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A History of the Jews of Cleveland, sermon and correspondence concerning the book by Lloyd Gartner, 1978-1979.

A History of the Jews of Cleveland Daniel Jeremy Silver November 19, 1978

Seeking to explain the rather dismal won and loss record of our professional basketball and football teams, one of our local sports writers recently offered the old saw "that it never rains but it pours." He was suggesting that the record of the Browns and the Cavaliers somehow was related to our civic tzores. Perhaps the same theory can explain the recently published History of the Jews of Cleveland by Lloyd Gartner for it is a less than successful piece of work.

These criticisms are not personal. The <u>History</u> ends its narrative with the second World War, long before I entered the rabbinate here. My father is described in gracious terms. But, in one sense, these comments are personal. I love the craft of history, in which I am something of a professional. I believe that history, properly researched and reported, can tell us a great deal about ourselves; how we react to different environments; how tradition can be adjusted to changed circumstances; and how politics and personality act and interact. History provides the material from which philosophy emerges. Unfortunately, I found little of meaning in this book.

I am told that on a wall of the Temple which housed the Oracle of Delphi this adage was engraved: "When the gods speak, beware." During the twenty-five years this History of the Jews of Cleveland was in the making the gods regularly suggested the project be abandoned, but no one heeded their warning.

In 1954 we celebrated the tercentenary of the first settlement of Jews in what would become the United States. A group of twenty-three came that year to New Amsterdam from Brazil by way of Curacao. Those celebrations saw the publication of a number of general histories of the American Jewish community and resulted in proposals to produce a number of local histories whose record might test the broad themes which had been sketched cut in the tercentenary histories. In Rochester, Milwaukee, Los Angeles,

Philadelphia, Ealtimore and Cleveland sponsors were found for the preparation of that Jewish community's history. Over the next decade these histories appeared - all except Cleveland's. Our project had been assigned to Charles Reznikoff who had published a useful history of the Jews of Charlestown. Reznikoff began the project, but the gods intervened and he set the task aside. Local people took up the work: Sidney Vincent from our Federation and Rabbi Jack Herman. When Rabbi Herman died, the history was turaed over to the American Jewish History Project of the Jewish Theological Seminary who assigned it to Lloyd Cartner. Some work was done. A local researcher was hired, but again, the gods intervened. Gartner decided to make aliyah. Years passed, but Sidney Vincent is a determined man. Phones rang. There were visits to New York and Jerusalem and a manuscript finally appeared. Unfortunately, the result is a three hundred and some odd page text which consists largely of undigested material and which fails to provide any real understanding of the forces which shaped our Jewish community or the institutions in which we participate. It would have been wise to heed the gods.

Everyone must accept some share of responsibility for the result. The printer whom the Federation wanted to recognize during its seventy-fifth anniversary celebration.

I have examined seven copies and, in every case, page 173 follows page 171.

The editor contributed to the failure. There are typographic mistakes on nearly every page. We look first at what is closest to us and my eye caught an amazing array of editorial errors on the page which features photographs of the three buildings which our congregation occupied during the period covered. The caption which identifies the 1893 building manages to be redundant, anacronistic and inaccurate in just ten words: "Tifereth Israel's (The Temple), Willson Avenue Temple, 2301 East 66th Street, " Redundant: Two "Temples." Anacronistic: Until about the time that building was built Willson Avenue was the name for East 55th Street, but no one associated that name

with the structure. Inaccurate: an address on East 66th Street for a congregation on East 55th Street. The caption of the photograph of the University Circle structure suggests that our legal name, The Temple, is the name of a building rather than of a congregation - "The Temple at University Circle and Silver Park, occupied by congregation Tifereth Israel." Finally, the picture of our original building on Huron Road bears this awkward title: "Congregation Tifereth Israel (The Temple) Synagogue."

Stylistically, A History of Cleveland reads as if it were translated from a foreign language. Gartner's sentences remind me of the night school essays written by immigrants learning English whose unexpected phrases Leo Rosten comically immortalized in his Education of Hyman Kaplan. These first essays into English tended to pile phrase on phrase and to use words tucked away in Webster's Unabridged Dictionary, but not found in the living tongue. Since the night school image suggested itself, let me read you the lines which describe a turn-of-the-century class in Cleveland. "The young adult immigrants who preponderated in night school were hopeful and ambitious." Often, as I read, I felt an urge to play the English don and write in the margin: "Why not simply say the young immigrants who went to night school were mostly young adults?"

But we have not finished with the beauties of this paragraph:

The young adult immigrants who preponderated in night school were hopeful and ambitious and knowledge of English was the key to many of the things they sought in America.

Despite the "and" which suggests a conjunction of ideas, we are led off at right angles to the self-evident observation that some mastery of English was essential to be successful in America. Having made this point, Gartner, with unerring skill, proved the obvious by citing the one occupation in which fluency in English was absolutely non-essential.

The young adult immigrants who preponderated in night school were hopeful and ambitious, and knowledge of English was the key to many of the things they sought in America. Two aspiring young sculptors began in such schools, Max Kalish and William Zorach.

If the sculptor has skillful hands, he has no need of words.

Gartner's writing is humorless, but the book has its moments, usually the result of the awkward piling up of phrases and ideas. I chuckled at the implicit priority of the services revealed in this sentence:

Cleveland sheltered an abundance of German and other fraternal secret societies which provided death benefits and social pleasures to thousands of townspeople.

And I cannot resist quoting the ultimate accolade to my father's oratorical skills:

In and out of his pulpit Silver was an orator of overpowering force and brilliance and persuasiveness ranking among the greatest ever heard in America, or in the Zionist movement.

Let us move from style to substance. History is a search for meaning within the contradictions of the human experience. Serious history attempts to understand how human beings operate in a social context given the fact that we are conditioned by our past and must wrestle with the confusions, limitations and possibilities of the present, burdened and blessed by certain convictions about the future. A list of the first Jewish settlers of Cleveland is important only to use the names to uncover why they left, why they came, what they brought and how they organized their new lives. In this book the step to understanding is rarely taken.

One fascinating question in American Jewish historiography concerns the religious attitudes these immigrants brought with them. Most of the Jews who came to America between 1820 and 1880 came from Central Europe and from German-speaking lands where reform Judaism had been developing for several generations. The congregations which these first settlers of Cleveland founded ultimately became affiliated with the Reform movement. Does two and two make four? Many writers have assumed that these immigrants brought the pascent liberal ideas with them. The Cleveland experience suggests that here at least this was not the case. The first congregation was organized

as a traditional minyan. (I use the word traditional because there was then no such thing as orthodoxy. Jewish customs differed from village to village. Indeed, one of the reasons the early congregations split so often was that they included those who had different childhood or adult experiences and so defined Judaism differently. In 1846 when that minyan split, the split was not over reform but over variant conceptions of tradition.

In 1844, just a few years after the first Jewish settlers arrived to Cleveland, these folk organized a day school which they maintained for most of the next twenty years. This day school, for elementary age children, was fully traditional in its approach. The evidence seems to suggest that reform was not an import from the old world; but here, at least, it was a native growth, a lay-led, practical and pragmatic response to the nine-teenth century American environment with its absence of professionally trained religious functionaries, its emphasis on freedom for women and its wilespread indifference to religious punctillia. During the nineteenth century a majority of Americans were unchurched and many churches, particularly those in the cities, preached a social gospel heavily laced with progressive ideas. The nineteenth century Americanization of the synagogue, what the books call reform, would seem to be a response by once-traditional Jews to the local environment, a response motivated both by enthusiasm for the American way and by a sense of Jewish identity. This suggests that had groups of Jews come at the same time from areas in which Reform had not yet been learned, their adjustment would have been similar. The catalyst for change was domestic, not imported.

I have chosen to criticize Gartner's approach to the early history of our community which involves his treatment of the liberal movement because this is a congregational talk and the issue has particular interest for us, but one could make equally trenchant criticism of his handling of such issues as the growth of the local conservative and orthodox communities and of the community as a community. His failures of understanding

touch every aspect of this history. Gartner is a Zionist, a Hebraist, a lover of Yiddish-kite and something of a Socialist. In many ways I share his prejudices; but no historian can allow his preferences to blind him to the realities of life experienced at another period of time when reasonable and caring people, reacting to a different environment, might for the best of reasons come to conclusions other than those Gartner believes to be self-evident. An historian's role is not to condemn, but to explore and explain. The question is not whether the reformers were theologically sound, but why they did what they did. Why did they seek to change Judaism instead of simply walking away?

Limited by his prejudices Gartner fails to see many incidents in their full ambiguity. He dismisses the establishment of a Jewish hospital in the 1890's as a civic response by newly sell-to-do Jews of German extraction to Cleveland's conventional definition of civic responsibility. The other faiths had hospitals. Jews ought to pay their way. Citing the founding committee's indifference to a kosher kitchen in their new hospital, Gartner correctly suggests their lack of sympathy with what the term "Jewish" implies in our minds today. What Gartner fails to suggest is that these well-to-do benefactors really felt they were acting in consonance with the "Jewish" doctrine of the Mission of Israel, that is, as good Jews. That they misunderstood the role of ritual and the traditional mission theme is not the only point that needs to be made. In the innocent ethos of pre-World War I America the melting pot image was accepted doctrine and a riteless religion was a popular theme. It was believed that rites separated groups who otherwise shared basic convictions.

As another case in point, I give you the famous incident of the Chicken Divan, a celebrated Cleveland contretempts, which Gartner does not even mention. In 1855, largely at the instigation of Isaac Mayer Wise, a not learned but amazingly energetic rabbi, a convention was organized of representatives, rabbinic and lay, of the major

congregations of the United States. There was no reform or orthodoxy at the time. There were simply American congregations. The aim was to prevent institutional division. It was decided that the assembly should meet in Cleveland.

Many East Coast representatives mistrusted the Midwesterners. They had heard tales about strange practices in places like St. Louis and Cincinnati; but Cleveland was still accepted as a kosher Jewry. Cleveland's two congregations still had separate seating, worshipped properly hatted and used a traditional prayer book. In Cleveland America's synagogues would see whether a synod could be created which would avoid that kind of communal disunity which so much troubled Europe.

The belle dames of our town were charged with responsibility for the opening banquet. It was to take place in the Hollenden House, the finest hotel of the town. The good ladies importuned the Hollenden's chef to do his best. A ritual slaughter was imported. Chickens were carefully examined. There were special plates and silverware. On the banquet night everything seemed in order. Greetings were spoken. The first course was enjoyed by all. Then the waiters proudly brought out the main course. The only trouble was that between the time the ladies had gone home to dress and this moment, the chef, all too eager to please, had placed a layer of ham under every serving of chicken. When the eastern gentlemen saw this dish they knew that the Midwest was not to be trusted.

What does the story tell us? That in America the eagerness of some gentile neighbors to please must be numbered among the pressures which made the continuation of traditional ways more difficult. Paradoxically, a major problem facing the American Jew would be the benign quality of much in his environment. Throughout, Gartner fails to sketch out the impact of America on its Jews.

13

Because Gartner rarely sees beyond his prejudices, he missed many of the important sub-themes of our history, ideas which would have given his study depth and range. As an example, he tells the story of Jacob Mayer who was rabbi of this congregation from 1868 to 1871. Jacob Mayer was a man of considerable charm and oratorical ability. He became a familiar figure on many platforms and was broadly accepted. He introduced here Isaac M. Wise's new prayer book, Minhag America. It was under his leadership that this congregation began the process of becoming reform. Around 1870 the congregation offered him a ten-year contract which he accepted; but two years later Har Sinai in Baltimore, then a much larger and better-known congregation, offered a more generous contract and Mayer left. In Baltimore disaster befell him. He was recognized by people who had known him in England where Mayer had acted as a representative of a Christian Missionary Society working among young Jews in transit to the United States.

Gartner treats this remarkable story heavy-handedly, as proof positive of the irresponsibility of early reform. He describes Mayer's pulpit as "fervid preachings garbed in fascile rhetoric." "His sermons lacked accuracy and substance, but they had a flashing brilliance which dazzled listeners who had come from villages and backward towns." Though there is no indication, Mayer's sermons are available for analysis.

Gartner dismisses Mayer as a meshumad and charlatan. Mayer may well have been, but a good historian would, at least, have looked further. The nineteenth century, like our times, was a period of youth in flaming revolt and desperate search. It was an age of alienation and of oftime violent youthful emotional flip-flops. The youth were caught between worlds. Gartner presents a few tantalizing suggestions of this "beat generation." He mentions in passing the relatively high number of suicides of younger persons which

took place here. But he never asks what would lead a young person, newly come to this promised land, to commit suicide. Loneliness? Being three thousand miles from home? The gap between expectations and the sweat shop? A heart thirsting for beauty caught in a smoke-filled mill town? A heder-trained mind lost in a larger world? The nineteenth century was the century of Heinrich Heine for whom conversion was not only a passport to Europe but the entrance fee to a new and dazzling culture and the certainty of heavy guilt. Many teenagers moved in a few weeks from the intense Jewish atmosphere of the veshivah to the radically different, but equally intense, atmosphere of the universities of Heidelberg or Gottingen where the world of Spinoza, Hegel, Kant, museums and concert halls suddenly opened to them. Many were enticed to leave their childhood world behind and join this world with its marvels. Christianity seemed congruent with the new world, Judaism did not. Their professors were all Christian. Having already physically left home, the Talmud has no currency here. Some changed faiths as well as philosophies. Not a few, including some of the most sensitive, passed through a series of spiritual crises and found their way into Christianity and then back into Judaism, particularly to a Judaism which had begun to take up the new ideas and aesthetics.

Mayer may have been a charlatan, but I would suggest that before he is dismissed as a rabbinic hypocrite it would be necessary to examine his life more fully to see whether he may not have been a prototype of the spiritually sensitive young immigrant who suddenly found himself uprooted, caring, needing a support group and a faith and turning to whatever opportunity satisfies his soul that moment. Surely, we are close enough to the 1960's to appreciate what can happen to young adults who do not feel spiritually sustained by the congregations or the institutions in which they were raised. Surely, in the examination of this theme Gartner might have offered us an appreciation of the emotional differences between those emotionally hardy souls who took up the peddler's sack, went out into the farms with a bundle and made a bundle, and the more sensitive

who could not find it in their souls to peddle and who lacked the material drive to take full advantage of the Promised Land. Cleveland's lack of an intellectual class may have deep roots on such emotional typing.

Gartner's preconceptions were highlighted for me in his description of my father's decision to attend the Hebrew Union College: "His decision to attend the Reform Hebrew Union College surprised his friends and chagrined his parents." When we talked about this decision Dad always indicated that he had been sent to the College by his father and that his father, in fact, had suggested this move. As a matter of fact, not only Dad, but his brother went to the Hebrew Union College; and not only these brothers but a group of close friends who had been associated in New York's lower East Side with a Hebrew-speaking society which my grandfather had organized, the Herzl Zion Club. Rabbi Barnett Brickner was one of this number, so were Rabbis Benjamin Friedman of Syracuse, Abraham Feldman of Hartford and Sol Cohen of Boston.

My grandfather had been ordained rabbi at the Slobodka Yeshivah in Lithuania. He was pious, abservant, a Zionist and a Hebraist. In 1921 he retired to Jerusalem where he coud live the kind of traditional life which he found fulfilling. Though thoroughly orthodox, he had no patience with traditionalists who denied Zionism or who confused Eastern European customs with the rabbinic faith. Far from being chagrined by his son's entrance at Hebrew Union College, he had encouraged the decision. Indeed, he counseled other youths to do so. Why? The answer would seem to have something to do with the role of the other seminaries at the time. The traditional New York yeshiyot had not yet adopted the critical approach to the story of the Talmud and still conducted their classes in Yiddish. The Jewish Theological Seminary, recently established by wealthy up-town Jews, mostly members of reform congregations, had as one of its purposes to Americanize and de-Zionize the immigrant generation. Eetter to go the bastion of American

Judaism and to work to Hebraize and Zionize the American Jewish community from within.

Burdened by his preconceptions, Gartner jumped to an unwarranted conclusion - an historian's cardinal sin. Above all, historians must avoid mistaking conventional generalizations for a description of fact. It should have happened as Gartner described, but did not. Mcreover, when a scholar fails to notice or to search out this kind of specific information, he fails to understand what it is that makes a particular person or a particular community different and so fails in his basic purpose which is to test the conventional generalization. It is to discover the variations on the accepting themes that one writes a communal history.

The Cleveland Jewish community has had a remarkable community in the areas of Jewish education. The day school which operated here between 1844 and 1865 was, I believe, at the time the only such school in the Western Reserve. By the end of the nineteenth century our congregation and the Euclid Avenue Temple had, perhaps, the two most successful weekend religious schools in the United States. Between them the two congregations created much of the curriculum which would become standard in liberal congregations. By the middle 1920's this congregation had not only a religious school and a Hebrew school, but a high school and a college department. Between 1900 and 1940 this town sent to the Hebrew Union College and the Jewish Theological Seminary more students, proportionate to our Jewish population, than any other city in the United States. Between 1910 and 1940 the level of Hebrew culture here was remarkably high for a midwestern community. Why? I do not claim to have the answer, but I do claim that anyone who sets out to write a history of the Jews of Cleveland at least ought to notice this specialness and suggest where answers are to be found.

The history of the Americanization of the Jew is well known. Those who came in the eighteenth century came in small numbers and remained east of the Appalachians. Probably less than three thousand Jews lived in the several states at the time of the American Revolution. These Jews had come from the major cities of Western Europe and, once here, established and maintained traditional congregations. The next large immigrant group was comprised of Central European Jews. They came between 1820 and 1880, most as traditional Jews; and, once here, began a process of Americanization. Why? How did nineteenth-century America differ from the century before? Behind them came a wave of immigrants from Eastern Europe, set in motion by the disintegration of shtetl life and the pogroms. When they arrive they find the existing congregations in the process of change. The pious among them disapproved. The average Jew was puzzled. The agnostics among them were indifferent. The new immigrants, if they were religious at all, created their own minyanim which, in turn, began a process of acculturation. In most Mid-western communities reform congregations are the oldest congregations; the conservative congregations were the next to be founded; and the orthodox congregations were the latest on the scene.

This eastern immigration wave included many who had already broken with the synagogue. The Eastern European immigrants brought new ideas with them: socialism, Zionism, Yiddish culture. These assimilated not to liberal Judaism but to the labor movement and Socialist ideologies. There were the pious and those who danced on Yom Kippur. The displacement of the synagogue and the secularization of the community seriously begins only with this last immigrant wave. Why? Is the present success of the social welfare community a surrogate for synagogue membership rather than a civic creation of German immigrants become well-to-dc as Garmer and conventional theory suggests? I am not sure, but such questions need to be asked.

When, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, a Mt. Sinai Hospital, a Jewish Family Service Association and a Jewish Community Federation emerge they were led by recently established Jews. Some of these people were people of consequence and others were people of little consequence. Some were people of sensitivity and some were simply trying to buy their way into Heaven. Some were thoughtful and others careless; but, whatever their motivation, they shared a single experience. There were now a goodly number of Jews. There were more poor Jews. Social divisions had emerged and a language division. There were non-Jewish political concerns. It is easy to put down the founders of the Federation as rich people apeing Christian charity, but that is only a small part of the truth. Others had a larger vision. They saw that effective social work and political work could be done only in an organized way. Others had an image of a voluntary Kehillah. The challenge of history is that it is full of seeming contradictions.

The history of the Jewish community of Cleveland deserves to be written, not because Cleveland Jewry was exceptionally creative, but because we were what we were. As a community our accomplishments have been institutional and social service rather than intellectual or cultural. Perhaps our lack of an intelligentsia partially explains why we have been one of the most institutionally successful communities in these United States. Whether or not that generalization holds up, our pluses and minuses deserve to be studied.

I once wrote an article which I entitled "To The Making of Books There Is

No End, But Perhaps There Ought To Be." In many areas there are too many books, but

here is one area where another work is needed. An insightful history of the Jews of

Cleveland needs to be written.

Kaddish

Gunday Nov. 19.1978

Those who passed away this week

Hahrzeits

LAURA NEUMAN JULIUS B. COHN ETTA S.GOLDSMITH HATTIE KOPERLIK DR. SAMUEL L.ROBBINS ISAAC NEWMAN BEATRICE FUHRER GOODMAN NICHOLAS CHAIKIN DR.LOUIS H. BACHRACH BETSY JO REICH JOANNE RAPPAPORT HOLTZER JACOB DWORKIN BIRDIE A.MESHORER PAUL E. MELDON DAVID L.LAZERICK ROLINDA HAYS JOSEPH BIRDIE STONE LEVISON ALLEN A. ISRAEL ELSA STEINER

Your TEMPLE Calendar - Clip and Save

26000 SHAKER BOULEVARD

SUN	MON	TUES	WED	THURS	FRI	SAT
SERVICES 10:30 a.m. The Temple Branch Rabbi Silver will speak on HISTORY OF THE JEWS OF CLEVELAND Hebrew Camp TMC Theatre Party Chagrin Valley Little Theatre - 7:30 p.m.	20 COPING IV COPING WITH EXPECTATIONS Rev. Albert Jeandeur 8:00 p.m Branch	TWA Activities 10:00 a.m Branch Fellowship & Study Group Rebbi Stephen Klein 10:45 a.m Branch RNigious School Board Meeting 8:15 p.m Branch	22	THANKSGIVING Thanksgiving Service Epworth-Euclid Church Colleg Hour, 9:30 a.m. Service - 10:30 a.m.	Services - 5:30 p.m. The Temple Chapel	25 Shebbet Services 9:45 a.m Branch Bar Mitzvsh JOHN BELL 11:00 a.m. The Temple Chapel
26 SERVICES 10:30 a.m. The Templer Branch Rabbi-Silver will speak on OUR TOWN AND ITS MANY PROBLEMS	COPING V COPING WITH FRUSTRATIONS Dr. L. Douglas Lenkoski 8:00 p.m Branch	28 TWA Activities 10:00 a.m Branch Fellowship & Study Group Rabbi Stephen Klein 10:45 a.m Branch	29 HS	30	Services 5:30 p.m. The Temple Chapel FIRST FRIDAY THE CLEVELAND BALLET 8:15 p.m.	Shabbat Services 9:45 a.m Branch
SERVICES 10:30 a.m. The Temple Branch Rabbi Silver will speak 4th Grade Open House 3rd Grade Retreat	COPING VI COPING WITH YOUR CONVICTIONS Rabbi Daniel Jeremy Silver 8:00 p.m Branch	TWA FIRST TUESDAY 11 a.m. · Shop & Socialize 12 Noon · Lunch 1 p.m. · The Belvoir Singers Fellowship & Study Group Rabbi Stephen Klein 10:45 a.m. · Branch Nir. & Mrs. Club Board Meeting · 8:00 p.m.	6	7	Services - 5:30 p.m. The Temple Chapel	9 Shabbat Services 9:45 a.m. · Branch for the Books
SERVICES 10:30 a.m. The Temple Branch Rabbi Silver will speak 3rd Grade Open House 4th Grade Retreat	11	12, TWA Activities 10:00 a.m Branch Fellowship & Study Group Rabbi Stephen Klein 10:45 a.m Branch Temple Board Meeting 8:00 p.m Branch	13	14	Services - 5:30 p.m. The Temple Chapel	Shabitat Services 9:45 a.m Branch WINNERS ANNOUNCED FOR BOOKS COME TO LIFE CONTEST

EDUCATION AND CULTURE

In 1915, when night school for immigrants was at the peak of its development, 1,976 of its 11,402 students were Jews. 40 The young adult immigrants who preponderated in night school were hopeful and ambitious, and knowledge of English was the key to many of the things they sought in America. Two aspiring young-sculptors began in such-schools. Max Kalish (1891-1945), who came to Cleveland as a child of three, was able to commence his art studies at the Cleveland School of Art, where he later taught, while William Zorach (originally Zorach Finkelstein; 1887-1966), son of impoverished immigrants, was enabled to leave Cleveland in 1903 for New York and the European study which brought him world renown.41 The painter brothers Abel (1883-1962) and Alex Warshawsky (1887-1945) grew up and received their early art education in the same fashion as Zorach and Kalish. Rose Pastor, sweatshop worker and daughter of needy newcomers, began her career in poetry under the patronage of the more prosperous members of her Friendly Club. 42

SUNDAY SCHOOLS AND TEMPLES

There is a photograph taken around 1909 which shows well-dressed boys and girls thronging down a temple's steps as they left Sunday school. They hardly look different from their parents and elders who descended the temples' steps at the conclusion of worship. Indeed, this was the point. The Sunday schools were training children to take their place one day as members and participants. It was not piety and erudition that were sought, nor the mastery of Hebrew which they presupposed. Because Judaism was conceived as a universal moral code, Jewish education consisted of moral didacticism taught catechistically and by example from Biblical history.

Both Reform Temples conducted Sunday schools. In 1876 they enrolled 214 children who were taught by five teachers. Tifereth Israel

consists of 4 classes. The lowest class learns to read Hebrew, the rudiments of catechism and Bible history up to Moses. The second grade continue their stadies as the lowest grade but add the translation of certain portions in the prayerbook. The upper grades continue as above including translations from the Pentateuch.

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FROM CREATION TO REDEMPTION

NOTE: From the beginning of time to the 'end of days' we see a gradual, halting, but real ascent of Mind. Our people Israel has preserved the memory of its own beginnings, and of the peak experiences in its long and fruitful career. Preserved. also, are the reflections of our sages on the meaning of time and event. To look upon the whole sweep of the past, to consider the present, and to let the heart leap toward the distant future is to participate in the significance of this day. For so have we done coch You with times

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February 14, 1979 Mr. Norton B. Stern, Editor Western States Jewish Historical Quarterly 2429 Twenty Third Street Santa Monica, California 90405 Dear Mr. Stern: Thank you for your kind letter of February 9 and for the offprint of the review of Gartner's Los Angeles History which I read with interest. With all good wishes I remain Sincerely. Daniel Jeremy Silver

WESTERN STATES JEWISH HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

NORTCH B. STERN. Editor

Published four times a year in the months of october • JANUARY • APRIL • JULY

2429 TWENTY-THIRD STREET, SANTA MONICA, CALIFORNIA 90405 Telephone (213) 399-3585 Feb. 9, 1979

Rabbi Daniel J. Silver The Temple University Circle at Silver Park Cleveland, Ohio 44106

Dear Rabbi Silver:

Through the courtesy of Dr. Kenneth C. Zwerin, prominent attorney of San Francisco (and a rabbi, H.U.C.), I received a copy of your review of Lloyd Gartner's A HISTORY OF THE JEWS OF CLEVELAND, published in your bulletin of Jan. 28th. I shared this with my associate editor, Dr. William M. Kramer (rabbi, J.I.R., and professor at California State University, Northridge, Clevelandborn, and one-time assistant to Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver). We both enjoyed and appreciated your critical comments.

Had the sponsors of the Cleveland book read our review of the job that Gartner had done in Los Angeles, they might have hesttated before engaging him to do the Cleveland work. I am enclosing a copy of our critical review, published over eight years ago.

In it you will see many of the same errors in interpretation as well as errors of omission and commission, that you found in the Cleveland opus. However, this is only half of the story. Every time we publish a study on any aspect of Los Angeles area Jewish history, we are in effect correcting errors and mis-interpretations seen in the Vorspan-Gartner book.

In spite of the notable pro-Zionism in Los Angeles through the decades since the gold rush, Gartner decided it was anti-Zionist oriented. Of major importance, and completely missed was the fact that the pioneers were not German at all, but predominantly Polish Jews. Gartner, and Vorspan, for that matter, just assumed the German myth. Even the finding by Vorspan that the Wilshire Boulevard Temple used the Polish minhag didn't mean anything to him. As for the movie industry figures, Gartner never really penetrated beneath the surface to find their Jewish activities, commitment, etc.

Happily, many of the errors in the Los Angeles history are being corrected in the pages of our quarterly, which is easily the most vital, readable Jewish historical journal in the country now. Until other regions develop viable scientific historical quarterlies, much of American Jewish history will remain untold.

Sincerely,

Norton B. Stern

Editor

to the

WESTERN STATES JEWISH HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

The Western States Jewish Historical Quarterly is the sprightliest journal in the field of American Jewish history. It contains a treasury of new material on the American Jewish experience. It specializes in the history of the Jew and Jewish institutions in the trans-Mississippi West. Unique pictorial materials are featured in each number. The first issue appeared in October, 1968.

A few articles published in recent issues:

An Alaskan Memoir, by Sol Shirpser.

A History of North Dakota Jewry and Their Pioneer Rabbi, by Isidore Papermaster.

The Emergence of Oakland Jewry by William M. Kramer.

A Portland Girl on Women's Rights, by Alice G. Friedlander.

To Be or Not to Be A Jewish Hospital? by Barbara Rogers.

When the Franco-Prussian War Came to Los Angeles, by Norton B. Stern.

A St. Louis Visitor Views Southern California, by Abraham Newmark.

C. E. H. Kauvar: A Sketch of a Colorado Rabbi's Life, by Michael W. Rubinoff.

Congregation Kal Ami: Religious Merger in Salt Lake City, by Hynda Fudd.

Sam Hamburg: World's Foremost Jewish Farmer, by Steven R. Goldsmith,



A PAIR OF YOUNG MATRONS, LOS ANGELES, 1870s

These young Jewish matrons of Los Angeles exhibit the hair styles, the full figures and the elaborate dressup clothing of ladies of the upper middle class, as were in style a century ago.

(Photograph courtesy of Mrs. Seymour Wisekopf, Los Angeles.)

WESTERN STATES JEWISH HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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OCTOBER, 1970

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NUMBER 1

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The Southern California Jewish Historical Society was founded in 1952 to stimulate interest in local, regional and national Jewish history and to preserve records, artifacts, and other historical data.

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Manuscripts, accompanied by documentation, treating upon all areas of Western Jewish history will be welcomed. Address communications on editorial and circulation matters to:

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WESTERN STATES JEWISH HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

NORTON B. STERN, O. D., Editor

VOLUME III, No. 1

OCTOBER, 1970

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
SAMUEL SUSSMAN SNOW: A Pioneer Finds El Dorado .	3
By Reva Clar	
ILLUSTRATIONS: photographs — Samuel Sussman Snow Herman and Carrie Snow, Emanuel Snow, Entrance to Snow Mine, with Samuel Davidson and Walter Snow in foreground, p. 17; Snow Dam on North Fork of Weber Creek, and 1850 Snow Ranch House, Iowaville, p. 18.	
MARCUS SCHILLER: San Diego's Jewish Horatio Alger .	26
By James L. Allen	
Beth Israel, San Diego, 1889, and Schiller Home in San Diego, p. 28.	
THE STUDY OF LOS ANGELES JEWISH HISTORY: An Analyt-	
ical Consideration of a Major Work	38
By William M. Kramer and Norton B. Stern	
	~~
Book Review	59
California Family Newmark: An Intimate History, by Leo Newmark, M. D. Review by Harvey P. Horowitz	
	64
THE EDITOR'S PAGE ,	01
By Norton B. Stern	

Our Contributors . . .

REVA CLAR — Mrs. Charles Clar of Los Angeles, was born in Santa Rosa, California, and raised in Stockton. She was confirmed at Temple Israel there. After finishing high school, she spent nine years in show business as a professional dancer. Summer vacations spent with friends near Coulterville in the Mother Lode Country, helped to build her keen interest in Western Jewish history research.

James L. Allen, B. A. — Mr. Allen was born in Long Beach, and raised in Norco, California. He earned his baccalaureate at San Diego State College. It was while doing graduate work there, that he wrote his paper on Marcus Schiller, which was a prize-winner at the San Diego Historical Society's Institute of History, held in December, 1969. Mr. Allen is not Jewish.

WILLIAM M. KRAMER, B. A., M.A., D. H. L., D. D. — Dr. Kramer was born in Cleveland, Ohio, and has lived in the Los Angeles area for over twenty years. In addition to his work at San Fernando Valley State College, he has been active with the American Jewish Committee, the Hillel movement, and the Westside Jewish Center. He is an avid researcher of California's rich Jewish history.





THE STUDY OF LOS ANGELES JEWISH HISTORY:

An Analytical Consideration of a Major Work*

By William M. Kramer and Norton B. Stern

THE APPEARANCE of the first serious book dealing with the history of Jewry in a major California city is an event to be heralded by all. The History of the Jews of Los Angeles, by Max Vorspan and Lloyd P. Gartner, has been long-delayed and eagerly anticipated. Dr. Max Vorspan has been one of the major builders of the University of Judaism in Los Angeles, serving as Provost and as Associate Professor of American Jewish History. Dr. Lloyd P. Gartner is Associate Professor of History at the City University of New York, is affiliated with the Jewish Theological Seminary of New York, and has served in editorial capacities with the American Jewish Historical Society.

Theirs is a pioneering project in process for more than a decade. The participation of Los Angeles Jewry in the publication represents a commendable commitment by an organized community to its own rootage. The Huntington Library continues its tradition of fine bookmanship in the attractive format of the volume. The book also is issued by the Jewish Publication Society in a slightly different form.

The first to undertake any major historical research not only have to utilize the sources, they must discover them. Our authors have made an important beginning. Considering that a limited monographic literature was available at the time the

^{*} HISTORY OF THE JEWS OF LOS ANGELES, by Max Vorspan and Lloyd P. Gartner (San Marino: The Huntington Library, 1970. Pp. xii, 362. Photographs, Appendixes, Notes, Index. \$8.50).

Marcus Schiller: San Diego's Jewish Horatio Alger

that Marcus Schiller was involved in, was in some way related to the town's prosperity.

He died at his home at 1305 Front Street, on March 19, 1904. Cause of death was ascribed to old age. He was interred March 21, 1904, at Home of Peace Cemetery, on Imperial Avenue, in San Diego. Funeral services were conducted at the San Diego Masonic Temple by San Diego Lodge No. 35, F. & A. M. On that occasion, one might well have reflected that Marcus Schiller, who had come to the United States with nothing, was indeed a Jewish Horatio Alger.

^{64.} San Diego Union, March 20. 1904.



SAN DIEGO GRAND JURY — 1852

"We, your Grand Jury, in conclusion, cannot pass over the very unsatisfactory and unbusiness-like manner in which some documents, originating in the late Mayor's court, have come before this Grand Jury; and trust, in the present and future operations of cur magisterial officers, such loose and slovenly conduct will not occur.

"Your Grand Jury . . . offer for excuse for the length of this their presentation, their belief, that the laws and institutions are, after all, in themselves but the dead skeleton of society, and can only derive their life and efficiency by the spirit breathed into them by the character and moral condition of the people — they are the body — this is their animating soul!

LEWIS A. FRANKLIN, Foreman of Grand Jury, San Diego c'y, San Diego, April 13th, 1852

THE GRAND JURY — We will venture to say that there never was a body of men, convened for a similar purpose, in this county, who so ably, faithfully and fearlessly performed their duties, as this present Grand Jury; and though every member of that body deserves, and has received, the thanks of both the Court and the people, yet we cannot forbear to mention, particularly, Mr. Lewis A. Franklin, the foreman, for the zeal with which he entered into the great work of correcting abuses and suppressing crime in our midst.

- San Diego Herald, April 17, 1852, p. 3, c. 2.





^{63.} San Diego County, Death Certificate, op. cit.

bulk of the research was undertaken, much of value has been accomplished. Fortunately, the situation has changed in the last few years. Inevitably, some of the then-existent sources were not utilized or sufficiently probed. The state, county, and city archives contain vast quantities of material which were under-utilized.

In Los Angeles and in Sacramento are to be found copies of incorporation data of Congregation B'nai B'rith, which reveal an exact date, July 17, 1862, of formal organization, rather than the very broad approximation given (p. 55). The same documentation gives the founding officers, rather than the slate of October, 1862 (p. 55). The former shows that the important Michel Goldwater was the founding vice-president of the congregation. Had the authors had the list of founding officers and members, they would not have ventured the opinion that the congregation was founded by German Jews, since Goldwater, Ephraim Greenbaum, and even Joseph Newmark, the founding president, had Eastern European origins.1

Since early Los Angelenos left Spanish records, these must be examined. Some Spanish sources were checked. However, the activities of Jacob Frankfort (p. 4), an 1841 arrival, could have been fleshed-out by a deeper probing of the Spanish material to reveal, for example, that he was not only a tailor, but was intrusted by the city fathers, during the Mexican period, to appraise shipwrecked cargo.2 The Los Angeles Star contained Spanish-language advertisements which were overlooked. Using a secondary source the writers date the first advertisement of a Jewish firm (Lazard and Kremer), to an English-language entry of May 1, 1852 (p. 8). Many months earlier, the firm of Morris L. Goodman, ran advertisements in Spanish.3

Goodman was not just a founder of the first local lodge of the Odd Fellows (p. 22). He was the first Noble Grand (president) of Los Angeles Lodge No. 35, I. O. O. F., a fact ascertainable from lodge records.4 Another example of an error which

Los Angeles County, Miscellaneous Records, Book A, pp. 198-199.
 Los Angeles Prefecture Records, 1840-1850, December 23, 26, 1849.
 Los Angeles Star, August 16, 1851, p. 3, c. 4; August 28, 1851, p. 3 c.4.
 Seventy-Fifth Anniversary, Los Angeles Lodge No. 35, Independent Order of Odd Fellows (Inglewood, 1930), passim.

might have been avoided by the use of fraternal histories, is the statement that Samuel Meyer served as treasurer of Los Angeles Lodge No. 42, F. & A. M., for fifty years (p. 9). It was actually 1866 to 1887.5 The book's source was Harris Newmark's SIXTY YEARS IN SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA, 1853-1913, which was over-consulted and underverified by the writers.

The Masonic material on the pioneer rabbi of Los Angeles, Abraham W. Edelman, is sketchy (pp. 55-56). The use of Ellis and such other Masonic historians as Leon O. Whitsell and Rabbi Edelman's own twice-printed historical speech of 1903, would have shown Masonry to be a major expression of his values and a platform for his civic ministry.6

The lack of use of Rabbi Edelman's testamentary documents, is a specific example of the underuse of county records. Once more, the source was a vague reference to Sixty Years Edelman was more than "financially secure" (p. 100), he was wealthy for his day, with more than \$150,000.00 of income producing assets.7

The book indicates that there was a "lack of real concern" for the education of the children of the pioneers (p. 105). The statement is ambiguous. The reader cannot be sure whether Jewish or general education is implied. In either event, the thesis is open to question. For example, the book itself records that local Jews were active in the formation of two colleges (pp. 68, 71); many children of early settlers were sent away for education to institutions ranging in location from San Francisco to Paris (p. 68); two daughters of pioneers (Jeannette Lazard and Emma Fleishman) graduated from Normal School and taught in both public and the synagogue schools;8 and

Arthur M. Ellis, Historical Review, Seventy-Fifth Anniversary, Los Angeles Lodge No. 42, F. & A. M. (Los Angeles 1929), p. 58.
 A. W. Edelman, Golden Anniversary of Los Angeles Lodge, No. 42, F. & A. M. (Los Angeles, 1904, reprinted 1968), pp. 5-6. Overlooked was Edelman's service as Master of Los Angeles Lodge in 1881, 1883, and 1884, as well as his being the founding Master of the Wilmington Lodge in 1869.
 Los Angeles County, Probate Record, P 11733.
 American Israelite, Cincinnati, Ohio, March 27, 1885, p. 5, c. 7. Programme of the California Branch State Normal School, Los Angeles, December 18, 1884. Los Angeles Times, December 18, 1884, p, 4, c. 6.

many examples of concern with Jewish education are mentioned (pp. 55, 56, 61, 66, 67, 69, etc.). An examination of city council minutes would have shown that Jews were active in promoting education for all children from the beginning of the American period (1850). Morris L. Gcodman, Arnold Jacobi, and Maurice Kremer are examples.9

Many sources that were consulted were not fully under-Other sources, of a secondary or tertiary character, yielded errors that were uncritically copied. The authors correctly observed that the Jewish traveler, I. J. Benjamin, was in Los Angeles in 1861 (p. 54). Had they marked his December 25, 1860, arrival, they would have realized that Congregation Beth El High Holiday services previous to 1861 were reported by Benjamin, and that the Star notice of 1861, which they quote, confirms two years or more of organized congregational life, prior to the founding of Congregation B'nai B'rith, and not one year as implied.10 Again, in their use of the 1850 Federal Census (p. 5), they fail to realize that the standard dating conceals the true date of the enumeration, which did not begin in the city until January 15, 1851.11 The writers identify Charles Kohler as a Jew (p. 9), by quoting a secondary source, THE JEWS OF CALIFORNIA, by Rudolf Glanz (New York, 1960). Kohler was not a Jew. Glanz' mistake became our authors' authority. Glanz' citation from The Hebrew does refer to Kohler and his partner, Frohling, well-known Cailfornia gentile vintners, who did business with a Jewish wine merchant, Charles Stern. Kohler was born and raised a Lutheran. 12

A three-generation error demonstrates the ease with which authors can be misled by unverified popular sources. Rabbi Henry of San Francisco is incorrectly identified with Congre-

^{9.} Los Angeles City Council Minutes, July 31, 1850, June 10, 1853, May 10, 1866.

^{10.} I. J. Benjamin, Three Years IN America, 1859-1862 (Philadelphia, 1956),

Volume II, pp. 10C-101.

11. Maurice H. and Marco R. Newmark, Census of the City and County of Los Angeles, California, for the Year 1850 (Los Angeles, 1929), p. 23.

^{12 .} The Hebrew, San Francisco, September 4, 1868, p. 4, c. 3. Alonzo Phelps, Contemporary Beography of California's Representative Men (San Francisco, 1881), p. 52. Charles Kohler's father was named Christian Kohler.

WESTERN STATES JEWISH HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

gation Emanu-El (p. 55). The authority for this is Joseph L. Malamut, Southwest Jewry (Los Angeles, 1957), a "mug" book of little scholarly standing. Malamut used as his source, Martin A. Meyer's, Western Jewry (San Francisco, 1916), a usually reliable work. Rabbi Meyer served Congregation Emanu-El and made the natural error of substituting its name for that of its sister congregation, Sherith Israel, with which Rabbi Henry A. Henry was identified from 1857 to 1869.13

Previous reference has been made to Harris Newmark's Sixty Years This work, though important, is not "relatively free from factual error" (p. 302, note 35). Newmark's Jewish recollections were apparently not subject to the same authentication as his other material. Our authors followed Newmark in recording Tobias Sherwinsky for Toby Czerwinsky (pp. 9, 11, 19).14 In the Appendix (p. 296), Jacob Elias is listed as the first president of the Hebrew Benevolent Society, following Newmark.15 Joseph Newmark served as the lay rabbi of the community, but he was not "a non-practicing ordained rabbi" (p. 19), as the book has it following Newmark.16 And the Hebrew Benevolent Society was not founded "at the home of Joseph Newmark" (on July 2, 1854), as our authors copied from Sixty Years . . . , because Joseph Newmark did not arrive in Los Angeles until two months later, in September, 1854.17 Reliance on Harris Newmark for more than leads may be a dangerous practice for the Jewish localist.

Our authors questioned whether the four boys participating in the first Confirmation service (1870) were confirmands (p. 69). The sources are clear that the boys were confirmed. The account in *The Hebrew* states: "The following are the

The Malamut reference is on p. 5 of Vol. III, not Vol. II, as cited on p. 311, note 41. The Meyer reference is p. 88, c. 1.

^{14.} Toby Czerwinsky headstone, Home of Peace Cemetery, San Diego.

Harris Newmank, op. cit., p. 122. Samuel K. Labatt is correctly listed as the first president of the H. B. S. on p. 20.

Leo Newmark, California Family Newmark (Santa Monia, 1970), pp. 19-20. Joseph Newmark was a non-ordained practicing rabbi, who was a certified schochet. See p. 304, note 75.

J. M. Guinn, Historical and Biographical Record of Los Angeles and Vicinity (Chicago, 1901), p. 736.

names of the confirmants . . . Masters Isaac Benjamin, Isidor Fleishman, Abe Norton, Henry Katz."18

The use of the B'nai B'rith Messenger, a journal always valuable, but often partisan, to determine Jewish political attitudes (pp. 136-137) toward the progressive movement, may be error reflecting what was editorial policy, rather than a concensus.

Remembering that the book is the first in its field, one should not be surprised that the number of errors of fact and judgment are greater than normally would be tolerated in a scholarly work. A few more examples are indicated. Isaias W. Hellman was not "the first Jew to be a regent of the University of California" (p. 78). He was appointed in 1881, but was preceded by Isaac Friedlander of San Francisco, who served as a founding regent from 1868 to 1869; by Louis Sachs of San Francisco, who served from 1869 to 1875; and by Marcus D. Boruck of San Francisco, who served in 1878.19

Rabbi Abraham W. Edelman did not conduct services in the Masonic Hall "On the High Holidays of 1886" (p. 89). He was officiating in San Bernardino at this time. A second High Holiday service was conducted in 1886 in Los Angeles by the "Rev. J. P. Grodjinsky, an eminent San Francisco Rabbi," engaged for the occasion.20

Herman Silver never served as president of Congregation B'nai B'rith (p. 99). The president, on September 5, 1896, when the second synagogue building was dedicated, was Herman W. Hellman.21 Silver had been president of Congregation Emanuel of Denver. Kaspare Cohn did not, in 1902, give "his large home on Carroll Avenue" for the first Jewish hospital in Los Angeles (p. 173). Cohn never lived at that address.22

Los Angeles Daily News, June 10, 1870, p. 3, c. 2; June 4, 1870, p. 3, c. 1.
 The Hebrew, San Francisco, June 24, 1870, p. 4, c. 2.
 Verne A. Stadtman, editor, The Centennial Record of the University of California (Berkeley, 1967), p. 407.
 American Israesite, Cincinnati, Ohio, October 22, 1886, p. 7, c. 1. The Poscupine, Los Angeles, September 25, 1886, p. 5, c. 2.
 Los Angeles Times, September 7, 1896, p. 8, cs. 1-3.
 Kaspare Cohn lived at 1211 South Hill Street from 1898 to 1900, and from 1900 to after 1903, he resided at 2601 South Grand Avenue. See Los Angeles City Directories, 1898 to 1903. geles City Directories, 1898 to 1903.

WESTERN STATES JEWISH HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

Cohn purchased the two-story frame house for \$5,000.00 and gave it to the Hebrew Benevolent Society, who established therein the Kaspare Cohn Hospital.23 J. L. Morris was not elected to the city council in 1863 (p. 304, note 71). He was elected to the office of city treasurer that year.24

The Brandeis Camp Institute is not "a rather secular" institution (p. 252). On the contrary, it has pioneered religious forms in prayer, drama, dance and song, under three men inadequately referred to in the text: Max Helfman, Raiken Ben-Ari, and Benjamin Zemach. The Brandeis Sabbath of Shlomo Bardin, founder-director, is a sanctity of Los Angeles Jewry.

Herman W. Hellman's store was not a clothing store in 1870 (p. 35). It was a stationery and book store located in the Downey Block on Main Street, and was not sold to "Nathan Jacoby . . . (and) Leopold Harris," but to Charles Jacoby and Harris, who continued the stationery business. It was only later that Harris (Harris and Frank) and also the Jacoby brothers were clothiers.25 Herman W. Hellman's venture into the wholesale grocery field was separate from his previous enterprise. Hellman, Haas and Company (p. 51) was established in 1870 with this name. Later, it became Haas, Baruch and Company (dissolved in 1956), their vacant warehouse building at Second and Alameda Streets still bearing the signs.26

Rabbi Ernest R. Trattner did not spend his entire career in Los Angeles (p. 165). He also served congregations in New York City and San Diego, California.27

Our authors cite seventeen marriages in Los Angeles involving Jews, from 1858 to 1876. Four of these are designated as intermarriages, twenty-three percent. Yet the book states

Rudolph Marx, M. D., "Notes from History of Cedars of Lebanon," Cedars of Lebanon Hospital publications, N. D. Los Angeles Herald, September 22,

^{1902,} p. 10, c. 1.

24. Los Angeles City Council Minutes, May 9, 1863.

25. Los Angeles Laily News, January 26, 1870, p. 2, c. 5. Herman W. Frank, Scrapbook of a Western Pioneer (Los Angeles, 1934), p. 160.

26. J. A. Graves, My Seventy Years in California, :857-1927 (Los Angeles, 1907)

^{1927),} p. 111.

The Anniversary Story of Congregation Beth Israel, (San Diego, 1952),
 pp. 27-28. Mrs. Leo Cytron, Interview, July 20, 1970, by William M. Kramer.

that the act of intermarriage was by and large unusual (p. 24). When nearly one out of every four marriages is an intermarriage, the act can hardly be called unusual.

The ease with which individuals of almost like names may be confused is shown by this example. It was Joseph Newmark, the uncle, not his nephew, Joseph P. Newmark, who entertained local Masonry on St. John's Day in 1855 (p. 22). A check of the source cited, showed the name as "J. Newmark." J. P. Newmark, the first of his family to arrive in Los Angeles (1851), was in Europe visiting his mother and seeking a wife at that time.28

The ability to identify individuals and give their correct names is a constant problem to the local historian. The book evidences this. For example, Aleck Brownstein is written as Alech Braunstein (p. 121), H. Meyerstein is listed as Myerstein (p. 43), Miss Therese Levy is recorded as Mrs. (p. 138), Hilliard Loewenstein is written as Lowenstein (p. 9).29 Eugene Germain becomes Germaine (p. 305), and Michel Levy is recorded as Michael (p. 313).

The reader is given a burden of choices where the text is self-contradicting or unresolved. The Jewish Orphans' Home of Southern California was founded either in 1910 (p. 174) or in 1908 (p. 177). The latter date is correct. 30 Eugene Meyer, whose granddaughter now controls the Waskington Post and Newsweek Magazine, sold his interest in the City of Paris store and left Los Angeles to enter the banking field in San Francisco in either 1879 (p. 43) or 1883 (p. 75). It was in the latter year.31 Isaias W. Hellman left Los Angeles and settled in San Francisco to take charge of the Nevada Bank there, in 1890 or 1891, depending on whether one reads page 92 or 122. It was

Los Angeles Star, April 14, 1855, p. 1, c. 1. Leo Newmark, op. cit., pp. 28-29.
 Norton B. Stern, Mannie's Crown (Glendale, 1970), p. 45.
 Los Angeles Times, October 8, 1908, p. 1, c. 3. Siegfried G. Marshutz, First Annual Report of . . . The Jewish Orphans' Homeof Southern California (Los Angeles, 1910), pp. 5-6.
 Los Angeles Herald, December 25, 1883, p. 3, c. 3. Los Angeles City and County Directory, 1886-7 (Los Angeles, 1886), Part I, pp. 240-242. Eugene was confused with his brother, Constant Meyer. The latter left Los Angeles for San Francisco in 1879. Los Angeles Herald, February 7, 1879, p. 2, c. 5, p. 3, c. 2. p. 2, c. 5; p. 3, c. 2,

WESTERN STATES JEWISH HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

in the former year.³² Ben R. Meyer served as president of the Federation of Jewish Charities from 1913 to 1915, according to the legend under his photograph following page 84. On page 293, we read that he served from 1911 to 1921. One has three choices for the founding date of the Hebrew Benevolent Society: June 24, 1854 (p. 19); July 2, 1854 (p. 20); and June 21, 1854 (p. 20). The correct date is July 2, 1854.³³ The reader is given two choices for the ownership of the People's Store, better known by its later name of Hamburger's (pp. 76, 121).

The authors state that "Old Jewish settlers in Los Angeles were generally hostile or indifferent to Zionism" (p. 188). Yet they continue by noting that the local B'nai B'rith was pro-Zionist, Rabbi A. W. Edelman was sympathetic, and the sons of the pioneers were among the leaders in Zionist activities. The fact is that Los Angeles was virtually unique, in that both Eastern European and Germanic Jewish families supported the building up of the Holy Land, as the cause developed in the West. While it may be true for Milwaukee, as Swichkow and Gartner noted in their earlier study, that "no native Jew of standing became connected with Zionism," and there was German-Jewish anti-Zionism there, in Los Angeles, the conditions were quite different.34 Here the native born sons of Western Jewry such as Arthur Asher, H. S. Baer, Leo W. Barnett, Adolph Ramish, George N. Black, Harold M. Stern, Karl Steinlein, Karl Triest, J. E. Waldeck, A. M. Edelman, Louis M. Cole, Joseph Y. Baruh, Sam Behrendt, Aleck and Daniel J. Brownstein, Abraham Feintuch, George Germain, Adlai Goldschmidt, M. S. Meyberg, Marco H. Hellman, Ben R. Meyer, Marco R. Newmark, Robert H. Raphael, Joshua H. Marks, Isaac O. Levy, Dr. E. M. Lazard, Joseph P. Loeb, Stephen N. Loew, and hundreds more were prime movers in Zionizing the community

Los Angeles Hurald, April 9, 1890, p. 4, c. 2. Norton B. Stern, "Toward a Biography of Isaias W. Hellman," Western States Lewish Historical Quarterly, October, 1969, pp. 40-42.

Los Angeles Star, July 8, 1854, p. 2, c. 2. Occident, Philadelphia, September, 1854, p. 327.

^{34.} Louis J. Swichkow and Lloyd P. Gartner. The History of the Jews of Milwauree (Fhiladelphia, 1963), pp. 240-241.

and supporting and working for this homeland cause. Los Angeles stands almost alone in its freedom from anti-Zionism. This major point was missed by our authors, despite their having some of the essential evidence before them (pp. 188-189).

It is to be noted that many of the photographs are uncredited, they are unlisted in the front of the book, they are unpaginated and without plate numbers, and some are erroneously or inadequately identified. The description under the photograph of Joseph P. Newmark, is that of his uncle, Joseph Newmark, and the data is hopelessly confused and incorrect. 8 No location is given with the picture of the Jewish Orphans' Home of Southern California (Huntington Park) (see p. 177). The location of the 1873 Congregation B'nai B'rith synagogue is given by the present street name, Broadway, rather than as correctly in the text, Fort Street (p. 58). There is no explanation for the difference in the numerical address, 273 in the text and 218 under the photograph.

No one volume could encompass the totality of the history of Los Angeles Jewry. Yet there are a number of omissions which cannot be justified and a number of matters are treated with insufficient depth. The romance of Jewish pioneer migration never seems to come alive. How individuals and families planned their passage to the Western El Dorado from the Old Country and from the American East and South, is never truly told. We miss the fascinating stories of the journeys across the Isthmus and around the Horn. One important Los Angeleno, Myer J. Newmark, wrote a daily log, in 1852-1853, as he came around the Horn.37 His cousin, Harris Newmark, tells the story of his journey by way of Nicaragua.38

Jews came to Los Angeles by design or by chance, but once here and established, they frequently sent for other members of

Nathan Straus Palestine Advancement Society — Twelfth Annual Report (Los Angeles, 1926), pp. 29-34. See also p. 192 of text.
 Thomas Cohen, "First Jewish Community Site — Les Angeles," Western States Jewish Historical Quarterly, April, 1969, pp. 89-91. Leo Newmark,

op. cit., p. 68 and passim.

37. Myer J. Newmark, "Log Around the Horn — 1852-1853," Western States

Jewish Historica: Quarterly, July, 1970, pp. 227-245.

38. Harris Newmark, op. cit., pp. 14-18.

their families to join them. The newer immigrants usually entered family businesses and helped to expand them. When the word of success reached the Polish or German towns, it was not only kinfolk but neighbors who joined the exodus to the promised land. The story of Loebau deserves to be told. This obscure town in Prussia sent an amazingly large group of families destined to become important in the life of Los Angeles. Our authors fail to recognize that the Newmark, Jacoby, Loewenstein, Cohn, Lewin, and Brownstein families constituted a veritable Loebau landsmanschaft in Los Angeles. Similarly, the important Hellman, Fleishman and Haas families stemmed from Reckendorf, Bavaria. It is correctly observed (p. 7), that there was little reason for anyone to settle in early Los Angeles, except for business reasons and, it might be added, for the reuniting of families.

The Jewish immigrant experience did not occur in a social vacuum. Other ethnic sub-cultures also experienced the Los Angeles milieu. Our authors felt (p. 347) that a major work relating to this field, which was published in 1967, "appeared too late to be fully utilized" in this 1970 publication. Failure to relate the Jewish to the non-Jewish ethnic experience deprives the book of essential parallels and variations. Los Angeles Jewry is the product of interaction, not isolation.

Jew and non-Jew met in fraternal and civic bodies, bound together as part of a mercantile elite. It was through these activities that Los Angeles Jewry acculturated, became Americanized, and found a power base for social integration and civic and political participation. One misses the vital point that these fraternal ties, for more than three decades in the nine-teenth century, provided cohesion among the Jews, Anglos, Europeans and old California families.

Our authors correctly indicate that local Jewish political leadership may be explained by their reputation as merchants, linguists, and their literacy (p. 18). It might have been pointed out that the Jew, not being identified as an Anglo, was

Robert M. Fogelson, The Fragmented Metropolis: Los Angeles, 1850-1930 (Cambridge, 1967).

more politically welcome to the Spanish-speaking population. In addition, the Jew on the Western frontier was an adaptive man, able to understand cultural differences, for he himself was marginal and mainstream at the same time. Thus, the Spanishspeaking Californian did not see the Jew as usurper to the extent that he saw the Anglo as an invader of his domain. What is more, Catholic-Protestant rivalries did not obtain in the case of the Jew. And, the Jewish businessman was more likely to give credit, which is an act of trust.40

One of the most colorful characters of old Los Angeles is buried in the footnotes (p. 317, note 73; p. 325, note 1). Emil Harris was an organizer of the turnverein and fire department in 1870; one of the principal law officers responsible for the capture of the notorious bandit, Tiburcio Vasquez, in 1874; and, in 1878, had the distinction of being the only Jew ever to hold the position of chief of police of Los Angeles.

Barely mentioned is the important Sud Californische Post and its editor, Conrad Jacoby (pp. 78-79). This pioneer journalist should be recognized as the only Jew to found a general Los Angeles newspaper. The Post was, as Muir Dawson has written, "For many years . . . the only German newspaper on the Pacific Coast. . . . "41 It was established in 1874 and continued, with mergers, for over seventy-five years. This German language newspaper received much advertising support from Los Angeles Jewish merchants. Jacoby was one of two brothers who made California journalism history. In San Francisco, first with the Gleaner, then as founder of The Hebrew, Philo Jacoby, became well-known.42 Conrad Jacoby was a Los Angeles source for The Hebrew.

The role of Meyer Lissner, who was a statewide and national figure in the Progressive movement, is significant to our authors largely in terms of the anti-Semitism expressed in a

See also William J. Parish, "The German Jew and the Commercial Revolution in Territorial New Mexico, 1850-1900," New Mexico Historical Review, January, 1960, pp. 1-29, and April, 1960, pp. 129-150.
 Muir Dawson, "Southern California Newspapers, 1851-1876," The Historical Society of Southern California Quarterly, March, 1950, p. 34.
 The Weekly Glemer, San Francisco, April 4, 1862, p. 7, c. 1. The Hebrew, San Francisco, December 27, 1912, p. 1, c. 1 and p. 2, c. 1.

Los Angeles newspaper in an earlier era. Lissner, friend of Lincoln Steffens and Hiram Johnson, and opponent of political boss Abe Ruef of San Francisco, deserves major recognition for his reform political leadership throughout the state. This Los Angeles politician became the chairman of the Republican State Central Committee in 1910 and for some years was an important local political force.

There is some excellent material on Rabbi Abraham W. Edelman, the first rabbi of Congregation B'nai B'rith. Edelman was not the rigid Orthodox rabbi the text sometimes makes him out to be. An article in a forthcoming issue of this Quarterly will clarify Edelman's theological development and its impact upon the religious life of Los Angeles Jewry.

The founding of the California sportswear and casual clothes manufacturing industry at the end of the nineteenth century was a creative expression of Los Angeles Jews. It needs to be pointed out that people such as Morris Cohn, Lemuel Goldwater, Daniel J. Brownstein and Henry W. Louis were not transplanted New Yorkers, but were Western Jews in touch with Western needs. The growth of this multi-million dollar industry accelerated the economic development of the area. More recognition is due for the initiative shown by these men. Some of them were also responsible for relating product promotion to the emerging motion picture industry. Fredrick Cole and Laurence Lewin were among these pioneer promoters who saw the power of motion pictures as a medium with which to stimulate consumer appetites.44

The authors record that Cole joined the firm of Cohn-Gold-water as vice-president (p. 76). Perhaps not knowing the relationship, they did not realize that Cole was born Fredrick Cohn, the son of Morris Cohn, of Cohn-Goldwater. It is not unusual for the boss' son to start near the top. A women's knit undergarment factory owned by Cohn-Goldwater was

Spencer C. Olin. Jr., California's Product Sons (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1968), p. 13 and passim.

^{44.} Laurence A. Lewin, Interviews, November 10, 1966, June 22, 1970, by Norton B. Stern.

turned over to Fredrick and became the cornerstone of the knit swimsuit firm, Cole's of California.45

The list of officers of major institutions (pp. 293-298) represents a strange value judgment in an historical work. No congregation, not even the old historic ones such as Wilshire Boulevard Temple, Congregation Beth Israel and Sinai Temple, find their place here. No Zionist organization from secular to Mizrachi, is listed. Also omitted are such vital Jewish groups as B'nai B'rith, Council of Jewish Women, American Jewish Congress, American Jewish Committee, the Jewish War Veterans and others. The most startling omission is that of the presidents of the first Los Angeles Jewish community organization of them all, the Hebrew Benevolent Society, from 1854 to 1915.

The still-standing landmarks of Los Angeles Jewry which could whet the visual appetite for historical learning, might have been indicated. There are dozens of these which deserve a Jewish historical marker. A few are: the Cohn-Goldwater structure, the first modern factory building in Los Angeles (1906); the first Sinai Temple, which is the oldest surviving synagogue structure (1909); Isaias W. Hellman's Farmers and Merchants Bank building, which he erected on the site of his former palatial mansion (1904); and the two-story house in which was established the precursor of the Cedars of Lebanon Hospital (1902). Streets named for Jews are living reminders of a rich historic past: Newmark Avenue for Harris Newmark; Stern Avenue, for Jacob Stern; Lazard Street, for Solomon Lazard; Meyer Street, for Samuel Meyer; Hellman Avenue, for Isaias W. Hellman; Germain Street, for Eugene Germain; and many others. The story of the Haym Salomon statue, now in MacArthur Park, is passed by. The most impressive building of the Los Angeles Jewish community is inadequately dated, totally undescribed, and improperly located. It is not "on a lot in the midst of Wilshire Boulevard" (p. 159). The 1929 Wilshire Boulevard Temple structure whose architect was the son

Ibid. Frances Anderson, "Cohn-Goldwater," California Men's Stylist, October, 1942, pp. 26-28.

of its pioneer rabbi, is the symbol of the historicity of the Los Angeles Jewish community.

The treatment of the relationship between the motion picture industry and Los Angeles Jewry is casual and underestimated. The integration of the Jewish figures of the industry as part of Jewish life, religiously, fraternally and philanthropically, is inadequately revealed by our authors. The Jewish activities of such figures as Carl Laemmle and the Warner brothers and the work of movieland people in organizing such an important synagogue as Temple Israel of Hollywood, is lacking. The important role of motion picture stars in fund-raising and community organization is largely buried in footnotes.46 The work of second-generation members of the pioneer Jewish families such as Sam Behrendt, Isaac O. Levy, Joseph and Edwin Loeb and many others, in aiding and encouraging the early movie producers, remains unconsidered.

The book implies that there existed "An abyss" between the Jewries of Hollywood and Los Angeles (pp. 134, 282). And yet, as early as 1921, the following are a few of the better known Hollywood figures who were substantial contributors to Los Angeles Jewish causes: Sol Lesser, Carl Laemmle, the Warner brothers, Irving Thalberg, Sid Grauman, Louis B. Mayer, and William Fox.47 That the abyss was not too great the authors themselves demonstrate by their reference to Sol Lesser and the Warner brothers working with Judge Harry A. Hollzer and Rabbi Edgar F. Magnin for the University Religious Conference and its Jewish component (p. 249). When in 1940 the Motion Picture Division raised over fifty-six percent of the funds for United Jewish Welfare (p. 269), it was continuing a tradition reflecting Jewish concern. Writing prior to 1942, Rabbi Magnin noted that many "Jews in the motion picture industry are actively identified with religious, philanthropic and cultural activities."48

^{46.} Notes 35, 40, p. 339.

Report of the Vederation of Jewish Charities of Los Angeles (Los Angeles, 1921), pp. 36-71.
 Edgar F. Magnin, "Los Angeles," THE UNIVERSAL JEWISH ENCYCLOPEDIA (New York, 1942), Vol. VII, p. 200.

The historic reasons for the founding of the first Jewish country club, Hillcrest, in 1920, and its role in making wealth philanthropically responsible, are not given (pp. 153, 246). Very esturbing as a symbol of our times is the inclusion of material which is not, in itself, of much historic import, but suggests the self-deprecation motif that afflicts Jewish life. It is unhistoric to portray Isaias W. Hellman as a ruthless man (p. 42). To point to Rabbi Abraham Blum's alleged shortcomings (p. 98) and omit his positive contributions, such as his part in the reactivation of the Associated Charities of Los Angeles, is to record an imbalance." In the celebrated case of Bernard Cohn versus Pio Pico, in which the Appellate and Supreme Courts of California ruled for Cohn, our authors, echoing the Los Angeles Times, admittedly Cohn's sometime political opponent, decided that Cohn was in the wrong (pp. 74, 79). refer to a Jewess by name as "the town prostitute" (p. 83), in a then wide-open city notorious for its red light districts, seems a strange form of ethnocentricity. On page 82 and 83 are included a series of petty vignettes which hardly rise above the level of back-fence gossip. In a section (pp. 95-96) titled "Sons and Heirs," not errant sons and heirs, there is more of the same,

The value of this major history is lessened by certain deficiencies which may appear to be minor, but interfere with the accessability and reliability of the text. To the scholar and general reader alike, the index is not a postscript, but the very door to the text. The anonymous indexer has created an index which is inept, incomplete, inconsistent, and inaccurate. The same person is named differently and listed separately with no hint of identity. Samuel Meyer is listed as Samuel Meyers, Samuel Meyer, and S. Meyer. Jacob E. Waldeck is listed as Jacob Waldeck. J. F. Waldeck, and J. W. Waldeck. Myer J. Newmark is listed as M. J. Newmark and Myer J. Newmark. B. Cohn is a listing in the index with two page references (pp. 55, 175). These are two different B. Cohns. The Jewish Orphans' Home of Southern California is listed that way as well as Jewish Orphan Asylum, Jewish Orphans Home, and there is

^{49.} Report of the Associated Charities of Los Angeles, California, 1893-1897 (Los Angeles, 1397), pp. 5-6, 13.

no indication for the reader that the listing Vista Del Mar Child Care Agency is the same institution.

The indexer displayed little evidence of knowledge of how to correctly list Jewish institutions. Congregation B'nai B'rith is listed as B'nai B'rith Congregation and the entry, Wilshire Boulevard Temple, does not refer back to its corporate name of Congregation B'nai B'rith. Temple Israel of Hollywood is listed as Israel, Temple, and is confused with another congregation bearing a similar name. The index omits the names of many places mentioned in the text, such as San Diego, San Bernardino, Boyle Heights, Temple Street neighborhood, City Terrace, and others. Tobacco merchandising is listed under industry and manufacturing. Curiously, the rabbinate is not listed under occupations, professions, or as a separate category. It would have been helpful if the notes had been included in the indexing.

Some notes are incomplete, others appear unrelated to the text, a few are erroneous. Note 55 on page 327 lacks source and dating. On page 59 of the text, three estimates are given for the cost of Los Angeles' first synagogue. Two are footnoted, the third is not. Note 125 on page 314 gives an 1872 refererence to substantiate post-1880 material. Note 73 on page 317 introduces new material and omits its source. Note 37 on page 311 gives incomplete dating.

On page 53 of the text the name of Joseph Newmark is inserted in a direct quote from a newspaper article with no indication that this was added by the authors. 50 On page 31 the resolution of mourning for President Abraham Lincoln appears to be complete. It is not. 51

Given the importance of the subject of this book, and the length of time during which it was in process, its shortcomings invite speculation. Perhaps the lack of sufficient interviews or interviews of sufficient depth impeded the ability of the authors to grasp the feeling-tones and inter-relationships which make for community. Interviews can contribute to the under-

Los Angeles Daily News, January 22, 1869, p. 2, c. 2. The name of Joseph Newmark does not appear in the article.
 Los Angeles Tri-Weekly News, April 22, 1865, p. 3, c. 2.

standing of causation and can help personalize the data. From such interviews can come the leads which give events a pattern. Family interviews alone would have revealed the significant story that Leon Loeb, an 1866 arrival from France who, in 1883, was appointed French Consul in Los Angeles, resigned that post in protest of the treatment of Captain Alfred Dreyfus. His resignation came despite his love for the land of his birth and his lifelong association with French culture. His sons, Joseph P. and Edwin J. Loeb, created one of the great law firms of the West.

A man such as Joseph Jonah Cummins, publisher of the B'nai B'rith Messenger, could have provided, through interviews, the unique insights which are his by virtue of over forty years of intimate contact with the men and movements of the community. His publication, one of the most reliable sources of Los Angeles Jewish history from its founding in 1897, deserves to be used thoroughly for the period, but not so exclusively. The overdependence on the B'nai B'rith Messenger for material of the twentieth century, limited the scope and objectivity of the treatment. The easy availability of the Messenger in the New York Public Library was undoubtedly a factor in its use, to the exclusion of other newspapers. In spite of this, our authors seem to go out of their way to discredit this very source for a part of the period, while still using it extensively for that period (p. 143).

Lloyd P. Gartner was born and teaches in New York City, and it was there that he received his education. Writing and researching for the most part on the East Coast, he lacked the first-hand knowledge of the Los Angeles Jewish community and that lack is abundantly evidenced in the latter two-thirds of the book. An absentee author is put into the position of attempting to give a long view of local history, but inevitably it is a dim one. Umfamiliarity is evidenced by these simple examples: Sinai Temple's third synagogue building is not located at the "far western end of Wilshire Boulevard" (p. 260). The famed boulevard continues on through the communities of Westwood, Sawtelle, and Santa Monica to the Pacific Ocean. Sinai's second edifice was not at "Fourth and Hampshire" (pp.

WESTERN STATES JEWISH HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

164, 260), but at Fourth and New Hampshire. Westgate Lodge No. 335, F. & A. M., is referred to as "Gateway" lodge (p. 328).

An examination of the references for the post-1900 period, the larger part of the book, shows almost no first-hand use of the Los Angeles Times or other general newspapers.⁵²

The original form of the first one-third of this history (1850-1900) was a doctoral dissertation submitted by Max Vorspan. It was not intended for the form it ultimately assumed. Therefore, the History of the Jews of Los Angeles never became a collaboration of two writers, but rather an editorial co-authorship, two books in the form of one. Inevitably, the transitional period, the close of the nineteenth and the opening of the twentieth centuries, is weak.

As an example of the disparity of the two parts of this work, we note that the earlier portion clearly indicates that in the 1880's and 1890's, Jews began to experience serious "social exclusion" (pp. 84, 94). In the latter, post-1900 portion, it is maintained that Jews "were finding free acceptance into Los Angeles culture and society . . . until the 1920's" (p. 135). The evidence unmistakably points to the earlier dating. Another example of the internal contradiction is seen on pages 100 and 154. On the former page we read that Kahal Israel (later Beth Israel) was founded in 1892. On the latter page we read that there was "one congregation in Los Angeles in 1900 . . ." Actually, from 1892 to the present, what are now Wilshire Boulevard Temple (founded 1862) and Congregation Beth Israel, have continued.

Local history is always enriched when it is related to analogous events in parallel communities. Only in this manner can one establish what is unique and what is pattern. Had our authors a working knowledge of the history of California Jewish communities, they might have been better able to point out the significance of their own material. Cur writers seemed to feel than an entertainment on a Friday night for Jewish fund-raising just couldn't take place during the pioneer period

^{52.} Note 17, p. 325; note 36, p. 326; note 42, p. 341.

(p. 63). The famed Jewish actress and contributing poet of the American Israelite, Ada Isaacs Menken, during her California tour in the 1860's, was pleased to perform a benefit for Congregation B'nai Israel of Sacramento, on a Friday evening. The president of the congregation, Louis Elkus, expressed his profound appreciation in the public press for Mrs. Menken's act of generosity.53 In Placerville, California, Bar Mitzvahs were held on Rosh Hashanah in the 1860's.54 Rabbi Schreiber's introducing this "interesting, if unusual custom" in 1887 (p. 89), was probably not unusual and certainly not unique.

A major insight that was denied our authors because of a lack of comparative California study, was the true uniqueness of the functional unity of the total Los Angeles Jewish community from its origins to the mid-1880's. During that period it was a one synagogue town. There was no split between the "Pollacks" and the "Bayers," that is, between Jews of Polish origin and Jews of German or Bavarian origin. Such a division would have resulted in the doubling of institutions in Los Angeles as it did in other communities during the pioneer period. In Sacramento, the rivalry and hostility between these two groups hindered the development of local Jewish life.55 In San Francisco, the bitterness between the Polish and German Jews resulted in a community split in synagogue, benevolent society and cemetery. There, however, the large Jewish population made both sets of institutions viable. Undivided, Los Angeles Jewry built a stable community life.

The causes for the unity of Los Angeles Jewry were undeveloped in the book. Most important was the leadership role played by the Newmark family. The Newmarks emigrated from Prussia where they had acquired Germanic culture. The family had gone to Prussia from Poland and their Polish Jewish culture was not suppressed when they acquired German Jewish culture.56 The Polish Jews of Los Angeles were the equal of

Sacramento Union, December 18, 1863, p. 5, c. 5.
 Placerville Mountain Democrat, October 5, 1867, p. 2, c. 1.
 American Israelste, Cincinnati, Ohio, March 15, 1861, p. 293, c. 4. The Weekly Gleaner, San Francisco, June 10, 1859, p. 2, es. 3-4, June 17, 1859, p. 2, c. 1, August 3, 1860, p. 5, c. 2. Harold F. Reinhart, Temple B'nai Israel and the Sacramento Jewish Community (Sacramento, 1927), pp. 12, 14.

the German Jews in community status from the very beginning. Michel and Joseph Goldwater, the Ephraim Greenbaum family, the large Norton clan, Louis Polaski, the David Solomon family, John Jones, and Adolph Portugal are examples of Los Angeles pioneers of Polish Jewish descent. A further important reason for Jewish unity was the fact that the rabbi for the first twenty-three years of Congregation B'nai B'rith, A. W. Edelman, was Polish-born and had acquired Germanic culture. The whole community could relate to him. Finally, the Jewish community was mercantile, and the merchant class was the elite of Los Angeles.⁵⁷

No history can be better than the sources utilized. From the 1850's on, there existed a California Jewish press consisting of a number of valuable weekly newspapers. They were published in San Francisco. Included are the Weekly Gleaner, The Hebrew, Emanu-El, The Jewish Progress, and the Voice of Israel. Except for The Hebrew, these appear to be unconsulted, and they do contain Los Angeles material. The Hebrew was utilized for four references, the substance of which is found in Rudolf Glanz' The Jews of California, published in 1960.

The History of the Jews of Los Angeles makes a contribution despite its deficiencies. Because of its priority, it will be regarded as a classic. Unfortunately, it is not a definitive work.

The dedicated Jewish community leader, Julius Bisno, contributed much that is positive, as did Fred Massarik. When the distinguished University of Judaism dean, Samuel Dinin, reviewed the earlier Glanz volume, he wrote about "the rich ore of historical material which remains to be mined." He mentioned the fact, "that a separate history of the Jews of Los Angeles is being prepared by Rabbi Max Vorspan and his staff ... "58 Borrowing the imagery, we say of this book, that it leaves much ore unmined and unrefined.

Leo Newmark, cp. cit., passim.
 Leonard Pitt, The Decline of the Californios (Berkeley, 1966), p. 125.
 Samuel Dinin, Review of The Jews of California, Ey Rudolf Glanz (New York, 1960), in the California Historical Society Quarterly, June, 1962, pp. 162-163. The reference to a staff may include researchers Will Tagress and Henry H. Goldman.