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HEBREW UNION COLLEGE – JEWISH INSTITUTE OF RELIGION
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CITIZENS OF LOS ANGELES:

JEWISH FAMILIES AND THE NAISSANCE OF THE METROPOLIS

A Thesis submitted in partial
fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree

MASTER OF ARTS

IN

JUDAIC STUDIES

by

Karen S. Wilson

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ABSTRACT

Citizens of Los Angeles:
Jewish Families and the Naissance of the Metropolis

While the Jewish community of Los Angeles is the second largest in the United States, its role in the creation of the prototypical city of the 20th century has been overlooked in both popular and scholarly histories. Jewish families who set down roots in the improbable village in the 1850s helped build the infrastructure and wealth necessary for the city to emerge 40 years later. When the diversity of early Los Angeles gave way to the homogeneity of Anglo-Saxon Protestantism in population and values, the pioneer Jewish families used their elite position to define boundaries with, and bridges to, the dominate society.

As Los Angeles doubled and trebled its population every decade between 1890 and 1930, national and local Progressive proponents found Los Angeles to be the perfect crucible for their antiurban ethos. Responding to rapid and deep changes, the Newmark, Hellman, and Lazard families fortified their positions in the economic life of the city, while building up Jewish communal institutions. The Jewish elites supported the Anglo Saxon boosterism through their business activities and networks, while in their leadership of charitable organizations they embraced Progressive ideas of organization, professionalism, and family cohesiveness. As a result, they created a strong, diversified, organized Jewish community that sustained a visible presence within the fragmenting metropolis.

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Chapter I

Introduction

Filled with a pioneer's pride, Harris Newmark ended his 1915 memoir, Sixty Years in Southern California, with this reflection:

> *When I came, Los Angeles was a sleepy, ambitionless adobe village with very little promise. ... I believe that Los Angeles is destined to become, in not many years, a world-center, prominent in almost every field of human endeavor; and that, as nineteen hundred years ago the humblest Roman, wherever he might find himself, would glow with pride when he said "I am a Roman!" so, in the years to come, will the son of the metropolis on these shores, wheresoever his travels may take him, be proud to declare,*
> *"I AM A CITIZEN OF LOS ANGELES!"*

In remarking on the transformation of a small settlement in the mid-19th century to a city on the verge of greatness in the early 20th century, Newmark anticipated Los Angeles taking its place on the world stage as a symbol of expansive and lasting influence. What he did not – could not – have predicted was the historical judgment that Los Angeles is "the archetype, for better or worse, of the contemporary American metropolis," disjointed socially, politically, and spatially. Fifty years after Newmark's death, Robert M. Fogelson, in his pioneering history,[1] characterized Los Angeles as "the fragmented metropolis," the result of "the efforts of its residents to join the spirit of the good community with the substance of a great metropolis" [2]. Motivated by ambivalent and, ultimately, exclusionary attitudes toward racial minorities and "a chronic nostalgia for a bygone world" of the simple, rustic life [Fogelson 276], the Anglo Protestant mid-

[1] Fogelson was the first urban historian to focus on Los Angeles and to suggest that its distinctive characteristics as a metropolis foreshadowed urban America in the second half of the 20th century. All subsequent histories of Los Angeles have been and continue to be influenced by Fogelson's work.

westerners who, after 1890, were to dominate Los Angeles, fashioned the first urban suburbia, a polis with no center, many parts without a sum.

Although garnering scant attention in Fogelson's study, an oversight continued in subsequent histories,[2] Newmark and his fellow Jews played a significant role in the development of Los Angeles and responded to the emerging metropolis as members of a pioneer elite. Investing labor and, later, much money, Newmark and his peers were prominent and influential leaders in the earliest efforts of city-building. For most of the period before 1930, when Los Angeles achieved the appellation "metropolis," Jewish families were among the "first families" who acted as midwives to the 20th century city through their business and communal endeavors. When Anglo hegemony displaced the tolerance of early Los Angeles, the Jewish elite protected family, class, and communal interests, ensuring a Jewish place on the emerging landscape. As social, economic, political, and spatial Los Angeles increasingly separated along white, black, Latino, Chinese, and Japanese lines, the Jews of the city created sp/place for themselves that was simultaneously insular and flexible.

Led by the elite families, the Jews of Los Angeles became more inwardly focused as Anglo homogeneity defined Los Angeles. Out of both necessity and choice, the Jewish minority defined its boundaries with, and bridges to, the dominate society. With the extended family of paramount concern, Jewish elites fortified their positions in the economic life of the city, while building up Jewish communal institutions. I will argue that these elite families created and helped sustain continuity of Jewish presence in the midst of the fragmenting metropolis. I also will argue that, unlike the dominate Anglo

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[2] See, for example, Kevin Starr's series on California and Mike Davis' City of Quartz.

Protestant mid-westerns who were motivated by nostalgia for a rustic life, the Jewish families were motivated by forward-looking commitments to the well-being of the extended family, survival of the Jewish community, and the good life in the great metropolis. This study offers evidence of changes and motivating factors by tracing family businesses and communal institutions from their beginnings in the 1850s until 1930, with a particular focus on the years after 1890. Adapting the insularity of the majority to their own purposes, the elite Jewish families built the foundation for what eventually would be the second largest Jewish community in the U.S.

As a study of Jewish families in Los Angeles at the moment of the city's emergence as a metropolis, this work uses a familiar approach to the American Jewish experience, namely, the examination of elite families and their economic and philanthropic endeavors as cornerstones of Jewish community-building.[3] However, the approach is applied in such a manner as to illuminate Jewish life within a general, non-Jewish frame. Rather than focusing exclusively on the experience inside the Los Angeles Jewish community, effort is made to contextualize that experience during a period of significant, and often dramatic, social and cultural change for the city and nation. In selecting Los Angeles during the urbanizing, Progressive era, the study benefits from the extensive general scholarship on the period and place, as it aspires to add the dimension of the Jewish experience, which has not been addressed in depth. Additionally, this study of Jewish family networks during the Progressive era may have implications in understanding other minority responses to the Los Angeles metropolis, along with application to historicizing the contributions of pioneer Angelenos.

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[3] See, for example, Rischin, Toll, and Hertzberg.

The reactions of the Jewish elite to the emergence of the metropolis reflect their experience of having been influential, integrated members of the Los Angeles elite. Their responses to the dramatic changes wrought by urbanization and Progressivism demonstrate a continuity of values and adaptability through several generations of Jewish-Americans. In the history of the decentralized 20th century metropolis, their experiences illustrate the life of a particular displaced group on the periphery.

For the Jewish pioneers, family, business, and communal life were intertwined. They approached the creation and sustenance of Jewish community as another branch of the family business. While the first generation was establishing business partnerships to support extended families, its members simultaneously were founding two charities and a synagogue that gave form and structure to the Jewish community. Successive generations of family members took their respective places in the leadership of the businesses and community institutions.

Los Angeles in the Americanizing Era

Despite the "master narrative" of Los Angeles history that suggests the birth of the metropolis was the vision of upper and middle class "newcomers," Anglo-Saxon migrants coming from other parts of the United States after 1880, a more nuanced perspective would note the pioneer contributions and their foundational importance. Forty years before the "boosters" and "progressives" took note of Los Angeles, native Mexicans and Indians, immigrants from Europe and China, and Americans largely from the South started the process of transformation. Despite Los Angeles' physical isolation (no harbor, surrounded by mountains and desert) and its violent, tumultuous beginning as

an American city,[4] families established businesses, churches, synagogues, schools, and homes within its boundaries. When California was admitted to the Union in 1850, Los Angeles had a population of 1,610 [Fogelson 21], including eight Jewish men, immigrants from Poland and Germany [Vorspan and Gartner 50], all but one listed as a merchant[5] in the official U.S. census. From this nucleus, Jews became an integral part of the economic, political, and social life of the Americanizing pueblo.

First as store clerks and proprietors, then as bankers, ranchers, land, utility and transportation developers, and manufacturers, Jewish men helped create a financial foundation for the 20th century metropolis. Becoming naturalized citizens, they served on the City Council, as County Supervisors and on grand juries, as City Treasurer and Police Chief, and in the city's volunteer fire department. Along with their wives, daughters, sons, and other members of extended families, they created the first charitable organization in Los Angeles (Hebrew Benevolent Society, 1854) and were charter members of the first social club (Los Angeles Social Club, 1870). By the end of the 1880s, as Los Angeles experienced its biggest boom of the 19th century, the Jewish population remained under 1,000. Its elite class included some of the city's most prominent capitalists, benefactors, and civic leaders.

Los Angeles in the Progressive Era

Los Angeles emerged as a metropolis during the confluence of several national social changes: urbanization, unprecedented foreign immigration and internal migration,

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[4] "The murder rate in 1853 in this town of less than four thousand was over one per day!" [DeMarco 31].

[5] That census counted a total of 32 merchants among "650 laborers, 138 farmers, 65 ranchers and overseers" [DeMarco 27].

and industrialization. National and local reactions to those changes, including pronounced class divisions, suburbanization, Progressivism, xenophobia, anti-Semitism, and trade unionism, impacted both pioneers and newcomers. The city that dawned with the new century became the archetype of 20th century urban life, in great part because of how its citizens coped with the changes and reactions.

Between 1890 and 1930, as the "Great Immigration" of over 18 million mainly southern and eastern Europeans inundated the eastern seaboard, Los Angeles became "the promised land" for an unprecedented influx from the nation's mid-west, a "Great Migration" that was parallel in impact. Before 1890, three-quarters of Los Angeles residents were American-born and 32% of those were native to California. In 1930, foreign-born still accounted for only about a quarter of the population, while residents born in the mid-western states were the majority, with 37% of the population, and those born in the far west (including California) were 28% [Fogelson 79-81]. While "[i]n New York, white Protestants struggled to uphold their American norm against succeeding waves of immigrants" [Moore 5], native Latino, Chinese, and Jewish Angelenos were being overwhelmed by a Protestant Americanism, drawn to the promise of an exotic landscape and determined to transform it into a white refuge.

Fed by "a racial myth [of] Southern California [as] the Anglo-Saxons' destined place," the mid-western "émigrés" transformed the city's consciousness about race, religion, and difference. Charles Fletcher Lummis, probably the most famous émigré booster, posited Southern California as "the new Eden of the Saxon homeseeker," explicitly promoting Los Angeles as a haven from non-natives: "[t]he ignorant,

hopelessly un-American type of foreigner which infests and largely controls Eastern cities is almost unknown here" [Starr, Inventing the Dream 89].

According to Fogelson, the "native Americans" who drove the rapid urbanization of Los Angeles "were divided in their attitudes toward ethnic minorities," believing that both assimilation to American customs and segregation from whites were required of minorities [274]. The middle-class Anglo-Saxon Protestants who doubled and tripled the city's population every decade for forty years sought a homogeneous utopia. They challenged the city's long-established minorities to secure a place in the dream, while facing employment and housing discrimination, bigotry, and social exclusion. The elite Jewish families now contended with anti-Semitism and class resentment in a city they helped birth.

The bigger Los Angeles became, the more provincial it became, with suburbia idealized as the place for the simple life, uncomplicated and undisturbed by the undesirable heterogeneity of urban living. Southern California had the space and Los Angeles' dominate majority had the means and motivation to create a different kind of metropolis. With the city proper sprawling over 364 square miles and the county encompassing over 1,474 square miles, Los Angeles demonstrated its "antiurban ethos" with "unmatched residential dispersal" and "unprecedented business decentralization," which created "extensive, and permanent land-use segregation" (Fogelson 147). The progressive reformers provided the moral rationale for suburbanization, lobbying for public and private support of the single-family home in neighborhoods away from the corrupting (i.e., economically and racially diverse) influences of urban life. The "better

city"[6] was a village of white, Protestant nuclear families, untouched by those not like them.

Where did that leave Jews in Los Angeles? How did minority groups respond to the birth of the metropolis? Was urbanization as "fragmenting" for the established religious and ethnic populations as it was for the Anglo-Saxon newcomers? How was the leadership of the established populations, for decades the leadership of Los Angeles, passed by or pushed aside?

This Study, Its Subjects and Context

As a first step toward answering those questions, this study explores the circumstances and experiences of three Jewish families during the urbanizing period, the Newmarks, Lazards, and Hellmans. Each of the extended families was part of the pioneer elite, with first generation members resident in Los Angeles by 1859 and second and third generation members resident until 1930 and beyond. Each family had an association with the Hebrew Benevolent Society, the Ladies Hebrew Benevolent Society, and Congregation B'nai B'rith (the city's oldest Jewish congregation, now known as Wilshire Boulevard Temple), as well as other Jewish and non-Jewish organizations. The families were related through various combinations of blood, marriage, and business partnerships. The impact of the emergence of the metropolis, and the families' responses to the resultant changes and challenges, are examined through comparing and contrasting

[6] The term coined by Dana W. Bartlett, a preacher and settlement-house worker, in his book entitled the same and published in 1907, which promoted Los Angeles as the city with the capacity to develop resources of morality and social virtue along with its economic resources. Its greatness would lie in its reach for the ethical ideal.

their family economic and communal networks at the beginning (1890) and end (1930) of the period.

These networks were influenced by a number of factors, including private choices, economic circumstances, national politics, the emergence of Zionism, and the first world war. However, as vehicles for understanding the experience of the Los Angeles Jewish elite, they have the advantage of reflecting two areas where family members exerted direct and voluntary control - businesses and charitable institutions. The missions of the businesses and charities, along with the way those missions were carried out, were determined or highly influenced by the families. Family involvement was a matter of choice, guided by discernable values, which can be compared over time. Unlike social networks which are driven primarily by class interests and political networks that can be volatile over time and across issues, business and charitable relations provide insight into public behavior and values motivated by private concerns.

To reconstruct the networks and trace their transformation from 1890 to 1930, a variety of resources were used: public records, first and second generation memoirs, biographies and autobiographies, business and institutional documents, reports, contemporary promotional materials and histories, oral histories from third and fourth generation family members, and newspaper and periodical articles published during the period. Additionally, secondary resources, including recent and classic urban studies and social histories of other American Jewish communities, were consulted to provide a larger context for the experiences of the Lazard, Hellman, and Newmark families of Los Angeles during the Progressive Era.

The networks consisted of:

1. Business partnerships and associations, with attention to types of businesses, partnerships with family and non-family members, and relationships with the general business community.
2. Jewish community involvement, with attention to relationships with the organizations founded by the first generation, the nature of those organizations, and the roles of the second generation in the organized community.

In analyzing the family networks and drawing conclusions about their meaning, this study shares some assumptions with other historical studies. The most notable shared assumption is that the historical American Jewish experience is valuable both for its unique characteristics and outcomes and for its commonalities with the experiences of other American populations. It assumes as well that to understand the Jewish historical experience inherently requires understanding the ways particular groups of Jews defined and sustained community, and in the modern period, Jewish identity. As Elazar states, "to know American Jewry as a force and a factor in Jewish life or Jewish history is ... a matter of how those Jews who choose to be Jews act collectively to achieve Jewish goals" [8]. The business and charitable networks of the elite Jews of Los Angeles offer insight into how they acted collectively to achieve and sustain family and community.

This study owes its inspiration to popular and academic histories of Jewish families and businesses, such as Stephen Birmingham's Our Crowd: The Great Jewish Families of New York, Leon Harris' Merchant Princes: An Intimate History of Jewish Families Who Built Great Department Stores, Ewa Morawska's Insecure Prosperity: Small-Town Jews in Industrial America, 1890-1940, and Barry E. Supple's article "A

Business Elite: German-Jewish Financiers in Nineteenth-Century New York," in Jonathan Sarna's The American Jewish Experience. By illuminating the family-business-community nexus, these texts point to the role of family networks in the often disproportionate influence relative to their numbers Jews have had in some cities.

Making use of the work of scholars such as Rischin and Supple, novelist Birmingham asks "What is particularly significant about these German Jewish banking families?" in Our Crowd [ix]. Harris responds to a similar question, focusing on Jewish department store families. In answering the question, they argue for the Jewish banker and Jewish merchant, respectively, as the dominant influence inside and outside the Jewish community in metropolitan economic, social, and cultural life in late 19th and early 20th centuries. The influence was based on accumulated wealth, which most often was acquired (and retained) through family partnerships. The family was the business and the position of the family in the Jewish and general communities was the position of the business. Birmingham and Harris concern themselves with wealthy American Jewish dynasties and to what extent, in successive generations, each of the three adjectives apply.

Morawska moves away from the Jewish metropolitan experience to test the "master pattern" of Jewish-American life in a small industrial town. She approaches the experience of Jews in Johnstown, Pennsylvania, through the lens of ethnicization, that is, "the process of blending from inside the ethnic group of the old (country of origin) sociocultural patterns with the new – traditions and lifestyles of the dominate (host) society" [xviii]. As historical sociology, Insecure Prosperity investigates family economic structures in the context of small town religious, social, and cultural life.

The present study, on a much more limited scale than the works discussed, looks at elite Jewish families in the context of their economic and communal dominance. Rather than narrating the acquisition of wealth, influence, and social position by the families, it looks at the families' adaptation when influence and position changed. Just as first generation family members blended old Jewish-European socio-cultural patterns with new American traditions and customs, second generation members blended those pioneer patterns with a new Jewish-American urban ethnicity. This study offers a glimpse of the transformation of Jews as religiously and culturally distinct individuals to members of an ethnically and socially distinct community in Los Angeles.

This study also owes a debt to the growing body of American community histories, the story of the presence and impact of Jews in specific places, particularly outside the well-documented northeastern U.S. Examples include William Toll's The Making of an Ethnic Middle Class: Portland Jewry over Four Generations, Steven Hertzberg's Strangers within the Gate City: The Jews of Atlanta, 1845-1915, and Max Vorspan and Lloyd Gartner's History of the Jews of Los Angeles.

This work shares subject and approach with other community histories. Similar to Toll's investigation of the sources of social and cultural changes experienced by Jews in Portland, it reviews family and business life, shifts in occupations, and involvement in voluntary associations. As with Hertzberg's analysis of southern Jews, it also is a case study of a more limited nature of the changing status of Jews where they constituted a very small percentage of the population.

It is hoped that this study corrects some factual errors and expands on information in the Vorspan and Gartner work by exploring the experiences of pioneer elites and their

descendants at a key moment in history. In this way, it also may contribute to community studies through its investigation of the impact of the Progressive-influenced urbanizing of Los Angeles on its established Jewish community and merit a place in the growing literature focusing on Jews in the western U.S.

From the pioneering work Jews of the American West, edited by Moses Rischin and Jonathan Livingston, published in 1991, to the forthcoming (2004) California Jews, edited by Ava F. Kahn and Marc Dollinger, scholars are finding the western experience challenging to long-held assumptions about American Jewish life. Kahn's Jewish Life in the American West: Perspectives on Migration, Settlement, and Community, published in conjunction with the exhibition Jewish Life in the American West: Generation to Generation, held at the Autry Museum of Western Heritage in 2002-2003, demonstrated, as did the exhibition, the breadth of a Jewish presence in the western states. Essays in these recent collections on topics ranging from cooperative farming in Russian Jewish agrarian colonies in Oregon to the role of the Hollywood moguls in the organized Los Angeles Jewish community suggest an emerging depth of study as well. Contemporary scholarship was preceded by illustrated histories, such as Our City: The Jews of San Francisco by Irena Narell, and Pioneer Jews: A New Life in the Far West, by Fred and Harriet Rochlin, the "quasi-scholarly" journal, Western States Jewish History/Western States Jewish Historical Quarterly, publishing in Southern California since 1968, and, Harris Newmark's voluminous memoir, in print since 1915. As is true of all these efforts, the present work aspires to illuminate the under-studied experience of Jews in the West, and more particularly, the distinctiveness of that experience.

As the first generation of the families in this study were European immigrants, their experience is part of the history of Jewish immigrants in the U.S. Because they chose to settle in the undeveloped West, how they Americanized, transported and transformed Jewish life, established economic and family roots, and navigated their new world was both similar and dissimilar to other Jewish immigrants who arrived in the U.S. at the same time, the mid-19th century, and from the same western and central regions of Europe. Having the broad characteristics described by Birmingham, Rischin, Hasia Diner and other scholars, these conveniently, if inaccurately labeled "German" Jews peddled and merchandised their way to the realization of their American dream. Their participation in the rise of the Los Angeles metropolis and the concomitant establishment of a distinctive Jewish community, though, stands in contrast to their East Coast co-religionists, with no direct influence of the largest wave of Jewish immigration, that of the Eastern Europeans between 1880 and 1920.

Due to the framing historical events that opened and closed the floodgates of Eastern European immigration to the U.S. and the massive concentration of people on the Eastern seaboard, the era known as "the Great Immigration" gave rise to "the New York pattern," often cited as the template for the American Jewish experience of the 20th century [Moore 4]. This experience has been explored by Moses Rischin (The Promised City: New York's Jews, 1870-1914), Irving Howe (World of Our Fathers), and Deborah Dash Moore (At Home in America: Second Generation New York Jews), among others. In general, these works examine the Jewish immigrant encounter with American life, its promises, and its disappointments. Emphasizing their foreigner status (or roots, in the case of Moore) and Jewish identity in an era of growing xenophobia and anti-Semitism,

these narratives describe the social and economic hardships that immigrant families overcame. The class conflict between established, wealthy ("German") immigrants and recent, poor ("Russian") immigrants is seen as both a challenge and a catalyst to defining Jewish community. Becoming Americans, and the influence of that experience on the successive generations and Jewish identity, is the central concern of these histories.

Instead of examining how Jews became Americans, this work examines how they lived through a sea-change of one American city from frontier diversity to urban homogeneity in its elite, a change in which the religious, racial and ethnic identity of non-Protestant, non-Anglo-Saxon people became less valued and more distinctive simultaneously.[7] It looks at the transformation of Jewish families from being part of the social and economic elite of the city to not being part of the upper echelon of power nor part of the popular vision of the metropolis. It is a focused study on the definition of an American Jewish community as a result of the sea-change in the life of the city around them.

As the following chapters describe, the Newmarks, Lazards, and Hellmans achieved their elite positions in Los Angeles, in part, by putting the extended family at the center of their economic and communal enterprises. When Los Angeles entered the Progressive era at the end of the 19th century, the families adapted their networks to the changing circumstances, applying their collective experience to thriving on the margins of the new metropolis.

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[7] While Fogelson makes a compelling case that racial segregation was key to the construction of the metropolis and led to the "fragmenting" of the minorities, living in isolation and suspicion of one another, the issue of race is beyond the scope of this study. Recent studies, such as Michael Rogin's Blackface, White Noise: Jewish Immigrants in the Melting Pot (1996), and Karen Brodkin's How Jews Became White Folks and What That Says About Race in America (1998), explore racial classification and change in the construction of American Jewish identity.

The next chapter (II) introduces Los Angeles on the brink of its urban transformation, the families, their most prominent members, and their circumstances around 1890. Chapter III explores the economic history of each family and their business interests through the period of study. Chapter IV provides a similar history and description of the families' major charitable institutions. Chapter V describes Los Angeles in 1930, having achieved metropolitan status, and the circumstances of the elite families at that time. The final chapter presents the conclusions of the study.

Chapter II

Los Angeles 1890: Families and Community

"The Great Boom"

As Carey McWilliams aptly observed, "the history of Los Angeles is the history of its booms" [114]. With explosive population growth and dramatic economic changes, Los Angeles "boomed" through the late 19th century and into the 20th century. With the collapse of each boom, the professional "boomers" deserted the stunned city, leaving it to take stock, albeit briefly. Then, the city's entrepreneurs and "boosters" would plunge on, with schemes and plans from the last boom, with dreams and visions for the next boom. For after each boom the city was left with more – people, money, buildings and homes, wild ideas and civic aspirations, exploitive dilettantes and persistent leaders.

The boom of the Eighties, termed "the great boom" by Harris Newmark, a patriarch of one of the elite Jewish families, peaked in 1887 and brought the city to the brink of its metropolitan destiny. Several Jewish pioneers from Los Angeles' first days as an American city helped lead the way through the boom and toward that destiny. Having established businesses, raised families, and founded civic and social institutions, they were joined in their desire to see a grand city emerge and flourish by latecomers such as Harrison Gray Otis, Charles Fletcher Lummis and Frank P. Wiggins (some of the commonly acknowledged Anglo-Saxon "boosters" credited with creating modern Los Angeles) during "the great boom." With the accomplishments, persistence, and aspirations of the city's pioneers as the springboard and the arrival of competing railroads connecting the region with the East, a best-selling novel tripped the wire and Los Angeles exploded.

Wildly popular, the novel Ramona, written by Helen Hunt Jackson and published in 1884, gave Southern California a reconstructed, fantasy Mission-and-Indians past that piqued the interest of visitors from all over the country. As a result, the Southern Pacific Railroad ran regular excursion and tourist trains to Southern California as local promoters cashed in on the rage over "Ramona country." A fictional story about noble Indians and refined Spanish families set in real places, the myth wrought by Ramona joined the Mediterranean weather and the orange as part of the exotic image of the region.

While the embryonic tourism industry drew vacationers to Los Angeles and environs (made increasingly affordable when in 1885 the Santa Fe Railroad began to compete with the Southern Pacific Railroad to serve Los Angeles from the East), land promoters dazzled them with visions of spacious lots and beautiful homes in dream towns. The wide-open landscape of Southern California made a great canvas for new starts, better cities, and idyllic ranches. Speculators, "professional boomers," and the railroads saw a lot of gold on that canvas – cash – and set off a frenzy of buying and selling land.

Between 1880 and 1890, tourism, railroads, and land speculation drew droves of people to Los Angeles, creating the critical mass necessary to produce the 20th century metropolis. In 1880, the Los Angeles population stood at 11,183, according to U.S. census data. By 1885, the population was estimated at 20,000 [Fogelson 21] and the 1890 census counted 50,395 [Pit and Pitt 403] – a 351% increase in ten years.

In 1890, Los Angeles had near equity in gender (109 men for every 100 women), a slightly younger population than other Western cities, but a racial diversity ratio more

like eastern American cities; almost 94% of the population was counted as white[8] [Fogelson 82]. Despite the influx of people from the boom of the Eighties, nearly a third of the residents in the city were native Californians [Fogelson 80].

Using 1880 census data and an analysis of city directories, Mitchell Gelfand determined that the Jewish population in 1880 "probably numbered close to 500" ["Progress" 27]. Undoubtedly, that number grew during the decade; however, other than a generally accepted estimate of 2,500 in 1900 [Pitt and Pitt 234],[9] there is not yet a reliable analysis of the Jewish population for 1890. Nevertheless, based on the estimates for 1880 and 1900, Jewish residents declined as a percentage of the general population, from 4.5% to 2.5%. It also is likely that the Jewish population in 1890 was less than the total nonwhite population of Los Angeles - 6.3% according to the U.S. census (in which nonwhite included Chinese, Japanese, and African Americans, but not Mexicans/Mexican Americans).

Gelfand's analysis ["Progress" 28-37] indicated that the Jews of Los Angeles, as a group, were younger, more likely to be white-collar, and more likely to be born in the United States than members of the non-Jewish population. Foreign-born Jews were older, owned more businesses and property, and generally were more prosperous than native-born Jews. Of the foreign-born, Jews from Poland and Prussian-annexed provinces of Poland constituted the most significant group, with those born in German states the next largest group. Jewish households tended to be larger than the non-Jewish population, due to the presence of multiple generations of extended families and boarders

[8] Until the 1930 U.S. census, Mexicans/Mexican Americans were classified as white, and so were included in the 94% figure of 1890.

[9] See also Vorspan and Gartner [109] and Sandberg [30]. I have been unable to locate the exact source for that figure. Presumably, it is derived from the U.S. census for 1900.

(often young employees in the business of the family). As "predominately middle class and extensive participants in the city's political and social life," the Jews of Los Angeles were "far more likely to remain in Los Angeles than [was] the overall population" [Gelfand "Progress" 37].

While the population explosion was the most obvious, measurable result of the boom of the Eighties, the economic transformation of the city was equally dramatic. Driven by a "railroad-engineered land rush" [M. Davis 25], a price war between the Southern Pacific and Santa Fe Railroads, and professional "boomers," over 120,000 visitors arrived in Los Angeles in 1887 [McWilliams 118]. The assessed (taxable) land values in the city grew from $7 million in 1880 to $39 million in 1885 [Fogelson 67]. Land speculation consumed visitor and native alike, as described by Harris Newmark:

> Syndicates, subdivisions and tracts: these were the most popular terms of the day and nearly everybody had a finger in one or the other pie. There were enough subdivisions to accommodate ten million people; and enough syndicates to handle the affairs of a nation [H. Newmark et al. 572-73].

City leaders had begun the decade promoting Los Angeles as an agricultural and manufacturing paradise. However, they attracted prosperous eastern and mid-western farmers looking to retire in a comfortable climate, less-than-honest entrepreneurs, tourists, and young people seeking to escape the drudgery of rural living. The town began to take on the shape of a city. In the early years of the decade, a university (University of Southern California) and college (State Normal School, later University of California Los Angeles) were founded. The city provided fire, police, and sanitation services as well as public schools [Fogelson 41]. Electric lights illuminated the downtown district. By 1884, six labor unions had formed. With more people came more

distinction and distance between commercial and residential districts. With the resulting larger distance between home and work, beginning in 1887, electric streetcars replaced horse-drawn cars [Pitt and Pitt 576]. That year also saw the "paving of Main Street, the first thorough-fare of Los Angeles to be so improved" [H. Newmark et al. 584].

Despite the civic desire for a more industrialized economic base, "property, not factories, intrigued newcomers" [Fogelson 121]. At the end of the decade, Los Angeles had 750 manufacturing firms producing $9.9 million in goods and employing 25% of the work force, all figures lower than those found in other Western cities of comparable or smaller size at the time. However, Los Angeles had over 10% of its work force engaged in professional services, almost twice as much as San Francisco, with nearly six times the population, reflecting the preeminence of real estate sales and land development. What manufacturing did exist – flourmills, carpentry shops, and slaughter houses – focused on producing local consumer goods [Fogelson 121-22].

Capital and labor flowed overwhelmingly to agriculture, Los Angeles' first economic base, then to trade and transportation,[10] the engines that drove the boom of the Eighties. Almost completely a creation of boosterism and speculation, rather than supply and demand, Southern California had dozens of towns named and mapped out before it had people wanting to live in those towns. An extensive interurban transit system covered the county before there were enough riders to pay for tracks and operating costs. The city started a fight to be the preeminent West Coast port before it had a deep-water harbor. It promised the "good life" before it had the comfort of a stable economy. "For

[10] In 1890, about 31% of the work force was found in trade and transportation firms [Fogelson 122].

years the population of the region was supposed to have survived 'largely on faith, hope, and climate'" [McWilliams 123].

That faith and hope were demonstrated most consistently and tangibly through land, transportation and utility developers, bankers, real estate investors, retailers and wholesalers – people like Horace Bell, the city's first sub-divider; Phineas Banning, who built the city's first railroad from San Pedro to Alameda Street downtown; John Temple, the first merchant in the pueblo; Harris Newmark, early wholesaler and founding director of several business, social, and community institutions; Isaias W. Hellman, the city's first banker; and Solomon Lazard, the city's first insurance broker and first president of the Los Angeles Water Company. In 1887, with the exception of Banning and Temple both of whom died in the mid-1860s, these pioneers of Los Angeles still were involved in the economic and civic life of the city. At the peak of "the great boom," Newmark, Hellman, and Lazard, along with their families, were at the peak of their influence as well.

The Newmarks, Lazards, and Hellmans

Of several Jewish families that were prominent in business and communal affairs, the Newmarks, Lazards, and Hellmans typified the integration of Jews in all aspects of the developing city. By 1890, the three families had helped define Los Angeles and Los Angeles Jewry in substantial, public ways. The Newmark family fostered religious and charitable institutions, while contributing to the developing mercantile class. The Lazards helped create the commercial foundation and infrastructure of the growing city. The Hellman family initiated banking and lending, providing asset security and capital opportunities for the city, region, and state. Members

of these families joined with other, non-Jewish pioneers in bringing the Southern Pacific Railroad to Los Angeles in the 1870s and promoting the potential of Southern California. During the early decades of the 20th century, second and third generation family members continued the custom of collaboration and civic involvement by helping to establish a deep-water harbor in San Pedro and to create an interurban transit system, key factors in the rapid economic and population growth the city sustained until 1930.

In 1890, the extended families of Newmark, Lazard, and Hellman constituted the elite of Los Angeles Jewry. The number of family members living in the city at the time accounted for some of their prominence. Detailed in the Family Charts at the end of this chapter (pages 29 to 40), three branches of the Newmark family, one of which included the Lazard family[11], numbered 49 adults and children. Two branches of the Hellman family included 26 adults and children. Most of the second generation[12] Angelenos were in the process of starting families at the beginning of the decade. In 1906, Marco Ross Newmark (second generation) married Constance Hellman Meyberg (third generation), uniting the three families. Additionally, each family had another half dozen or more relatives in San Francisco, with shifts in residence between the two cities being common practice among family members during this period. When the Jewish population of Los Angeles was no more than 2,500 in 1900, these families accounted for at least 3% of those residents.

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[11] The Newmarks and Lazards were linked by the marriage of Caroline Newmark to Solomon Lazard in 1865. Another linkage existed in the marriage of Caroline's sister, Matilda, to Solomon's cousin, Maurice Kremer, in 1856.

[12] "First generation" refers to those members who pioneered in establishing the families in Los Angeles, generally arrived in the city before 1860, and were predominately foreign-born. "Second generation" refers to the children of those pioneers, most of whom were born in Los Angeles, while "third generation" refers to the grandchildren of the pioneers, all of whom were born in the U.S.

The Hellmans, Lazards, and Newmarks, although members of the Los Angeles mercantile elite (which was the city's only elite in its early American years), were representative of the immigration path of Jewish families to the West and their business and communal networks once settled. The city of Loebau in Prussia sent the Newmarks, Cohns, Lewins, and several other families to Los Angeles. Reckendorf, Bavaria, was the former home of the Hellman and Haas families, while Westphalia was the birthplace of the Meybergs. France produced the Lazards, Kremers, and Meyers. Marrying these pioneer men were American, English, and Italian Jewish women, making the Jewish community varied, yet cohesive, as illustrated by their accomplishments in Los Angeles.

Through their actions and progeny, Rosa and Joseph Newmark were most influential on the family and communal networks. An English Jew and a Prussian Jew, respectively, who met and married in New York City, Rosa and Joseph sojourned in St. Louis and San Francisco before, along with six children, joining their young nephews, Joseph P. (J. P.) and Harris Newmark, in Los Angeles in 1854. Their four daughters married pioneer merchants, with one marrying her own first cousin and two others marrying a pair of cousins. Family Charts 1 through 4 detail the various branches and successive generations of the Newmark and Lazard families.

Joseph participated in the incorporation the Hebrew Benevolent Society (HBS), the city's first charitable organization and first Jewish organization. A certified schochet (ritual slaughterer)[13], he functioned as the community's lay rabbi until 1862, when Congregation B'nai B'rith was established by many of the same founders of HBS and

[13] Despite Harris Newmark's assertion that Joseph was an ordained rabbi, which was been subsequently repeated by Vorspan and Gartner and taken as fact, Leo Newmark, Joseph's grand-nephew, offered documentary evidence that gives a different explanation of Joseph's credentials as a knowledgeable Jew [Leo Newmark 19-20].

Rabbi Abraham Edelman was "called" from San Francisco "to take spiritual charge" [M. R. Newmark, "Wilshire Boulevard Temple" 168]. At different times, Joseph served as president of HBS and vice president of Congregation B'nai B'rith. In 1870 Rosa organized the Ladies Hebrew Benevolent Society (LHBS), the first women's philanthropic endeavor in the city [B. Cohen 7]. By the time of their deaths (Rosa in 1875 and Joseph in 1881), their children were among the wealthiest and most active members of the Los Angeles community. In 1890, their grandchildren were joining, and in some instances replacing, their parents in those ranks.

The Newmark family links extended to business partnerships between members and occasionally outsiders. Harris partnered with his brother J.P, his uncle Joseph, and his brother-in-law Maurice Kremer in a series of dry goods and clothing stores between 1855 and 1865. Kremer helped his cousin Solomon Lazard establish in 1853 one of the city's most successful retail businesses [Los Angeles Star 1870], which eventually was owned by their brother-in-law, Eugene Meyer and his cousin, Leon Loeb. Loeb, son-in-law of Harris and Sarah Newmark, ran the store, City of Paris, in the 1890s. Harris and his nephew, Kaspare Cohn, developed the city of Montebello (originally a portion was named "Newmark") in 1886 on part of the old Repetto Ranch.

The social peers and eventual in-laws of the Newmarks were the Hellmans. Brothers Samuel, Isaiah M. and Herman M. Hellman arrived in Los Angeles in the mid-1850s. In 1859, having established themselves as merchants of stationery and dry goods, they helped their cousins, sixteen-year-old Isaias Wolf Hellman and fifteen-year old Herman Wolf Hellman, immigrate from their hometown in Bavaria. In 1875, James, younger brother of Isaias and Herman, joined them in Los Angeles. The Hellmans

succeeded as merchants, bankers, and developers while raising families and building up the benevolent societies and Congregation B'nai B'rith. Family Charts 5 and 6 detail the two branches of Hellmans.

Beginning as merchants of dry goods and stationery, the Hellmans eventually turned to banking and real estate development. After working for his cousins, Isaias Hellman purchased his own store in 1865 from another Jewish merchant, selling dry goods, clothing, and shoes. As a side business, Isaias offered banking services in a corner of the store. In 1868, he sold the store and entered banking full-time, with the establishment of Hellman, Temple and Company. His partners were William "Julian" Workman, a pioneer who came to Southern California with the first "Yankee" migrants in 1841, and Workman's son-in-law, Francis P.F. Temple. Three years later, Isaias bought out his partners and organized a new bank, the Farmers and Merchants Bank of Los Angeles, which became the first successful, enduring bank in the city [Cleland and Putnam 18-19]. Hellman family members went on to hold interests in and directorships of several other banks in the city and in California.

The Hellmans served in the leadership of HBS, LHBS, and Congregation B'nai B'rith (CBB). All of the first generation Hellmans and their spouses, as well as most of the second generation, were members of CBB. All except James (who arrived later) were founders of the congregation. Isaias and Herman W. both served terms as presidents, with Isaias presiding over the building of the first synagogue on Fort Street(now Broadway) in 1872 [Stern, "Toward a Biography of Isaias W. Hellman" 33] and Herman presiding over the construction and dedication in 1895 of CBB's second home, at the

corner of Ninth and Hope streets [M. R. Newmark, "Wilshire Boulevard Temple" 170-71].

As was common among Jewish pioneers in many Western communities, several members of the first generation were active in politics and civic affairs. Matilda Newmark's husband, Maurice Kremer, held a series of public offices over more than 30 years. He served as county treasurer, county supervisor, president of the Board of Education, Los Angeles city clerk from 1869 to 1880, and on the city council after that [Vorspan and Gartner 50]. Solomon Lazard served on the Los Angeles City Council in 1854 and again in 1861 [Landau 144-45]. In 1859, Lazard and brother-in-law Myer Newmark were among the organizers of the first attempt to create a public library [Landau 153; H. Newmark et al. 256]. Harris Newmark helped found in 1872 the more successful Los Angeles Library Association, which established what came to be the largest public library west of the Mississippi [H. Newmark et al. 443]. Isaiah Hellman was the Los Angeles City Treasurer from 1876 to 1878 [M.R. Newmark, "Pioneer Merchants of Los Angeles, Part II" 65]. Isaias Hellman joined his banking partners, John G. Downey (a Catholic) and Ozro V. Childs (a Protestant), in donating land for the campus of the University of Southern California in 1879.

As the 19th century finished its last decade, the children of the Hellmans, Newmarks, and Lazards were engaged in business and community roles similar to those of their parents, inheritors of their positions and wealth. They numbered among their friends and business partners the city's oldest residents and its newest arrivals. In 1891 several of the younger generation, including Maurice H. Newmark, his brother-in-law Leon Loeb, Herman Baruch, and Jacob Waldeck (son-in-law of Samuel Hellman)

organized the Concordia Club, "for the 'social and mental culture' of its members" [Vorspan and Gartner 94].

Twenty years earlier, Harris Newmark, Kaspare Cohn, Eugene Meyer, Isaias and Herman Hellman, and Solomon Lazard had started the Los Angeles Social Club, the first such organization in the city. While the Los Angeles Social Club had Jewish and non-Jewish founders and members, the Concordia Club was a Jewish-only club. Its membership included, but extended beyond the pioneer families and the nexus of the benevolent societies and Congregation B'nai B'rith. It was a Jewish organization of over 100 members with no charitable or religious purpose, the first of its kind for Los Angeles Jews.[14] With the frontier town era over and middle class families streaming in from the mid-West, class interests overrode community fellowship. Wealthy and educated, upper class Jews, Newmarks, Lazards, and Hellmans among them, created a refuge of economic and social equals, a pool of potential marriage and business partners.

Over 50,000 people now called Los Angeles home and electric streetcars criss-crossed the county. The old California ranchos belonged to Anglos and everyone wanted a parcel or two to call their own. Very soon, the mission past and the exotic orange would be joined by the automobile as the world-famous symbols of Southern California. The "boosters" were about the hit the gas and never look back.

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[14] Vorspan and Gartner suggested that the Concordia Club was created as a response to exclusion of Jews from other social clubs in Los Angeles [94]. Although such exclusion did occur, even from clubs with Jewish founders, generally available evidence suggests exclusion happened after 1891, e.g., one famously exclusionary club, the Jonathan Club, was founded in 1895 and had Jewish members until at least 1915. Another exclusionary club, the Los Angeles Golf Club/Country Club was organized in 1897 by banker Joseph F. Sartori, who apparently had no problem with Jews as business partners (Maurice H. Hellman, Isaias and Herman Hellman), but objected to sharing the golf course with them [Pitt and Pitt 234, 104].

Family Charts

Chart 1 - Rosa Levy & Joseph Newmark Family

(1) Joseph Newmark
b. 1799, Neumark, WEST PRUSSIA
d. 1881, Los Angeles, CALIFORNIA
& Rosa Levy
b. 1808, London, ENGLAND
d. 1875, Los Angeles, CALIFORNIA
m. 1835, New York City, NEW YORK

- (2) Abraham Newmark
  d. 1883, San Francisco, CALIFORNIA
  - (3) Caroline Newmark
  - (3) Maurice Newmark
  - (3) Fannie Newmark
- (2) Matilda Newmark
  b. New York City, NEW YORK
  d. 1907
  & Maurice Kremer (cousin of Solomon Lazard)
  d. 1907
  m. 1856, Los Angeles, CALIFORNIA
  - (3) Rachel Kremer
    b. Los Angeles, CALIFORNIA
    & Pincus Lazarus
    d. 1914
    m. 1882, Los Angeles, CALIFORNIA
    - (4) Arthur Lazarus
      b. 1883, Los Angeles, CALIFORNIA
    - (4) Alice Lazarus
    - (4) Dorothy Lazarus
  - (3) Emily Kremer
    & Edward Germain
- (2) Myer J. Newmark
  b. 1838, New York City, NEW YORK
  d. 1911, San Francisco, CALIFORNIA
  & Sophie Cahen
  b. FRANCE
  m. 1874
  - (3) Henry M. Newmark
    b. 1877, San Francisco, CALIFORNIA
  - (3) Rose Newmark
    b. 1879, San Francisco, CALIFORNIA
    & Alfred Sutro
    m. San Francisco, CALIFORNIA

(2) Sarah Newmark**
b. 1841, New York City, NEW YORK
d. 1910, Los Angeles, CALIFORNIA
& Harris (Hirsch) Newmark
b. 1834, Loebau, WEST PRUSSIA
d. 1916, Los Angeles, CALIFORNIA
m. 1858, Los Angeles, CALIFORNIA
(3) *SEE SARAH NEWMARK & HARRIS NEWMARK FAMILY*

(2) Caroline Newmark
b. 1845, St. Louis, MISSOURI
d. 1920
& Solomon Lazard (cousin of Maurice Kremer)
b. 1826, Fromberg, Alsace-Lorraine, FRANCE
d. 1916, Los Angeles, CALIFORNIA
m. 1865, Los Angeles, CALIFORNIA
(3) *SEE CAROLINE NEWMARK & SOLOMON LAZARD FAMILY*

(2) Harriet Newmark
b. 1850, New York City, NEW YORK
& (Marc) Eugene Meyer (cousin of Leon Loeb)
b. 1843, FRANCE
d. 1925, New York City, NEW YORK
m. 1867
(3) Rosalie Meyer
& Sigmund Stern
(3) Elise Meyer
(3) Florence Meyer
(3) Eugene Meyer Jr.
b. 1875, Los Angeles, CALIFORNIA
& Agnes Elizabeth Ernst
(4) Katherine Meyer Graham
(3) Ruth Meyer
(3) Aline Meyer
(3) Walter Meyer
(3) Edgar J. Meyer
d. 1912

(2) Edward Newmark
b. 1851, New York City, NEW YORK
d. 1868, Los Angeles, CALIFORNIA

** Signifies marriage between cousins.

Chart 2 - Philipp Neumark & Esther Meyer Family
BROTHER OF JOSEPH/FATHER OF HARRIS

(1) Philipp Neumark
b. 1792, Neumark, WEST PRUSSIA
d. 1867, Loebau, WEST PRUSSIA
& Esther Meyer
d. 1859, Loebau, WEST PRUSSIA
m. Loebau, WEST PRUSSIA

(2) Nathan Newmark
b. Loebau, WEST PRUSSIA

(3) Max N. Newmark
b. 1854, GERMANY
d. 1932

(3) Joseph Newmark

(3) Philip Newmark
b. 1868
d. 1937
& Unknown

(4) Norman Newmark

(4) Lucille Newmark

(2) Abraham Newmark
b. Loebau, WEST PRUSSIA

(3) Morris A. "M.A." Newmark**
& Harriet Newmark
b. 1857, Los Angeles, CALIFORNIA
d. 1918
m. 1876

(4) Robert Newmark
b. 1880, Los Angeles, CALIFORNIA

(3) Huldah Newmark**
d. 1927
& Kaspare Cohn
b. 1839, Loebau, WEST PRUSSIA
d. 1916, Los Angeles, CALIFORNIA
m. 1872

(4) Ray Cohn
b. Los Angeles, CALIFORNIA
& Ben R. Meyer
b. 1879, San Francisco, CALIFORNIA
d. 1957
m. 1905

(4) 2nd Daughter Cohn
b. Los Angeles, CALIFORNIA
& Milton G. Getz

(3) P. A. Newmark
d. 1924

(2) Joseph Philipp "J.P." Newmark
b. 1827, Loebau, WEST PRUSSIA
d. 1895, Los Angeles, CALIFORNIA
& Augusta Leseritz
b. 1834, Posen, POLAND
d. 1908, Los Angeles, CALIFORNIA
m. 1855, Posen, POLAND

(3) Phineas Newmark
b. 1856, San Francisco, CALIFORNIA
d. 1861, San Francisco, CALIFORNIA

(3) Harriet Newmark**
b. 1857, Los Angeles, CALIFORNIA
d. 1918
& Morris A. "M.A." Newmark
m. 1876

(3) Henry (Hermann) Newmark
b. 1859, San Francisco, CALIFORNIA
d. 1860, San Francisco, CALIFORNIA

(3) Leo Newmark
b. 1861, San Francisco, CALIFORNIA
d. 1943, Los Angeles, CALIFORNIA

(3) Esther Newmark
b. 1862
d. 1865

(3) Meyer Newmark
b. 1864, San Francisco, CALIFORNIA
d. 1952

(3) Phineas (II) Newmark
b. 1866, San Francisco, CALIFORNIA
d. 1910

(4) Joseph Philipp Newmark

(3) Samuel Newmark
b. 1867, San Francisco, CALIFORNIA
d. 1942

(3) Rose Newmark**
b. 1869, San Francisco, CALIFORNIA
d. 1956
& Maurice H. Newmark
b. 1859, Los Angeles, CALIFORNIA
d. 1929, Los Angeles, CALIFORNIA
m. 1888

(4) *SEE SARAH NEWMARK & HARRIS NEWMARK FAMILY*

(3) Emma Newmark
b. 1873, San Francisco, CALIFORNIA
d. 1956
& Max Goldschmidt
m. 1898, San Francisco, CALIFORNIA
(4) Josephine Goldschmidt
& Henry Flexner
(4) Elsie Goldschmidt
& Howard Lewin

(2) Rachel Newmark
b. Loebau, WEST PRUSSIA
& Abraham Cohn
m. Prussia
(3) Kaspare Cohn**
b. 1839, Loebau, WEST PRUSSIA
d. 1916, Los Angeles, CALIFORNIA
& Huldah Newmark
d. 1927
m. 1872
(3) Samuel Cohn
(3) Max Cohn
d. 1889

(2) Johanna "Hinde" Newmark
b. 1830, Loebau, WEST PRUSSIA

(2) Harris (Hirsch) Newmark**
b. 1834, Loebau, WEST PRUSSIA
d. 1916, Los Angeles, CALIFORNIA
& Sarah Newmark
b. 1841, New York City, NEW YORK
d. 1910, Los Angeles, CALIFORNIA
m. 1858, Los Angeles, CALIFORNIA
(3) *SEE SARAH NEWMARK & HARRIS NEWMARK FAMILY*

** Signifies marriage between cousins; descendants are listed with first entry only.

Chart 3 - Caroline Newmark & Solomon Lazard Family

(1) Solomon Lazard
b. 1826, Fromberg, Alsace-Lorraine, FRANCE
d. 1916, Los Angeles, CALIFORNIA
& Caroline Newmark
b. 1845, St. Louis, MISSOURI
d. 1920, Los Angeles, CALIFORNIA
m. 1865, Los Angeles, CALIFORNIA

(2) Jeannette Lazard
b. 1866, Los Angeles, CALIFORNIA
& Louis Lewin
d. 1905, Manila, PHILLIPINES
m. 1885, Los Angeles, CALIFORNIA

(3) Laurence A. Lewin
b. 1890, Los Angeles, CALIFORNIA
d. 1972

(3) Ross Lewin
b. Los Angeles, CALIFORNIA

(3) Howard Lewin
b. Los Angeles, CALIFORNIA

(2) Sylvain Lazard

(2) Mortimer Lazard

(2) Louise Lazard
& Abraham Jacoby

(3) Rosalie Jacoby
& Lionel Levy

(3) Caroline Jacoby
& George Rosenthal

(2) Rosalie Lazard
b. Los Angeles, CALIFORNIA
& Henry W. Louis
m. 1896, Los Angeles, CALIFORNIA

(3) Ysidora Louis
& Julian Cole

(2) Edmond M. Lazard

(2) #7 Lazard

(2) #8 Lazard

(2) #9 Lazard

(2) #10 Lazard

Chart 4 - Sarah Newmark & Harris Newmark Family

(1) Harris (Hirsch) Newmark**
b. 1834, Loebau, WEST PRUSSIA
d. 1916, Los Angeles, CALIFORNIA
& Sarah Newmark
b. 1841, New York City, NEW YORK
d. 1910, Los Angeles, CALIFORNIA
m. 1858, Los Angeles, CALIFORNIA

(2) Maurice H. Newmark**
b. 1859, Los Angeles, CALIFORNIA
d. 1929, Los Angeles, CALIFORNIA
& Rose Newmark
b. 1869, San Francisco, CALIFORNIA
d. 1956
m. 1888

(3) Florence Newmark
b. Los Angeles, CALIFORNIA
& Sylvain Kauffman

(2) Estelle Newmark
b. Los Angeles, CALIFORNIA
& Leon Loeb (cousin of Eugene Meyer)
b. 1845, Strasbourg, FRANCE
d. 1911
m. 1879

(3) Joseph P. Loeb
(3) Edwin S. Loeb
(3) Rose Loeb
b. 1881
& Herman Levi
m. Los Angeles, CALIFORNIA

(2) Ella Newmark
b. Los Angeles, CALIFORNIA
d. 1922, Los Angeles, CALIFORNIA
& Carl Seligman
m. 1885, Los Angeles, CALIFORNIA

(2) Emily Newmark
b. Los Angeles, CALIFORNIA
& Jacob Loew
d. 1921
m. 1885

(3) Stephen N. Loew

(2) Edith Newmark
b. 1868, Los Angeles, CALIFORNIA
d. 1874, Los Angeles, CALIFORNIA

(2) Philip Newmark
b. 1870, Los Angeles, CALIFORNIA
d. 1879, Los Angeles, CALIFORNIA
(2) Edward Newmark
b. 1874, Los Angeles, CALIFORNIA
d. 1879, Los Angeles, CALIFORNIA
(2) Leo Newmark
b. 1876, Los Angeles, CALIFORNIA
d. 1879, Los Angeles, CALIFORNIA
(2) Marco Ross Newmark
b. 1878, Los Angeles, CALIFORNIA
d. 1959, Los Angeles, CALIFORNIA
& Constance Meyberg
m. 1906
(3) Harris Newmark II
(3) Eleanor Newmark
(2) Josephine Rose Newmark
b. 1881, Los Angeles, CALIFORNIA
d. 1890, Los Angeles, CALIFORNIA
(2) # 11 Newmark

** Signifies marriage between cousins.

Chart 5 - Isaias W., Herman W. and James W. Hellman Family

(1) Wolf Hellman
- (2) Isaias W. Hellman
  - b. 1842, Reckendorf, BAVARIA
  - d. 1920, San Francisco, CALIFORNIA
  - & Esther Neugass
  - d. 1908
  - m. 1870, New York City, NEW YORK
    - (3) Marco I.W. Hellman Jr.
      - b. 1871, Los Angeles, CALIFORNIA
      - d. 1920
        - (4) Isaias Warren Hellman
    - (3) Clara Hellman
      - b. 1878, Los Angeles, CALIFORNIA
      - & E. S. Heller
        - (4) Edward Hellman Heller
    - (3) Florence Hellman
      - b. 1884, Los Angeles, CALIFORNIA
      - & Sidney M. Ehrman
- (2) Herman W. Hellman
  - b. 1843, Reckendorf, Bavaria
  - d. 1906, Los Angeles, CALIFORNIA
  - & Ida Heimann
  - b. 1850, ITALY
  - d. 1923, Los Angeles, CALIFORNIA
  - m. 1874, ITALY
    - (3) Frida Hellman
      - & Louis M. Cole
      - b. 1870
      - m. 1904
    - (3) Amy Hellman
      - d. 1920, Los Angeles, CALIFORNIA
      - & Solomon Aronson
      - d. 1919, Los Angeles, CALIFORNIA
        - (4) Marco Aronson
          - b. 1916, Los Angeles, CALIFORNIA
          - & Rhoda
        - (4) 2nd Child Aronson

(3) Marco H. Hellman
b. 1878, Los Angeles, CALIFORNIA
& Rita Levis
b. Visalia, CALIFORNIA
m. 1908
(4) Herman Wallace Hellman
b. Los Angeles, CALIFORNIA
(4) Marcoreta Hellman
b. Los Angeles, CALIFORNIA
(3) Irving H. Hellman
b. 1883, Los Angeles, CALIFORNIA
& Florence Marx
(4) Ida Hermine Hellman
(4) Evelyn Hellman
(4) Irving Herman Hellman Jr.
(2) James W. Hellman
b. 1861, Reckendorf, Bavaria
d. 1940, Los Angeles, CALIFORNIA
& Agnes Kramer
(3) William Hellman
(3) Florine Hellman
& Unknown Wolfstein
(3) Sarah Hellman
& Unknown Blum
(3) Maurice Hellman
(2) 1st Daughter Hellman
(2) 2nd Daughter Hellman

Chart 6 - Samuel, Herman M., and Isaiah M. Hellman Family

(1) Unknown Hellman
(2) Samuel Hellman
b. 1836, Reckendorf, Bavaria
d. 1896, Los Angeles, CALIFORNIA
& Adelaide Adler (sister of Caroline Adler)
b. Prague
d. 1930, Los Angeles, CALIFORNIA
m. 1862, New York City, NEW YORK
(3) Maurice S. Hellman
b. 1865, Los Angeles, CALIFORNIA
d. 1942
& Alice Schwarzchild
b. San Francisco, CALIFORNIA
m. 1889
(4) Melville S. Hellman
(4) Lucille Hellman
b. 1894
(4) S. Jack Hellman
b. 1900, Los Angeles, CALIFORNIA
& Marjorie Ullman
b. Chicago
m. 1924
(5) Margie Hellman
(5) Janet Hellman
(3) Estelle Hellman
b. Los Angeles, CALIFORNIA
& Jacob Waldek
(3) Camilla Hellman
b. Los Angeles, CALIFORNIA
d. 1915
(3) Hortense Hellman
b. Los Angeles, CALIFORNIA
d. 1960
& Carl Stern
(2) Herman M. Hellman
d. 1860, GERMANY
(2) Isaiah Moses Hellman
b. Reckendorf, Bavaria
d. 1890, Los Angeles, CALIFORNIA
& Caroline Adler (sister of Adelaide Adler)
b. 1843, San Francisco, CALIFORNIA
d. 1878, Los Angeles, CALIFORNIA
m. 1861

(3) Emma Hellman
b. 1862, Los Angeles, CALIFORNIA
& Max Meyberg (brother of Moritz Meyberg)
b. 1850, Westphalia, GERMANY
d. 1934, Los Angeles, CALIFORNIA
(4) Constance Meyberg
& Marco Ross Newmark
b. 1878
d. 1959
m. 1906
(5) *SEE SARAH NEWMARK & HARRIS NEWMARK FAMILY*
(4) Manfred Meyberg
(3) Bertha Hellman
b. Los Angeles, CALIFORNIA
& Moritz Meyberg (brother of Max Meyberg)
d. 1933
(3) Camilla Hellman
b. 1868
d. 1961
(3) Marco Hellman
b. Los Angeles, CALIFORNIA
m. AUSTRALIA
(3) Leah Hellman
b. Los Angeles, CALIFORNIA
d. 1903
& Eugene Meyberg (cousin of Max and Moritz Meyberg)
b. St. Louis, MISSOURI
(4) Caroline Meyberg
b. 1903
& Unknown Sichel
(4) Son Meyberg
b. 1903
d. 1903

Chapter III

Business Matters: Retail Roots, Capital Gains

Making a Living, Making a Future

Since Los Angeles lacked the traditional resources necessary to develop an industrial economy, it depended upon the creation of a mercantile base for its survival as an American city. Small retail stores, shipping and hauling services, and local utilities (water, then gas and electricity) were the common enterprises of the pioneers. They expanded into cattle and sheep ranching, hide and wool trade, cultivation of citrus orchards and vineyards, and land speculation. With the development of the railroads, the local-only focus was expanded. "Citrus crops became the region's first major commercial export," as Los Angeles itself, that is, its climate and possibilities, became the most important commodity in the 1880s [C. Davis 19].

From the 1890s onward, the region's economy grew more diverse. The citrus industry reigned supreme as it was joined by the oil industry, spurred by Edward L. Doheny's discovery of oil in the city in 1892. In the 1910s, the film industry came, with "climate, geography, and open-shop tradition" attracting "every national motion picture company" to the area. International trade was facilitated by the creation of a deep-water harbor at San Pedro (1907) and the opening of the Panama Canal (1914). Manufacturing, fueled by the city-owned and service industries, such as banking, insurance, and transportation, supported by "[b]ooming population growth and massive industrial development," rounded out the major business sectors in the early decades of the 20th century [C. Davis 19-21].

The initial retail business success of the Newmarks, Lazards, and Hellmans served to launch the families into more lucrative arenas, such as wholesaling, real estate, banking, and utilities, in the first generation. Some second generation members also engaged in entrepreneurial endeavors, while most joined family firms, taking over the management from the first generation. In the third generation, family members took up professions, such as medicine, law, and teaching. Generally, the firms stayed in the hands of family members. Between 1890 and 1930, the longevity and continued success of family businesses allowed the families to remain leaders in the Los Angeles business community, although in more circumscribed roles, as demonstrated by their involvement in the Chamber of Commerce and other business associations.

The Business Charts at the end of this chapter (pages 55 to 58) illustrate the evolution of several retail businesses started by the families. In the earliest period, firm names changed as partnerships were formed and dissolved, often because they could no longer financially support the number of families depending upon them, a practice that continued when succeeding generations took over management and ownership. While the initial efforts of the pioneers often included non-Jewish partners, it became less the practice over time, with the exception of the Hellman banking enterprises, a distinction that is discussed later.

More often than not, partners were family members from two or three generations, as Figure 1 details for the Harris Newmark businesses. In the Newmark companies, nephews, sons, and sons-in-law of Harris routinely started as employees and eventually either moved into the management of the company, such as Marco (son) and

Robert (grand-nephew) or they left to pursue their own enterprises, such as Kaspare Cohn (nephew) who founded what would become Union Bank & Trust Company.

After owning a clothing store and trying out hide and wool brokering, Harris Newmark established H. Newmark & Company, dealing primarily with wholesale staples, agricultural supplies, and equipment, and incursions into insurance and real estate. His first partner in that business was Phineas Banning, the "Yankee pioneer known as the 'Father of Los Angeles Harbor' for his efforts to build a port for landlocked Los Angeles" [Pitt and Pitt 37-38].

In relating the story of his partnership with Banning in his memoirs, Harris described how the two of them thwarted a singular, notable instance of anti-Semitism in early Los Angeles. In 1865, in response to a reported boast by Prudent Beaudry, the owner of "the largest general merchandise establishment this side of San Francisco" that "he would drive every Jew in Los Angeles out of business," Newmark offered Banning half the profits from a wholesale provisions business in return for Banning transporting at no cost the company's stock from the harbor at Wilmington to Los Angeles. Newmark opened a store opposite Beaudry's, ordered the same goods as Beaudry, and, with the secret deal with Banning in place, undersold him and forced all local competitors to sell at cost [H. Newmark et al. 342-45]. Needless to say, H. Newmark & Company became very successful, while Beaudry changed his adversarial stance toward the Jews in town and shortly thereafter joined Solomon Lazard in the water business.

Figure 1
NEWMARK COMPANIES

Generation	Company	Business	Partners/Employees	Relation to Harris Newmark
1 (1853)	Rich and Newmark	Dry goods, clothing	Jacob Rich	none
			Joseph P. Newmark	brother
1 (1855)	Rich, Newmark & Company	Clothing	Jacob Rich	none
			Elias Levanthal	none
			Harris Newmark	
1 (1856)	Newmark, Kremer & Company	Dry goods, clothing	Joseph P. Newmark	brother
			Joseph Newmark	uncle
			Harris Newmark	
			Maurice Kremer	brother-in-law
1 (1858)	Newmark store	Clothing	Harris Newmark	
1 (1865)	H. Newmark & Company	Wholesale staples	Harris Newmark	
			Phineas Banning	none
			Samuel Cohn	nephew
			Kaspare Cohn	nephew
			M. A. Newmark	nephew
			Myer J. Newmark	cousin/brother-in-law
			Max Cohn	nephew
			Maurice H. Newmark	son
2 (1885)	M. A. Newmark and Company	Wholesale groceries	M. A. Newmark	nephew
			Max Cohn	nephew
			Maurice H. Newmark	son
			Carl Seligman	son-in-law
			Robert Newmark	grand-nephew
			Marco R. Newmark	son
2 (1896)	H. Newmark & Company (II)	Hide brokerage	Harris Newmark	
			Leon Loeb	son-in-law
			Alexander Brownstein	nephew
3 (1906)	A. Brownstein and Company	Hide brokerage	Leon Loeb	son-in-law
			Alexander Brownstein	nephew

While Harris Newmark is the only source of this story and his rendition emphasizes it as the genesis of the Newmark family wholesale grocery firm, it illustrates his fusing of identity and economic survival. Harris took Beaudry's threat personally, but responded with a business strategy, which also drove at least two other rivals out of business, including another Jew, John Jones [Vorspan and Gartner 47]. Married with a growing family, Newmark used the most effective and safest method he had to rebuke Beaudry's threat, his business acumen, along with his good relationship with Banning. Making Banning a silent partner both preserved an exclusive claim on the hauling arrangement and led Beaudry to think Newmark alone forced him out of the dry goods business. The business grew and the threat was neutralized, a strategy that Newmark, Hellman, and other Jews would use throughout their business careers.

Like Newmark, Solomon Lazard collaborated with a variety of relatives and non-relatives from the time of his arrival in Los Angeles in 1851. His first partner was Irish, while later partners included his cousin Maurice Kremer, brother Alphonse, brother-in-law Eugene Meyer, and son-in-law, Henry W. Louis. As did most early Los Angeles merchants, he started as a retailer/wholesaler of general merchandise. He expanded into buying and selling wool, and brokering fire insurance, before his involvement with the Los Angeles Water Company, a venture that controlled the city's water supply from 1869 to 1899. His partners in the enterprise that eventually became the city Department of Water and Power, were Dr. John Griffin and Beaudry, mayor of Los Angeles in 1875.

Banking was the business arena where the Jewish families branched out from involving only immediate family members and also partnered most extensively with non-Jews. Isaias Hellman, Kaspare Cohn, and Herman W. Hellman founded several banks

which had Newmarks, Lazards, and Hellmans as officers and directors. The Hellman banks included the pioneers and prominent newcomers on the boards of trustees as well.

A man of impeccable honesty and conservative business practices that rewarded his partners handsomely, Isaias Hellman's reputation allowed him, his brother, Herman, and his nephews to exercise unchallenged and close control over their banks. Isaias, in particular, chose his investment partners with political astuteness, so that the most influential people of Los Angeles, and later San Francisco, had a personal financial stake in the success of his banks. Always among the bank trustees/partners were other Jews (though in declining numbers), family members and peers. Isaias himself also served as a director of a large number of other banks in both major cities of California and by 1900 was one of the wealthiest men in the state. In no small measure, the Hellman name and wealth made banking the primary bridge between the Jewish community and the Anglo Saxon business community.

Isaias Hellman was "the first local businessman in Los Angeles to take on the name of banker and issue credit" [Cleland and Putnam 13]. Accepting gold dust and cash deposits for safekeeping at his store, he honored checks drawn against the deposits. In 1868, he sold his store to establish the second bank in Los Angeles, Hellman, Temple and Company in September of that year[15] [Cleland and Putnam 14].

By 1871, a difference in lending philosophy led Isaias to buy out his partners, Workman and Temple. Where Isaias thought that "loans should be made only to those who gave satisfactory evidence of an ability and willingness to repay," Workman and Temple believed that "the bank should lend to anyone who stood in need" [Cleland and

[15] The first bank had opened the previous February, organized by ex-governor John G. Downey with capital from Nevada mining interests.

Putnam 18]. Almost immediately, Isaias organized a new bank, the Farmers and Merchants Bank of Los Angeles, where his philosophy prevailed.

Isaias took on 22 partners to capitalize the Farmers and Merchants Bank, "a carefully chosen group of friends and associates ... well-known Los Angeles business and professional leaders" [Cleland and Putnam 19]. Among them were three Jewish men - his brother Herman, cousin Isaiah, and David L. Solomon, a dry-goods merchant. The remaining founding partners were not Jewish. They included former Hellman competitor John G. Downey, lumber merchant and Los Angeles Water Company partner Dr. John S. Griffin, French and Basque community leader José A. Mascarel, and a nephew of his former partner and future Los Angeles mayor William H. Workman,[16] [Cleland and Putnam 19-21].

Hellman's acumen was credited with breaking the boom of the 1880s and saving southern California from total ruin. When "the Great Boom" became dangerously speculative, he "announced ... that the Farmers and Merchants Bank did not intend to encourage further real estate inflation and would not lend another dollar for speculative purposes. Other banks followed his example. As a result, the boom broke almost overnight," preventing runaway inflation and preserving capital for recovery [Cleland and Putnam 53].

As the bank prospered and became the Farmers and Merchants National Bank, its directors continued to be drawn, for several generations, from the elite families of Los Angeles until its 1956 merger with Security-First National Bank (which became Security Pacific National Bank). Isaias served as president until his death in 1920, while his son,

[16] From 1886 to 1888, during "the Great Boom" [Pitt and Pitt 557].

I.W., Jr., was a vice president and director from 1896 to his death, also in 1920. Grandson Isaias Warren Hellman succeeded his father and served until 1956. Newmark relatives who served as directors included Eugene Meyer, Kaspare Cohn and his son-in-law Ben E. Meyer, and Maurice H. Newmark. Solomon Lazard's son-in-law, Henry W. Louis, was a director from 1912 to 1920. Herman W. Hellman and his son, Marco H., started their banking careers with Farmers and Merchants.

In addition to banking, Isaias Hellman built a personal fortune through purchases of commercial property in downtown Los Angeles, subdivisions in surrounding areas (such as Boyle Heights), and ranches in both the southern and northern parts of the state [Cleland and Putnam 11]. He also invested in one of the earliest efforts at public transportation, a horse-drawn railway known as the Main Street line [H. Newmark et al. 461-62]. He later expanded the line, changing it to a double-track cable system before joining forces with Henry E. Huntington in creating the Pacific Electric Railroad Company, the famous "Red Cars" interurban rail network of Los Angeles County [Vorspan and Gartner 76-78, Pitt and Pitt 373]. In 1890, Hellman was recruited to be the president of the Nevada Bank (which eventually became Wells Fargo Bank) on the recommendation of Collis P. Huntington, "then the most powerful political and economic figure in California," [Cleland and Putnam 57].

Throughout the urbanizing period, most of the family businesses remained exclusively in Jewish hands, the banking firms being the notable exception. When the first generation members retired or died, partnerships were transferred to nephews, sons,

and sons-in-law, with many of the businesses continuing to 1930 and beyond.[17] With the banks, while members of the family often retained the top operating roles, trusted non-family members held officer positions, influential non-Jews served as directors and investors, and employees generally were not Jewish.

Associations

In the spirit of collaboration that had created numerous partnerships, the pioneers of Los Angeles created business associations for mutual benefit. Because of instability during "the Great Boom" in 1887, several of the city's banks formed the Los Angeles Clearing House Association and selected Isaias Hellman as president. In the economic disarray after the boom, the Board of Trade[18] was reorganized and renamed the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce, to "work for the material interests of Los Angeles and the territory tributary thereto" [Directory of Membership, Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce 1912]. M. A. Newmark and Company was one of the charter members of the new body.

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[17] For example, the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce Directory of Members for 1930 lists Newmark Brothers, a coffee importer owned by two Harris Newmark nephews; M. A. Newmark and Company and Hellman Hardware Co., described previously; and Union Bank & Trust Co., the successor to the Kaspare Cohn Commercial and Savings Bank, run by his two sons-in-law, Ben R. Meyer and Milton E. Getz. The Capitol Milling Company, owned by Jacob Loew and inherited by nephew Herman Levi and son Stephen Newmark Loew, continued until at least the mid-1940s [M. R. Newmark "Pioneer Merchants of Los Angeles, Part II" 21].

[18] When the Board of Trade was originally organized in 1873, leading merchant, Solomon Lazard was elected president by his peers, which included banker John Downey and Robert M. Widney, the city's first real estate salesman, a founder of the University of Southern California, and later a judge [Pitt and Pitt 546]. Myer J. Newmark (son of Joseph) and Herman W. Hellman also were among the organization's founding members.

Along with the sons and grandsons of other pioneers, such as J. P. Widney, son of Judge Robert Widney, John B. Lankershim,[19] and James Slauson,[20] Hellmans, Meybergs, Newmarks, and Cohns were active in the new Chamber as well as the powerful anti-trade union Merchants and Manufacturers Association (M&M). Both Maurice H. Newmark and Marco R. Newmark were directors of the M&M, and Marco served as treasurer in 1915 [Guinn V. II 165].

With its eye on Los Angeles' future as a metropolis, the Chamber of Commerce promoted an Anglo-Saxon Protestant dominated vision, despite its active and present Jewish members. An analysis of officers and directors between 1888 and 1921 suggests that a policy of token acceptance of Jewish businessmen in leadership existed, with preference given to the bankers (members of the Cohn and Hellman families), which indicates pragmatic self-interest on the part of the Chamber's members. In 24 out of the 33 years, only one recognizably Jewish name is listed as an officer or director among 23 to 25 names for each year (see Figure 2). Four years have two names listed and five years have no Jewish directors or officers listed. Directories for 1927, 1929 and 1930 also have only one recognizably Jewish member among the officers and directors [Directory of Members, Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce, 1921, 1927, 1929, 1930].

[19] Lankershim's father, Isaac, was Jewish but converted to Christianity. He was an early cultivator and herder in the San Fernando Valley [Pitt and Pitt 249].
[20] Slauson's father, Jonathan, was a Presbyterian lay leader, banker and major land developer who created the town of Azusa [Pitt and Pitt 471].

Figure 2
FAMILY MEMBERS IN LEADERSHIP ROLES IN THE NEW CHAMBER OF COMMERCE 1888 – 1921

	Generation	Business	Years as Director/Officer
Herman W. Hellman	1st	Banking	1892
Kaspare Cohn	1st	Banking	1894 - 1896
Myer J. Newmark	1st	Brokering/Lawyer	1898 – 1904; 1899 V-P 1900 Pres
Maurice H. Newmark	2nd	Wholesale Groceries	1907
Louis M. Cole	2nd	Banking	1908 - 1917
Henry W. Louis	2nd	Banking	1915 - 1917
Irving W. Hellman	2nd	Banking	1920 - 1921

Speeches applauded at the chamber's annual banquets made clear the equivalency of "American," "Anglo-Saxon," and "desirable citizens." The Chamber's magazine, *Southern California Business*, described "The Los Angeles of Tomorrow" as being the locus of the climax of "Anglo-Saxon civilization." The Chamber's members put their bias and vision into practice through preferential hiring of men of British descent and Nordic appearance. As the nation moved toward limiting European, Asian, and African immigration, Los Angeles arguably became "the Anglo-Saxon mecca" [C. Davis 73-74].

As evidenced by their membership and involvement in the Chamber of Commerce, Jewish firms tolerated both the tokenism and bias. In remaining involved with the Chamber and its projects as it became increasingly an Anglo-Saxon institution, the elite families were continuing a custom of civic involvement that began with their arrival in Los Angeles. They assumed they had a place and they occupied it. The Chamber's boosterism was business as usual and something the family members had supported for some time. As early as 1876, Myer J. Newmark had initiated the sending of copies of local Los Angeles newspapers to other U.S. cities as "advertising" to potential visitors [Newmark et al. 499]. A vision of the emerging metropolis had fueled

their business success as much, if not more, than it fueled that of the increasingly dominant newcomers.

Jewish firms did not remain involved in the Chamber out of family tradition or sentimental attachment, though. Their own ranks increasingly were filled with American-born, university educated sons and grandsons of the founders. Family wealth grew from real estate investments and housing developments for the upper middle class and upper class newcomers. Along with the Reverend Dana Bartlett and other promoters of the Anglo Saxon good life, the Jewish elite shared the values of family and community involvement for civic betterment. What the Chamber promoted was close to their own vision of "American" and "desirable citizens," adjectives they applied to themselves and those like them.

Entries in Southwest Jewry, a purported "account of Jewish Progress and Achievement in the Southland," published in 1926, illuminate the second generation's view of family, community, and business. The entries apparently were based on material submitted by the people included in the volume. The emphasis on business and civic accomplishments, at the expense of details about Jewish community involvement, in the entries of Hellman, Newmark, and Cohn family members suggests a desire to present an image of a successful Angeleno without further distinction. For example, Marco H. Hellman's entry contains no mention of any Jewish organization or involvement, while 31 lines are devoted to his interest in show horses. No Jewish organizations appear in the entries for Maurice S. Hellman and Maurice H. Newmark. In the case of Newmark, though semi-retired from all business activities, his entry is dominated by details of business associations and civic service on the Consolidation Committee (which promoted

the annexation of San Pedro, Wilmington, and a narrow strip of land running between them and downtown that gave Los Angeles a harbor) and the Harbor Commission. Entries for Marco R. Newmark, Robert Newmark, and Irving R. Hellman devote a sentence or two to their charitable, religious, and social involvements in Jewish organizations [Malamut 32, 36, 40, 42].

On occasion, editorials in the B'nai B'rith Messenger, published by the Congregation which the elite families had founded and to which second and third generation members belonged, contained attitudes of bias against the foreign immigrants who were not the preferred citizens of the Chamber of Commerce vision. One such editorial in 1905 characterized "Los Angeles [as] just now crowded with Jewish immigrants" (which was a subjective observation not supported by actual population figures) and further commented "[i]n response to our advice to its leaders they had no cause to settle in Southern California, although the South is preferable to all other parts of the globe" [February 15, 1905]. A few weeks later, another editorial appeared: "Just yesterday we noticed several Russian Jewis [sic] immigrants walking the streets wearing their beaver head coverings. It was quite a novelty here in this city and their friends should remind those fellows that they are in Los Angeles and not in Siberia" [March 31, 1905]. Both the Chamber's boosterism and its low opinion of the Eastern European immigrants were matched by these editorials.

Summary

As the influx of newcomers changed the character of Los Angeles, the Jewish elite saw their business opportunities impacted and they adapted accordingly. The

tendency for the family businesses to stay mostly Jewish, while a common pattern seen in other Jewish communities, took on a more defensive significance in response to the exclusionary vision of the newcomers. Protecting and shoring up the family assets was in keeping with their work ethic and their class consciousness. The Hellman and Cohn families became more involved in banking, taking advantage of the growing city's need for capital to continue its break-neck expansion.

The elite families responded to the changing business climate by looking forward. Several of the second generation and most of the third generation sons were sent to college, Stanford or University of California, Berkeley, to take up professions, providing new economic options. For example, the sons of Leon and Estelle Newmark Loeb, Joseph P. and Edwin S., started their own law firm in the face of bias at non-Jewish firms. Because of the prejudice of non-Jewish firms and with a preference for doing business with other Jews, the Jewish studio executives selected Loeb & Loeb to represent the film companies, over the more established law firms in the city [Gabler 272]. Such adaptation of adversity to opportunity also was a family custom, as was illustrated by the anti-Semitic experience of their grandfather, Harris, with Prudent Beaudry.

As the business endeavors of Harris Newmark, Solomon Lazard, and Isaias Hellman illustrate, these Jewish families were an integral part of the elite creators of Los Angeles. Their financial resources, long-standing reputations for honesty and fair-dealing, and demonstrated commitment to the city made them desirable, even necessary, partners in commercial and public projects. As was common in the late 19th century, they joined other wealthy men, pioneers and newcomers, in exploiting opportunities created as much by ambition and greed as civic need, while at the same establishing institutions and

organizations for the public good. The second and third generations of these families grew up as members of the city's top social and economic class, heirs to the family wealth and obligations.

While their leadership in the top ranks of the traditional business community began to diminish, they never withdrew completely, maintaining relations most notably through banking and their continued involvement with the major commercial associations. They also extended their business networks to the motion picture industry, the dream factory *par excellence*, that would soon join real estate as the economic engine of Los Angeles.

Business Charts

Chart 7 - Solomon Lazard Businesses

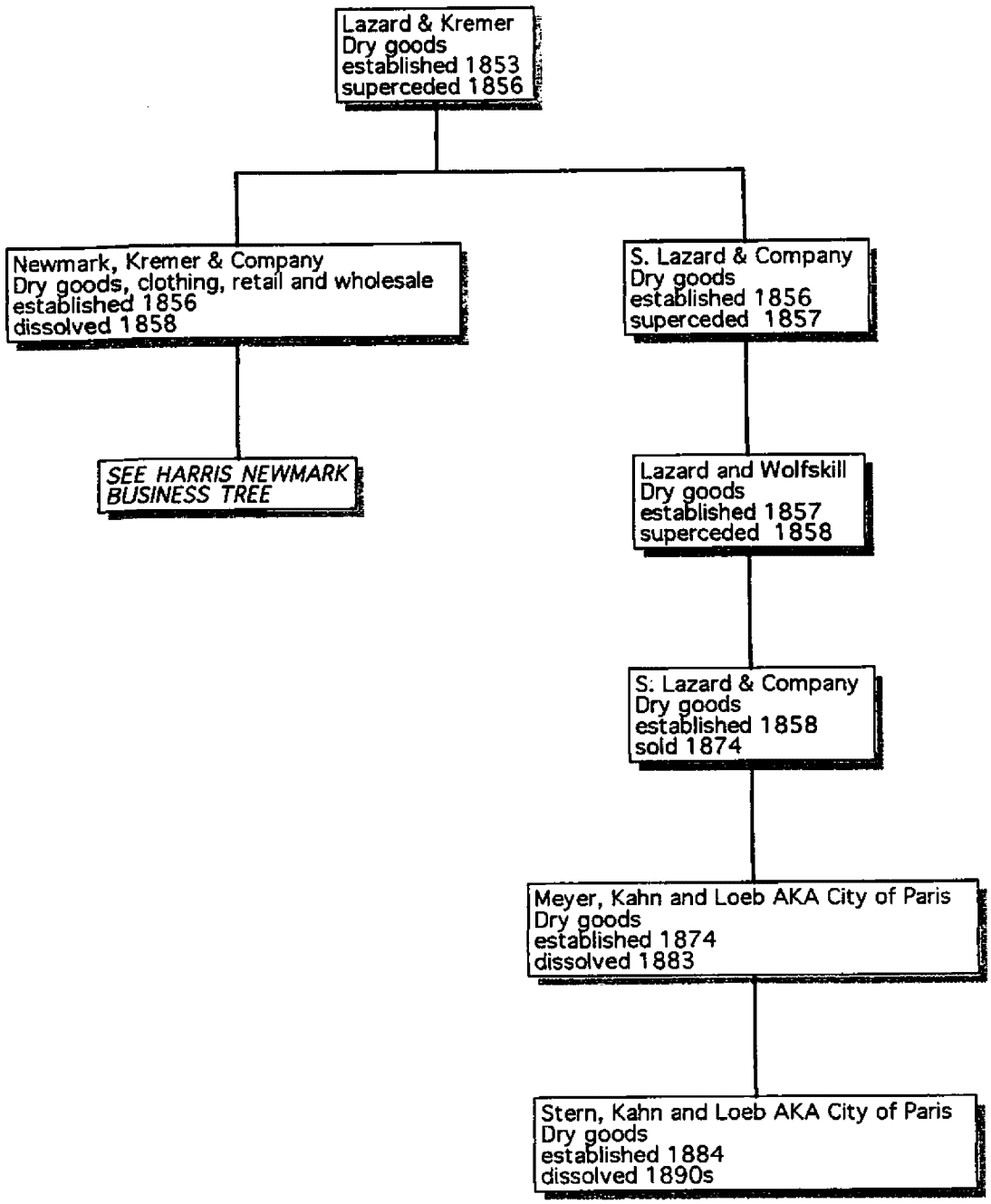


Chart 8 - Harris Newmark Businesses

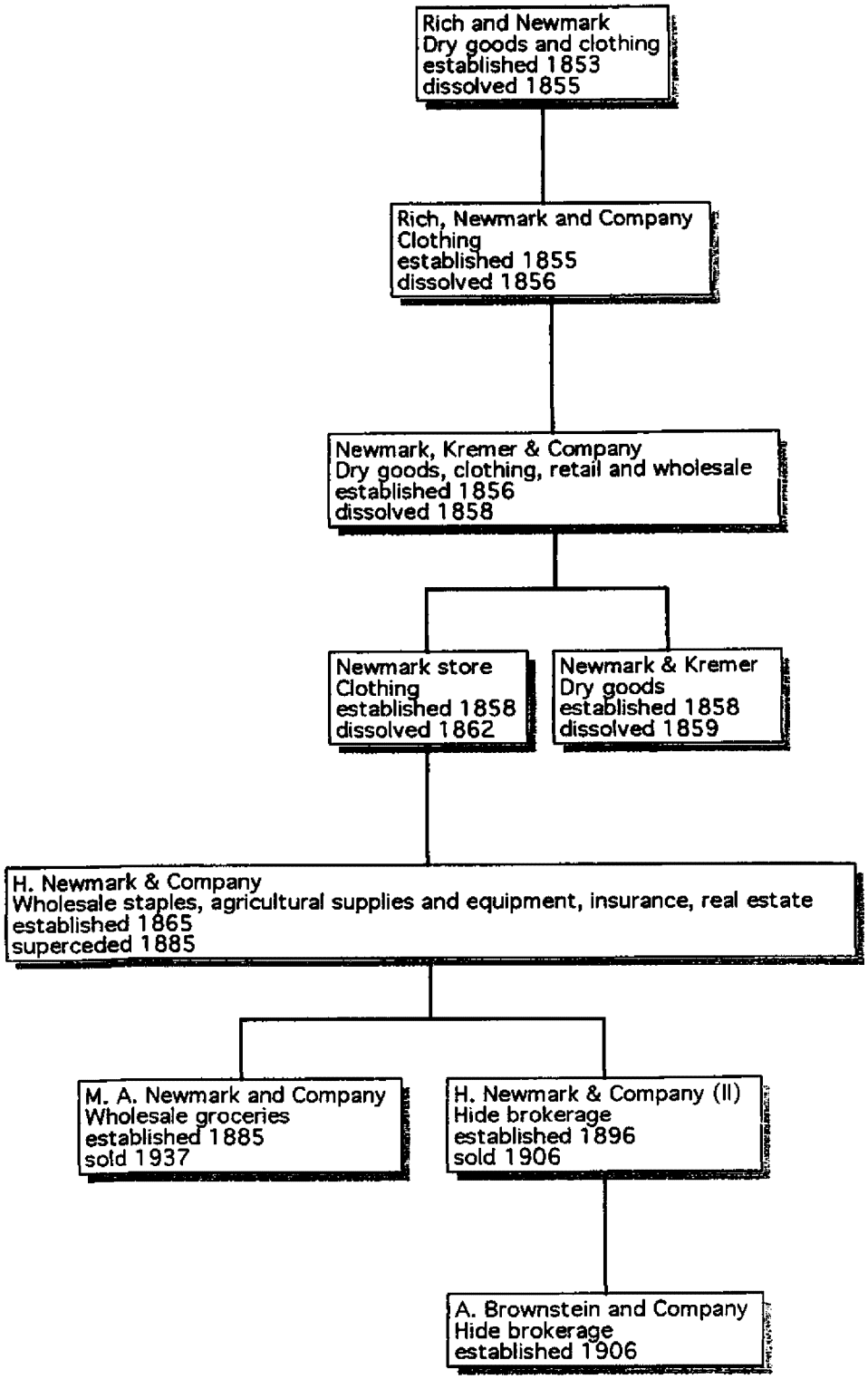


Chart 9 - Isaiah and Samuel Hellman Businesses

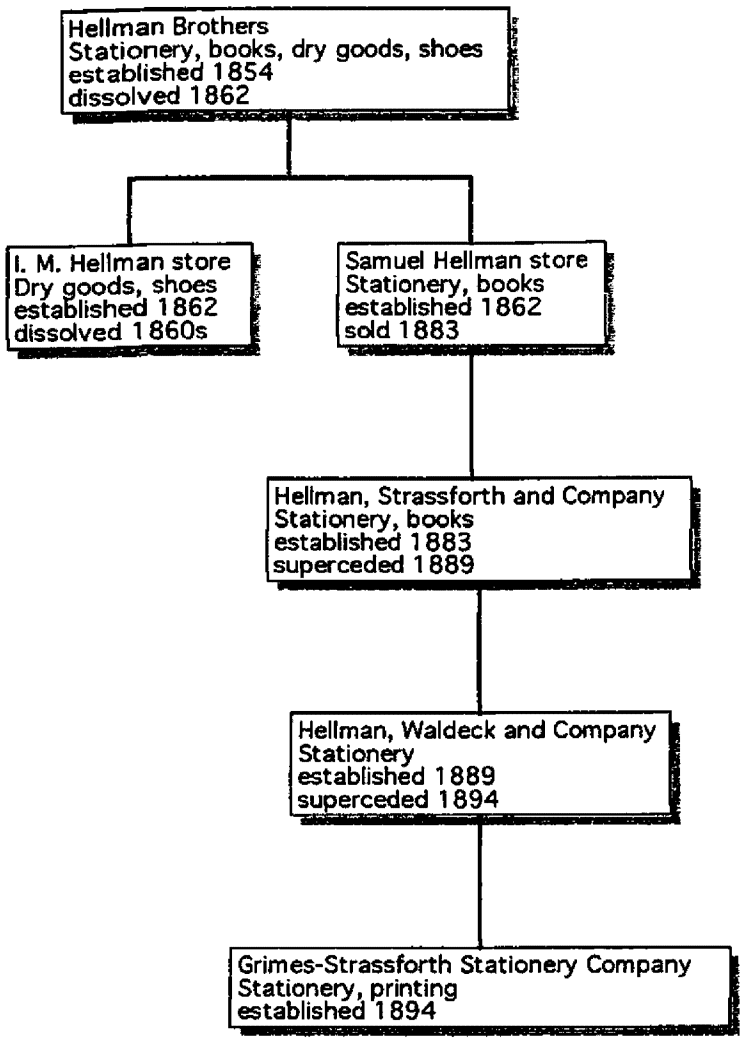
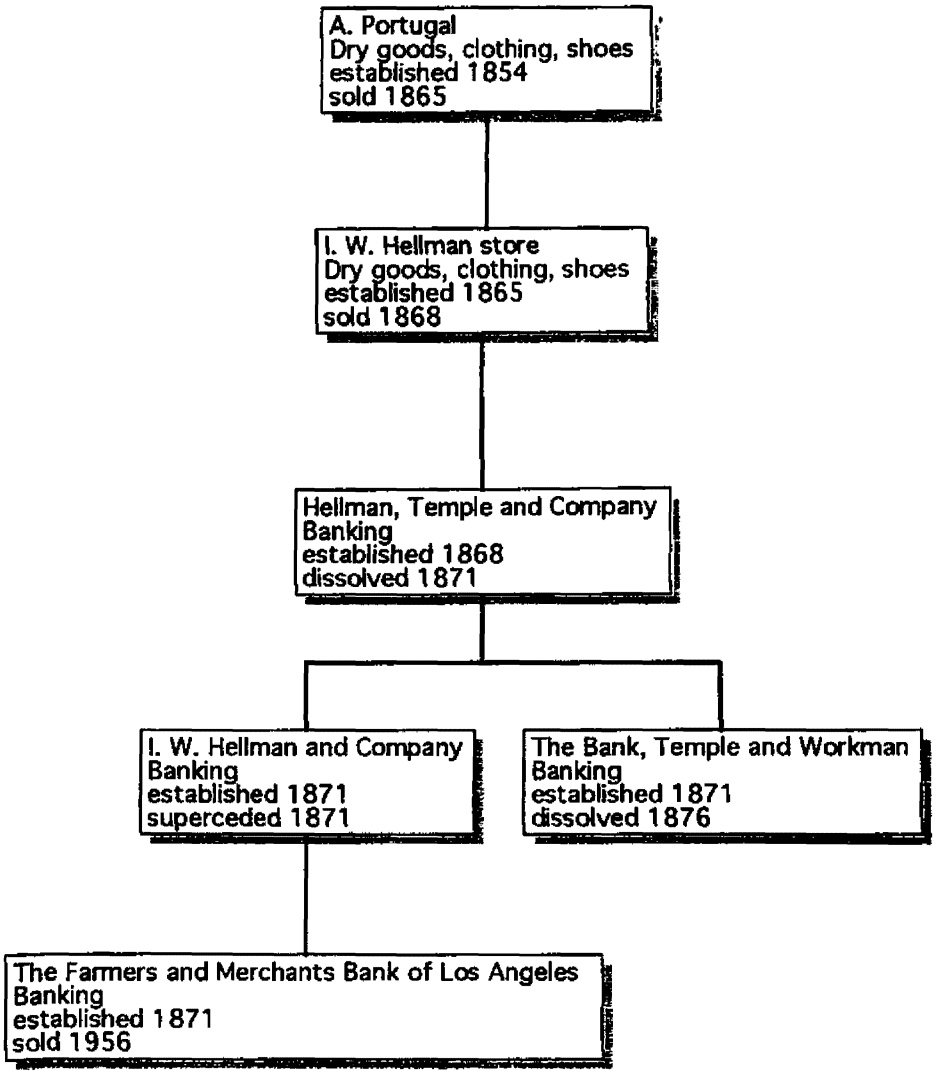


Chart 10 - Isaias W. Hellman Businesses



Chapter IV

Benevolence: From Society to Agency

The Business of Benevolence

The elite families approached the creation and sustenance of Jewish communal life as another branch of the family business. Early on, they founded two charities and a synagogue that gave form and structure to the Jewish community and continued to evolve with the city. Family members took their respective turns as active leaders in each of the organizations. The leadership of the three organizations overlapped and was the catalyst, collectively and individually, for many of the Jewish organizations that emerged in Los Angeles in the 20th century. The shared roots and leadership of these organizations instilled a cooperative spirit in the community that made the eventual formal federating both inevitable and less challenging than in other American Jewish communities. As the needs of the Jewish community changed and grew more complex, the elite families led the way in adapting the original communal organizations and creating new institutions.

The operations and development of the Hebrew Benevolent Society and the Ladies Hebrew Benevolent Society particularly illustrate the "family business" approach. During the Progressive era, the transformation of these two organizations from benevolent associations of the economic elite to professional social service agencies echoed the transformation of mercantile families into the capitalists and developers of Los Angeles. Responding to the growing complexity of human needs and the emerging field of social service, the organizations merged, spawned numerous sibling institutions, and collaborated with many others. In the process they incorporated leaders from the ranks of new Los Angeles residents, including immigrants from Eastern Europe, and

responded to increasingly difficult domestic and international challenges. Just as they had assumed senior and trustee positions in the family businesses, the second and third generations took up those roles in the charity branch.

The Societies

Four years after Los Angeles became an American city, in 1854, Joseph and Rosa Newmark arrived to find about 60 other Jews in a pueblo with a Catholic church, regular Methodist services, a jail, a newspaper, and a militia group that stood in for a sworn police force. Joseph, along with visitor Solomon Nunes Carvalho, aided their co-religionists in starting a *Gemilat Chesed* (a sustaining charity), to establish a cemetery and address other needs of the growing Jewish community. The men who founded the Hebrew Benevolent Society of Los Angeles contributed a five-dollar membership fee and paid one dollar per month in dues. It was the first charitable organization in the city. Established eight years before the first synagogue, HBS represented the Jewish community until Congregation B'nai B'rith came into being.

In 1870, the first women's charitable organization in Los Angeles, the Ladies Hebrew Benevolent Society, was founded, with Rosa Newmark organizing its members to provide nursing care for the ill and prepare the dead for interment. Three men from HBS served as counselors to the women's organization, formally creating close cooperation between the two organizations and setting a precedent for future communal institutions. The two societies jointly shared the responsibilities of caring for the poor, unfortunate, and unemployed, with their members contributing money and time "to the holy cause of Benevolence" as called for in the HBS constitution.

As the membership ranks and population grew, HBS acquired a cemetery and expanded it, while also providing assistance to people in need, in Los Angeles, other cities, and other countries. During a smallpox epidemic in 1863, HBS allocated $150 in direct relief for the indigent sick and collected additional funds to aid the many Mexican and Indian families who suffered through the epidemic. Funds also were sent to aid Jews in Palestine, Gibraltar and Morocco, to the Southern Relief Fund after the Civil War, and to the victims of the Chicago Fire. The first relief sent from Los Angeles to the victims of the Johnstown (Pennsylvania) Flood in 1889 was $1,000 from HBS.

Members of the mercantile elite took the lead in establishing and steering both societies. Solomon Lazard and Harris Newmark were charter members of HBS. Sarah Newmark (Harris' wife) was a charter member of LHBS and served as its second president. Harris and Isaiah M. Hellman, along with Wartenberg, were the first HBS counselors to LHBS. Adelaide (Mrs. Samuel) Hellman lead LHBS as president for 25 years. Leadership by the first generation of the families continued into the first decade of the 20th century [LHBS Minutes, January 13, 1902; B'nai B'rith Messenger January 14, 1904 and June 29, 1906].

An early example of the societies' shifting focus was the creation in 1891 of the Home of Peace Society, "organized by the Hebrew ladies of Los Angeles, largely through the exertions of Mrs. M[atilda] Kremer, who was the first to conceive the idea of uniting Jewish women for the purpose of properly caring for and beautifying the last resting-place of their dead" [H. Newmark et al. 599]. While HBS had acquired and maintained the cemetery since its founding, its resources and attentions were increasingly drawn to the sustenance of the living. The Home of Peace Society, made up of members of

Congregation B'nai B'rith, assumed responsibility for the upkeep of the original cemetery and led to HBS turning over all cemetery-related duties to the congregation in the first decade of the 20th century.[21]

As the city's investment in boosterism paid dividends, Los Angeles experienced an influx of immigrants, people with tuberculosis, unskilled workers, and indigents made unwelcome in other cities. While in earlier times, the men and women of HBS and LHBS usually had known those needing assistance, the waves of newcomers made this less and less true. The requests for aid threatened to outstrip the resources of the societies. Both societies began to investigate requests for financial relief before granting aid. The boards of the societies changed from monthly to weekly meetings to review and decide requests.

In 1893, members of the Hellman and Newmark families[22] joined their gentile peers in the Associated Charities of Los Angeles, a non-denominational coordinating organization to maximize resources and reduce duplication of aid to the city's indigent. The Associated Charities was what today would be termed "a public-private partnership." The manager of the association also was the county inspector of indigents, whose job it was to oversee the distribution of county relief. Bringing together thirteen agencies, their leadership and benefactors, in effect, leveraged the public dollars and private networks directed toward assisting the poor [Council of Social Agencies of Los Angeles 6]. The partnership, joined by the business interests of the city, became the basis for the

[21] When B'nai B'rith established a new cemetery in East Los Angeles, a section of the Home of Peace Cemetery was reserved for HBS members "in good standing before 1902." Most of the remains from the over 360 graves in the old cemetery were removed to the HBS section in Home of Peace between 1905 and 1910 [T. Cohen 99-103].

[22] Newmarks, Hellmans, and their extended families accounted for eighteen out of sixty-one charter members [Kramer and Clar, "Rabbi Abraham Blum, Part III" 268].

Community Chest (later the United Way), in community-wide fund raising and sharing. Reflecting the Progressive interest in scientific efficiency and the role of middle class social values in addressing poverty, the organization sought to foster cooperation among the various charities in Los Angeles for better distribution of relief "among the worthy poor" and to promote "work [as] the basis of all relief to the able-bodied" [Council of Social Agencies of Los Angeles 5-6].

In the creation of the association, its leaders were in step organizationally with similar cooperative efforts in the world of commerce. The Board of Trade reorganized in 1888 as the Chamber of Commerce. The Southern California Fruit Growers Exchange formed in 1893, coordinating "the harvesting, packing, shipping, and nationwide marketing of the orange" [DeMarco 61], the single most important product and advertisement for the region. The Merchants' and Manufacturers' Association was created in 1896 from two earlier organizations. As described earlier, throughout the Progressive era, Jewish family members were active participants in the Chamber and the M & M, supporting these similar cooperative efforts.

The benevolent societies, not surprisingly, shared their leadership's work ethic. Increasingly in the early decades of the 20th century, indigents not obviously employable were given train tickets to return to their city of origin. Relief was refused if applicants or family members appeared able to work [B. Cohen 16]. Loans, in the place of outright grants, became more common. In addition to making referrals to society members for employment and medical assistance, the societies made referrals to the Associated Charities, sending the Jewish poor to public agencies.

When relief was approved – more requests were granted than denied - weekly amounts ranged from as little as $.50 to as much as $9.00. Cash relief grants often were accompanied by job referrals and advice to see a physician or go to the County Hospital. Assistance other than cash, such as shoes and meal tickets, was provided whenever possible [HBS Minutes, December 22, 1913 and December 28, 1914].:

Although the number of "green" immigrants from Eastern Europe was never significant[23], HBS acted as the Los Angeles liaison to the Industrial Removal Office (IRO). Most requests to resettle in the city were granted, as they needed no assistance; some were deferred until a local resident pledged support to insure no public or private assistance would be needed [HBS Minutes, September 30, 1912; November 25, 1912; March 27, 1913; June 26, 1913].

As more people were attracted to Los Angeles, the demand for assistance grew and changed. For example, successful promotion of the southern California climate as healthful led to an "influx of tuberculous Jews from the East,"[24] which created a need for specialized medical care and assistance for their orphaned children [Gelfand "Chutzpah" 41]. In response, in 1902, the Cohn and Newmark families started a hospital for Jewish consumptives (Kaspare Cohn Hospital, later becoming Cedars of Lebanon, a general hospital) and in 1907, they helped open an orphanage. Several other specialized organizations were started in the first three decades of the 20th century, with roots and leadership stemming from the original two benevolent societies and synagogue. The

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[23] While the IRO sent nearly 60,000 people from New York to other U.S. cities between 1901 and 1912, only about 2,300 immigrants arrived in Los Angeles under its auspices and most came after 1910 [Bogen 121;Vorspan and Gartner 320].

[24] Around the turn of the century, there was an expression among Eastern European Jewish immigrants characterizing those among them who headed for Los Angeles – "if you have one lung or two wives you go to California." Translated from Yiddish and shared with the author by Dr. Rachel Adler, HUC-JIR.

chart on page 72 , Community Organizations and Family Involvement, details the evolution of the synagogue and major charitable organizations and the extent of each family's association with them.

The communal organizations of the Newmarks, Lazards, and Hellmans led the way in creating another response to the growing demands, the Jewish Federated Charities, later named the Federation of Jewish Charities of Los Angeles. The Hebrew Benevolent Society, Ladies Hebrew Benevolent Society, Temple Sewing Circle, the Kaspare Cohn Hospital, the Orphans' Home, the Consumptive Relief Association (funds for the care of tubercular patients), and the Fruit and Flower Mission (distributed baskets to the poor) joined together to coordinate fund raising appeals and services and to plan responses to community needs. First and second generation family members served on the founding Board of Governors.

The 1914 annual report of HBS, however, offered evidence that federating was not a panacea for all the challenges facing Jewish charitable organizations. Decrying its allotment from "the Jewish Federated Charities [as] not sufficient for our needs," Isaac Norton, the president, reported a deficit of $106.50 for the year. Norton recommended that the secretary of HBS request "at least $6,000 for the coming year" [B'nai B'rith Messenger January 22, 1915].

After the creation of the Federation, HBS and LHBS increased their historically close coordination of services and referrals. In 1916, they began to hold joint meetings and in 1918, they merged to form the Jewish Aid Society of Los Angeles. Dora Berres, who had been an investigator for the societies, was appointed secretary of the new organization [B. Cohen 22]. Professionalization took root.

A comparison of the mission of the Hebrew Benevolent Society to that of the Jewish Aid Society (JAS) demonstrates the extent of the change experienced by the societies and the city in 63 years:

> WHEREAS : The Israelites of this City, being desirous of procuring a piece of ground suitable for the purpose of a Burying Ground for the deceased of their own faith, and also to appropriate a portion of their time and means to the *holy cause of Benevolence* - unite themselves, for these purposes, under the name and style of "THE HEBREW BENEVOLENT SOCIETY" of Los Angeles [HBS Constitution Preamble, 1855, *emphasis added*].

> That we... do hereby CERTIFY AND DECLARE: FIRST: That the name of said corporation shall be JEWISH AID SOCIETY OF LOS ANGELES. SECOND: That the purposes for which said corporation is formed are *to provide material relief* for the worthy poor and the suffering and needy of Los Angeles, and *to receive contributions and donations* of money and property for the purpose of assisting and providing the worthy poor and the suffering and needy; also *to prevent poverty wherever possible* and provide ways and means for assisting the poor and needy to better their circumstances [JAS Articles of Incorporation Preamble and first two articles, 1918, ***emphasis added***].

The voluntary generosity of the founders (none of whom lived to see this transformation) had become institutionalized social welfare.[25] Seeking donations to support the work of the organization became one of its major functions. While the Hellmans and Newmarks continued be part of the lay leadership, their roles became advisory and financially supportive of the organization.

By 1920, the Jewish Aid Society was the most venerable organization among 27 different Jewish organizations: "7 synagogues, 13 charitable organizations, 2 cemeteries, 3 educational agencies, and 2 Zionist societies" plus several "cultural resources." In

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[25] The Los Angeles experience mirrored that of most other U.S. Jewish communities as it became clear that "[t]he general relief societies of the last century were inadequate to meet the multiplicity of problems encountered in the new American cities" [Morris and Freund 7].

addition to JAS, there were "2 free loan societies, [5] relief and service organizations, 1 free burial society, 1 hospital, 1 tuberculosis association and 1 Federation" [Gelfand "Chutzpah" 42]. The city's Jewish population had grown from 500 in 1880 to "an estimated 43,000 in 1923" [Gelfand "Chutzpah" 37]. Reflecting the increased population and diverse needs, the character of Jewish organized life in Los Angeles also reflected:

> organization theories of the Progressives, including the reliance upon professional managers and experts functioning under the general policy-making direction of nonprofessionals, federated organizational structures, emphasis on localism and local problem-solving, [and] reliance on functional organizations rather than upon traditional patterns of communal activity in the philanthropic sphere [Elazar 447].

JAS of the 1920s illustrated these Progressive ideas. Viewed by its leaders and supporters "as the financial-relief arm of the multi-function Federation of Jewish Charities," the work of JAS was carried out by a paid secretary (i.e., manager) and "a small staff of investigators" and overseen by "a Board of Trustees consisting of twelve affluent men and women who met weekly to make decisions regarding cases brought to their attention" [B. Cohen 26]. The influence of the emerging professional field of social work, and its concept of "social casework as a helping process" was felt increasingly. The county took on the role of primary relief agency and JAS shifted to "supplementing inadequate budgets" while adding "new functions" to its array of services [B. Cohen 27-29].

By the middle of the decade, the Board of Trustees ended the practice of reviewing individual cases during board meetings, setting up subcommittees instead. Turning over "all the detail work of the office according to their best judgment" to the staff, the board expanded its ranks and became more representative of "the various

Jewish groups in the city," including various neighborhoods (Boyle Heights, Temple Street), synagogues (Temple Sinai, Temple Emanu El), and other charitable organizations (The Free Loan and Housing Association, Legal Aid Society, Council of Jewish Women).

The agency stressed aiding families in maintaining or achieving self-sufficiency, rather than continuing reliance on public and private assistance. As a result, a variety of services came to be offered, such as medical attention, childcare for working families, dental care, student loans and training programs, and counseling for individuals and families. "Neighborhood houses" and social centers, with educational, social, and recreational activities alongside counseling and referral activities, were created as "preventive work" [B. Cohen 33-34]. In addition to its office downtown (with the Federation), JAS had an office in Boyle Heights and one on Central Avenue, where concentrations of Jewish households were located.

The changes in structure, emphasis, and approach led to changing the name from Jewish Aid Society to Jewish Social Service Bureau (JSSB) in 1929. JSSB was:

> a Family Welfare Department of the Federation of Jewish Welfare Organizations, and endeavor[ed] ... through advice, home service, material relief and neighborhood recreational and educational activities, to assist in building up and maintaining the standards for a normal life for Jewish individuals and families in Los Angeles in whose homes, through illness, inexperience, imprisonment, unemployment, old age, death, desertion, neglect or other causes, there is, or threatens to be some maladjustment [Manual of the Jewish Social Service Bureau, quoted in B. Cohen 42].

Throughout the transformation and merger of the benevolent societies and the founding of their sibling organizations, members of the elite families remained part of the leadership, as summarized in Figure 3. Where first generation members concentrated

their involvement in the benevolent societies, a majority of second generation members devoted their efforts to the Federated Jewish Charities, Kaspare Cohn Hospital, and Jewish Orphans' Home. The second and third generations took leadership roles in the United Jewish Appeal (along with Louis B. Mayer and other Jewish studio heads [B'nai B'rith Messenger, April 9, 1926]) and in Wilshire Boulevard Temple, as Congregation B'nai B'rith became known in the late 1920s.

Figure 3
Persistency of Leadership Involvement in Jewish Communal Institutions
Number of Individuals from 1st through 3rd Generations

Generation	HBS/LHBS	JAS/JBBS	Sibling Organizations
1st	9	N/A	3
2nd	2	2	7
3rd	N/A	3	2

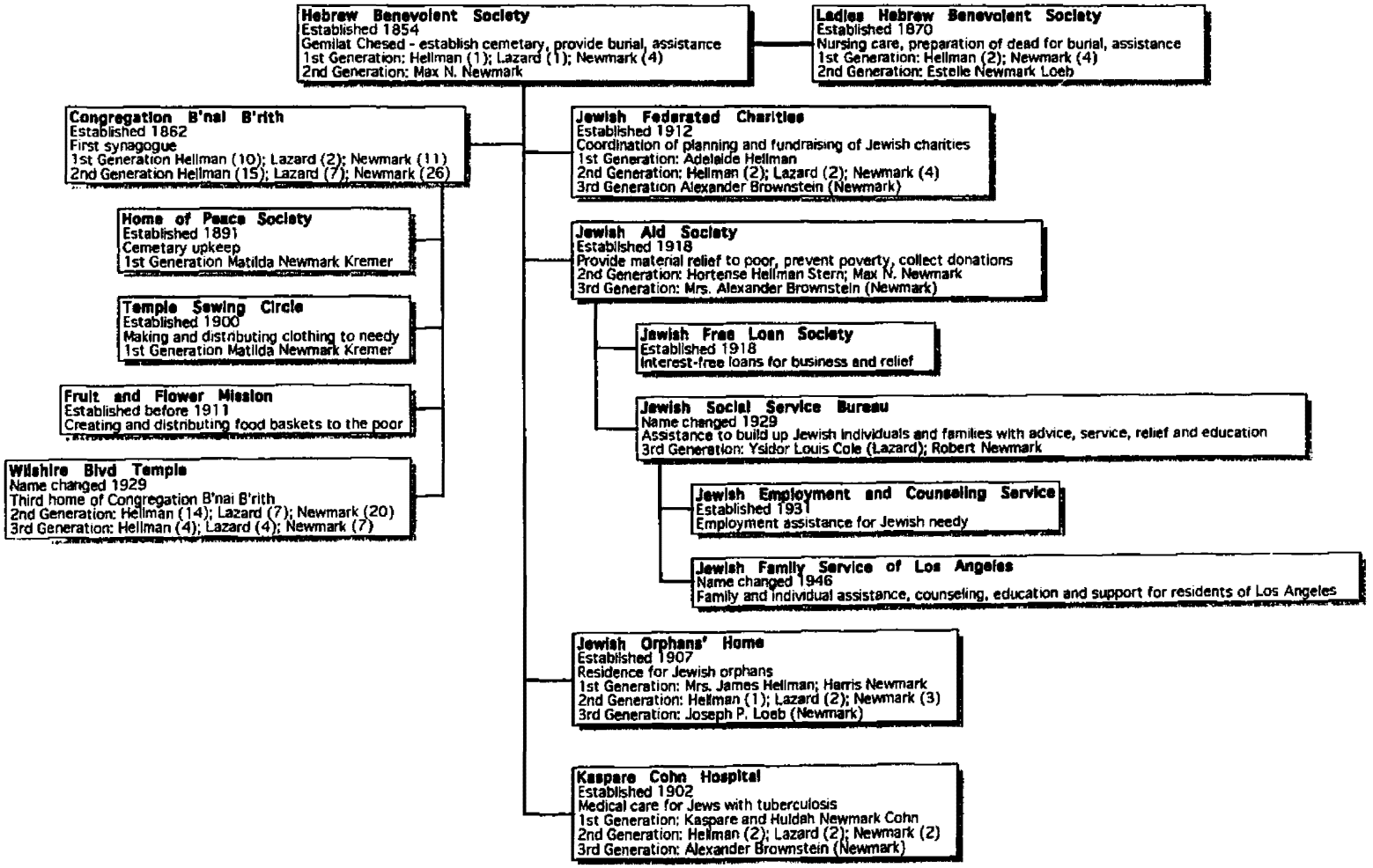
Summary

While the first generation started the benevolent societies for mutual benefit and to insure that no Jew in need among the hundred or so in Los Angeles went unaided, the second and third generations reoriented the societies and their sibling organizations toward supporting well-adjusted, "normal" families. Influenced by the Progressive ideals about a homogeneous society and social work, the elite families supported the professionalization and federation of community assistance. They also helped establish Jewish spaces of assistance and care, such as the Kaspare Cohn Hospital and the Jewish Orphans' Home. Not unlike the commercial buildings they constructed downtown (often on the original site of the family's first home or mansion) and the neighborhoods they developed, these "brick and mortar" bureaus for the less fortune reflected the families' extensive wealth and their commitment to their community and city.

While the first generation extended aid to non-Jews, especially in extraordinary circumstances, and took pride in preventing co-religionists from depending on charity from non-Jews, their children and grandchildren learned to leverage public resources for the benefit of the Jewish community. They expanded the array of services offered through Jewish agency and shifted from intervention to prevention as a tactic of assistance. Second generation elites provided funds and empowered professionals to transform a collection of well-meaning, generous families and individuals into a structured community of caregivers and donors attentive to the well-being of their fellow Jews. Family members of the second and third generations extended the efforts of the first generation to respond to increased and varied needs with a Progressive approach and a Jewish focus.

Chart - Communal Organizations and Family Involvement

NOTE: For each generation and family, the number of members with documented relationships with the organization is indicated in parenthesis ( ). Individual names are provided when the number of family members for a generation is 2 or less.



Chapter V

Los Angeles 1930: Communities and Family

The Metropolis

The pioneers of Los Angeles, including its Jewish residents, promoted the virtues of the Southern California climate and opportunity all over the world. Their efforts began to pay off in 1890 and did not abate until the Great Depression of the 1930s. By the turn of the century, Los Angeles was experiencing the fastest population growth of any city in the U.S. "From a national perspective ... [Los Angeles'] record resembled not so much that of smaller cities such as St. Louis as that of mammoth metropolises such as Chicago" [Fogelson 79]. From 50,000 people in 1880, the city grew to over 2,200,000 in 1930. With this growth came new racial diversity, with Mexican and Japanese immigrants and African Americans joining the long-resident Chinese and native-born Mexican Americans. According to Fogelson, "[n]owhere on the Pacific coast, not even in cosmopolitan San Francisco, was there so diverse a mixture of racial groups, so visible a contrast and so pronounced a separation among people, as Los Angeles" [83].

While the Jewish population became a smaller percentage overall, it, too, grew dramatically. "The rise in Jewish in habitants exceeded even the boom rate of increase in the city at large." From a 1900 estimate of 2,500, the number of Jews living in Los Angeles had grown to 65,000 in 1927 [Vorspan and Gartner 109, 287]. Just as the city's population had increased mainly due to people relocating from other U.S. cities and not from foreign migration, the Jewish population increase also had more to do with people moving from other American cities, than direct immigration from Europe. Marriage

records and other indicators suggest that the foreign-born immigrants never overwhelmed the American-born population as they did in the east [Vorspan and Gartner 112-114].

The increased Jewish population of Los Angeles, though, did lead to visible Jewish neighborhoods and more class distinctions. At the beginning of the 20th century most Los Angeles Jews, rich and poor, lived in the downtown area. Gradually, the wealthy families moved west to Westlake, West Adams, Hollywood, and beyond. Middle and working class families congregated along Central Avenue or Temple Avenue and east of downtown in Boyle Heights. "By 1926 only 3 percent of the Jews living in Los Angeles remained in the downtown section" and as much as 30 percent lived in Boyle Heights [Elliott-Scheinberg 144-45, 150].

Despite the larger Jewish population, in 1930, Jews no longer held public office in city government. They lived and socialized apart from the dominate Protestant Anglo-Saxon population. The children and grandchildren of newcomers constituted the new elite of Los Angeles, as evidenced by the addition to the Farmers and Merchants National Bank Board of Directors in 1929 of Norman Chandler, son of Harry Chandler (arrived from New Hampshire in 1883) and grandson of Harrison Gray Otis (arrived from Ohio in 1881), publishers of the Los Angeles Times.

The surviving members of the Hellman, Newmark, and Lazard families lived along Wilshire Boulevard ("one of Los Angeles's grandest thoroughfares ... [and] the quintessentially capitalist street" [Pitt and Pitt 551], in Windsor Square, developed by Maurice S. Hellman, and in Beverly Hills. They sold or replaced their original downtown homes with commercial structures. Following a practice of their parents and

grandparents, some family members still lived close to other family members [Malamut 61, 36].

In the 1920s, the Concordia Club gave way to the Hillcrest Country Club and the Hollywood Polo and Riding Club as the preferred social venues for the younger generations. The Jewish Professional Men's Club joined the existing fraternal orders as a social and business opportunity. The phenomenon of exclusive clubs had increased during the Progressive era and their existence, in particular, marked a significant departure from the values of the first generation, as exemplified in the following comment by Harris Newmark:

> Speaking of social organizations, I may say that several Los Angeles clubs were organized in the early era of sympathy, tolerance and good feeling, when the individual was appreciated at his true worth and before the advent of men whose bigotry has sown intolerance and discord, and has made a mockery of both religion and professed ideals [H. Newmark et al. 383].

Unlike the working and middle class Jewish residents of Boyle Heights, which also was home to Mexican, Japanese, and African American families, the elite Jewish families tended to live, socialize, and work among others of the same class. Just as their business and charitable networks became more exclusively Jewish, so did family and social life. While the second generation was dealing with the anti-Semitism of private clubs and businesses, the third generation found it in high school sororities and fraternities, especially after World War I [Sichel 4].

Progressive ideas, put to use in supporting a Protestant ideal of the "red-blooded American," took hold in Los Angeles public schools [Elliott-Scheinberg 280] and in Jewish communal institutions. In these situations, Los Angeles shared a national

experience. The Los Angeles Jewish community had less trouble than other Jewish communities in implementing the "organization theories of the Progressives" because:

> Los Angeles's geographical location resulted in its being settled primarily by American-born Jews, who came with the organizational skills characteristic of the American culture and did not have the tendencies toward fragmentation usual among Jewish immigrants from the Old World [Elazar 333].

With most of the first generation pioneers gone by 1930, their children and grandchildren were rooted, by precedent and choice, in a Los Angeles they helped birth. In the late 1920s, they built a synagogue, as the first generation had done twice before. In its planning and development, they experienced the challenges and triumphs of creating permanence, as had the first generation. In its dedication, though, they forged a new experience, in honoring their forbearers with a tangible monument to the grand pioneer vision of Los Angeles. The monument, the Wilshire Boulevard Temple of Congregation B'nai B'rith, also can be seen as the most public and enduringly visible Jewish contribution to the birth of the metropolis.

Marco R. Newmark, who followed in his father's footsteps as a recorder of the details of Los Angeles' past and served as the lay historian of Congregation B'nai B'rith, captured the significance of the first two synagogue buildings to his parents' generation. The excerpt below describes the building of the Fort Street structure:

> March 10, 1872, was a red-letter day in our history. On that date, the ladies of the congregation held a meeting for the purpose of devising ways and means for the erection of a house of worship. ... the little flock worked with zeal and determination, for on August 18, 1872, the cornerstone was laid. ... On August 8, 1873, the new synagogue was proudly dedicated. At this ceremony, Miss Fanny Kalisher, daughter of the first president, presented Mr. [Isaias] Hellman [president] with a symbolic golden key ["Wilshire Boulevard Temple" 168-69].

The following excerpt concerns the second synagogue, constructed on a site to the southwest of the first one, in the general direction of residential growth at the time:

> On that same date [October 12, 1895], ... a committee consisting of Jacob Baruch, Isaac Norton and Jacob Loew was appointed to supervise the construction of the new Temple on the lot at the northeast corner of Ninth and Hope Streets, which had recently been acquired. ... On November 7, 1895, Abraham M. Edelman, son of our first Rabbi, was appointed architect of the new Temple and on January 17, 1896, W. S. Mills and Company were awarded the contract for its erection. ... On Sunday, March 16, 1896, the cornerstone ceremony was conducted. Harris Newmark was Master of Ceremonies; President H. W. Hellman placed the cornerstone, and Rabbi Solomon delivered the principal address. ... On September 6, 1896, the Temple was dedicated. ... ["Wilshire Boulevard Temple" 171].

Where the first two buildings took 18 and 11 months, respectively, from conception to dedication, the third enterprise took over nine years. But where the first two structures were elaborate for their day, Wilshire Boulevard Temple was grandiose. It encompassed three lots of nearly 50,000 square feet on the grandest thoroughfare in Los Angeles, home to the Wilshire Boulevard Christian Church (built 1922-23) and Wilshire United Methodist Church (built 1924) [Pitt and Pitt 552]. Marco Newmark described the first of three days of dedication held in June, 1929:

> The formal dedicatory ceremonies were conducted on Friday evening, June 8th. After a processional with the Torah, the depositing of the scrolls in the Ark and the lighting of the perpetual Light in memory of Harris and Sarah Newmark, the regular Sabbath evening service was held. Mr. Mosbacher [chair of the building committee] then presented the new Temple, which Dr. Edelman [president, son of the first rabbi] accepted in behalf of the congregation. Marco H. Hellman next presented the Herman W. and Ida H. Hellman Memorial Ark ["Wilshire Boulevard Temple" 175].

Before the tributes by Marco Newmark and Marco Hellman to their parents,[26] the evening dedication began with an "introductory rendition on the Kaspare and Huldah Cohn Memorial Organ." At least 56 members of the Hellman, Lazard, and Newmark families belonged to the congregation at the time. Rabbi Edgar F. Magnin's opening essay in the commemorative program articulated the intended effect of "Our New Temple" even as he paid tribute to the congregation's founders:

> ... This imposing edifice will stimulate the imagination and awaken the spiritual consciousness of the hundreds of thousands of people who will be privileged to enter its portals. Those who pass by it daily will be inspired by its perfect proportions, by the vision that prompted its erection and by a contemplation of the purposes for which it has been dedicated. ...
>
> And so, at last, Congregation B'nai B'rith is housed in a manner befitting its dignity and importance. Begun by a sturdy band of pioneers, continued and augmented by their descendants and the other good people, who though born and reared elsewhere have made their home in this glorious city, this Temple today stands forth as one of the most prominent in the country, if not in the world. ... [B'nai B'rith Temple Dedication Program].

The influence of newcomers on Los Angeles and its pioneers had been so significant that Rabbi Magnin made a distinction between "the pioneers..., their descendants and the other good people ... born and reared elsewhere." As the urbanizing era came to an end, the elite Jewish families, and those who had come from elsewhere, memorialized their "men and women of vision" with their own commitment to a Jewish

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[26] In addition to the Hellmans, Newmarks, and Cohns, the Warner family was honored at the dedication. "The ceremony closed with the presentation by Jack Warner for the Warner Brothers of the Warner Memorial Mural painting in memory of Mr. and Mrs. Benjamin Warner [their parents] and Samuel and Milton Warner [deceased brothers]" [M. R. Newmark "Wilshire Boulevard Temple" 175]. The inclusion of the Hollywood producers' family memorial with those of the congregation founders illustrated the changing of the elite class in Jewish Los Angeles. The Warner brothers were newcomers from Canada who established one of the "Big Five" film studios in Los Angeles and pioneered sound in movies [Pitt and Pitt 523].

future in Los Angeles, on the great city's best-known thoroughfare. Even moved to the edges of social and civic life, Los Angeles remained their city.

Chapter VI

Conclusion

This study has examined some reactions of Jewish elite families to the emergence of the Los Angeles metropolis. Its findings are twofold:

1. The elite families kept their businesses in family hands and aligned their economic interests with the Anglo Saxon boosterism of the mid-western newcomers and, as a result, sustained their wealth and upper class position in the rapidly growing city.
2. The families expanded their philanthropy and helped align Jewish communal life with Progressive ideas and values, including cooperative federation of individual organizations, professionalization of operations, and localized intervention in and prevention of social maladjustment in support of the nuclear family, resulting in flexible, sustainable, Jewishly-focused community institutions in the fragmenting metropolis.

These findings support my contention that, as Los Angeles became the 20th century metropolis, the Jewish elites, who had made that transformation possible, planted themselves and their families firmly and successfully in the emerging landscape. While the newcomer elite promoted an Anglo Saxon vision of Los Angeles and practiced racial and ethnic discrimination in the economic, social, civic, and political realms, the families purposefully redefined their interests in those realms. As the Jewish community became one of the "fragments" of the city, the Newmarks, Lazards, and Hellmans made sure it was a sturdy and visible segment with a viable future.

Just as the pioneer merchants stayed focused on survival in Los Angeles during its "Helltown" days, the elite families kept their attention on the family business and

economic well-being of successive generations in the city. Using privileges of wealth, education, and extensive family ties, the Newmarks, Lazards, and Hellmans remained involved in the economic life of the city. Having the capital and connections needed to keep up with the city's phenomenal growth, they continued to be important to the practical realizations of the middle class newcomers' dreams. It would appear that the Jewish elite families assumed the role of a patrician upper class in the Anglo Saxon paradise, a possibility suggested by the findings cited above and worthy of further study.

By taking the role of aristocrats, the families had no need to participate in politics, at least not as officer-holders. So they conceded that realm to the newcomers, but remained active as supporters and lobbyists for their business and class interests. On the social front, the second and third generations (and a few members of the first generation) preferred the company of other Jewish elites for the cultural and economic compatibility, so they created their own social clubs exclusive of the newcomers. Their civic involvement shifted from the general community to the Jewish community, where their money, names, and talents fashioned the contours of today's federation and agency system. Ultimately, the attention focused on the Jewish community resulted in a hospital, a family service agency, and a home for disadvantaged children that today are utilized and supported by Jewish and non-Jewish Angelenos alike.

In their business associations and communal organizations, the Jewish elites accepted the dominant culture's preference for a homogeneous America promoting the well-adjusted, nuclear "normal" family as the ideal. At the same time, though, they created distinctly Jewish organizations, encouraged Jewish neighborhoods, and built a grand, exotic synagogue on the city's most prestigious boulevard. They supported the

Zionist movement and sent their children to Europe to finish their educations. Clearly, their definition of "American" and "normal" had room for Jewish distinctiveness.

When the mid-western newcomers inundated Los Angeles, the Jewish elite families used their business networks and communal institutions to buoy themselves and the Jewish community. By 1930, Jewish Los Angeles appeared to be coalescing in Boyle Heights (physically) and Hollywood (economically), with Americanized groups of Eastern European immigrants relocating from New York and contributing to perceived, as well as actual, Jewish concentrations in both places. Walls of anti-Semitism and ethnic and class jealousy had defined economic, social, and political boundaries where none had existed before. At the same time, Jewish-only social and political clubs had multiplied and become the norm. Synagogues and charitable organizations proliferated, federated, and professionalized. More Jews than ever lived in the city and still more would come to be residents. Because of the Newmarks, Lazards, and Hellmans there would be room and reason for them to become citizens of Los Angeles.

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