to the King on acct. of the use made of the Horses, as certified by Capt. Durry, & paying the usual price given for the several articles."

The Chatham Manuscripts in the Canadian Archives include an August 30, 1760 report on the State of the Contract and proceedings thereon at Quebec, received from Mr. Franks, and further documents on these transactions in regard to Newfoundland. (Bundles 51-74, vol. 2, Pp. 150-51, noted by Denis Vaugeois, Québécois minister, historian of eighteenth century Canadian Jewry.)

Of David Franks' connections with the British forces, during the wars against the French, we can learn from a long report of a British victory at Quebec by Lord Colvil, the middle of May, 1760 and of the British destruction of St. Thérèse. It came in letters from Edward Shippen to Col. Bouquet from Lancaster on June 20th. It reads: Mr. David Franks send the particulars now by Mrs. Hoops to be forwarded by Capt. Clair to Major Gates. The endorsation reads,

"This piece of News was transmitted from Albany to Hall the Printer, and forwarded by David Franks to St. Clair at Carlisle, who forwarded it directly hither" to Presqu'Isle where it was received July 18, 1760. (The Papers of Col. Henry Bouquet, ed. Sylvester K. Stevens and Donald H. Kent. Harrisburg, Penn., Historical Commission, 1941, vol. 3, Pp. 112-113)

So "William Plumsted for himself and David Franks" wrote to Col. Bouquet from Philadelphia on Feb. 25, 1760, "As Mr. David Franks and myself are on the charge of the Contract for provisions now appointed Agents by the Gentlemen in London for supplying Mr. Howels place here, I thought my duty to acquaint you therewith as we are to take place on or before the 25th of next month." (P.A.C., A XXIV, 152)

It seems that by an error a vast shipment of supplies was delivered by the commissaries to Quebec at a time when the garrison was already better than well supplied by Admiral Saunders.

The Lords of the Treasury had pressed the suppliers to hurry with delivery, clearly and expressly to Quebec, even in the absence of protective convoy. When the supplies arrived the commanding officer said,

"...Suppose to have been a mistake of Gentlemen Contractors, that we were not destin'd here, but to New York for the support of Gen. Amherst's Army. You may judge what a Consternation it put me in, thinking to meet with no opposition. I reply'd that by the contract (which I show'd him by his desire) & my instruction, it appear'd plainly, we were destin'd here, & that I must land the Goods, & beg'd him to procure stores for that purpose, (& which he has done, in the Lower Town, not permitting us the College saying he must give the preference to the Kings stores)...

"...He had not heard a Word of our Contract, at which was much surprised, & said the Garrison had Provisions sufficient for 260 days; however he order'd us the Jesuit College to put our Provisions & said Wou'd order in some Canadians with their Carts to bring them up Hill, from the lower town, & would order us a sufficient number of boats.

"We are not yet improvident with Lodgings, none to be had, all being intirely demolished. I never saw such a ruin'd place in my life. You will have heard of the late Battle fought here -- they are not now 2,000 Effective healthy men & they have provisions for 15 months for 10,000 men, exclusive of Ours. The expense of landing will be very great -- there's no opportunity of selling the

provisions, as there is not a French Inhabitant in the Place, and provisions are prohibited to be sold them on any Acc,'t." (Correspondence June - August 1760, Chatham Papers, bundles 51-74, vol. 2, Pp. 149-55, including letters from P. Bellivier; cited by Vaugeois. Les Juifs et la Nouvelle-France. Trois-Rivières, Editions Boréal express, 1968. Pp. 90-93)

The coming of peace in 1763 did not discourage Franks from continuing in the military supplies industry. Three years later he entered into a partnership with Samuel Fluyder and Adam Drummond which negotiated for the approvisionnement of New York, Albany, Philadelphia, Charleston, Savannah, Boston, Perth Amboy, New London..., Québec, Montréal..., Lancaster, Carlisle, Fort London, Bedford, Fort Pitt..., Louisbourg, New Providence... and even the Bahamas, Bermuda and Newfoundland.

So Col. Henry Bouquet wrote to Gen. Thomas Gage from Philadelphia on June 7, 1764,

"Your Excellency has no doubt been informed that the Lords of the Treasury have entered into a new Contract to furnish the Troops in America.

"Mr. D. Franks, Inglis and Barcklay are the Agents here for the new Contractors. The two last are absent and Mr. Plumsted is no longer continued." (PAC. A.VIII, 4-15)

A 1766 agreement with the royal treasury and the firm of Nesbitt, Drummond and Franks (original in Clements Library, Gage Papers, English series) specifies deliveries to Louisburg, Montreal and Quebec, with Crown Point included in the Quebec arrangements. Charges for the service of victualling the forces are $3\frac{3}{4}$ d. per day for the southern colonies; $4\frac{1}{2}$ d. at Quebec and $4\frac{3}{4}$ d. in Montreal. (J.R. Marcus. American Jewry, Documents. Pp. 374-80; Canadian Jewish Archives, original series, no. 5, Aug. 1959, Pp. 1-5)

Marcus states the volume of business thus transacted by the partnership over twenty years amounted to £760,000. (Early American Jewry, II. 93) Vaugeois estimates it at £1,000,000.

Both the Anglophone Franks and the French merchant princes, the Gradis, used their far flung connections for humanitarian ends to help the prisoners of war in enemy hands. Gradis was thanked by his King, but one of the American Franks nearly lost his head for communicating with the enemy.

Because the provisioning of English prisoners during the War of American Independence was at the expense of the British treasury, which worked through the London partnership, David Franks, Moses' brother, was a logical agent to be named by the Americans to supply the British and Tory prisoners in their hands. But the treasury caused the London firm complex delays, and David Franks was left with a considerable investment not reimbursed. In addition he was suspected by the Americans of being a Tory.

Naphthali Franks' letter from London to his brother David in Philadelphia about the prisoners of war proved perilous to the American merchant.

The case became deeply involved politically, legally, personally. David Franks was banished from American territory in 1780. (J.R. Marcus. American Jewry, Documents. Pp. 241-60) He was ordered to post £200,000 as security that he would not return.

The historian of Canadian Jewry who wrote on "The 125th Anniversary of the Spanish and Portuguese Congregation in Montreal" in the Jewish Chronicle of London called Franks a hero of English loyalism. He notes that upon being exiled, Franks first came to Montreal and then left for England. (Jan. 19, 1894)

ABRAHAM FRANKS IN MONTREAL

The genealogists of the complex Franks family have much trouble locating the Montreal Franks.

M. Stern describes Abraham B. Franks of Montreal (1721-97), first cousin of the great Philadelphia family, a nephew of the siblings: Abraham, Isaac, David, Jacob, Moses, Miriam. (Americans of Jewish Descent. New York: Ktav 1971)

Abraham Franks probably came north from Philadelphia after 1763. By the late 1760's he was living in Quebec, as was his son David, who subscribed to the congregation by-laws a decade later.

He attended the first gathering known to us of "the subscribers and others...to the synagogue built in St. James St., on the 25th day of the autumn month of Ellul 5538," (1778). With his son David and son-in-law Levy Solomons, they formed nearly half of the meeting of eight men. They met "to elect a Parnass and Gabbay in the room of Mr. David Franks and Mr. Ezekiel Solomons."

David Franks had served as Parnass, and the meeting was called to elect another in his place. Levy Solomons was chosen to replace him.

At that time he attended a congregation meeting at which he contributed half a guinea towards the purchase of a third Scroll of the Law. He was then chosen as Hatan Torah for the solemn festivals of that year.

In the winter of 1779, on the 3rd of Tebeth, he subscribed to the "proper code of laws for the better regulating of this Kehal," as did his son and son-in-law.

We have a record of his presence at the elections of Ellul 1779. (Canadian Jewish Archives, original series, vol. 1, no. 4, March 1959, Pp. 10-23)

We find his name among those who formally welcomes Abraham Judah into the congregation during the fall of 1780. We meet him at the meetings of the new Montreal congregation, and it was a powerful presence because he was accompanied by his two sons, David and Jacob, and his son-in-law, Levy Solomon.

In 1779 he laid assault charges before the Montreal authorities. (PAC, MG 8, C5, vol. 1, Pt. 1, P. 169)

There is record of a 1782 lawsuit involving Abraham Franks in the federal archives. (MG 11, CO. 42, vol. 56, P. 186; microfilm reel B 42)

Thomas Fraser sued him in connection with a letter of exchange for £319.6.11 "for liquid merchandise" in 1781.

On this claim the Court of Common Pleas on Apr. 30 commanded the sheriff to "Seize and Attach the Goods, Chattles and Effects of Abraham Franks of the City of Montreal, Merchant, and the same so Seized and Attached, that you conserve and detain untill the further Order...And we command you that you Summon the Said Abraham Franks so that laying aside all other excuses amd Causes of Delay Whatsoever, he be and Appear before our Judges of our Court of Common Pleas at the Court House at Montreal, on Saturday, the Eighteenth Day of May next, to answer concerning those things."

The bailiff to whom Sheriff Edward William Gray transmitted the court's order of seizure was Jacob Kuhn, an immigrant German who had served in the English army, bailiff of Montreal, 1777-87, and for many years afterwards head of the city police, warden and postillion. (Sack. Pp. 54, 58-59)

However, it may be appropriate to note that Kuhn, who has been entered into the record of Canadian Jewish history a hundred years after his time, was probably not Jewish. We find his signature on an address to the Rt. Rev. Father Inglis, the Bishop of Nova Scotia. (Quebec Gazette, July 16, 1789) We have similar documentation that his son August Ferdinand Kuhn died a Christian on May 15, 1819.

DAVID SALESBY FRANKS IN MONTREAL

David Salesby Franks (ca. 1740-1793) has entered history largely as a militant for the ideals which soon came to inspire the American revolution. Schappes notes that he was born at Philadelphia, older son of Montrealer Abraham Franks. (Morris U. Schappes. "Excerpts from Robert Morris' 'Diaries in the Office of Finance, 1781-84,' Referring to Haym Solomon and other Jews," in American Jewish Historical Quarterly, vol. 67, no. 1, Sept. 1977, P. 16, note 7) Father and son came to Lower Canada after the conquest.

The impulsive D.S. Franks, but recently come to Montreal from Quebec, is the central figure in the oft-told episode of pre-war 1775 where his boldness nearly cost him dearly.

An official report by Gov. Carleton of May 15, 1775 includes a letter from Montreal dated May 4 with the following details,

"At the Publications some People from words went to blows. Mr. Bellestre having heard one of these Publications, called out he would be very happy that the Author was found out, and concluded by saying that he even deserved to be hanged, to which a young man of the name of Franks (they say a son of Mr. John Franks of Quebec) replied in the following words, which are the words of Mr. Bellestre on Oath (in French): 'to the effect that a young man whom he has known for some time as Franks, replied sharply that one is not hanged for so small a matter, that it does not matter that much, which he publicly repeated several times.' Upon these and some other words Mr. Bellestre took the young man by the nose, on which the young man beat him pretty roundly so as not to be fit to come out." (PAC, MG 11, Q. vol. 11, P. 173)

As Alfred Leroy Burt tells the story in his The Old Province of Quebec (Toronto, Ryerson, 1933) the incident was largely created by a number of correspondents who fed Governor Carleton with reports of agitation in Montreal.

One of Governor Carleton's most assiduous informants, who haunted the post-office to pick up crumbs of news, some of which were maliciously manufactured on the spot for his special benefit, was soon rewarded for his services by a seat upon the bench.

Burt adds that a Jewish merchant Solomon was involved in the altercation.

A more complete and authoritative record of the incident appears in the Additional Papers Concerning the Province of Quebec issued 1776 as an Appendix to the Book entitled An Account of the Proceedings of the British and other Protestant Inhabitants of the Province of Quebec in North America, in Order to Obtain a House of Assembly in that Province. The author was the distinguished Francis Maseres, one time attorney general in the colony, a controversial and militant figure for many years in the legal life of the colony. He enters into the biographies of a number of the Jewish merchants of Lower Canada.

The author notes that the Quebec Act had abolished the courts of justice in the colony, "insomuch that, when the first of May, 1775 arrived the province must have fallen into a state of perfect anarchy if Governor Carleton had not endeavoured to prevent it by appointing three magistrates whom he called Conservators of the Peace for the district of Quebeck, and as many more for the district of Montreal...

"Soon after the appointment of these conservators of the peace, an accident happened at Montreal which gave occasion to those of that district to exercise their authority in a very remarkable manner. It was as follows:

"On the morning of the 1st of May, some ill-disposed persons (who remain to this hour undiscovered) had daubed over the king's bust at Montreal with black, and hung a cross at the end of it, which they indecently ornamented with a mitre and a string of beads, and writ under it these opprobrious words, 'Voici le Pape du Canada, et le Sot des Anglicans;' that is, 'This is the Pope of Canada and the Fool of England.'

"This act was undoubtedly seditious, and deserving of punishment; but it was not, and I presume few Englishmen will think it ought to have been, a capital crime. However, it seems that Monsieur de Bellestre, a French gentleman in the province of Quebeck, and one of the new Roman-Catholick members of the legislative council established in it, was of a different opinion; for, as the people were gathered together on the next day to hear a proclamation made of a reward for the discovery of the persons who had committed this offence (which reward was no less than one hundred guineas, which the English inhabitants of Montreal had immediately subscribed at a general meeting, and which was proclaimed by beat of drum at the head of the grenadiers of the 26th regiment), this very loyal French gentleman said, 'that he would give 100 l. out of his own pocket to find out the persons who had done this, and see them severly punished and sent out of the province; for they deserved to be hanged, and, if they were in France, would be so.'

"Upon hearing this severe opinion, a young English merchant, of the name of Franks, who is settled at Montreal, and who at that time happened to be standing near Monsieur de Bellestre, replied to him in these words, 'On ne pend pas pour si peu de choses en Angleterre;' that is, 'In England men are not hanged for such small offences;' which words he repeated twice or three times. This provoked Monsieur de Bellestre to such a degree, that, after giving the young man much opprobrious language, he at last proceeded to blows, struck him in the face, and pulled him by the nose; upon which the other gave him a blow in the face, which knocked him down. The next day, May the 3d, upon a complaint of Monsieur de Bellestre to the said conservators of the peace for the district of Montreal, not of the blow he had received from Franks (for to this he was conscious he had given occasion by striking him first) but of the words pronounced by the latter, to wit, 'that in England people were not hanged for such small offences;' these conservators issued the warrant hereunder following for committing young Franks to prison: and he was accordingly carried thither by a party of soldiers with bayonets fixed; and 10,000 l. bail, that was offered to procure his liberty, and be security for his appearance to take his trial for this offence, was refused. And there he continued for a week; at the end of which time the same conservators of the peace (by the direction, as it is supposed, of Governor Carleton) ordered him to be discharged without any bail at all. The warrant of committment was as follows:

"Whereas Francis Mary Picôté de Bellestre, esquire, has made oath on the Holy Gospels, that, on Tuesday the second day of this present month of May, as he was standing still in the street to hear a proclamation published, concerning those wretches who had insulted his Majesty's bust, he had openly declared that he thought they deserved to be hanged: And that thereupon one Salisbury Franks had answered with sharpness, 'that it was not usual to hang people for such small offences, and that it was not worthwhile to do so;' and that he had repeated these words several times, and with a loud voice;

"We, having regard to the said complaint, and considering that every good subject ought to look upon the said insult to his Majesty's Bust as an act of the most atrocious nature, and as deserving of the utmost abhorrence; and that therefore all declarations made in conversation that tend to affirm it to be a small offence, ought to be esteemed criminal;

"Do, for these reasons, authorize and command you to convey the said Salisbury Franks to the prison of this town, to be there detained until he shall be thence discharged according to law. And for so doing, this warrant shall be your justification...

"The warrant for his discharge, on the 9th day of the same month by the same magistrates, was as follows:

"To the keeper of the jail in Montreal.

"Whereas David Salisbury Franks is now in your custody, in virtue of our warrant duly sealed and signed; these are now to command you to forbear detaining any longer the said David Salisbury Franks, but to suffer him to go at large wherever he pleases, and that without fees. And for so doing, this will be your sufficient warrant.'

"The occasion of issuing this warrant is related more minutely in the following narrative of the whole transaction, which was written by the poor young man himself who was the subject of it, during the time of his confinement. It is writ with such an air of truth and modesty, and with such strong professions of loyalty to his Majesty, as cannot fail to increase that indignation in the breasts of all the readers of it, which they, doubtless, must have felt at the relation of the unworthy treatment he has met with, and the perusal of that strange, arbitrary warrant, by which he was imprisoned.

"A narrative of the quarrel that happened on the second day of last May, 1775, at Montreal, in the province of Quebeck, between Monsieur De Bellestre, a French gentleman of that province, and Mr. David Salisbury Franks, a young English merchant, or trader, of the same place, and which was the occasion of the imprisonment of the latter by Captain John Fraser, Mr. John Marteilhe, and Monsieur René Ovide Hertel de Rouville, conservators of the peace, for the district of Montreal. Written by Mr. Franks himself during his confinement:

"Whereas my affair with captain Bellestre (for which I am confined in the prison of this city) is not perfectly known to the publick, I take this method of shewing to every impartial person a true state of it from the beginning.

"On the 2nd of May I was standing with Mr. Kay, Mr. Montigny, Mr. Rousseau. and several others at the corner of the Seminary Garden, opposite to Mr. Kay's house. We were all waiting to hear the publication of a reward offered to find out the perpetrators of that insult offered to the Marble Bust of his Majesty last 30th of April. The drums and cryer were just coming up, and our discourse turned, as was natural, on that subject, We all condemned it as an atrocious action that deserved a very heavy punishment. I asked, what could be done to the person who committed the action, if he was found out. Our opinions differed upon this point: and just at this instant Monsieur De Bellestre intruded into our company, and said, in a very haughty tone to me by way of answer to this question, 'Il seroit pendu;' that is, 'that he would be hanged.' I turned about, and replied very coolly, "that I thought that by the law it was not death." Monsieur De Bellestre then said, "that I spoke like a fool and a babillard, or idle prater." I told him, that I was not used to such language; and, to avoid hearing any more of this kind, I stepped a little from him. He then came up to me again, and very imperiously asked me what I knew about the matter, and gave me a push pretty roughly on the arm. I told him I did not understand such usage. He then called me by some other bad name in French, which I do not remember; and, upon my returning it, he called me Jean Foutre. I gave him back the Jean Foutre; upon which he took me by the nose, and twisted it. This was a second assault, and of so violent a kind, that in return I caught hold of him by the coat, and he at the same time caught hold of me by the hair. I dealt him a few strokes on the face, and he at the same time gave me some knocks, and one (which, I think, was with the butt end of his stick) over the eye. Mr. Montigy, to the best of my knowledge, cried out at last, "Laissez-les battre;" (that is, "Let them fight it out.") But finding, I had the advantage, he took me off from Monsieur De Bellestre by the hair.

Mr. De Bellestre then again made up to me to strike me with his stick, but was prevented by the Gentlemen near us. I then went away, after taking the bystanders to witness, that he not only abused and assaulted me in the publick street, but also called me foutu coquin, twice or thrice, for which I told him, I would prosecute him. In the afternoon of the same day I waited on Mr. Marteilhe, and opened the affair to him. He told me to sit down, and write out my deposition; and when I had done so, and read it to him (being in substance as above) he told me, he would not administer the oath to me, but bid me call upon him in the morning of the ensuing day. Upon this I went over to Mr. Fraser's house to make my deposition before him; but he was gone into the country. And on this day (the 4th of May, the day next after that on which this quarrel happened) I called again on Mr. Marteilhe, who told me to go over to Mr. Fraser's, as he and Monsieur De Rouville were then together. I accordingly went thither, and, after having waited there some time, I was admitted to Mr. Rouville and Mr. Fraser. Mr. Fraser asked me if I had any business with him; upon which I presented to him my intended deposition ready drawn up. He took it, and read it over, and then asked me very angrily, "if I was the person who had treated Monsieur De Bellestre in so scandalous a manner." I told him, "yes; and that such abuse as I had then received from Mr. De Bellestre I could not bear from any man on earth but my prince, or his representative; and that my education and rank in life, though not high, were yet above such treatment." He said I had no business to enter into altercation upon the subject. I answered, "that I had not done so, and that I had not intruded upon Monsieur De Bellestre, but that he had come into the company with which I was conversing; and that I had rather avoided than fought to dispute with him on the subject. And then I desired Mr. Fraser to take my deposition, that I might send it to my father at Quebeck for him to shew it to his Excellency Governour Carleton, to whom I had the honour to be known, hoping that his Excellency would be convinced by it that I was far from being a disturber of the peace, or disaffected to Government. And I added, that I was of too little consequence to create any disturbance, but that what little power I had should be always exerted in support of his Majesty's authority; for that my heart was truly loyal and upright; and I was so far from approving what was done on the 30th of April to the King's Bust, that I detested the action, and would freely contribute my share of the reward offered by the merchants to find out the authors of it." Mr. Fraser then desired me to call again in the afternoon; which I accordingly did, and waited there about an hour and a half without being



admitted to see him. At last, having some business at home which I wanted to do, and thinking I might go about it, I resolved to go home for a short time, and told the bailiff in writing that I would be back again presently.

"I had gone but a few steps from Mr. Fraser's door when I met Mr. Marteilhe, who was going thither. He asked me where I was going? and at the same time two bailiffs called out to me to come back immediately. I accordingly returned, and was shewn into a room, where Mr. Rouville, Mr. Fraser and Mr. Marteilhe were assembled; who, after telling me that I had behaved very ill, read the warrant of commitment, of which the publick has seen copies (the charge in which is very false) and told me I was a prisoner. I said, "that it was very hard that I should be sent to jail for differing in opinion from another man; that it would greatly injure my little affairs; that I had no clerk, and nobody but my sister to take care of my house and business; and that she was defenceless, and liable to be imposed upon: And I concluded with offering to find bail to any amount." This offer they peremptorily refused, and gave me in charge to two bailiffs, and a file of soldiers who conducted me here (to the publick prison of Montreal) about four o'clock, like the most ignominious offender. I begged the Judges to send off the soldiers, and not make me a spectacle to the world, and I gave my word that I would go quietly to jail with the bailiffs; But this request they likewise thought fit to refuse. When I was got to the prison, I wrote a few notes to some of the gentlemen of my acquaintance in the town (of Montreal) to acquaint them with what had befallen me; whereupon they went to the Judges, and offered bail for me to the amount of some thousands of pounds; But it was again refused.

"Messieurs Rouville, Marteilhe and Fraser would not take my deposition concerning this affair, though I applied to them before Mr. De Bellestre: Yet they afterwards took his deposition, and committed me to prison in consequence of it.

"This is a true state of the affair; and, as such, I submit it to the perusal of the impartial publick.

"P.S. Since I wrote the above, his Excellency Governour Carleton has ordered me to be set at Liberty, without paying the jail fees, by an Express from Quebeck to Captain Fraser. This was done on Tuesday the 9th of May, at half an hour after four o'clock in the afternoon." (Pp. 155-69)

Part of this record was reprinted in the Remembrancer, or Impartial Repository of Public Events. (London, 1776, Pp. 100-6, and was cited by Sack, History of the Jews in Canada. Montreal: Harvest House, 1965, Pp. 63-64; and retold by Edgar Andrew Collard in the Gazette, July 7, 1956)

DAVID SALESBY FRANKS: AMERICAN

From the moment that the southern colonies began to act vigorously in their cause, David Salsbury Franks from Canada was known as a friend to the American cause! The U.S. Archives preserves in its P. Force Collection of Authentick Records the following note of the New York Provincial Congress of June 29, 1776,

"David Salisbury Franks, from Canada, produced a certificate dated at Chambly, 31st May, and signed by Samuel Brewer Aide-de-Camp, and another certificate dated at Albany, on the 20th instant, and signed by Abraham Yates, Jun., Chairman of the Albany Committee, whereby it appears that the said Franks is a friend to the American cause, and is permitted to go to New York with his man servant on private business. Mr. Franks requested a certificate for himself and servant to go to Philadelphia.

"Thereupon the following certificate and pass was given to him.

"This Congress having assurance of the friendly disposition of the bearer hereof, Mr. David S. Franks, to the cause and rights of America, do recommend that he be permitted to pass with his man servant to the City of Philadelphia." (Reprinted in no. 11 of the Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society, 1903, Pp. 190-91)

When the Americans occupied Montreal, Franks joined them, advanced funds for their needs and even became paymaster to their Montreal garrison. He threw his lot in with the United States and, when the Americans left Montreal, he served for a time as a volunteer with a Massachusetts regiment. But he returned to Montreal where he was known as disloyal to the crown.

As we shall see, the first records of the Montreal congregation begin, as it were, in medias res, as if there were earlier records.

There may have been; they may be misplaced; they may resurface, or there may not have been any.

The few Jews in Montreal may have decided to erect a synagogue, may have contributed the necessary funds and erected the structure. This might have happened in quieter times, before 1776, and David Franks, a very active man as we have seen, might then have been chosen Parnass (a Hebrew term from the Greek root for a provider).

In 1778 they decided to affirm at a meeting whose record survives that the synagogue exists as a common property to be managed by a committee of five.

"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 Hayes, Myer Michaels, Myer Myers, Abraham Franks."

In the political circumstances of the day they probably decided that a less controversial Parnass was appropriate.

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

It is at this time that we find him at his father's side, at the 1778 meetings of the congregation, indeed as Parnass during 1777, now replaced by his brother-in-law Levy Solomon. He signed the documents together with his father, with a notable formal distinction: His name on the Ellul 1778 and Tebeth 1779 documents appears in the Hebrew (David bar Avram), the only signature in that language.

(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.)

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)

During those days Franks came to know the American military commander Benedict Arnold. When the revolutionaries retreated, Franks accompanied them as one of Arnold's closest aides with the rank of major. It was from this vantage that he witnessed his commander's transformation from hero to traitor and he might have become implicated in the tragedy, but for Arnold's thoughtfulness in exculpating Franks by name in his letter to George Washington.

A court martial acquitted Franks of complicity, but continued gossip led him to request Washington to hold a court of inquiry on his relations with Arnold. Its finding: Every part of Major Franks' conduct was not only unexceptionable but reflected the highest honor on him as an officer, distinguished him as a zealous friend to the independence of America, and justly entitled him to the attention and confidence of his countrymen.

Indeed, Franks was permitted to accompany Mrs. Arnold and her child to Philadelphia. From the road Franks reported to a friend,

"Mr. Reed is the only man who would take us in at his place (Kokiat) or give our horses anything to eat... We got here; I very wet, Mrs. Arnold, thank God, in tolerable spirits. And I have hopes to get them home without any return of her distress in so violent a degree." (E.A. Collard. "Benedict Arnold's Montreal Aide-de-Camp," in Gazette, July 14, 1956)

This exoneration did not prevent that great American and great anti-Semite Henry Ford from exploiting the myth of David S. Franks, traitor, in his Dearborn Independent, the American Protocols of the Elders of Zion in the 1920's.

David Salesby Franks embarked on a career in the diplomatic service of the new sovereign state. Possibly because of his familiarity with the French language he was appointed liaison officer with the French naval commander, Comte d'Estaing.

Samuel Rezneck, historian of the Unrecognized Patriots, the Jews in the American Revolution (Westport, 1975; cited by Morris U. Schappes, "Excerpts from Robert Morris' Diaries in the Office of Finance, 1781-84, referring to Haym Salomon and other Jews" in American Jewish Historical Quarterly, vol. 67, no. 1, Sept. 1977, Pp. 9-49) writes that no other Jew played such a diverse role in the Revolution in close proximity to some of its principal figures -- Benjamin Franklin, John Jay, Jefferson and Madison.

Although it is outside the ken of Canadian Jewish historians, this is far more important than his exact formal status in the corps or the shifts of international affairs affected by his mission. The record marks one of the first positions accorded to a Jew in the new age of emancipation and civic equality for citizens of all faiths and all origins. It is therefore a matter of keen study and analysis by students of social history and of the modern annals of Judaism.

He was sent as diplomatic courier to Madrid and to Paris in 1781 and in 1784. Franks was not paid for his services as courier and, like so many other creditors of the American government, had difficulty in collecting his expenses.

The following year he was named U.S. consul to Marseilles, possibly on the basis of his claim to a "knowledge of the language of that kingdom and his acquaintance of the manners and customs of that people acquired by his residence in Canada."

From his consequent service as diplomatic courier to Europe, 1781-87, there emerges an astute evaluation of some interest.

Jefferson calls Franks his amanuensis and describes him, "He appears to have a good eno' heart and understands somewhat better than common, but too little guard over his lips. I have marked him particularly in the company of women where he loses all power over himself and becomes almost a fright. His temperature would not be proof against their allurements, were such to be employed."

This portrayal is complemented by Benjamin Franklin who may have met Franks in Montreal when Franklin came north in 1776 to mobilize support for the cause. Marcus cites his letter to Madison in which he speaks of Franks as "light, indiscreet, active, honest, affectionate. This is in some measure the vice of his age, but it seems to be increased also by his peculiar constitution."

Madison confirmed this on receipt of this letter from Jefferson on Feb. 18, 1781. "Your portrait of your anamuensis is, I conceive, drawn to life. For all unconfidential services he is a convenient instrument. For anything further ne sutor ultra crepidans (cobbler, stick to your last)." (cited by Schappes from the papers of James Madison.)

Nevertheless, when Superintendent of Finance Robert Morris required stricter security for John Jay's dispatches, especially in regard to the financing of a national bank, he chose Franks as diplomatic courier (July 11, 1781). He performed this duty in spite of being captured by the British.

Director of Finance Morris was very cordial towards Franks and "had a good deal of conversation with him respecting his voyage" (Aug. 12, 1782), but his diary entry of Aug. 26 reads,

"Promised to serve him when suitable opportunity offered, but advised him against any expectation of employment in the diplomatic line which he seemed to have formed." On Nov. 13, "Franks applied for employment."

When Franks died in 1793 he predeceased his father by four years.

Rebecca, daughter of Abraham Franks, married Lucius Levy Solomon whose record constitutes a chapter in the history of the colonial Jewish community.

JACOB FRANKS, SR.

Jacob Franks, another son of Abraham Franks, was the partner of his brother-in-law Henry Joseph in a trading post they established at Michilimackinack.

He was deeply interested in congregational affairs, for it was upon his request that the meeting of Adar 12, 1779 was convened, the Parnass, Levy Solomon not having consented to call the meeting.

A family quarrel may have been the occasion for this meeting, for a few weeks later, on Nissan 26, a junto was called on the basis of the declaration signed by seven members including J. Franks. (Canadian Jewish Archives, new series, no.21, Pp. 91-92)

There may or may not be significance in the fact that documentation on this dispute closes, to our present knowledge, the recorded history of the congregation for a period of nearly fifty years.

Sack traces the career of Jacob Franks. "As early as 1792 he had made his way to Green Bay, Wisconsin, on a trading expedition. Two years later he came to Canada and obtained a large tract of land from the Indians. Restlessly seeking fresh outlets for his energies, he penetrated far into the wilderness of the Northwest, into regions where a white man had never before set foot. Industrial development next claimed his attention, and in 1805 he erected the first saw and grist mill in Canada." (History of the Jews in Canada, P. 71) On July 19, 1812 he responded to the governor's appeal and enlisted in the colonial force.

The dispute in the congregation may be related to developments in the Jacob Franks family at this time. According to Ken H. Annett, genealogist of the Lawe family, Jacob Franks' beautiful daughter, Rachel, met Capt. George Lawe, (Stern gives his first name as John) who had long served with the British army while barrack master. Annett refers to him as Anglo-Irish; Stern gives York as his residence.

There are references to a John Law in the Jacobs' accounts which record a sale to John Law in Nov. 1761 of skates and coffee mills valued at £ 45 belonging to Hyam Myers.

K. Annett notes another connection between Lawes and the Franks in a "Deed of Sale by François de la Ronde, Ecuier, of Montreal, of a property to Jean (John?) Franks, négociant and Capt. George Lawe of the 84th Regiment and 'Maitre des Cazernes' (barracks master) both of Montreal. The deed bears date of July 14th, 1781. The sale price of the irregular lot was 2500 'chelins anciens monnoye' and a 'Barrique de Cidre.' Franks and Lawe were each to have half the property." (Letter from K. Annett, July 14, 1979)

Vaugeois also notes that Myers informed Jacobs that he had met John Law at Crown Point in June 1762. (Les Juifs et la Nouvelle France. Trois-Rivières, Editions Boréal express, 1968, P. 128, citing PAC, Jacobs Papers, vol. 62, 145 and Jacobs Estate Papers, 1760-63, vol. 8, P. 95). Annett is also unable to identify this early John Law.

A 1781 notarial document describes Capt. George Lawe of the 84th Regiment as barrack master of Montreal. He also served in the same capacity at Chambly.

One of the documents in the Lawe genealogy states that he was in the port of Montreal in the course of one of his voyages, but Canadian archival documents record his 1778 order, in his capacity of barrack master in Montreal, on the barrack master general in Quebec in favour of John Franks. (PAC, MG 19, A2, ser. 3, vol. 89, P.54)

One uncertain document in the Lawe genealogy suggests that this George Lawe may have been half-Jewish, the son of a Jewish mother who was the daughter of Jacob and Priscilla Franks of Detroit. More certainly he was by these developments the son-in-law of Jacob and Priscilla Franks.

Lawe wooed Rachel, and they were married by the Protestant Rev. Veyssière at Three Rivers, after the banns had been read three times as prescribed, on Sept. 21, 1778. The brother of the bride was present. Malcolm H. Stern's classic of genealogy, Americans of Jewish Descent. N.Y. Ktav, 1971, does not give the name of this daughter of Jacob Franks. This was his second marriage.

There is confirmation of this in Stern's genealogies where we find Jacob Franks (1747-1814) and his wife Priscilla.

K.H. Annett, C.D., F.C.C.T., of Quebec City, notes that their son John Lawe was born in December 1779 and was baptized at Montreal's Anglican Christ Church. We shall read later in the record of two sons and a daughter born to them.

The Mysterious Sister

It is difficult to identify and to relate to the Franks' genealogy the very interesting John Franks whom we find early in Quebec.

We note that Malcolm H. Stern, who compiled Americans of Jewish Descent, A Compendium of Genealogy (New York, Ktav, 1971) hailed by J.A. Marcus in his preface, does not know of any brother of Rebecca's called John. As Annett states, "it is no easy task, at this distance in time, to reconstruct the families we are interested in."

Prof. J.R. Marcus has published an interesting pathetic letter of 1799 from a Rebecca Franks to her brother John in Quebec. (American Jewry, Documents. Cincinnati, Hebrew Union College, 1959, Pp. 83-85)

He identifies her as a sister of David Salesby Franks, and gives her another brother, Moses. These are absent from the Stern genealogy and from the extant Canadian documentation. David did have a sister Rebecca, but her circumstances in 1799 do not cohere with those in the letter in question. She was the wife of Levy Solomon.

That letter is eloquent. As Marcus notes,

"Rebecca's letter is interesting because it emphasizes an aspect of American life that only too frequently is ignored or overlooked: the hard lot of the woman in early American economic life. True, there was little comparison between the lot of the woman on a pioneer clearing, bowed down under the yoke of work, and a brood of children, and the fate of a mother, sister, or wife in Philadelphia, the country's largest city, enjoying all the comforts and luxuries of a thriving metropolis. Still, the life of the women in a merchant's family was by no means an untroubled one, for the man she loved was often away from home for months or even years, braving the dangers of the Indian trail, the threat of pirates, or the devastating power of the Caribbean storms."

The letter reads,

"My dear brother: I really am at a loss to find words to express my joy in addressing my long lost brother. Be assured, I never had the most distant idea of ever hearing from you, for I had long thought you had gone to that bourn from whence no traveller returns, but, thank God, I have been most agreeably surprised.

"Oh, brother, it is many years since we have been with each other. I suppose you have no recollection of me and I am sure I have none of you.

"I have gone through many scenes since I was in Canady. I was a very young adventurer, an(d), I may say, am still; but I trust in God, I have vearly (verily) done and that I shall shortly be settled with or near you, for at present I am friendless and deserted, without parents, without connection, for my brother Moses is never with me. If he was, my situation would be far more agreeable, but he is sometimes gone for 2 years when he tells me it (is) probable he will be back in the course of 6 or 8 months, and in that time he never writes one line to (enable me to) know where he is. I some times by chance hear. This last voyage he has nearly been gone two years and has never wrote once to me.

"My feelings are sensibly wounded, for he knows my sole dependance is on his bounty. I have been under the disagreeable necessity of applying to a friend of his for money to pay my board and get necessaries, for I am obliged to appear genteel. I cannot think his slight is for whant (want) of affection, but the whant of thought, for untill now he has ever been kind and attentive. I have wrote twice lately, but have received no answer.

"Had I done any thing to cause his displeasure, I should not be surprised, but, thank God, I have never done any thing to occasion a blush in either of my brother's faces. It would be a very great happiness to me was I capable of doing something for my self, but I am not; therefore, I must be content.

"I pay at the rate of five dollars per week for my board, and (that) is as cheap as I can get it. I am with a very worthy couple who are adva(nced) in life without children. They do all they can to make me comfortable, but you know that is not like being with or near our own relations. Their (there) is but three of us left, and I think it a very great pity, that we could not all be to gather; but instead of that, you are in Canada, my brother Moses in the West Indias, and poor me in Philadelphia.

"It would have been a very great gratification to me had I seen Mr. Levy, but I imagine he must have been here at the time of the dreadful malady (1793), and every person at that time were (were) obliged to fly for their lives, which will be the case again this summer, for we have many instances of it now. It is plain to be seen that the c(old weather?) has only checked it, that as soon as the warm commences it (will return?) with as much violence as ever; but I have not heard the (news?) of Mr. Levy's being hear (here).

"I will not fatigue you by (sending you?) too long a letter. I will accept of your generous offer. (You may be?) assured I never wanted it more then at present, for the little I had is nearly spent, and I have no person that I can apply to, for the gentleman who advanced me the last sum said that he could not think of doing it again, as he had not received orders from my brother. I have been very particular in...everything, maybe more so then I ought to be.

"All (I can?) say is to request you to write soon as you can (to me) for I am very anxious to hear from you.

"May every wished for(tune) attend; this is the sincere wish of (your) Affectionate sister, (Rebecca)."

John Franks

We find the John Franks signature on the 1766 address of welcome presented to Governor Sir Guy Carleton in 1766 by "the merchants and other inhabitants of the City and District of Quebec." (PAC, ser. Co.O. 42, vol. 5, Pp. 290-91; microfilm reel B23)

If indeed he was Jewish -- and there is no evidence to contradict this -- he was one of the very few Jews to enter history as inspector of chimneys. His 1769 commission to that end is preserved in PAC, MG 11, C.O. 42, vol. 29, Q. series, Vol. 6, P. 30.

Historian Alfred Leroy Burt describes the office in his The Old Province of Quebec. (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1933, P. 261):

"Quebec, Three Rivers, and Montreal each had an official, appointed by the governor, who was first called the overseer of chimneys; but he had more than chimneys to look after, and therefore, from 1777, he was termed overseer to prevent accidents by fire. He was responsible for having every chimney used in town or suburb swept and scraped once a month. He employed his own sweeps, paying them out of what he collected from the occupants of the houses at a rate of sixpence a chimney each time it was cleaned. He was fined five shillings for each neglected flue and an additional forty shillings if one took fire."

Business in the fire-threatened city should have been good. Later in Sept. 1778 he reported that Quebec had 628 houses and 1002 chimneys in use. Yet on August 6, 1769 he had to petition for his salary. (PAC, MG 11, C.O. 42, vol. 30 - Q series, vol. 7, Pp. 134, 137)

The Public Accounts of 1770 report his claim that he has "forgiven" poor people, soldiers, who thus did not need to pay "chimney money", about a third of the total assessed. (RG1, E 15, A, vol. 88)

A document in the Colonial Office Records, Q series, attests that the "State of Mr. Franks' Accompts of Receipts and disbursements, proved upon the Oath of his Assistant; and do humbly agree to report to your Excellency in Council, that we find the Expenses attending the Execution of his office for the first year, that is to say from the 8th November 1768 to the 31st October, 1769 inclusive do amount to the sum of £181.5.0 Halifax Cury. That the whole money he has received for Sweeping the Chimmies of the City and Suburbs aforesaid for that time amounts to no more than £170.5.0, so that he is actually in advance the sum of £11.0.0. We also find by his Sundry Accompts, proved upon Oath as aforesaid that the Sweeping all the Chimmies Occupied in the aforesaid City and Suburbs for one whole year, would, if regularly swept amount to about £374.6.6 Halifax currency." (PAC, MG 11, vol. 7, P. 137)

Franks might also have served as overseer of chimneys in Montreal in 1772. (PAC, MG 8, C 9, vol. 1, Pt. 1, P. 158)

Denis Vaugeois and Jacques Lacoursière write,

"In 1768 John Franks established an important precedent by modifying the form of oath he took 'on the true faith of a Jew' instead of 'on the true faith of a Christian.'" (Canada, Quebec: Synthèse historique. Montreal, Editions du nouveau pédagogique, 1978, P. 341)

There is a record of a 1770 lawsuit involving John Frank. (MG 11, CO 42, vol. 57, P. 53; microfilm reel B42)

In 1774 the contractors who supplied wood for the barracks, probably at Quebec, drew on barrack master general, Co. James Robertson in favour of John Frank. (MG 19, A2, Ser. 3, vol. 89, P.2) Four years later, Capt. George Lawe, barrack master at Montreal, wrote an order on Robertson in favour of John Franks whose sister he married that year. (Ibid., P. 54)

There is a record of his transaction with Lawrence Ermatinger who rented a vault in 1776. (MG 19, A2, ser. 3, vol. 88, Sept. 1776)

His house was on rue des Remparts. (Quebec Gazette, Feb. 2, 1778)

His name appears on a 1784 petition of merchants in the colony calling upon London to promulgate a constitution on "fixed and liberal principles."

Business was not always good, and we have a description of a sheriff's sale of his property in Montreal in the Quebec Gazette of Aug. 14, 1788, including a fruit orchard of two arpents on Coteau St. Louis next to Lagachetiere St. and the Vauxhall buildings, another lot on the same street, totalling 20 arpents.

A McCord Museum document notes that John Franks operated a tavern and open air dance hall on Beaver Hall Hill, but apparently this venture was not successful, and the property appears in Notary J. Beck's Inventory of sales. (Esther I. Blaustein, Rachel A. Esar and Evelyn Miller. "Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue, Shearith Israel, Montreal, 1768-1968." in Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England, vol. 23, 1969-70. Miscellanies, Pt. 8, Pp. 111-41)

Franks' tavern was one of the city landmarks. Before the establishment of our present system of numbering buildings, it was common practice to announce, as did Michel Letourneau, gold and silver smith and engraver, on Apr. 29, 1790 "that he has lately moved to the house opposite Mr. Franks' Tavern at the top of the Hill." (Quebec Gazette, May 27, 1790)

Lawe in Britain

By this time Capt. Lawe must have fallen on hard times which he attributed in great part to unspecified actions by his wife. As he wrote to his friend Brig.-Gen. Allan McLean, on Oct. 9, 1782, "having paid off all my debts to £172, but I find by letters received last Saturday that Mrs. Franks has taken me in for £116 more, which I did not know of before, so that it is in vain to struggle any longer and I must patiently submit."

He proposed to send his son to England "to make peace with my Father and Mother before they die -- I assure you he will come out on the very first ship, and if he can get home with his Commission in his pocket, it would tend greatly to reconciling me to my Father and Mother. It is not through idleness or curiosity I humbly hope for that indulgence for them, but I dread greatly these people will injure me with my Father, and endeavour if possible to involve me further in debt, as I am very sorry to say from woeful experience Mrs. Franks is capable of that, and worse if possible."

"In 1781-82 correspondence of Captain Lawe reveals that he was in severe financial distress due to some unspecified action of the part of a Mrs. Franks. He was obliged to sell his Commission in the 84th Regiment to meet pressing debts, but his personal friendship with his Commanding Officer, Brigadier Alan MacLean and the Governor, Sir Guy Carleton (Lord Dorchester) was such that he continued to find favour and employment. He was Superintendent of Loyalists in their settlement in Gaspesia, a Commissioner of the Peace for Quebec, a Member of the Royal Commission on the Jesuit Estates, etc. There are references to his home in Quebec in the 1780's but no reference to his wife Rachel Franks Lawe or to the birth of other children of their marriage...

"Circa 1790 Captain Lawe left Quebec for the new province of Upper Canada (Ontario) where he was employed as Overseer of Works at Niagara when Simcoe was Governor. In 1793 he went overseas to England carrying letters from Simcoe to the British Colonial Office. He travelled to Ireland, the family home, and remained abroad in England until the Spring of 1795. Several of his letters, memoranda and memorials, written while in England (London) exist. None mention his wife, Rachel." (K.H. Annett, Apr. 17, 1981)

His friend Brig. Allan MacLean commiserated with him, "for he is truly to be pitied in spite of his folly in falling in with the most horrid family in the world that have plundered him of almost his last shilling, including his commission."

He was introduced to the colonial office as "a very old and distinguished officer in His Majesty's Service and an inhabitant of this Province, as this gentleman acts as assistant to the Engineer."

In 1792 he was granted 3000 acres of land at Pickering, now in Ontario. Annett records a sentimental journey in 1981 to the lands granted to Lawe for his long and distinguished services.

In May, 1795 we hear of the husband at Bristol where he was about to board ship for Philadelphia with his two sons and daughter. From that port he was about to proceed to Niagara where he served as overseer of works. Capt. Lawe was ailing at this time.

Annett notes, "What is uncertain is that the journey ever was made for in the following year the Widow Rachel Franks Lawe brought her son John to Montreal and placed him under the care of her brother, Jacob. She then returned to England. It is known that she had a sister living at Bristol."

Annett notes that "on the death of her husband, Capt. John Lawe Sr., Mrs. Lawe removed to Montreal to place her son under the protection of her brother Jacob Franks; some time after she left on a voyage to the East Indies to visit another brother."

THE WISCONSIN CHAPTER

Uncle Jacob Franks came to La Baie (Green Bay, Wisconsin), central trading post on the Great Lakes, in 1792 as clerk with Ogilvie Gillespie & Co., together with his sister's son, John. He settled on the Devil River, four miles from the Fox River.

In 1797 he severed his employment with Ogilvie and Gillespie and went into business there on his own, together with his nephew, John Lawe, and became one of the most influential residents of the settlement. That year he established a trading post at Fond du Lac.

Herbert Friedenwald published the grant which the Menomonee (Falavoine) Indians issued to him of a large piece of land in 1799.

"Know all Men by these presents that We the Undersigned Chiefs of the Falavoine Nation of Indians, acting for the Nation in general, have Given, Granted and Confirmed, and by these presents do Give, Grant and Confirm unto Jacob Franks, his Heirs, Executors or Assigns and every of them, all our Title, Claim or demand on a Tinement or piece of land with all its Singular appurtances Containing Three Acres in front on One Hundred Acres in depth, situate at La Baye in Upper Canada, bounded in front by the Riviere des Renards, on the North Side by a land Granted to Dominique Ducharme and on all other sides by Land unconceded, for the Term of Nine hundred and Ninety Nine years, free and clear of all former or Gifts or Grants, Rents, Rent Charges, Titles, Troubles or incumbrances whatsoever, for value received.

"In Witness Whereof we have hereunto, in the presence of the Undersigned Witnesses, set our hand & Seals at La Baye this Eighth day of August in the year of our Lord One Thousand Seven hundred & Ninety four. Also, a piece of land situate on l'other side of the Riviere, Containing Nine Acres in front on one Hundred in depth, clear of all incumbrances, as the above mentioned tiniment on l'other side of the River.

"Notwithstanding the many Advertisements that have been inserted in this Paper, letters for Britain are often put into this Office without paying the Postage from hence to New York; also Letters for Persons living on the Road between Quebec and Montreal. All such Letters must remain here until the Postage is paid.

"The Persons who wrote the following Letters are prayed to call for them, or pay the Postage, that they may be forwarded." Among those thus sought: Moses Franks of London.

When the War of 1812 broke out Franks fought on the English side. He paid for this loyalty to England. His Michilimackinac home was "wantonly pillaged" when it was broken into by the Americans. An official report states that "unusual harshness" was shown to all who had supported England in the War of 1812.

Irving I. Katz tells his later story,

"In 1814, Franks and three others were appointed to inventory the two schooners Scorpion and Tigress captured from the Americans and brought to Mackinac. In 1815, his name appears as one of the thirteen signers describing themselves as 'Magistrates, merchants, traders and principal inhabitants of Michilimackinac and St. Josephs.' In 1816, he was allotted a building plot in the new English post at Drummond Island, but it appears marked in the list as 'not occupied.' Documents dated 1817 show that he became an army purveyor in that year. He married a half-breed Indian in Green Bay and had a large family. He spent the last years of his life in Montreal, with his second wife, Mary Solomons, daughter of Levi Solomons. He died about 1823." (The Beth El Story, with a History of the Jews in Michigan before 1850. Detroit, Wayne University Press, 1955. Pp. 45-46)

He spent his last years in Montreal. The Canadian Archives preserve this March 1817 "Petition and memorial of Jacob Franks, late of Fox River near Lake Michigan, now of Montreal, merchant."

Borthwick speaks of Jacob Franks as distinguished a century earlier, for his success in establishing trading posts in the Hudson Bay Territory, penetrating into the very heart of the wild unsettled North West in his enterprises. (P. 476)

Young John Lawe was successful in his Upper Country enterprises, "married a remarkable woman who was the daughter of a Scotch father and Indian mother, eventually acquired his Uncle Jacob Franks' business, became a partner of John Jacob Astor, and was appointed a Judge of the Green Bay region. It is of interest to note that he named his first daughter Rachel, in memory of his mother, Rachel Franks." (Annett, Apr. 17, 1981)

"In 1822, Lawe was appointed by Lewis Cass, Governor of the Michigan Territory, as Associate Justice in the first court held in Brown County which was then a part of Michigan Territory. In 1835, he was elected a member of the first Legislative Council of Wisconsin Territory.

"When Franks returned to Montreal he left his extensive property and the care of his Indian family to Lawe, who became a very successful merchant. He was also a public spirited man who took part in many worthwhile activities of his day. He learned the Indian tongue and was commissioned a lieutenant in the Indian Department by the English." (Katz)

The archives of the Université de Montréal have conserved two letters in French written to Mme. Dufresne at Sandwich and at Detroit from J. Franks in Soulanges ou les Cèdres on May 31, 1820 and May 8, 1822.

The Franks family will probably reveal its historic record for, as the archivists of the State of Wisconsin Historical Society indicate, there are hoards of Lawe documents still unexamined in the various divisions in its archives and in family collections as far afield as Texas.

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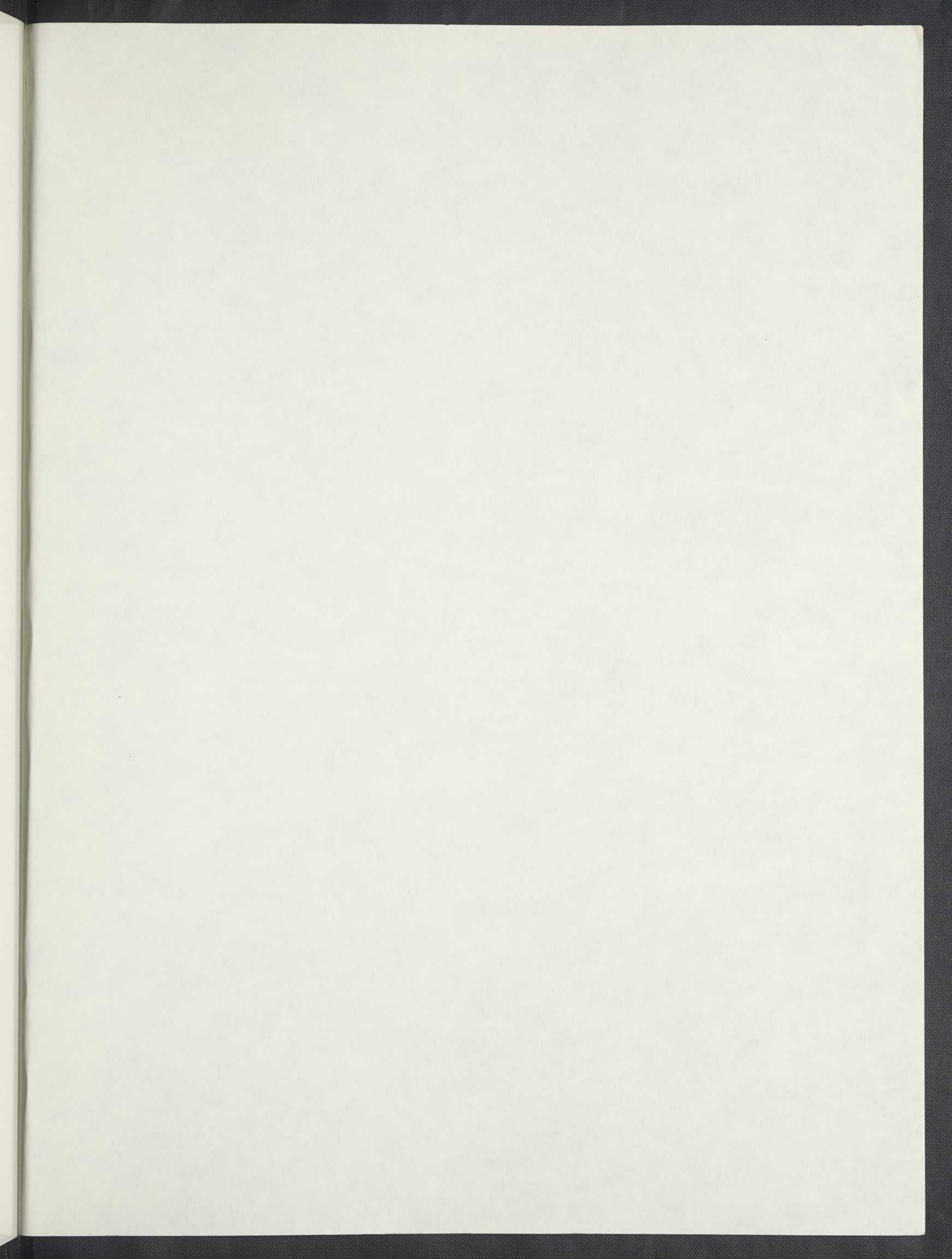
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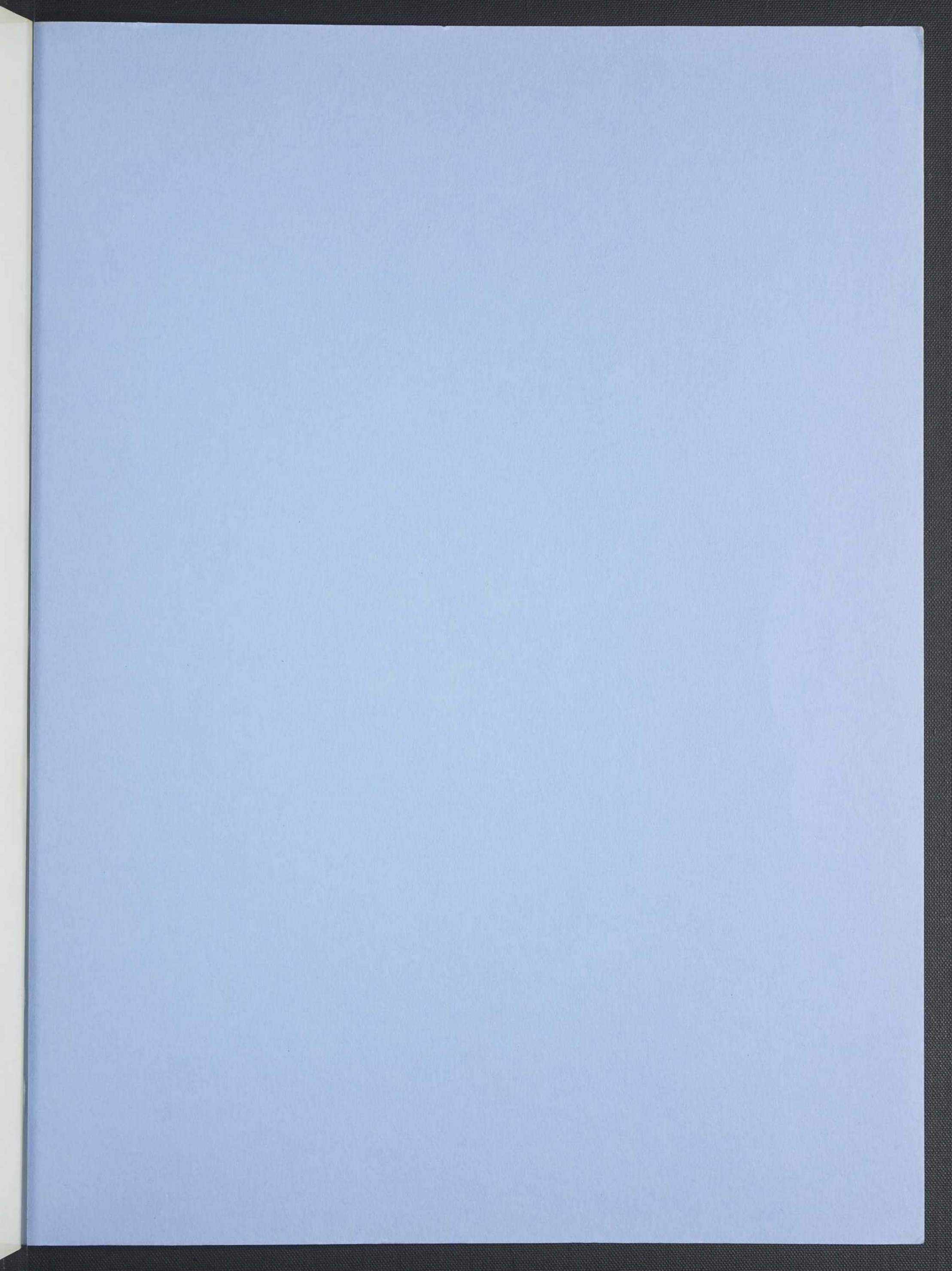
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