

The Canadian Connections Of An American Jew: The Case Of Mordecai M. Noah*

JONATHAN D. SARNA

Résumé

Pour autant que les Juifs des Etats-Unis aient été concernés, le Canada aurait pu devenir le quatorzième état de l'Union. Les liens de sang restèrent puissants en dépit des frontières nationales tracées lors de la Révolution Américaine, et, Juifs Américains et Canadiens continuèrent à se rendre visite, à négocier et à se nouer par les liens du mariage.

L'intérêt porté par Mordecai M. Noah envers le Canada — et qui dura toute sa vie — illustre les multiples facettes des relations entre les Juifs des Etats-Unis et les Juifs du Canada.

Qu'il se soit agi de politique, d'économie et de famille, tout retint son attention sur le Dominion du Nord.

Grâce à son sens de l'observation, il souligna certaines des influences marquantes qui séparèrent les Juifs américains de ceux du Canada. Chose qui frappe, ce fut les mêmes influences qui divisèrent les Américains des Canadiens.

Jonathan D. Sarna, auteur de cette recherche, présente en premier lieu, l'enfance et la croissance de Mordecai Noah dont les aspirations furent à 25 ans: le journalisme, la politique et le drame. En dépit d'une pétition signée par 27 citoyens des Etats-Unis d'Amérique et adressée au Président des Etats-Unis de l'époque M. Madison, le Secrétaire d'Etat du Canada, M. Robert Smith ne fut pas impressionné par cette pétition et le pria d'abandonner de sitôt ce projet "l'invitant à se tourner vers un Consulat d'Europe."

Suivant les conseils du Secrétaire d'Etat du Canada, Mordecai Noah fut récompensé pour sa patience et sa sagesse alors que le 4 juin 1811 il était nommé premier consul américain en poste à Riga en U.R.S.S.

Avant que le Consul Noah puisse s'y rendre, la guerre éclata.

Lorsqu'en 1813, il décida finalement de mettre à la voile, sa destination avait changé, il se rendait à Tunis. Il fut rappelé en 1815 sous le prétexte

*The term "America" used in this article refers to the United States.

de la religion.

M. Noah eut vers 1820 l'idée d'acquérir Grand Island, une ville en frontière près de Buffalo, afin d'en faire un lieu de refuge pour les Juifs du monde entier. De plus, mis à part le dessein premier que visait M. Noah, il pensait également que l'île pourrait également servir de poste de garde, de centre commercial et de colonie d'agriculture. Mais l'Angleterre ayant déclaré que Grand Island faisait partie du Canada, elle en réclama la remise.

Cinq ans plus tard, en 1825, le 15 septembre, une fois que Grand Island eut reçu le statut Américain, il posa la première pierre de la colonie juive qui devait s'appeler Ararat. Il fut déçu. Personne ne s'y établit.

Mordecai Noah se tint au courant de la vie du Bas-Canada par les journaux. Il rendit également visite à tous les Hart de Trois-Rivières. Vers 1830, le Canada vécut une période critique de son histoire.

Plusieurs personnes espéraient que le Canada ferait partie des Etats-Unis. De leur côté, les Américains accueillaient favorablement l'idée de l'unité de l'Amérique du Nord. Mais l'éventualité d'une guerre ne semblait pas être des plus rassurantes: les routes vitales du commerce seraient coupées, une tension plus forte avec l'Angleterre et ceci pourrait aboutir à la formation de gouvernements défavorables aux Etats-Unis.

Les points de vue changeants de Mordecai Noah à propos de l'indépendance canadienne reflètent les tensions d'aujourd'hui. Sa contradiction est celle d'un homme déchiré entre des loyautés conflictuelles. Il était à la recherche d'une solution politique idéale et utopique qui satisferait sa conscience, son pays, son parti politique (les libéraux) et ses parents Juifs du Canada. A propos de Louis Joseph Papineau, il publia un article dans le journal *Evening Star* (du 5 janvier 1835) où il exprima ses réserves et ses doutes à propos du Canada et de son orientation.

Selon Noah et d'après ce que l'auteur nous en rapporte, "un Canada puissant desservait tout à fait les intérêts de l'Amérique". M. Noah souhaitait "assurer les privilèges de tous par une représentation équitable, avec respect de la propriété et du droit de culte, ainsi que la prorogation des avantages de l'enseignement et enfin que les rouages administratifs de la Justice soient plus rapides, (afin que) le Canada soit une province puissante, calme et prospère."

Mais Noah prêcha dans le désert. Et lorsque les Français Canadiens tentèrent de se gouverner, il ne fut pas d'accord ayant ses réserves surtout après l'affaire d'Ezekiel Hart. "L'idée d'un tel peuple prenant les armes pour soutenir la liberté" était "absurde."

En dépit du fait que M. Noah se soit senti Américain avant tout, il n'en est pas moins demeuré que les relations entre les Juifs d'Amérique et ceux du Canada ont divergé. On ne peut nier aujourd'hui, malgré les liens qui unissent les deux communautés juives, que le Canada et l'Amérique sont deux pays séparés et distincts.

As far as early American Jews were concerned, Canada could have been the fourteenth state in the Union. Although the American Revolution had created national borders where none had previously existed, ties of blood still remained strong. Canadian and American Jews continued to visit one another, trade with one another, and marry one another.¹ Mordecai M. Noah's interest in Canada — an interest which persisted throughout his life — illustrates many facets of the American Jewish relationship with Canada. Politics, economic opportunities and relatives all brought the Northern Dominion to his attention. But his interest in Canada also illustrates some of the forces which divided American and Canadian Jews. Unsurprisingly, they were the very forces which separated Americans and Canadians generally.

I

Mordecai M. Noah (1785-1851) was one of the most important Jews in early America. He is best known today for his abortive Ararat Plan — his effort to create a Jewish colony on Grand Island, New York. But in his own day, his fame rested on his journalism, his dramatic writings, his politics, his dramatic career, and his unofficial post as “representative Jew” in the United States. He was the first person who ever attempted to be a leading American and a leading Jew at one and the same time.²

As a child, Noah was orphaned. His debt-ridden father escaped to Europe and his mother died. Responsibility for raising the boy fell to Jonas and Rebecca Phillips, his grandparents. After a few years, they apprenticed their charge to a carver and gilder. They wanted the boy to learn a productive trade. Unfortunately, Noah's “taste and ambition did not harmonize with his employment.” He was often beaten and flogged, and he never learned to carve and gild. Instead, his master soon set him to a more typical Jewish profession. He became a salesman; a peddler of his master's wares. Details of this period in Noah's life are lamentably sparse, and retrospective comments place him in a variety of locations. What emerges clearly, however, is the fact that Noah used his apprenticeship to

travel and make friends. His later familiarity with New York State and Lower Canada may be traced to these early wanderings.³

By 1810, the now twenty-five year old Noah had settled down to the three careers that would occupy him for most of his life: journalism, politics and drama. Unfortunately, not one of these professions paid him a living wage. He therefore looked to a different means of attaining wealth — one that promised him prestige as well. He sought appointment to a diplomatic post. Noah understood that as a diplomat he could tacitly earn money on the side, quite apart from any government salary or expense account. He also knew that he could use a diplomatic position to develop various kinds of business connections. He may even have hoped eventually to see the world. But his initial goal was more modest. He applied to be America's agent assigned to protect the interests of citizens trading with Lower Canada.

Noah's application came at an opportune time. More Americans than ever were trading with Lower Canada. They needed an agent to protect them. Traders faced press gangs and various other hazards on the St. Lawrence River. Further difficulties hampered them once they moved inland. A government agent, by dealing directly with Lower Canadian officials, could cope with problems expeditiously, and stimulate commerce besides.⁴

Twenty-seven "citizens of the United States residing within the Province of Lower Canada and in the State of New York" (mainly in Troy, New York) petitioned President Madison to consider Noah's application favorably (see appendix I). They pointed approvingly to Noah's "frequent intercourse with the Province [of Lower Canada], his knowledge of the country, its commerce and resources." They pronounced the young man "competent to discharge the duties attached to the station." Then they signed their names. The last signer's name stands out starkly: "Ephraim Hart, New York." Ephraim Hart was Noah's uncle (the husband of his father's sister) and his business stood to gain from any increase in trade with Lower Canada. More than likely, the petition to President Madison was engineered by him.⁵

Secretary of State Robert Smith was unimpressed with the "citizens' " petition, and he suggested to Noah "the propriety of abandoning this project." He urged the aspiring diplomat to "apply for a Consulate in Europe" instead. Wisely, Noah followed the suggestion. On June 4, 1811, he was rewarded with an appointment as America's first consul to Riga.⁶

Before Consul Noah could depart, war broke out. When he finally did

set sail, in 1813, his destination was the far more important consular post of Tunis. But his North African tensure proved short. In 1815, he was recalled — allegedly because of his religion.⁷

II

Though he soon left the diplomatic corps for good, Noah did not abandon his interest in Lower Canada. In 1820, he petitioned the New York legislature to sell him Grand Island, a border town near Buffalo inhabited by squatters and Indians. He wanted the land to serve as a refuge for the Jewish people of the world. Besides serving as an asylum, Noah thought that the island could be a watchpost, a trading center and an agricultural colony. He foresaw prosperity once the Erie Canal was completed. His overly ambitious project, however, soon faced an insuperable obstacle. Britain claimed that Grand Island was part of Canada, and demanded its return. The resulting diplomatic wrangle ended up in the hands of a boundary commission. Meanwhile, Noah tried to find another site for his colony. Five years later, after Grand Island's status as an American possession was assured, Noah reverted to the Grand Island scheme. On September 15, 1825 he laid the corner-stone for a Jewish colony to be called Ararat. To his very great disappointment, no settlers arrived. Ararat was stillborn, and soon abandoned.⁸

The ensuing years saw Noah return frequently to Lower Canada. "We know the Canadians [and] have been frequently in Canada," he reported in 1837.⁹ His newspapers were received by his cousins, the Harts of Three Rivers. His aunt, Frances Noah Hart (wife of Ephraim Hart) lived with her daughter, Harriet Judith Hart (husband of Benjamin Hart) in Montreal. Noah doubtless paid them all visits. He also read Canadian newspapers, and considered himself well-informed about Canadian affairs.¹⁰

III

The 1830s were a critical period in Canadian history. Both Lower Canada and Upper Canada were seething against British rule. Rebellions loomed, and many hoped that Canada would become part of the United States. For their part, Americans welcomed the idea of North American unity. But the prospects of war in the Northern Dominions seemed frightening. War would disrupt vital trade routes, heighten tensions with England, and might result in the formation of governments unfriendly to the United States. Problems would result even if Canada joined the Union. Added states would re-open the question of slavery by upsetting

the delicate balance between free states and slave states.¹¹

Mordecai Noah's changing views on Canadian independence reflect the tensions of the day. His inconsistency is the inconsistency of a man torn between conflicting loyalties. He searched for a policy that would at once satisfy his conscience, his country, his party (the Whigs), and his Canadian Jewish relatives. He searched for a Utopian solution that could not be found.

Noah's "Papineau and the Canadas," a brief article in his *Evening Star* (January 5, 1835), gave expression to his mixed feelings regarding the Canada issue. On the one hand, he praised the spokesman for reform in Lower Canada, Louis-Joseph Papineau, as a "distinguished leader." He gave considerable coverage to "the distinguished leader's" monumental "address of twelve columns" (likely his Ninety-Two Resolutions) dealing with colonial grievances. He lauded his "style of imposing eloquence, abounding in luminous, bold and original thoughts and expressions of ardent patriotism and devotion to liberty. On the other hand, he expressed grave doubts about Papineau. He accused him of exaggeration and self-glorification:

We could feel more confident in Mr. Papineau's declarations if they were tinctured with less malignity and bitterness of feeling and less coarse and vulgar language. There is a vein of bombastic egotism, turgid declamation, and unsparing denunciation throughout which disfigures [the] production.¹²

Noah felt that Canada should join the Union and become one of the United States. He declared, in response to Canadian criticism, that "geographical position, kindred interests, language and laws, sympathy of origin and destiny, to say nothing of the oppressions of a hard-hearted stepmother, must ultimately sooner or later place the Canadas under the *Aegis* of this empire." He assured his Canadian friends that statehood would improve their commerce and trade, and would guarantee a "golden harvest." He had no thoughts, however, of immediate union. His was a plan for some indefinite day in the future:

These speculations may seem daydreams, but we advise our neighbors to ponder upon them, for what *must* be, *will* be.¹³

Events took Noah by surprise. Within two years, union with Canada seemed a real possibility. Some Canadians had determined that incorporation into the United States might be the only means of achieving true liberty. Others held up the possibility of union as bait in an effort to capture American support for Canadian rebels. Noah, in an abrupt *volte-face*, supported neither group. America was mired in a deep economic and

social crisis in 1837. Workers, nativists and abolitionists all sought drastic changes in fundamental American policies. Alarmed at “the many conflicting interests and jarring claims” already battling for supporters, Noah feared that “more conquests” or “new possessions” would rend the country’s social fabric asunder. He worried that union with Canada would pose problems for the southern states which, as a pro-slavery advocate, he supported. He also worried that union might stimulate Canadian immigration southward which, as a nativist, he opposed. He therefore advocated a policy aimed at “friendly and cordial good feelings between the two countries, founded only on mutual interests.” He concluded that a strong Canada was very much in America’s interests.¹⁴

Hoping to promote his own policy, Noah offered “a little friendly advice as to the best means of producing tranquility and unity of sentiment and action in Canada.” His “friendly advice turned out to be a bold, eight point program for unity and democracy under British rule (Appendix II). First, he called for “union of the two provinces,” to his mind the most vital and urgent of his proposed measures. Then he proposed a new governmental structure. The Crown would select a governor and a commander-in-chief. The people, voting by county, would select a “house of commons”. The governor and commander-in-chief would select a legislative council, whose members would be appointed for life. Also appointed, although not for life, would be an executive council which would function as a cabinet. The judiciary would be independent, but seemingly subservient. The Crown would select a chief justice and chancellor, while the governor and council would select inferior judges.

With regard to matters of policy, Noah had four principal suggestions:

- all rights guaranteed to the French population in the Treaty of Quebec should be confirmed,
- the alliance with Britain should be made perpetual,
- the national capital should be set up “as nearly in the centre of the province as possible”,
- income from clergy reserves — the vast tracts of Canadian public land which England set aside in 1791 in order to guarantee the establishment of a Protestant clergy — should be applied to the support of educational institutions “without reference to sects or denominations.”¹⁵

The Noah plan was not really original. It was rather a carefully selected composite of various ideas put forward by concerned, unaligned citizens on both sides of the border. The aims were noble ones:

{to} secure the privileges of all by fair representation, with protection to property and

religious rights, extending the benefits of education and the speedy administration of justice, (to) make Canada a powerful, tranquil and prosperous province.

But in hoping to satisfy all groups, Noah succeeded in satisfying none. His proposals fell on deaf ears.¹⁶

IV

In November 1837, supporters of Louis Papineau staged a rebellion aimed at securing Lower Canada's independence. Many Anglophobic, freedom-loving Americans rejoiced that a movement of national liberation had sprouted so close to America's shores. Even Anglophilic Whigs hoped to use the Canada issue to embarrass the President. Noah disagreed. He doubted that the French Canadians were capable of ruling themselves. He worried that they would demand American assistance, a move which might encourage the kind of statehood petition which he dreaded. Most of all, he feared for the fate of his Jewish relatives. The Lower Canadians "are from their nature and education intolerant," he insisted. As proof, he described in his *Evening Star* the thirty year old case of Ezekiel Hart — without, of course, mentioning the family connection:

The District of Three Rivers at several elections returned Mr. Hart, a highly respectable native, to the provincial parliament, but the Canadians refused to allow him his seat on the ground that he professed the Jewish religion. The British Government decided in his favour at several periods, but the Canadians, who are said to have no power, uniformly prevented him from taking his seat.

The moral was clear: "the idea of such people taking arms to sustain liberty" was "preposterous." Besides, Noah reminded his countrymen, Lower Canadians had fought against America in the War of 1812. "Canadians proper," he concluded, "harbor an interminable dislike to us yankees." He warned that "we can afford no sympathy in return for such hostility."¹⁷

Noah felt more sympathy toward the Upper Canada revolt led by William Lyon Mackenzie. Upper Canadians were ethnically and religiously more similar to Americans. They were not French Catholics, and Noah believed that they were therefore more tolerant. In the case of Mackenzie, at least, he was wrong. The rebel leader was a deeply prejudiced and cynical man. Although he praised America, he staged his rebellion in part to usher in "a government founded upon the heaven-born principle of Jesus Christ." He scorned Jews in particular. Many anti-Jewish comments appeared both in his books and in his newspapers.¹⁸

Noah only learned all of this later. During the rebellion, he said little about Mackenzie, and concentrated his attacks on Papineau. "On no ac-

count" was he prepared "to furnish men, money or arms" to any rebels. He had no qualms at all, however, about helping those who escaped onto American soil. His main aim was to keep the United States out of the struggle.¹⁹

When America was dragged into the struggle, Noah modified his editorial stance. Like his countrymen, he was deeply affected by the Canadian attack on the vessel *Caroline* which stood in American waters. He joined in the calls for investigation and retaliation, and began to look more warmly on independence-minded rebels. But though he mournfully lamented the "massacre" and righteously condemned the "aggressors," he still counseled patience. Even in the midst of patriotic fervor he did not forget the doubts and fears which prevented him from supporting the Canadian rebels in the first place.²⁰

V

Was Noah's deep interest in Canadian affairs unusual? Not for a Jew. Like Americans who lived in border towns, and French Canadian immigrants who worked in the United States, Jews were personally affected by Canadian affairs. Uncertainties, disturbances and rebellions threatened their families and disrupted their trade. In Noah's case, concern with Canada may have been even more personal. Rumor had it that he actually was born in Canada, and was brought to America only later. No known evidence supports this story. To the contrary, all the available facts back up Noah's contention that he was born in Philadelphia. But John L. Wilson, once governor of South Carolina, believed the charge and communicated it to the *New York Herald* (Appendix III). He claimed that his information came from Myer Moses, a distinguished Jewish resident of Charleston (and later New York) who unfortunately was dead by the time Wilson's letter appeared in print.²¹

Regardless of his birthplace, Mordecai Noah considered himself an American. He knew Canada, and felt at home with members of its Jewish community. His Canadian Jewish relatives felt equally at ease in New York. Much had changed, however, from the days of the American Revolution. The "fourteenth colony" had gone its own way. Its problems and its crises differed markedly from those which faced its neighbor to the south. Increasingly, political differences impinged upon familial and social ties. Two distinctive national identities were in the process of being formed.

In later years this process continued. American and Canadian Jews maintained close personal relations. Ties of marriage and friendship

bound the two communities, and travel back and forth became common. American and Canadian Jewish history, however, did not move along parallel paths. In Canada, Jewish immigration patterns, Reform Judaism, and Zionism all developed differently from the way they developed in America. Canadian Jewish communities faced — and still face — problems and threats most unlike those facing their neighbors to the South. Close ethnic, religious and familial ties have often shielded these differences from public view. Ultimately, however, no one can escape the fundamental fact that the United States and Canada are two nations, separate and distinct.²²

APPENDIX I

His Excellency James Madison,
President of the United States

We, the undersigned Citizens of the United States, residing within the Province of Lower Canada, and in the State of New York beg leave to represent to your Excellency, that the commercial intercourse between the United States and Lower Canada is rapidly increasing; and more security would be given to that intercourse by the appointment of an agent from the United States, for the protection of of [sic] the rights and privileges of our fellow Citizens trading to that Province. They trust that an institution of that kind will be found both necessary and useful; as tending to promote Commerce and prevent its diminution. They beg leave to state that the appointment of an Agent involves objects of a more important nature than the mere protection of trade. That portion of our fellow Citizens who navigate rafts down the river St. Lawrence are frequently exposed to the inconvenience of Press Gangs, who, though ultimately released when pressed into service, for want of prompt and immediate interference, have been compelled to undergo many embarrassments and vexatious privations. The security of our fellow citizens whose contingency of situation renders them dependant on the Province for the sale of their produce forms a primary object in this request; it likewise involves principles of minor consideration, but of relative importance. Viewing it in this light, and considering that the appointment of an agent authorized to render every service to his fellow citizens will be to promote their interest and prosperity, we feel confidant that your Excellency will afford every consideration to the subject, which its importance demands.

We further beg leave to recommend for the above appointment, our

fellow citizen M. M. Noah — the Bearer of this communication — who from his frequent intercourse with the Province, his knowledge of the country, its commerce and resources, is considered competent to discharge the duties attached to the station.

Quebec, August 25th, 1810

Abner Cushing—Quebec	Eli Ayer (?)—Ascot
Johnson Walker	Jared Moulton
Edward Franklin	
Asa Carter—Shipton	Wm. Barker—Hereford
Edwd. Carter—Montreal	

— State of New York²³ —

Ruggles Hubbard—Troy	Thos Turner—Troy
Solomon Wilbur, Jr.—Troy	James Adams (?)—Troy
Ebenezer W. Walbridge—Lansingburgh	
R. M. Livingston—Troy	William Pierce—Troy
Benjamin Gale—Troy	Joseph D. Selden—Troy
Samuel Gale—Troy	Daniel T. Wandell—Troy
G[uilford] D. Young—Troy	Ben Smith—Troy
Gilbert Reilay—Troy	James H. Price—Troy
S[olomon] Southwick ²⁴ —Albany	Solomon Allen—Albany
James B. Douglass—Albany	Eph[raim] Hart ²⁵ —New York

(General Records of the Department of State, Record Group 59, Applications and Recommendations for Public Office under President Madison, National Archives, Washington D.C.)

APPENDIX II

The following synopsis strikes us Americans as being the most expedient and judicious for the interests of all concerned:

1. Upper and Lower Canada to be united under the name and form of THE CANADAS, including all the boundaries and possessions claimed by both provinces, and under the control of a Governor and Commander-in-Chief, to be appointed by the Crown.

2. The Canadas to be divided into counties, and the ratio of representation to be governed by the population of each; and each county to elect a certain number of delegates to the House of Commons, to be freeholders, and to be elected by freeholders.

3. A legislative Council (or Senate) to consist of not more than thirty-two members taken from eight districts into which the province may be

divided, to be nominated for life by the governor and commander in chief and confirmed by the king.

4. An executive Council or Cabinet, to consist of the Heads of Departments who shall be paid by his official advisers.

5. The Judiciary to consist of a Chief Justice and Chancellor to be appointed by the king, and a certain number of puisne judges to be nominated by the Governor and Council; the Chief Justice to have a seat and not a vote in the Legislative Council.

6. All the seignorial properties, rights, and rights of primogeniture, and religious principles, as secured to the French population of Lower Canada by the treaty of Quebec, and the conditions of alliance to the British Crown, to be confirmed and secured [and] made perpetual.

7. A seat of government to be fixed upon as nearly in the centre of the province as possible.

8. All the income from the clergy reserves to be applied to the support of district or common schools — for the endowment of colleges, and the benefit of education, without reference to sects or denominations.

(*The Evening Star For the Country*, March 17, 1837, p. 2)

APPENDIX III

Charleston, September 20th, 1842

I perceive by the *Herald* that you are ignorant of the birthplace of M. M. Noah, lately a judge in your city. He is a native of Canada, and never has been made a citizen of the United States. During the last war with Great Britain, before the second election of Mr. Madison, he came on to Charleston (and it was supposed, was hired for the business) to enlist the *City Gazette* edited by E. S. Thomas²⁶ (the only important democratic paper in the city and the State), to favor the election of De Witt Clinton. He at first succeeded, and wrote a series of numbers, under the signature of "Dionysius Halicarnassus" in behalf of Clinton. An administration paper, the *Investigator*, was established to counter-act the movement. This was highly offensive to Mr. Noah. I was one of the editors, and ridiculed him in every way. Under the law of our State, at the time, the greatest truth was the severest libel. To ridicule a man was libellous. Noah indicted me for libel; and at the trial, I made the objection to the prosecution of the case, by an alien enemy, against a native citizen, as he could not sue for a debt, he should not prosecute. The point was argued at some length and the Court decided that Noah was no party to the case, as the

State and the defendant were the only parties. I was, of course, guilty of ridiculing him which was always continued. The court passed some paltry sentence, which the Governor remitted instantly. That he was an alien I had abundant evidence to prove. Mr. Meyer Moses,²⁷ who died in your city, gave me the information, and was one of my witnesses. He said Noah's parents came from Canada (where Noah was born) when he was young, and they settled in Philadelphia. If you make the proper inquiries in Philadelphia, you can easily get the facts. But it is scarcely possible that unless Noah knew I could prove him an alien, that he would have listened to long arguments when a word from him, if a citizen, and a demand for the proof, would have settled the question. I have no doubt of the fact of his alienage.

With respect, yours, &c,

John L. Wilson²⁸

(*New York Herald*, May 13, 1850, p.2)

FOOTNOTES

I am grateful to the National Foundation for Jewish Culture and to the Memorial Foundation for Jewish Culture for the support which they have so generously given to my research.

1. Michael Brown, "The American Connection of Canadian Jews: 1759-1914," *AJS Review* III (1978), pp.21-77.
2. My "Mordecai M. Noah: Jacksonian Politician and American Jewish Communal Leader — A Biographical Study" (Unpublished Ph.D., Yale University, 1979) is the most recent account. See also Isaac Goldberg, *Major Noah; American Jewish Pioneer* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1938); and Robert Gordis, "Mordecai Manuel Noah: A Centenary Evaluation," *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, 41 (1951), pp.1-25.
3. Sarna, "Noah," pp.8-10; quote is from *Sunday Times and Noah's Weekly Messenger* (March 30, 1851), p.2.
4. Citizens of the United States to James Madison (August 25, 1810), General Records of the Department of State (R.G.59), Applications and Recommendations for Public Office Under President Madison, National Archives, Washington D.C.; Isaac Goldberg, "Mr. Noah, American," *The Menorah Journal*, 24 (Autumn 1936), pp.76-93.
5. On Ephraim Hart, see Joseph R. Rosenbloom, *A Biographical Dictionary of Early American Jews* (Lexington, Ky: University of Kentucky Press, 1960), pp.51-52, and sources cited therein.
6. Noah to Robert Smith (January 7, 1811), R.G.59, Applications and Recommendations for Public Office Under President Madison, National Archives; "Introductory note," microcopy 485, Despatches from United States Consuls in Riga, National Archives.
7. Mordecai M. Noah, *Travels in England, France, Spain and the Barbary States in the Years 1813-14 and 15* (New York: Kirk and Mercein, 1819).
8. *National Advocate* (January 24, 1820), p.2; (March 3, 1821), p.2; (March 6, 1820), p.6. The best known secondary account is Lewis F. Allen, "Founding of the City of Ararat on Grand Island by Mordecai M. Noah," *Buffalo Historical Society Publications*, I (1879), pp.305-28, and frequently reprinted. For other sources, see Sarna, "Noah," pp.130-62, 422-36.

9. *Evening Star* (December 5, 1837), p.2.
10. Hart Family Papers, file D-e, item 2 and D-f, item 4 refer to subscriptions for Noah's papers. On Noah's relatives, see *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, 27 (1920), p.491. I am indebted to Mrs. Evelyn Miller and Dr. Malcolm Stern for their assistance on genealogical matters.
11. O.E.Tiffany, "The Relations of the United States to the Canadian Rebellion of 1837-1838," *Publications of the Buffalo Historical Society*, 8 (1905), pp.1-147; Albert B. Corey, *The Crisis of 1830-1842 in Canadian-American Relations* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941); William Kilbourn, *The Firebrand, William Lyon Mackenzie and the Rebellion in Upper Canada* (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin, 1956) and Joseph Schull, *Rebellion* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1971), provide background on the rebellion.
12. *Evening Star* (January 5, 1835), p.2.
13. *Evening Star* (January 29, 1835), p.2.
14. *Evening Star* (March 15, 1837), p.2; Leonard I. Gappelberg, "M.M.Noah and the Evening Star: Whig Journalism 1833-1840" (Unpublished Ed.D. thesis, Yeshiva University, 1970), pp.212-18; Samuel Reznick, "Social History of an American Depression, 1837-1843," *American Historical Review*, 40 (1835), pp.662-687; Marcus Lee Hansen, *The Mingling of the Canadian and American Peoples* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1940), pp.115-38; and items cited in n.11.
15. *Evening Star* (March 15, 1837), p.2, reprinted in the "for the country" edition (March 17, 1837), p.2.
16. *Ibid*; compare W.P.M.Kennedy, *Documents of the Canadian Constitution 1759-1915* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1918), pp.223-553.
17. *Evening Star* (December 5, 1837), p.2; (December 8, 1837), p.2. On the case of Ezekiel Hart, see Julius Price, "Proceedings Related to the Expulsion of Ezekiel Hart from the House of Assembly of Lower Canada," *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, 23 (1915), pp.43-53; and Benjamin G. Sack, *History of the Jews in Canada* (Montreal, 1945), I, pp.80-95, cf. 118.
18. On Mackenzie's anti-Jewish comments, many of which were directed against Noah, see Anthony W. Rasporich, *William Lyon Mackenzie* (Toronto: Holt, Rinehard & Winston, 1972), pp.4,8,14,122; *Workingman's Advocate*, 22 (August 24, 1844), p.1; *Herald* (August 26, 1844), pp.1,4,5; and the generally negative comments on Noah in Mackenzie's books: *Sketches of Canada and the United States* (London: E. Wilson, 1833); *The Lives and Opinions of Benjamin Franklin Butler and Jesse Hoyt* (Boston: Cook & Co., 1845); and *The Life and Times of Martin Van Buren* (Boston: Cooke & Co., 1846). Recent literature on Mackenzie is summarized in Paul Romney, "William Lyon Mackenzie as Mayor of Toronto," *Canadian Historical Review*, 56 (December, 1975), pp.416-36; cf. Louis Filler, *Appointment at Armageddon* (Westport: Greenwood, 1976), pp.50-60.
19. *Evening Star* (December 13, 1837), p.2; (December 21, 1837), p.2; (December 28, 1837), p.2.
20. *Evening Star* (January 4, 1838), p.2.
21. The rumor may be found in the *Charleston Investigator* (February 3, 1813), p.3; and in the *New York Herald* (October 16, 1842), p.2; and (May 13, 1850), p.2.
22. Jonathan D. Sarna, "Jewish Immigration to North America: The Canadian Experience (1870-1900)," *Jewish Journal of Sociology*, 18 (June 1976), pp.31-41; Lloyd P. Gartner, "North American Jewry," *Migration and Settlement* (London: Jewish Historical Society of England, 1971), pp.114-27; Albert Rose (ed.), *A People and Its Faith* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1959); *The Emanu-El Story 1882-1960* (Montreal, 1960); Michael Brown, "The Beginnings of Reform Judaism in Canada," *Jewish Social Studies*, 34 (1972), pp.322-42; Marnin Feinstein, *American Zionism 1884-1904* (New York, 1965), p.87; Moshe Davis, "Centres of Jewry in the Western Hemisphere: A Comparative Approach," *Jewish Journal of Sociology*, 10 (December

- 1968), pp.177-220; Morton Weinfeld, "A Note on Comparing Canadian and American Jewry," *Journal of Ethnic Studies*, 5 (1977), pp.95-103.
23. For the identification of all the Troy residents except James H. Price, see A.J. Weise, *History of the City of Troy* (New York: W.H. Young, 1876) and A.J. Weise, *Troy's One Hundred Years* (New York: W.H. Young, 1891).
 24. Solomon Southwick (1773-1839) was the editor of the Albany Register (*Dictionary of American Biography*, vol. 17, pp.413-14).
 25. See note 5.
 26. See E.S. Thomas, *Reminiscences of the Last Sixty-Five Years* (Hartford: E.S. Thomas, 1940).
 27. On Myer Moses (1779-1833), see Rosenbloom, *Biographical Dictionary*, pp.121-22.
 28. John L. Wilson (1784-1849) was governor of South Carolina in the 1820s. *National Cyclopedia of American Biography*, vol. 12, pp.164-65.