DAVID GOLDBAUM,

Custom House Broker

—AND—

Commission Agent.

WHOLESALE AND RETAIL DEALER IN

Hay, Seeds, and General Produce from the Celebrated Maneadero Valley, CHAS. BENNETT'S FLOUR and CANNED FRUITS and G. D. STEAD'S WASHING and TOILET SOAPS.

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Notice to the Public.

The undersigned has opened a commission and purchasing agency in San Diego and is prepared to buy your goods at the lowest possible figure. All orders guaranteed.

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All orders can be left with M. Riveroli at Ensenada.

L. MENDELSON.

KLAUBER Y LEVY.

IMPORTADORES Y

COMERCIANTES POR MAYOR

EN ABARROTES,

LICORES,

QUINCALLERIA,

FERRETERÍA,

HERRAMIENTA

PARA LA AGRICULTURA.

KLAUBER Y LEVY,

Esquina de las calles Quinta y H.,

SAN DIEGO, CAL.

PROTESTA.

El que suscrito, como apoderado y Agente General de la Compañía Mexicana Internacional Colonizadora, hace saber al público, que protesta una y más veces, cuanto en derecho se requiere, contra cualesquiera venta, enagenacion, gravámen ó hipotecas que se contraigan sobre el terreno del rancho "Valle de San Rafael" sito en el Partido Norte de la Baja California; pues la Empresa que represento tiene los títulos legítimos que acreditan el pleno derecho y posesion y se reserva sus acciones para hacerlas valer contra los compradores que se presenten en el referido Partido ó en el extranjero.

Ensenada de Todos Santos, Junio 25 de 1887.

M. BERNSTEIN,

Apoderado General de la Compañía Internacional Mexicana Colonizadora.

COMPAÑIA
MEXICANA INTERNACIONAL
DE VAPORES DEL PACIFICO Y GOLFO DE LA BAJA CALIFONIA.

EL NUEVO Y HERMOSO VAPOR

"CARLOS PACHECO."

Su Capitan H. C. Nelson.

HACE 3 VIAJES EN LA SEMANA ENTRE ESTE PUERTO Y EL DE SAN DIEGO, CAL.

ITINERARIO.

De la Ensenada a San Diego.	De San Diego a la Ensenada.
El Mártes á las 8 P. M.	El Lúnes á las 5 P. M.
" Juéves " " "	" Miércoles " " "
" Sábado " " "	" Viérnes " " "

Por fletes y pasajes dirijánse á

CHARLES SCOFIELD, AGENTE,

Edificio del Primer Banco Nacional, en San Diego, ó á

MAXIMILIANO BERNSTEIN,

Agente en la Ensenada de Todos Santos.

ENSENADA

BOOT AND SHOE FACTORY.

J. A. COHN.

Ruiz street, opposite Pacheco hotel.

Ladies, Gentlemen and Children's Boots and shoes made to order in the latest styles.

Repairing neatly done, with dispatch.

Aviso Interesante.

Habiendo sido declarada por acuerdo especial del Ministerio de Fomento de fecha (Abril 14 de 1887) la Ensenada de todos Santos de la exclusiva propiedad de la Compañía Internacional Colonizadora.

El suscrito suplica á las personas dueñas de lotes en este Puerto, se presenten en su oficina para que se les extienda su nuevo título en todo conforme á su original.

Ensenada de Todos Santos, Mayo 21 de 1887.

M. BERNSTEIN, Agente.

La Sociedad de Artesanos de Mazatlan.

El Sr. David Goldbaun ha arribado á este Puerto, procedente de la Perla del Pacífico, Comisionado por la Sociedad Mazatleca de Artesanos para tomar informes sobre las industrias que pueden implantarse en este Partido. El incremento que toma dia á dia nuestra poblacion y las franquicias que se otorgan á los colonos son un aliciente para cualquier empresa, y estamos seguros de que el Sr. Goldbaun gratamente impresionado informará á sus comitentes que en la Ensenada de Todos Santos todo hombre encuentra trabajo y mercado para toda clase de artefactos; así pues esperamos que algunos de los honrados artesanos de Mazatlán vengan á establecerse entre nosotros.

Dia á dia sobra trabajo y faltan brazos.

Baja California

JEWISH REFUGE AND HOMELAND

by

Norton B. Stern



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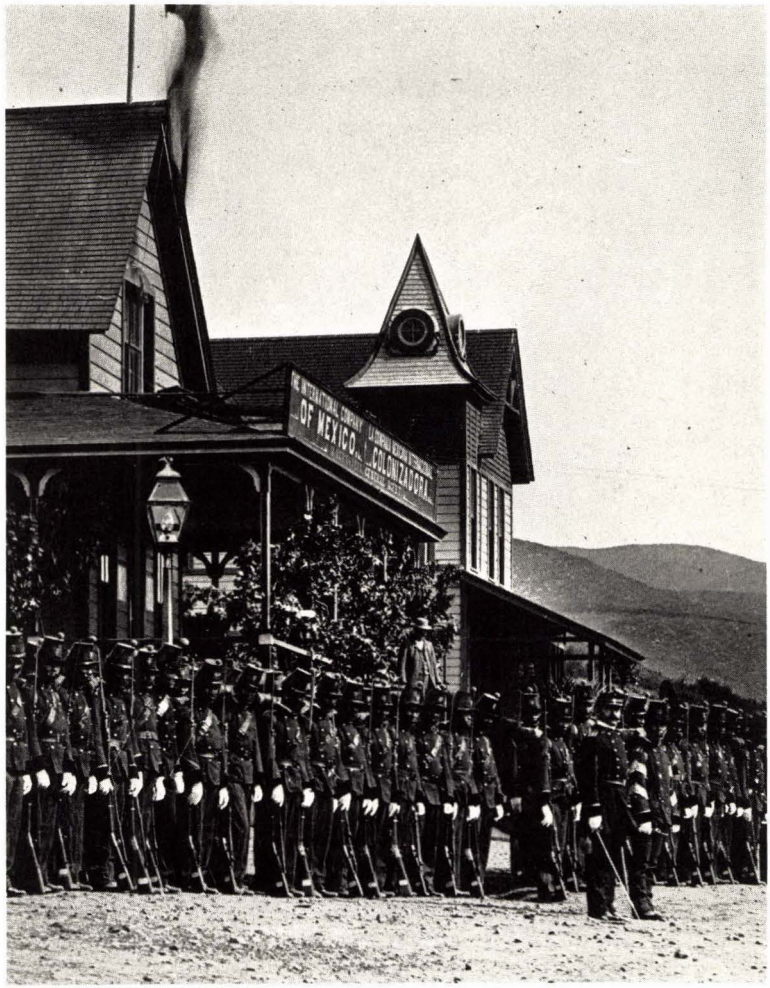
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THE MILITARY AT ENSENADA

Standing in front of the offices of the Mexican Land and Colonization Company, formerly the International Company of Mexico, May 5, 1892. Beneath the company's name on their sign can be faintly seen "M. Bernstein, General Agent." Courtesy of the Los Angeles County Museum.

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DAVID GOLDBAUM AND FAMILY IN 1909

Carmen and David Goldbaum with two of their six children, Minerva and Luis. Courtesy of the Sherman Foundation.

CHAPTER I

Alta California Jewry and the Russian Refugees

For a considerable period of time following the beginning of the pogroms in Russia in the early 1880s, Mexico was seen by many American Jews as a haven for their oppressed people and a likely place to establish agricultural colonies. That part of Mexico known as Baja or Lower California, a peninsula just south of the State of California, was particularly favored by Western Jews as a likely place of refuge for the European victims of anti-Semitism. Indeed, the Jewish Territorialist movement, headed by Israel Zangwill of England, seriously considered Baja California as a Jewish homeland, "... a territory on an autonomous basis for those Jews who cannot or will not remain in the lands in which they live at present."[1]

As early as the 1830s Edward King, Lord Kingsborough (1795-1837), "promoted and edited with copious notes a magnificent work, entitled

[1] Israel Zangwill, "Zionism and Territorialism," *The Living Age* (Boston), June 11, 1910 (Volume 265, Number 3440), p. 667. Our appreciation for research assistance is extended to Mrs. Sylvia Arden, Mrs. Marion L. Buckner, William O. Hendricks, William M. Kramer, William Mason, Mrs. Rose Mathias, Don Meadows, and Fred Rochlin.

Antiquities of Mexico . . . ." His idea was that Mexico should be colonized "by the Israelites."[2] In 1884, Isaac Halberstadt of Texas, an agent of the New York Insurance Company, wrote to Philip Cowen, editor of *The American Hebrew*, New York, about his talks with Porfirio Diaz. Halberstadt spoke to Diaz, President of Mexico, while visiting Mexico City. The Texan wrote to Cowen to call to his attention the possibility of "using Mexico as a haven for placing Russian refugees." President Diaz was very interested in the idea of colonizing Jews in his country, and in a lengthy correspondence with Cowen expressed his willingness to pay the expenses for an investigation of Mexico by a commission of American Jews on the suitability of the country as to soil, local markets, transportation, and a number of other factors. However, a preliminary report by Cowen's friend, attorney Manuel A. Kursheedt, was discouraging. Kursheedt represented a large packing house firm with interests in Texas and Mexico and he felt that the lack of markets and the nature of the soil precluded successful colonization. With this negative report, the idea was dropped.[3] Over twenty years later, in 1905, Rabbi Jacob Voorsanger was to editorialize in his San Francisco Anglo-Jewish weekly, that

[2] Nahum Sokolow, *History of Zionism 1600-1918* (London, 1919), Volume I, p. 58.

[3] Philip Cowen, *Memories of An American Jew* (New York, 1932), pp. 82-83.

Only once or twice before has any government had the moral courage to say that it was interested in the settlement of the Jews within its territorial limits. The offer of President [Porfirio] Diaz is one instance.[4]

On January 2, 1891, San Francisco's Jewish population read about a call for a meeting to organize The International Society for the Colonization of Russian Jews. The notice was signed by David Lubin of Sacramento, chairman, and Louis Blank of San Francisco, secretary. It was their idea to ask those who would attend the meeting to "listen to reports of our work hitherto accomplished, and assist us in electing a committee of fifteen men, who shall organize the work on this coast."[5] Lubin and Blank stated:

We desire to prepare ourselves to relieve the immigrants. We desire, if we can, to assist in solving the problems of distribution and colonization. The great danger of the impending immigration lies in concentration in the cities. Our Russian coreligionists, notably the younger element, will readily become pioneers.[6]

The meeting took place at B'nai B'rith Hall, 121 Eddy Street, San Francisco, on Sunday afternoon, January 4, 1891. It was a very successful affair, judging from the attendance, the fact that the most

4 *Emanu-El*, San Francisco, November 3, 1905, p. 5, c. 2.

5 *The Jewish Progress*, San Francisco, January 2, 1891, p. 4, cs. 1-2. A preliminary organization had been established by Sacramento Jewry, headed by David Lubin, who then "came to San Francisco and at once began his task of organizing a relief society on a larger scale." *San Francisco Examiner*, January 5, 1891, p.3, c.1.

6 *The Jewish Progress*, San Francisco, January 2, 1891, p.4, c.2.

prominent and influential Jews of San Francisco were present, and the widespread publicity which resulted. The crowd which attended was so large that "even standing room was at a premium."[7] Rabbi Jacob Voorsanger of Congregation Emanu-El was elected unanimously to chair the meeting and an executive committee to effect the permanent organization of the society was chosen. Much enthusiasm was evidenced and "the contributions flowed in beautifully."[8] A number of speeches were made in which

> The lands of California, Mexico, and even of far-away Palestine, were suggested as fit camping ground for the Russian unfortunates who, after years of torture and cruel persecution, might at last find rest in countries that would hound them no longer.[9]

In an editorial comment in the *San Francisco Chronicle* it was noted that "It was suggested that the homeless Jews need not necessarily be located in California, but that a colony might be established in Mexico, if thought desirable."[10]

David Lubin said that "No place on the face of the earth has room for the Jew to go back to his . . . occupation of farmer and rancher except this State, or Mexico."[11] The always analytical I. N. Choyn-

[7] *San Francisco Chronicle*, January 5, 1891, p.3, c.6.
[8] *The Jewish Progress*, San Francisco, January 9, 1891, p.1, cs. 4-5.
[9] *Ibid.*, p.4, c.2.
[10] January 6, 1891, p.4, c.2.
[11] *The Jewish Voice*, St. Louis, Missouri, January 23, 1891, p.6, c.1. Quoted by G. A. Danziger, the newspaper's San Francisco correspondent.

ski, San Francisco correspondent for the *American Israelite* of Cincinnati, rendered a full report of the meeting, in which he was enthusiastic enough to "expect to see vast and most beneficial results for Judaism not only, but for the human race." Writing of David Lubin of Sacramento, prime mover of the meeting, Choynski said, "There are wealthier Jews in that city, but they have no hearts."[12]

Within a short time, The International Society for the Colonization of Russian Jews was incorporated under the laws of the State of California, with a capital stock of $1,000,000. The directors of the society were: David Lubin, Martin Heller, Abram Anspacher, Jacob Voorsanger, David Stern, Marion Leventritt, Charles Meyer, Joseph Naphtaly, I. W. Goldman (of Tulare, California), Julius Jacobs, Marcus Rosenthal, Jacob Greenebaum, Louis Brown, and Raphael Weill. The officers elected for the first year were: David Lubin, president; Marion Leventritt, vice president; Julius Jacobs, treasurer; and Louis Blank, secretary.[13]

Little was accomplished by this society, in spite of the affluence and sterling abilities of its officers and directors. David Lubin, the president, soon embarked on a fund raising tour of Oregon and Washington.[14] Three years later, Rabbi Jacob Voorsanger, then editor of *The Jewish Progress* of San Fran-

[12] *American Israelite*, Cincinnati, January 15, 1891, p.1, c.7.
[13] *The Jewish Progress*, San Francisco, January 23, 1891, p.5, c.2, February 13, 1891, p.1, c.5.
[14] *Ibid.*, February 20, 1891, p.4, c.1.

cisco, indicated that the society aided in establishing two Jewish agricultural colonies in California, one at Orangevale in Sacramento County, the other near Porterville in Tulare County.[15] Neither was successful.[16]

The publicity engendered by the organizing meeting of the Society was of substantial quantity. The *San Francisco Examiner* devoted over three columns to the meeting; the *San Francisco Chronicle* allotted two columns headed by "A New Palestine — The Russian Jews' Colony in America," and followed this up with an analytic editorial the next day; and the *Daily Alta California* gave the affair full coverage.[17] In Phoenix, Arizona, a local newspaper reporting on the San Francisco Jewish assembly noted that "a large California Hebrew syndicate is being formed to purchase a large tract of country in Mexico for a refuge for unhappy Russian Jews driven from their country."[18] In Ensenada, Baja California, the English language newspaper, *The Lower Californian*, gave front page coverage to the San Francisco meeting.

> A grand move is on foot on the part of . . . the wealthy Jews in San Francisco to purchase 150,000 acres of land in Mexico on which to place the Russian Jews . . . . they will be sent to their destination in ships, chartered by the San Francisco Hebrew association. These persecuted Russian Jews

[15] *Ibid.*, June 1, 1894, p.4, c.1.
[16] *Emanu-El*, San Francisco, July 10, 1896, p.5, c.1.
[17] *San Francisco Examiner*, January 5, 1891, p.3, cs.1-4; *San Francisco Chronicle*, January 5, 1891, p.3, cs.6-7, January 6, 1891, p.4, cs.2-3; *Daily Alta California*, San Francisco, January 5, 1891, p.5, cs.3-4.
[18] *Daily Herald*, Phoenix, January 5, 1891, p.2, c.1.

are great workers, and make the best of farmers and fruit growers. An effort is being made to settle them in Lower California.[19]

In Philadelphia, *The Jewish Exponent* reported that "A stirring and strongly worded circular" headed "The International Society for the Colonization of Russian Jews," addressed to the "Israelites of San Francisco and the Pacific Coast," had been issued by David Lubin and Louis Blank. It was observed that Mr. Harris Weinstock, of Sacramento, California, "the well-known merchant of that place . . . is interested in the scheme," and that the purchase of "1,000,000 acres in Mexico, on the Pacific Coast" would be effected.[20]

At the same time that the colonization society was being formed in San Francisco the newspapers carried a great deal of rumor and speculation about the possibility of the United States' taking possession of Baja California. The account printed in the *Evening Bulletin* of San Francisco one day before the 1891 meeting in B'nai B'rith Hall of that city indicates why many of those in attendance might have considered Baja California as a likely place to settle the Russian Jewish refugees.

Lower California
A Belief that it Will Belong
to the United States Soon

[19] January 8, 1891, p.1, c.2.

[20] *The Jewish Exponent*, Philadelphia, January 9, 1891, p.8, c.2. Harris Weinstock was a half-brother and business partner of David Lubin. They owned Weinstock, Lubin & Company, of Sacramento, one of the most prominent of the early department stores in the West.

Special to the *Bulletin:*

Washington, Jan. 2 — "Sooner or later, and it may come very soon, there is going to be trouble between the United States and Mexico over Lower California," said General Cadwallader of San Diego to a *Post* man. "Geographically it is a piece of country that fits into our area much more naturally than as a possession of Mexico. The miners from our side are continually going down there prospecting, and if there should be any big gold discoveries, as is quite probable, seeing that it is very rich in minerals, there would be a rush of people into Lower California who would no more pay respect to the Mexican authority or Mexican laws than they would to the Chinese Empire. This may not be the origin of the difficulty, but it is only a question of time when trouble will arise, and the best thing to do is to discount such contingency by buying the country from our Mexican friends. Congressman Vandever intends to see if he cannot persuade Congress of the utility of such action before the present session expires. I don't know what the Mexicans would want for it, or even if they would be willing to sell at all, but they are shrewd people, and doubtless have long ago found out that the strip is of far more value to the United States than to them."[21]

Two days later, the *Los Angeles Times* devoted much space to the efforts in Washington, but pointed out that the impetus for the attempts to persuade Congress to initiate action to take possession of Baja California came from San Diegans, and more specifically, from San Diego real estate speculators. In the opinion of the *Times*, the whole thing was a transparent scheme to create a state of apprehen-

[21] January 3, 1891, p.3, c.5.

sion so that there would be some motivation for the United States to pressure Mexico to give up Lower California.

Much stress is laid by these San Diegans, now at Washington, upon the danger which threatens the honor and peace of mind of Uncle Sam, because the International Company [of Mexico] has engineer officers, formerly of the British Army, in its employ. . . . Through the whole business, however, plainly crops out the desire of San Diego speculators to improve their fortune by getting the United States Government to interest itself officially in the peninsula. If this Government could and would buy Lower California, it is evident that every acre of land in the peninsula would immediately at least treble in value.[22]

Judging by the writings of two of the principal figures in the brief life of the colonization society, it is evident that the possibility of using undeveloped land in Baja California was much discussed. Both the society's president, David Lubin (see Chapter III), and Rabbi Jacob Voorsanger were convinced of the superior qualities of Lower California as a place of refuge for Russian Jews. In 1896, Voorsanger commented on the apparent success of the Baron de Hirsch colonies in Argentina. He continued:

And yet there are opportunities here, which, in their extent and character, are larger than those offered in the subequatorial republic. Right across from San Diego, in Lower California, an empire is awaiting fostering hands. The time will come when the inevitable migration of large numbers

[22] January 5, 1891, p.4, c.2.

of colonists must be directed to these sunny slopes, which are Mexican in name only, and which have a welcome for all honest men. These slopes, coasting a princely area of uncultivated, rich lands, need the exploring power of modern commerce and enterprise, and the impetus of population. It is still a comfort to know that whilst governments are restricting the right of admission, and nations cry out against the wanderers from abroad, there is still room elsewhere to make a new cradle for growing nations. The earth is still large enough to hold the children made of its dust.[23]

[23] *Emanu-El*, San Francisco, July 10, 1896, p.5, c.1. *Judenstaat* (Jewish State), by Theodor Herzl, had been published in the early part of 1896, in Vienna.

CHAPTER II

The Jewish Pioneers of the Peninsula

In 1884, the government of Mexico granted a charter for the entire northern half of the peninsula of Baja California to the International Company of Mexico. This was an American company headquartered in Hartford, Connecticut, with its operational office in San Diego, California. The land of the company consisted of 18,000,000 acres, over 28,000 square miles. It extended three hundred miles southward from the Mexican-American border, having the Pacific Ocean on the west and the Gulf of California on the east.[1] A period of rapid development set in for some of Baja California, particularly for the Ensenada area and the hinterland adjacent to it. Industrial, shipping, mining, and wide agricultural and cattle raising activities proliferated.

In order to gain possession of the Ensenada area, the International Company of Mexico had its resident agent, Maximiliano Bernstein,[2] purchase the

[1] *Lower California: The Peninsula* (San Diego, 1887), p.3; *Baja California, Yearbook of Las Californias Magazine* (Culver City, California, 1963), p.78.

[2] *La Voz de la Frontera*, Ensenada, October 8, 1887, p.2, cs.6-7.

Rancho de Ensenada from its owner, Pedro Gastelum, in May, 1886. Bernstein transferred title to the company in March, 1887. The land consisted of 533.65 hectares, or a little over 1,318 acres.[3] With the collapse of the land boom of the mid-1880s in southern California, the American owners of the International Company of Mexico decided to sell their Baja California interests. An English corporation, the Mexican Land and Colonization Company, Ltd., purchased the American company's contracts early in 1889.[4]

The land agents for the International Company of Mexico were Hanbury and Garvey, whose offices were on the corner of Sixth and F Streets, San Diego. In 1887, they issued an elaborate pamphlet twenty-six pages long, which sang the praises of the land they had for sale, the climate, the rich undeveloped resources, and, in fact, everything in the region. It pointed to the excellent fertility of the soil, the abundant crops being produced, and the fact that the rainfall had been averaging from twenty-one to twenty-two inches annually. Examples of several successful individual operators were provided in the pamphlet. One of these was Luis Mendelson, who was one of the first if not the first Jewish settler in Baja California, his residency dating from 1871.

3 David Goldbaum, *Towns of Baja California: A 1918 Report*, edited by William O. Hendricks (Glendale, California, 1971), p.58.
4 *Ibid.*, p.15.

Mr. L. Mendelson has lived in the San Rafael Valley,[5] situated upon the company's lands, for sixteen years, having raised crops for fifteen years — wheat principally, as it could be marketed before communications were established along the near coast. Sowed last year 1,400 pounds of seed and had a fine yield, but fed one-half of it and did not measure the remainder. Had very fine barley and oats, peas, pumpkins, sugar-beets, potatoes, etc. Cattle do well the year through. Never has used irrigation. His ranch is 2,300 feet above the sea level. Came originally from Calish, Poland, and into our section from Los Angeles, Cal. His health has been perfect and he considers the peninsula climate unequalled. This gentleman is now District Attorney of Lower California.[6]

Luis Mendelson's official title in 1887 was that of "Syndicate Procurer" of the "Municipality of the Northern Part of the Territory of Lower California."[7] In 1889, he was listed as the "Attorney-General" of Ensenada, in a pamphlet issued for those headed for the Santa Clara Valley gold mines.[8] Mendelson had been born in 1840 in Poland. His parents were Abraham and Mariana (Summerfield) Mendelson.[9] Luis' home was in the town of Real del Castillo, located in the northern part of the San Rafael Valley. It was never much more than a village, though in the 1870s it had the

5 Twenty-five miles northeast of Ensenada.
6 *Lower California: The Peninsula*, p.20.
7 *La Voz de la Frontera*, October 15, 1887, p.3, c.7.
8 B. A. Stephens, *The Gold Fields of Lower California for Miners and Settlers* (Los Angeles, 1889), p.48.
9 Pablo L. Martinez, *Guia Familiar de Baja California 1700-1900: Vital Statistics of Lower California* (Mexico City, 1965), p.805.

distinction, for a short time, of being the capital of the territory.[10]

Mendelson married Carmen Lamadrid, daughter of one of the prominent families of the peninsula. To them were born three children: Louise, born March 15, 1886, at Real del Castillo; Thomas A., born September 18, 1888, at Real del Castillo; and Marcus, date and place of birth unknown.[11]

In addition to his involvement in the 1870s and 1880s as a rancher in the San Rafael Valley and as the District Attorney of the territory, Mendelson had mining interests. He and Max Bernstein owned a silver and copper mine located at San Jacinto, about one hundred miles south of Ensenada. In May, 1896, it was reported that the shaft of this mine was "down eighty-five feet on a large ledge . . . and is a most promising property."[12] Mendelson also had mining claims near Real del Castillo.[13]

At least some of the 1887 description of Luis Mendelson's ranching prosperity must be attributed to advertising hyperbole, as we find that he was, for a time, an employee of the International Company of Mexico, who had issued the pamphlet

[10] *San Diego Tribune*, September 4, 1937.

[11] Martinez, *op.cit.*, pp. 805, 812; Thomas A. Mendelson, Biographical Data Questionnaire, Serra Museum, San Diego, California, December 1, 1959; *San Diego Directory 1905*, p. 292; *San Diego Directory 1908*, p. 372.

[12] *The Lower Californian*, Ensenada, May 22, 1896, p.1, c.4. The report was given by David Goldbaum, who inspected the mine while on a prospecting trip.

[13] *Ibid.*, August 21, 1896, p.1, cs. 3-4. See also *San Diego Daily Union*, March 26, 1873, p.3, c.5.

containing the description, and by 1890, Mendelson had settled in San Diego.[14] In San Diego, from 755 Sixth Street, he conducted a brokerage and commission business, catering to his many friends in the Ensenada area.[15] His advertisement in one of the Ensenada newspapers announced that he had "opened a commission and purchasing agency in San Diego and is prepared to buy your goods at the lowest possible figure." Orders were to be given to M. Riveroll at Ensenada.[16]

On April 18, 1893, Mendelson was issued a permit by the territorial government of Baja California to carry on marine and shipping activities on the West Coast of the peninsula.[17] Thereafter, he was the San Diego agent for the coastal shipping firm known as The Lower California Development Company, Ltd. This was his principal activity, though he continued his commission business for Lower California customers. Because of his prominence as a shipping agent, the word got around that he would no longer carry on his brokerage activities. This impression, Mendelson quickly denied with a notice in an Ensenada newspaper:

Notwithstanding the false rumors to the contrary, I wish to inform my friends and patrons that I have not given up the

[14] *Ibid.*, January 1, 1891, p.1, c.5: "Luis Mendelson, the commission man of San Diego, is here [Ensenada] again for a few days."

[15] *Monteith's Directory of San Diego and Vicinity for 1889-90*, p. 232; *Directory of San Diego City 1892*, p. 145.

[16] *The Lower Californian*, January 1, 1891, p.3, c.1.

[17] Alfonso Salazar Rovirosa, *Cronologio de Baja California, del Territoria y del Estado, de 1500 a 1956* (n. p., 1956), p.82.

custom house brokerage; but will keep on doing the same business at the same stand.

L. Mendelson,
755 Sixth Street, San Diego.[18]

In the late 1890s and after the turn of the century, Mendelson advertised himself as "Custom House Broker and Forwarding Agent [and] Freight and Ticket Agent for The Lower California Development Co's. Steamers."[19] His office was at 1340 G Street, San Diego. In 1897, one of the local newspapers gave him an encouraging editorial notice, stating that "L. Mendelson is making creditable efforts to extend the Mexican coast trade. He should have the hearty cooperation of every capitalist in San Diego."[20]

In 1959, when Luis' son Thomas A. Mendelson, then a retired San Diego jeweler, filled out a biographical questionnaire for the Serra Museum of the San Diego Historical Society, it was his father's later career as a shipping agent that he reported as his lifetime occupation. He wrote:

My father was freight and ticket agent for the Lower California Development Company; a British owned company with main offices in Ensenada, Lower California, which operated a steamship line down the West Coast of Lower California.[21]

[18] *The Lower Californian*, July 20, 1894, p.1, c.3.
[19] *Ibid.*, May 22, 1896, p.2, c.4; January 7, 1898, p.4, c.1; *San Diego Directory 1901*, p. 169.
[20] *San Diego Progress*, May 20, 1897, p.2, c.1.
[21] Thomas A. Mendelson, *loc. cit.*

In addition to having been a pioneer settler of Baja California, Luis Mendelson conducted High Holy Days services for Congregation Beth Israel of San Diego, in the absence of a rabbi, in 1882, while he was still a rancher in Baja California, and from 1895 to 1898 and from 1901 through 1906, when he lived in San Diego. Other members of the San Diego congregation assisted him at various times in conducting these services.[22] Typical of the press notices of these Holy Days is that of 1897:

> The Hebrew service of Yom Kippur, or the Day of Atonement, began last evening at the Tabernacle at Beech and Second Streets, a large audience being present. Luis Mendelson conducted the services, which were partly in English and partly in Hebrew.[23]

In some years, even when a visiting rabbi, as in 1904, had been procured by the congregation, Luis Mendelson officiated by reading the services, the rabbi being charged with delivering the sermons.[24]

The first confirmation of Congregation Beth Israel of San Diego, took place on September 19, 1899.[25] Louise Mendelson, Luis' daughter, then thirteen and-a-half years old, was one of the seven confirmands. The ceremonies were held on the eve of the Feast of Tabernacles (Succoth).[26] It was re-

[22] *The Anniversary Story of Congregation Beth Israel* (San Diego, 1952), pp. 12, 18-20. There can be little doubt that Mendelson's training in Hebrew and ritual was acquired in the Old Country.

[23] *San Diego Union*, October 6, 1897, p.5, c.2.

[24] *Ibid.*, September 8, 1904.

[25] *The Anniversary Story of Congregation Beth Israel*, p.18.

[26] *B'nai B'rith Messenger*, Los Angeles, September 22, 1899, p.9, c.1.

ported that "Three hundred invitations have been issued for the exercises, and only those having invitations will be admitted."[27]

Real del Castillo, referred to above as the residence of Luis Mendelson, was the site of a gold discovery in 1870. Mendelson was undoubtedly attracted by the opportunities which the gold rush opened up at this locality in the northwestern end of the San Rafael Valley. He arrived in 1871. A good deal of the gold dust from the mining operations at Real del Castillo was purchased by San Diego merchants, among whom were Abraham Klauber, Samuel Steiner, and Emanuel Lowenstein, prominent members of the San Diego Jewish community. The newly discovered Lower California placers received a good deal of attention from the San Diego press.

Gold dust is now being brought daily into San Diego from Lower California. The new mines prospect well for the miners. However, they cannot be well tested until the rains furnish water in abundance. Nearly two hundred men are there at work and more are arriving daily. The work is all being done with pans, the earth being carried a long distance to water. Steiner & Klauber, an enterprising firm of this city,[28] have purchased over one thousand dollars worth of the dust. Last week the Bank of San Diego bought fifteen ounces, one nugget weighing over seven ounces. Lowenstein & Co., and others, have purchased considerable quan-

[27] *San Diego Union,* September 19, 1899, p.3, c.4. The officiant was Rabbi Bernard Levi.

[28] Laurence M. Klauber, "Abraham Klauber — A Pioneer Merchant (1831-1911)," *Western States Jewish Historical Quarterly,* January 1970, pp. 67-90.

tities. We learn that the Mexicans at work at the mines have a large amount of the dust which must soon find its way to this place. The mines extend over a large strip of the foothills and the mesa lands adjoining the San Rafael Valley.[29]

The trade in Baja California gold dust was a continuing source of business for the San Diego merchants. "Steiner and Klauber received $330 worth of Lower California gold dust" on June 4, 1871, for example.[30] The same firm did a considerable business supplying the settlers in the newly opened area. "Steiner & Klauber loaded two six mule teams with general merchandise for Mr. Mendelson of San Rafael [Valley], Lower California."[31] The gold boom at Real del Castillo died out within a few years,[32] but in 1875 the area was still prosperous enough to attract Marcus Schiller of San Diego. On May 20, 1875, Schiller, who throughout his life was the prime leader of the San Diego Jewish community, was issued a license to carry on a retail business at Real del Castillo.[33]

The biggest gold rush of Baja California, however, occurred in 1889. The mines were located about forty-five miles south of Real del Castillo and forty miles southeast of Ensenada. It was called the Santa Clara placer district. The excitement of the

29 *San Diego Union*, August 25, 1870, p.3, c.1.
30 *Ibid.*, June 5, 1871.
31 *Ibid.*, August 17, 1872.
32 Goldbaum, *op. cit.*, p.52.
33 Marcus Schiller file, Serra Museum, San Diego Historical Society, San Diego, California. On Schiller, see James L. Allen, "Marcus Schiller: San Diego's Jewish Horatio Alger," *Western States Jewish Historical Quarterly*, October 1970, pp.26-37.

gold discovery reached its peak in the first and second week of March, 1889. Several thousand eager gold hunters hurried to the area. On March 7, the *Los Angeles Times* reported that six hundred men had left San Diego for the mines the day before. "Every steamer from San Francisco is loaded with old miners who have been attracted by the glowing accounts in the San Diego papers."

> It is said . . . that the gold runs from $5 to $40 a pan and that men are averaging $100 a day. This is the most fishy part of the whole story, and there are a great many who believe that the excitement will die out in less than three weeks. It is said that the rush for outfitting has been so great in San Diego that the supply of picks and shovels has utterly given out. . . .[34]

Within less than a week, the *Times* was doing its utmost to warn prospective gold seekers of the disappointment in store for them at the Santa Clara placers and laid the blame for the excitement on the roseate effusions of the San Diego newspapers. It headed its columns on the Baja California gold rush with: "The Burst Bubble," and "The Craze is About Over."[35] In Ensenada, by the third week of March, 1889, *The Lower Californian* verified the disappointment which most of the miners were experiencing. It editorialized that

> Doctors, lawyers, judges, preachers, clerks, fakirs, bootblacks, storekeepers, gamblers, farmers, and professional men of all kinds are here, having deserted their regular call-

[34] *Los Angeles Times*, March 7, 1889, p.1, c.6.
[35] *Ibid.*, March 11, 1889, p.4, c.3, March 12, 1889, p.1, c.6.

ings to dig gold from the earth. The most sensible are going home as fast as they can.[36]

There can be little doubt that many Jewish individuals were attracted to the Santa Clara Valley in 1889 by the reports of the rich gold discoveries there, but the identity of most of them will never be known. However, two of them are mentioned by James E. Friend, in his letters to the *San Diego Union and Bee*.[37] These two were J. M. Pearlman and Mark Ezekiels, whom Friend had known in San Diego, where both had been in business prior to their trek to the placers. Pearlman had been operating a furniture store in San Diego for at least four years before this time.[38] He apparently had had previous mining experience for when he checked into an Ensenada hotel on March 6, 1889, the local paper noted that "J. M. Pearlman, a mining man of considerable note from San Diego, was at the Bay View yesterday. He came to have a look at the new gold fields."[39]

In his letter to the San Diego paper written on March 12, 1889, James Friend wrote that four men, two of whom were Mark Ezekiels and J. M. Pearlman, had

. . . purchased a partially worked claim. While waiting for

[36] March 21, 1889, p.1, c.5.

[37] Richard E. Lingenfelter, *The Rush of '89: The Baja California Gold Fever & Captain James Edward Friend's Letters from the Santa Clara Mines* (Los Angeles, 1967), pp.17-59. Volume 8 of the Baja California Travels Series.

[38] *San Diego City Directory 1886-1887*, p.46; *Business Directory of San Diego, Coronado, Old Town and National City 1889*, p.11.

[39] *The Lower Californian*, March 7, 1889, p.1, c.2.

the authorities to oust the Mexicans who refused to pay the fee, Pearlman picked out a 75 cent nugget and Ezekiels another that weighs $1.25. They were dug out of the side of the bank above bedrock. They are very much encouraged.[40]

However encouraged Pearlman might have been on March 12, within a week he had apparently concluded that the prospects were none too bright, for he soon checked into the Iturbide Hotel at Ensenada to await ship passage back to San Diego.[41]

Mark Ezekiels had arrived with Pearlman, whom he had known as a fellow businessman. In 1888 and early 1889, Ezekiels had been a "cigar dealer," his store being at 849 Fifth Street, San Diego.[42] Ezekiels was a descendant of a Dutch Jewish family originally from Rotterdam. The family had lived in New York City and about 1866 came to San Francisco.[43] Mark Ezekiels had worked as an auctioneer in San Francisco[44] before settling in Arizona. In the Tucson area he was involved in mining. "Mark Ezekiels has four feet of fine ore in the Major mine . . . [of the Aztec and Tyndall Districts]."[45] In 1880 he was a traveling agent for L.

40 *San Diego Union and Daily Bee*, March 19, 1889, p1, c.7.

41 *The Lower Californian*, March 21, 1889, p.1, c.4. The Santa Clara placers were nearly abandoned by the end of March, 1889, and the gold rush was over.

42 *Monteith's Directory of San Diego and Vicinity for 1889-90*, p.127.

43 Ina M. Ezekiels, Tucson, Arizona, letter, to Mrs. Rose Mathias, Sun Valley, California, n.d.

44 *San Francisco Directory for the Year Commencing April 1871*, p. 238.

45 *The Arizona Daily Star*, Tucson, January 26, 1879.

Zeckendorf & Company of Tucson.[46] In 1881, Ezekiels was the postmaster of Harshaw, Arizona.[47] By 1883, he was working for James F. Topliff & Company of Tucson.[48] Mark Ezekiels' daughter, Rebecca, named for his sister, married Lieutenant (later Colonel) Charles C. Clark at Fort Huachuca on August 28, 1891.[49] Their son is General Mark W. Clark, of World War II fame. General Clark was named for his maternal grandfather, Mark Ezekiels.

Maximiliano Bernstein, or as he was more commonly known, Max Bernstein, was one of those individuals who came to Baja California as a gold seeker. His occupation is listed as that of "miner" in the fall of 1886,[50] though by that time he was the resident agent for the International Company of Mexico, as mentioned above, and in that capacity had purchased the Rancho de Ensenada for the company. Bernstein was born in 1854 in Germany, the son of Joseph and Bertha Bernstein.[51] He arrived in Lower California sometime prior to 1884, perhaps having been attracted by one of the "series of mining booms" on the peninsula.[52] We might speculate that one of the more important of these

46 *City of Tucson Directory 1881.*
47 John and Lillian Theobald, *Arizona Territory: Post Offices and Postmasters* (Phoenix, 1961), p. 105.
48 *Tucson and Tombstone Directory 1883-84.*
49 *Prescott Weekly Courier*, August 28, 1891, September 11, 1891, p.2.
50 Martinez, *op. cit.*, pp.805-806.
51 *Ibid.*
52 Goldbaum, *op. cit.*, p.51.

minor gold rush excitements, that of the 1881 boom near Real del Castillo,[53] could have brought Bernstein to Baja California. This possibility seems reasonable when we consider his close association with Luis Mendelson as a partner in the ownership of a silver and copper mine at San Jacinto as previously detailed. Mendelson was a resident of Real del Castillo, the site of the 1881 boom. Also, Bernstein's first child was born on the peninsula in the fall of 1884.

Max Bernstein married Guadalupe Riveroll and at least five children were born to them. Data available on four of them reveal that Candelaria was born at Mulegé in 1884, Carlos at Ensenada in 1886, Sofia at Ensenada in 1888, and Luis at Ensenada in 1899.[54] As the resident agent for the International Company of Mexico[55] and later for its successor, the Mexican Land and Colonization Company, Bernstein was a man of substance and prominence on the peninsula. His comings and goings were faithfully recorded by the Ensenada press. When a son was born to the Bernsteins in 1890, *The Lower Californian* explained that "Max Bernstein has enjoyed an unusually happy holiday week in consequence of the arrival at his house on Tuesday morning of a new Bernstein baby of the male persuasion."[56] When the Hotel Iturbide of

53 *San Diego Tribune*, September 4, 1937.
54 Martinez, *op. cit.*, pp. 65, 805-806, 810, 842.
55 *Description of Lands in Lower California for Sale by the International Company of Mexico* (San Diego, July 1887), p.2.
56 January 1, 1891, p.1, c.1. The name of this child is unknown.

Ensenada was formally opened on October 13, 1887, among the prominent ladies mentioned as being present at the gala affair was Mrs. Max Bernstein.[57] It was Bernstein, as the land company's agent, who warned the public against any attempt to alienate the rights or illegally claim possession of San Rafael Valley property owned by the firm.

A Protest

The undersigned, as the attorney in fact, and General Agent of the International Company of Mexico, hereby notifies and cautions the public generally that he enters his solemn protest against any sales, encumbrances or mortgages made or attempted to be made in relation to the lands known as "Rancho de San Rafael," situated in the Northern District of Lower California, as the Company represented by me has the legal titles to justify the absolute ownership and lawful possession to said lands; and that it reserves its rights in order to enforce them whenever it may be deemed necessary as against all persons who may appear to claim as purchasers thereof in the said Northern District, or in foreign countries.

Ensenada de Todos Santos, June 25, 1887.

M. Bernstein,
Gen'l Agent International Company of Mexico.[58]

Bernstein's interest in mining did not cease because of his primary occupation as a land agent. In addition to his mining partnership with Luis Mendelson, reported in 1896, he was active in late 1889 in the development of a gold mine, the "San Fran-

[57] *La Voz de la Frontera*, Ensenada, October 15, 1887, p.3, c.2.
[58] *Ibid.*, October 8, 1887, p.4, c.6.

cisco," located on Cedros Island, off the west coast of Baja California. Bernstein and one Carlos J. Nuno filed a declaration at the office of the Territorial Department of Mines at Mulegé, Lower California, that the gold mine on Cedros Island had been abandoned by Luis Huller and that they were taking possession of it. The declaration was made on December 22, 1889, and advertised in the Mulegé newspaper in the early months of 1890.[59] Bernstein and Nuno also filed a claim on an abandoned copper mine located at San Borjas, north of the port of Santo Domingo, on the peninsula, which was named the "Republican." It had formerly been owned by Julio Muller.[60]

It will be recalled that the Bernstein's first child, Candelaria, was born at Mulegé. The family was apparently well known in the town, which explains the warm editorial notice which appeared in the local paper and which also explains that the Cedros Island mining venture was being carried on by a San Diego group with which Bernstein was associated.

> Mr. Max Bernstein. Our valued friend is again present in our midst, just having returned from Cedros Island, where he went to take possession of a gold mine on behalf of a company in San Diego, California. He will leave within a few days, as far as we know, and will return here next March.[61]

59 *El Cable*, Mulegé, January 26, 1890, p.4, c.3, March 2, 1890, p.4, c.1.
60 *Ibid.*, February 23, 1890, p.3, c.3.
61 *Ibid.*, February 9, 1890, p.4, c.3, translation from the Spanish courtesy of Marlene Rainman, Van Nuys, California.

Another business of the enterprising Max Bernstein was that of flour milling. In the summer of 1890, the press announced that "The new flour mill of M. Bernstein and Company, started up this morning and will run steadily. The capacity of the mill is thirty barrels of flour a day."[62] The mill was located at the Carlos Pacheco Colony, just south of Ensenada. This colony had been founded from 1884 to 1886 by the International Company of Mexico and by Luis Huller and Company. The land area of the Carlos Pacheco Colony was just over 38,366 acres.[63] The location of the colony was described by David Goldbaum, in his treatise on its history, as occupying the mesas of "Ensenada, San Carlos, Cipres, the Maneadero Valley and Punta Banda."[64] In 1891, the population of the colony was 293, at the same time that the town of Ensenada had 1,450 inhabitants.[65]

Bernstein's advertisement for his flour mill in the Ensenada press, read: "Carlos - Pacheco - Colony - Flouring [sic] - Mill. M. Bernstein & Co., Proprietors."[66] This flour mill was still operating in 1917, but by that time Bernstein's sons were preparing to enter the flour milling business on their own account. Goldbaum reported:

62 *The Lower Californian*, August 28, 1890, p.1, c.1.
63 David Goldbaum, "The Charles Pacheco Colony," 1917, typescript, in Spanish, pp.1, 10. A copy of this manuscript is at the Research Library, University of California, Los Angeles.
64 *Ibid.*, p.2.
65 *Ibid.*, p.3.
66 *The Lower Californian*, January 8, 1891, p.3, cs.4-5.

We find another flour mill under construction, by the Bernstein brothers, and it will begin operations in approximately one year.[67]

By 1922, Carlos E. Bernstein and Brothers were operating flour mills in Ensenada and Tecate, Baja California.[68] Two years later, their mills, which were named "Calmex," were described as producing "a very fine product from the wheat that is grown in the nearby valleys . . . the flour having a good market in the villages of the Pacific Coast."[69]

In 1877, the village of Ensenada acquired the status of a port of entry, mainly because of the supplies needed by the gold miners in the back country. By 1882, it had replaced Real del Castillo as the capital of the northern part of Lower California, though at that time Ensenada consisted of only five or six houses with a population of twenty-five or thirty and a few soldiers.[70] The actual growth of Ensenada into a town began in 1887, when the International Company of Mexico subdivided and began to promote it. This promotion effectively served to attract settlers, for by the end of 1887 the Ensenada area included 261 Mexicans, 155 Americans, 74 Europeans, and 50 Africans.[71] The prox-

[67] Goldbaum, "The Charles Pacheco Colony," p.10.
[68] *El Hispano Americano*, Lower California Edition, June, 1922, p.14.
[69] Aurelio de Vivanco, *Lower California Up-to-Date* (Los Angeles, 1924), p.240.
[70] Goldbaum, *Towns of Baja California*, p.59.
[71] *Ibid.*, quoting *Exposicion que hace el Secretario de Fomenta sobre la colonizacion de la Baja California* (Mexico, 1887), p.25.

imity of San Diego, the nearest substantial city, made it likely that many of the Americans came from that locale. Then too, it will be recalled that the operational office of the land company was located in San Diego.

Jacob A. Cohn, a shoemaker of San Diego, was one of the Jewish merchants who was attracted to Ensenada in 1887. Cohn, born in 1839 in Prussia, had lived in San Diego since the late 1860s, and was naturalized there in 1873.[72] His San Diego shop in the 1870s was on Fifth Street between I and K Streets, from which he advertised that he was "ready to make to order the very best of Boots, Ladies' and Children's Gaiters" and that he guaranteed his work "and asks for a fair share of the public patronage."[73] In October, 1887, Cohn opened his "Ensenada Boot and Shoe Factory" on Ruiz Street, across from the Pacheco Hotel. He advertised: "Ladies, Gentlemen and Children's Boots and shoes made to order in the latest styles. Repairing neatly done, with dispatch."[74] Cohn continued to maintain a residence in San Diego, however, while operating his business in Ensenada, for he registered to vote in the American city in the spring of the following year.[75]

Perhaps the most important family of Jewish

[72] *Great Register of Voters, San Diego County, California 1888*, p.25.
[73] *San Diego Union*, August 25, 1870, p.4, c.4. See also *The Pacific Coast Business Directory for 1871-73* (San Francisco, 1871), p.259.
[74] *La Voz de la Frontera*, October 8, 1887, p.4, c.6.
[75] *Great Register* cited above.

origin in Baja California was the Goldbaums. David Goldbaum (1858-1930), who was mayor of Ensenada during the last three years of his life, was prominent in a wide variety of affairs in Baja California from the late 1880s. His father was Luis Goldbaum (1832-1899), a native of Breslau, Prussia (now Wroclaw, Poland).[76] Luis emigrated to Mexico, where he married Librada Valenzuela Grijalva. They had at least five children: Frederick, Luis, David, Filipina (later Mrs. Joseph Mannasse), and Gertrudis (later Mrs. Joseph Garcia). Luis Goldbaum's last years were spent as a resident of the Hebrew Home for the Aged of San Francisco. He died April 20, 1899, and is interred at the Hills of Eternity Cemetery, Colma, California.[77]

David Goldbaum was born on June 28, 1858, on the West Coast of the Mexican mainland. One account declares that he was born in Mazatlán, in the state of Sinaloa,[78] another that he was born near San Blas, in the state of Nayarit.[79] "As a boy he was kidnapped by a Mexican mountain bandit . . . and held for ransom. His parents sent him to a [private military] school in San Francisco after his return

76 Luis Goldbaum's parents, who did not come to the New World, were Solomon and Philipa Goldbaum. Fred Rochlin, interview, January 23, 1972. A brother of Luis Goldbaum, Marcus, settled in Tucson, Arizona Territory, about 1856 and was killed in an Indian raid in 1886. On Marcus' son Abraham, see "Abe Goldbaum and the General," *American Jewish Archives*, April, 1957, pp.43-45.

77 Fred Rochlin, *op.cit.*; Rose Bialek, Congregation Sherith Israel, San Francisco, letter, January 20, 1972.

78 *San Diego Tribune*, March 7, 1930.

79 *San Diego Sun*, March 8, 1930, p.3, c.7.

from the bandit camp."[80] He later attended the Colorado School of Mines. In 1881, he married Carmen Padilla Diaz, of Mazatlán. They had six children: Enrique, David, Jr., Federico, Rodolfo, Minerva, and Luis.[81] About 1887, Goldbaum and his family settled in Ensenada. This was his residence for over forty years until his passing in 1930.

Goldbaum first came to public attention in the account written by James E. Friend from the Santa Clara gold placers on March 9, 1889:

> Judge Rosario Cota, commissioner . . . for mining . . . assisted by David Goldbaum, interpreter and secretary, has been at work under the Governor's orders for two days giving possession to claimants. It was feared that trouble would ensue, especially where miners had not the requisite $19 to pay for claims . . . but the Judge and Mr. Goldbaum used the best of judgment and explained the matter so plainly that . . . everything is progressing smoothly.[82]

It is evident that David Goldbaum's fluency and literacy in English, as well as his knowledge of mining, were substantial assets. "Judge" Rosario F. Cota was actually the secretary of the Territorial Government, and a note in an Ensenada newspaper of the same period reported that "Secretary Cota, ably assisted by Mr. Goldbaum, has made the survey of Rosario gulch, giving an average of twenty meters square to each claim."[83] Throughout his

[80] *Ibid.*
[81] Goldbaum, *Towns of Baja California*, p.19.
[82] *San Diego Union and Daily Bee*, March 13, 1889, p.1, c.3.
[83] *The Lower Californian*, March 14, 1889, p.1, c.3.

life, Goldbaum was involved in mining as a prospector, mine owner and developer, and as the outstanding peninsular authority on the mineral assets of Baja California. It was reported in April, 1896, that Goldbaum and a partner, Luis Pegot, had arranged to open the "old Castillo mine in the Real" and that "Mr. Goldbaum also owns two other [mining] properties in the same group — the Puebla and the San Fernandito."[84] Four months later, Goldbaum had six men working his Castillo and Puebla mines, and had "struck the ledge in both" of them.[85]

In late May, 1896, Goldbaum returned from one of his frequent prospecting trips, and full coverage was given to his findings in two columns on the front page of *The Lower Californian.* The following is a part of the account:

> David Goldbaum returned Monday from a two week's prospecting tour in the south, having been as far as Las Chollas, near the foot of the San Pedro Martir sierra. Perhaps no one is more familiar with the broad stretch of country to the south than Mr. Goldbaum who in years gone by has traversed almost every portion of it in his search for copper properties, and this was the motive of his recent trip. . . .
>
> Around the Potrero Mr. Goldbaum did considerable prospecting. A number of copper prospects were found but none have ever been developed. . . . There is a broad stretch of country between the San Rafael Creek and San Telmo River, and an examination revealed several ledges carrying

[84] *Ibid.*, April 10, 1896, p.1, c.4.
[85] *Ibid.*, August 21, 1896, p.1, cs.3-4.

copper. . . . Twenty-five miles inland from the coast indications of copper cease, and the gold belt commences.[86]

The *San Diego Magazine* of March, 1928, featured an article on the mineral assets of Lower California, written by J. E. Morrison in collaboration with David Goldbaum. In addition to providing the data for the article, Goldbaum supplied the photographs which accompanied it.[87] Even one of his obituary notices stated that Goldbaum "was an authority on minerals."[88]

In 1890, Goldbaum was appointed government customs agent.[89] Actually, he became the Territorial tax collector. "David Goldbaum, who has been making a tour through the mining districts collecting taxes, returned the early part of the week."[90] Two months after this report appeared, we read that "Mr. David Goldbaum returned Wednesday from his tax collecting tour."[91] Much of his expertise on Baja California came from these tax collecting trips as well as his prospecting tours. He never failed to report on conditions, agricultural and otherwise, to the Ensenada press. Typical of these informative notes is this one: "David Goldbaum returned from a trip to San Marcos and the Guadalupe Valley the latter part of last week and

86 *Ibid.*, May 22, 1896, p.1, cs.3-4.
87 "Uncovering Baja California's Mineral Wealth," pp. 7, 34-36.
88 *San Diego Sun*, March 8, 1930, p.3, c.7.
89 Goldbaum, *Towns of Baja California*, p.19.
90 *The Lower Californian*, November 13, 1896, p.1, c.4.
91 *Ibid.*, January 22, 1897, p.1, c.4.

reports the grain particularly good in that section."[92]

Goldbaum was also an Ensenada businessman. In the 1890s he was a broker, his advertisement reading: "Custom House Broker and Commission Agent. Wholesale and Retail Dealer in Hay, Seeds, and General Produce from the celebrated Maneadero Valley . . . ."[93] In the 1920s, he and a partner were the Ensenada agents for a shipping company whose main offices were at Mazatlán.[94]

In 1917, David Goldbaum was appointed Land Commissioner for the northern part of Lower California by Governor Estebán Cantu. In this position he was the administrator of the land and mines which had belonged to the Mexican Land and Colonization Company.[95] Cantu, who was a reform governor, in contrast to some of the corrupt officials who had preceded him,[96] requested Goldbaum to prepare a number of reports on the land and the colonies which had been owned and operated by the English firm, and also on the local Indians. Goldbaum prepared at least three reports:

92 *Ibid.*, July 17, 1896, p.1, c.4.

93 *Ibid.*, January 1, 1891, p.4, cs.2-3.

94 Vivanco, *op.cit.*, p.245. The agency was named "Goldbaum y Ojeda," and the shipping firm was the Compañia Naviera de los Estados de Mexico, S.A.

95 Goldbaum, *Towns of Baja California*, pp.17, 19. Cantu declared the government's contract with the company was void, because of violation of its terms by the company.

96 Norma Thickstun, "Politics on the Contemporary Frontier of Baja California," typescript, San Diego State College, San Diego, California, 1969, p.4.

"The Charles Pacheco Colony," 1917, fourteen pages, typescript; "Indian Tribes of Northern District, Lower California," 1918, twenty-three pages, typescript; and "Towns and Villages of Lower California," 1918, fifteen pages, typescript. This latter report has been referred to above in its English translation and annotation, by William O. Hendricks.[97]

Map-making ranks high in the list of contributions which Goldbaum made to Baja California life and culture. His map of the peninsula was described as "the most complete yet published,"[98] and his mining map was considered the most important such document in existence.[99] In addition, he was an avid collector of historical documents pertaining to the history of the peninsula, of Indian relics, minerals, photographs, and flora and fauna. A museum was built in Ensenada to house his collection. It was called the Museo Regional, but was probably better known as the Museo Goldbaum. Exhibits from it, shown at an exposition in Seville, Spain, in 1930, won six awards. Unfortunately, the building was vandalized shortly after David Goldbaum's death in 1930, and today the

97 Goldbaum, *Towns of Baja California.*

98 E. W. Nelson, *Lower California and Its Natural Resources* (Washington, D.C., 1922), referred to by William O. Hendricks, in Goldbaum, *Towns of Baja California,* p.20.

99 Ellen Barrett, *Baja California, 1535-1956* (Los Angeles, 1957 and 1967), referred to by William O. Hendricks, in Goldbaum, *Towns of Baja California,* p.20.

structure is used as a public library.[100] Goldbaum took numerous photographs on the peninsula and "was among the first to visit Guadalupe Island . . . to take pictures of the elephant seals found there."[101]

David Goldbaum was active in the Masonic activities of Lower California and served as Grand Master of the Lodge for the northern district.[102] For many years he was the recognized authority on the life, history, and culture of Baja California. A guide book published in 1930 stated in its foreword: "The facts submitted here are reliable and, to a great extent, have been garnered from information supplied through the investigations made by the late Honorable David Goldbaum, Sr. . . ."[103]

In 1927, he was named the *presidente* of the municipal council of Ensenada, thus being the mayor of the city. He served in this capacity until his death on March 6, 1930.[104] Goldbaum died in a San Diego hospital after an illness of two months. He was buried in Ensenada.[105]

Frederick Goldbaum, a brother of David, operated a candy business in Ensenada in 1896. His advertisement read:

100 *Ibid.*
101 *San Diego Tribune*, March 7, 1930.
102 *Ibid.*
103 *Lower California, Its History, Resources, Possibilities and Opportunities* (The Latinamer Service, Long Beach, California, 1930).
104 *San Diego Sun*, March 8, 1930, p.3, c.7.
105 *San Diego Tribune*, March 7, 1930.

Ensenada Candy Factory.
Second Street, between Ruiz and Galvez.
All kinds of French and Fancy Candies at one-half the price of imported candies. Orders filled on short notice. F. Goldbaum, Prop.[106]

By February, 1897, Frederick had entered the restaurant business. The press announced that

Fred Goldbaum will open his new restaurant and ice cream parlors on Sunday the 21st inst. where his customers can always find a good meal, served neatly and quickly, and the best the market affords. Upstairs will be found private rooms for families and parties. Excellent pastry, candies and ice cream always on hand. Meals: 50 cts. or $1.00 per day.[107]

An advertisement in the same and subsequent issues advised the public that "Chocolate or coffee and cakes" were available for twenty-five cents.[108] In June 1897, it was reported that "Fred Goldbaum has just put up electric light fixtures in the Central Restaurant which adds much to the appearance of the place."[109] Frederick Goldbaum married Trinidad Garcia in Ensenada on November 3, 1900.[110]

Filipina Goldbaum, one of David's sisters, taught school in Ensenada from the spring of

[106] *The Lower Californian*, January 24, 1896, p.2, cs.3-4, December 18, 1896, p.1, c.4.
[107] *Ibid.*, February 19, 1897, p.1, c.4.
[108] *Ibid.*, p.4, c.3, January 7, 1898, p.4, cs.3-4.
[109] *Ibid.*, June 25, 1897, p.1, c.4.
[110] Martinez, *op.cit.*, p.785.

1894.[111] In the summer of 1896, Mrs. Moses Mannasse (nee Lucia Andrade) and her daughter, Anna, were reported to be house guests of Filipina.[112] Moses Mannasse was one of the earliest Jewish arrivals in San Diego, California, and the Mannasse family was important in the development of that city. On February 2, 1897, Filipina married Joseph Mannasse, son of Moses Mannasse, in Ensenada. The fathers of both were Polish Jews.[113] The young couple set up housekeeping at Tijuana.[114]

Enrique, David Goldbaum's oldest son, served in the Mexican Army, reaching the rank of lieutenant colonel. "Between revolutions, he was a soldier of fortune." At one point in his career he was chief of police of the Mexican State of Sonora. As a young man he had enlisted in the United States Army, during the Spanish-American War. Although he was over eighty years old at the time of his death in 1963, he held the post of correspondent for United Press International at Ensenada. The San Diego press, in marking his passing (he was struck down by a hit-run driver in Ensenada), noted that Enrique Goldbaum "was still a bon vivant, well

[111] *The Lower Californian*, May 25, 1894, p.1, c.4.
[112] *Ibid.*, July 24, 1896, p.1, c.5.
[113] Martinez, *op.cit.*, p.774. Moses Mannasse was using "Carlos" for his given name at this time. Joseph Mannasse, who married Filipina Goldbaum, should not be confused with his better known cousin, Joseph S. Mannasse, prominent San Diego businessman. See also *The Lower Californian*, February 5, 1897, p.1, c.4 and James L. Allen, *op.cit.*, pp. 29-33.
[114] *The Lower Californian*, October 22, 1897, p.1, c.4.

known in the cantinas of Ensenada. The diminutive colonel . . . had a fondness for drinking cola and chasing it with tequila."[115]

The commercial community of San Diego was the main source of supply and service for the northern part of Baja California, and many Jewish-owned firms were closely involved with the development of the peninsula. Mentioned above were Steiner and Klauber, Lowenstein and Company, and Marcus Schiller, who had business dealings in Lower California by the 1870s. Steiner and Klauber, founded in 1869, later known as Klauber and Levi and now as the Klauber Wangenheim Company, not only had customers on the peninsula, but had for many years "wholesale houses operated by a subsidiary in Tijuana and in Ensenada . . . ."[116] In the fall of 1887, one Ensenada newspaper featured the advertisements of Levy and Wertheimer, Klauber and Levi, and Schiller and Murtha.[117] Another, in 1890, carried the announcements of M. A. Wertheimer and Company, Herman Welisch, and Dr. Daniel Cave, a French-born Jewish dentist of San Diego.[118]

Peninsular newspapers carefully noted the comings and goings of the San Diego merchants and their families in their social columns. Simon Levi,

[115] *San Diego Tribune*, July 16, 1963.
[116] Wilmer B. Shields, "A Century in Retrospect," *Centennial 1869-1969 Klauber Wangenheim Co.* (San Diego, 1969), pp.15, 17.
[117] *La Voz de la Frontera*, October 8, 1887.
[118] *Periódico Oficial*, Ensenada, April 12, 1890.

M. A. Wertheimer, Joseph S. Mannasse, and Mrs. Abraham Klauber were just a few of these. Even the repeated visits, in the late 1890s, of Daniel J. Brownstein, of the newly established Los Angeles garment manufacturing firm of Brownstein, Newmark and Louis, were recorded.[119]

[119] *The Lower Californian*, April 9, 1897, p.1, c.4, February 4, 1898, p.3, c.3; *La Voz de la Frontera*, October 15, 1887, p.3, c.2.

CHAPTER III

From the Territorialists to the German Refugees

LATE in 1905 or early in 1906, Baja California gained the attention of another Jewish group. The Jewish Territorialist Organization (I.T.O.), referred to in our opening comments, was organized to seek a land for Jewish settlement on an autonomous basis. It was founded in August, 1905, in Basel, Switzerland, by a group of forty delegates to the Seventh Zionist Congress, after that body had finally rejected the possibility of a Jewish homeland in East Africa. The Territorialist movement was headed by Israel Zangwill, the famous English dramatist and novelist, from its founding in 1905 until its disbandment in 1925.[1] In an article which attempted to explain the Jewish Territorialist Organization to the general public, Zangwill stated that:

Some time ago that wing of the Zionists to which I belong sent out a commission to look about the earth in search of a territory in which Jews could, after twenty centuries of dispersion, find or make a home of their own. At the time the

[1]G. Hirschler, "Jewish Territorial Organization," *Encyclopedia of Zionism and Israel* (New York, 1971), Volume I, pp.636-637.

commission was appointed our wing of the Zionists differed from other Zionists in that we did not believe that Palestine was the only place in the world where a Jewish nation might be planted. We thought that there might be other places and the commission to inquire was the result.[2]

Evidence now at hand indicates that the first area which the Territorialists considered was Baja California. However, since the decision concerning Lower California was an unfavorable one and because Zangwill and his group decided to keep their investigations and preliminary findings secret, the story of this initial inquiry has never appeared in Zionist histories. The earliest description of this investigation was heard in a speech made by Israel Zangwill to the first meeting of delegates of the Jewish Territorial Organization, held in London in the late spring of 1906, and printed by Victor Harris, editor of the *B'nai B'rith Messenger* of Los Angeles.

In the summer our International Council will meet and a practical decision will probably be taken. Already we have investigated one territory — a territory as large as England[3] in one of the finest positions in the world.[4] Unfortunately, our experts reported that there is no rainfall, and irrigation is impossible.[5] We made this investigation

[2] Israel Zangwill, "Zionism of Today," *The Independent* (New York), October 15, 1908 (Volume 65, No. 3124), pp.892-893.

[3] Baja California is 55,619 square miles in area, England is 50,327 square miles.

[4] It seems likely that Zangwill was alluding to the worldwide fame of the Mediterranean climate and the resources of southern California and the northern portion of Baja California.

[5] The so-called experts were wrong on both counts, as shown by published rainfall tables of Lower California extending back to 1878,

quietly. We did not want to have opposition even in advance. You see, there may have been Jews in the territory, or our Zionist friends might have sent resolutions to the head government.[6] . . . The acquisition of a territory cannot be done on the public platform. It must be negotiated quietly by the council.[7]

Four years later, in 1910, Zangwill revealed in an article that the "potentialities of the entire globe" were surveyed by the Territorialists to find a refuge for displaced Jews and that the preliminary work "embraced interviews and correspondence" which he did not feel free to reveal.[8] If the investigation of Lower California was carried on by correspondence, it might help to explain the erroneous opinions which Zangwill entertained about the region.

In 1905 Victor Harris, of Los Angeles, took a temporary leave of absence from his work as editor of the *B'nai B'rith Messenger* to go on an extended tour of Mexico. He left the City of the Angels on August 10, 1905, and returned on April 18, 1906.[9] He kept a log of his impressions and contacts on the trip, for the purpose of publishing them in the *Messenger*. Harris was an orthodox Jew, a member

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and by the fact that irrigation was widely practiced in Baja California long before this time.

6 Zangwill was apparently afraid that the regular Zionist organization would convey their objections to the use of Lower California to the Mexican Federal Government in Mexico City, before a decision could be reached.

7 *B'nai B'rith Messenger*, Los Angeles, June 29, 1906, p.3, c.2.

8 Israel Zangwill, "Zionism and Territorialism," *The Living Age* (Boston), June 11, 1910 (Volume 265, Number 3440), p. 668.

9 *B'nai B'rith Messenger*, March 17, 1907, p.4, c.3.

of Congregation Beth Israel, the oldest orthodox congregation in Los Angeles, founded in 1892. For many years this synagogue was known as the Olive Street Schule, from the fact that from 1902 until the 1940s it was located at 227 North Olive Street, on Bunker Hill. Harris served as secretary of Congregation Beth Israel. He also maintained a membership in Congregation B'nai B'rith, now known as the Wilshire Boulevard Temple. Later he was the secretary of the Los Angeles Hebrew Benevolent Society. Harris was a dedicated Zionist, one writer crediting him with being the first such in Los Angeles: "Victor Harris is the pioneer Zionist of this city, and the organizer of the Ahawath Zion [Lovers of Zion], which was in existence long before our Young Zionists Association."[10]

Harris' interest in Mexico as a Jewish refuge antedated his 1905-1906 trip by several years. In 1898, he commented on an item from an English language newspaper of Mexico City.

> Recently the editor of the *Two Republics*, an English contemporary in the City of Mexico, issued an invitation to the Jewish people of the various countries where they are still persecuted, to emigrate to the ancient land of the Montezumas, where they will find a haven of rest from all their tribulations. . . .[11]

During most of the eight months which Victor

[10] *Ibid.*, October 11, 1907, p.11, c.1. This was written by Al Horowitz, editor of "The Local Zionist Bulletin," which was a regular feature of the *B'nai B'rith Messenger* from this date on.

[11] *Ibid.*, April 29, 1898, p.1, cs.2-3.

Harris spent in Mexico in 1905 and 1906 he sojourned in Mexico City. He became acquainted with the principal Jewish figures of the city and officiated there for services on the High Holy Days in the fall of 1905. However, Harris did visit several other localities in Mexico, especially during his trip back to Los Angeles. He returned full of enthusiasm for what he had seen, and wrote:

> From what I have learned so far about Mexico and its people, I came to the conclusion that Spanish-America offers the best solution of the perennial Jewish question, and the longer I remained there the stronger this opinion grew upon me. . . . While I have always been a Zionist . . . fervently hoping and praying for the ultimate restoration of part of the Jewish people to the land of their fathers, still, for immediate practical results, somewhere else must be looked to in the present dire need of our people.[12]

Harris went on to explain the advantages of settling Jewish immigrants in Mexico. He pointed out that the weather was excellent, very much like that of southern California. He found the Mexican people to be most hospitable and he felt that Mexico wanted and needed immigrants to help develop its vast hinterland with its rich resources.[13]

Though Victor Harris had not passed through Baja California on his Mexican trip, shortly after he resumed his editorship it was that locality that he strongly felt was the most desirable place to

[12] *Ibid.*, October 26, 1906, p.11, c.1, "Trip Through Mexico," by Victor Harris.

[13] *Ibid.*

settle new Russian Jewish immigrants. He editorialized that

> In our neighboring republic, Mexico, large colonies . . . have settled to their advantage . . . the latest addition being Russian "Molocanes," or milk drinkers, who are also fleeing from persecution in their mother country, who bought large tracts of land in Lower California, which they are cultivating and making bloom like a rose, and according to the statements of some of them they are all perfectly pleased with their new situation. Land in Mexico can be bought from 50c a hectare in Lower California to $2.50 in some more favored localities. Fifty cents Mexican is 25c American money, and a hectare is a little over two acres, so that land can be purchased in some parts of Mexico for about 12c American per acre.[14]

The Molocanes or Molokans referred to by Harris were a schismatic division of the Russian Orthodox Church and followed the dietary laws of the Bible in abjuring pork. They also avoided tobacco and alcohol and were conscientious objectors to participation in war. Due to their antimilitarism and their schismatic stance, they were persecuted in Russia and many of their sect migrated to California. Some settled in the Los Angeles area and in 1905 part of this group moved to Baja California, where they leased land around the village of Guadalupe, which is about twenty miles northeast of Ensenada. There they prospered. Today, most of the descendants of these Molokans live in Ensenada or in the Los Angeles area.[15]

[14] *Ibid.*, July 13, 1906, p.8, c.2.

[15] *Baja California, Yearbook of Las Californias Magazine* (Culver City, California, 1963), p.74; Fred Rochlin, interview, December 16, 1971.

Victor Harris began to run the story of his "Trip Through Mexico" in the May 14, 1906, issue of the *B'nai B'rith Messenger*, and it was completed in the issue appearing on January 28, 1907. A month after the completion of the series, Harris announced that

> At the special request of many of our subscribers, we have compiled the articles on Mexico, which have appeared in this paper in installments, in book form, and shall be pleased to give a copy to anyone who pays for a year's subscription to our paper. Separate copies, 25c each.[16]

Harris sent copies of his book, entitled *The Jews in Modern Mexico*, to other Jewish newspapers and to many key individuals. He noted in its preface that "While many books have been written about Mexico, no reference is made in any of them to the Jewish residents of that country." He stated that

> It is for the purpose of acquainting the Jewish public with some facts concerning our co-religionists in that country that I issue this pamphlet, and I hope it will be welcomed among our people.

The book was sixty-four pages in length,[17] and included a statement expressing the author's conviction that Baja California was a desirable locale for the settlement of Eastern European Jewish refugees. A review of the book reprinted from the *Jewish Spectator* of Memphis, Tennessee, noted that

[16] *B'nai B'rith Messenger*, February 28, 1907, p.9, c.1.
[17] *Ibid.*, March 17, 1907, p.4, c.3.

Mr. Harris entertains the opinion that Mexico is a country suitable for the settlement of Jewish Russian emigrants and states that Baja California, situated south of the United States, could support a population of 20,000,000.[18]

Editor Victor Harris was keenly aware of the Territorialist movement, headquartered in London. In the summer of 1906 he wrote that

The eyes of five million Jews in Russia, their million and a half countrymen scattered throughout the world, their coreligionists in other countries, and sympathizers in general, are now turned toward London, where I. Zangwill and his associates are holding the first International Conference of the Jewish Territorial Organization. It is earnestly hoped that something tangible will result; otherwise, if it should end in an oratorical contest, with an adjournment to meet again at the same place next year, they might as well have stuck to the original plan of the Zionists, which has at least the sentimental side to it.[19]

Harris sent a copy of his book to Israel Zangwill. He had no way of knowing that Zangwill and his associates had already considered and rejected the possibility of using Baja California as a place to create an "autonomous" land of Jewish settlement. Zangwill's response was as follows:

London, March 18, 1907
15, Essex Street, Strand

Victor Harris, Esq.
Los Angeles, Cal.

Dear Sir:

I have received your pamphlet "The Jews in Modern

[18] *Ibid.*
[19] *Ibid.*, August 17, 1906, p.8, c.2.

Mexico," which I have read with great interest, and also with great sadness. It is always the same old story, Jews pioneering everywhere, yet never achieving anything for the race as a whole.

With regard to your suggestion as to Lower California, it does not seem to be backed up by any adequate investigation or information. As a matter of fact this was one of the first territories to be investigated by us, and our experts reported that the rainfall was almost non-existent, and that it was not possible to build up a future Jewish State in this territory. I have even considered other possibilities in Mexico, including an island which was offered to us, while large landed proprietors have tried to get us to supply them with Jewish labourers at a dollar (Mexican) a day. Although they spoke of thus fostering the growth of a future territory, I could see that their only object was to exploit Jewish labour.

If you have any further suggestions about Mexico or any other territory I should be glad to have them at once, as our Geographical Commission will soon be giving its decision between the various territorial projects. As you are so good a Territorialist, I trust you will formally join our ranks, as well as help the cause through your newspaper.

Mr. Cyrus Sulzberger of 516 West End Avenue, New York, is our American leader, while Daniel Guggenheim, head of the firm so frequently mentioned in your pamphlet, is also a member of the International Council, and one of our strongest supporters.

Thanking you for your kindness in sending me your pamphlet and your suggestion.

Sincerely yours,
Israel Zangwill[20]

The reader will note that the wording about the supposed lack of rainfall in Baja California is virtu-

[20] *Ibid.*, April 12, 1907, p.3, cs.3-4.

ally the same as that expressed by Zangwill a year before, in the spring of 1906, quoted above.[21] It seems quite likely that one of the experts on whom he relied for information on conditions in Mexico was Daniel Guggenheim, mentioned as one of the "strongest supporters" of the Territorialist movement. Guggenheim and Zangwill were close friends and the latter was frequently a house guest at Daniel Guggenheim's West End, New Jersey, home when he visited in the United States.[22] The Guggenheim family owned extensive mining properties in Latin America and Daniel Guggenheim "always insisted Mexico was too arid for substantial settlement. . . ."[23] But four years after Zangwill wrote to Harris in Los Angeles, an official of the United States Department of Agriculture, writing about farming prospects in Baja California, noted:

> . . . almost without exception where agriculture has been tried intelligently, with a sufficient water supply developed for irrigation, the soil has responded bountifully. . . . At present peas, beans, corn, cotton, tobacco, sugarcane, grapes, bananas, figs, oranges, lemons, limes, pomegranates, dates, olives, and other fruits and vegetables are grown.[24]

The Israel Zangwill letter, revealing the rather cavalier dismissal of Lower California by the Terri-

[21] Note 5.
[22] Philip Cowen, *Memories of An American Jew* (New York, 1932), p. 349.
[23] Arthur P. Dudden, "The Single-Tax Zionism of Joseph Fels," *Publication of the American Jewish Historical Society*, June 1957, p.483.
[24] E. W. Nelson, "A Land of Drought and Desert — Lower California," *National Geographic Magazine*, May 1911, p.474.

torialist leadership, must have been a disappointment to Victor Harris. Still, he responded to Zangwill's letter with an expression of appreciation for the work that the Territorialists were trying to accomplish and expressed the hope that if the movement were to eventuate in a concrete area which could be settled by Jewish people, none would stand in the way. His editorial comments were as follows:

> Mr. Zangwill's communication, published in another part of this issue, though of a private nature, its importance ought to be apparent to all who are interested in the welfare of our people — the latest horrors in Roumania adding to their solicitude. It is the silver lining in the over-hanging clouds of adversity to be conscious of a helping hand extended, ready to grasp the opportunity for relief.
>
> Territorialism is only an amplified entity of Zionism; or, we may term it, "Greater Zionism." It is because of Zionism that the literary genius of our age — Mr. Zangwill, and his cohorts launched the Territorialist movement, as they would not cogitate a moment to devote their strength to the original plan should it ever materialize. On the other hand, it is to be hoped that few are so chauvinistic as not to take part in an immediate proposition should it present itself. There is cogency in union, and all ought to combine and labor along the same lines.[25]

Irving S. Metzler, an active member of the Los Angeles Jewish Community,[26] and secretary of the Metzler Investment Company, reacted to the idea

[25] *B'nai B'rith Messenger*, April 12, 1907, p.8, cs.1-2.

[26] Metzler was a member of Los Angeles Lodge No. 487, B'nai B'rith, a contributor to the Federation of Jewish Charities of Los Angeles, and a member of Congregation B'nai B'rith.

of settling Jews in Baja California with another Mexican locality, which he felt offered even better possibilities. It seems likely that his firm had an interest in land in the Yaqui River Valley in the Mexican State of Sonora. He wrote:

> To the poor Jews of our large cities as well as our coreligionists abroad, there is no field that will yield so well as the fertile districts of the Yaqui River and Central Mexico, which now lie untouched, awaiting enterprise, and which will return ten-fold in new opportunities.[27]

That Metzler was sincerely interested in the efforts to find homes for the Eastern European Jewish immigrants away from the crowded ghettos of the East Coast cities is indicated by the fact that in 1909 he was a member of the governing board of the Los Angeles Agency of the Industrial Removal Office.[28] This organization, formed by the Territorialists, attempted to settle some of the refugees in the Western, Midwestern, and Southern states by routing them through Galveston, Texas. The effort was largely financed by Jacob H. Schiff of New York and was popularly known as the Galveston Movement.[29]

It was in this same period that the American Jewish industrialist and avid Single Tax advocate Joseph Fels became interested in the Territorialist movement. His association with Israel Zangwill

[27] *B'nai B'rith Messenger*, April 26, 1907, p.3, c.3.
[28] *Congregation B'nai B'rith: Year Book Number Ten* (Los Angeles, 1909), p.50.
[29] Abraham G. Duker, "Jewish Territorialism," *Contemporary Jewish Record*, March-April 1939, p.22.

and his desire to alleviate the suffering of the Russian Jews heightened his interest in trying to find an appropriate place for colonization.[30] In 1907 Fels visited President Porfirio Diaz in Mexico City on behalf of the Jewish Territorial Organization, "but he was offered only a concession of Jewish immigration for the general commercial development of Mexico, and therefore the matter was dropped."[31]

Shortly after the issuance of the Balfour Declaration (November 2, 1917), United States Supreme Court Justice Louis D. Brandeis sent a letter to David Lubin, asking for a public statement from him on the question of Zionism.[32] Lubin, at this time, was living in Rome as the delegate of the United States to the International Institute of Agriculture. He was the proponent and founder of the Institute, which was established in 1905.[33] David Lubin had made a trip to Palestine in 1884, a fact to which he refers in his reply to Justice

30 Mary Fels, *Joseph Fels: His Life-Work* (London, 1920), pp.219, 226.

31 Martin Zielonka, "The Jew in Mexico," *Central Conference of American Rabbis: Thirty-Fourth Annual Convention* (N.P., 1923), p.425.

32 The Brandeis letter was dated February 7, 1918. David Lubin, letter to Justice Louis Brandeis, March 20, 1918, p.1. The Balfour Declaration, named for Arthur James Balfour, then Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of Great Britain, stated, in part: "His Majesty's Government view with favor the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people . . . ." A copy of the Lubin letter is at the Western Jewish History Center, Berkeley, California.

33 David Lubin, born in Poland in 1849, settled in Sacramento in 1874, where he achieved great success as a merchant and founder of a department store. Later he went into farming and studied the economics of agriculture.

Brandeis. Following this journey, Lubin proposed the idea of developing Palestine on industrial and manufacturing lines, followed later by water projects which would make possible the agricultural restoration of the land.[34]

In 1891, it will be recalled, Lubin had sparked the San Francisco organization of The International Society for the Colonization of Russian Jews, and had become the president of the society. At that time, the possibility of using Baja California as a place for colonization was quite popular. That Lubin, an agricultural expert and innovator of long standing, had favored the use of Lower California in the 1890s is clearly evident from his 1918 letter to Brandeis. Referring to the vicious persecution of the Jewish people in Russia and to the miserable conditions of their existence, he questioned: "Was no home to be found for them in all this broad earth?" He continued:

> Then the thought occurred to me that Lower California could afford such a home. Right across from San Diego I could see in dim outline the boundary dividing the American from the Mexican side of California. On the American side worthless desert lands had been converted by irrigation into some of the highest-priced farming lands in the United States, and what had been done on our side of the boundary could be done on the other side.
>
> And yet that body of land, Lower California, capable of supporting in comfort several times the number of the congested Jewish people of Eastern Europe, contained, at that time, but 33,000 inhabitants. Why could not some arrange-

34 Lubin letter.

ments be made with the Mexican Government for the sale of Lower California, so as to form there an autonomous Jewish State under the joint protectorate of the United States and Mexico?

I presented this matter in a letter to Lord Rothschild, to which I never received a reply.[35]

Though various Jewish agencies investigated Mexico in the post-World War I period, little more is heard about the peninsula south of California until the 1930s. The Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society conducted an investigation in 1921 and reported that "under prevailing conditions, Mexico is not suitable as a center for Jewish immigration."[36] In 1923, the American Jewish Congress investigated the possibilities of Mexico for Jewish immigration and issued a negative statement.[37] It was reported that in the summer of 1924 the then President-elect of Mexico, General Plutarco Elias Calles, had been in conference with some Jewish groups who were seeking a solution to the problem of Jewish refugees. Calles was "prepared to urge the grant of a large tract of arable land for Jewish settlement." Following this, the "American Emergency Committee for Jewish Refugees decided to send a commission to investigate Mexico as a possible haven for Jewish immigrants."[38]

35 *Ibid.*, p.2. The rich farm land on the American side of the border to which Lubin refers is that of the Imperial Valley, which features big scale truck farming, highly mechanized, supported by irrigation.

36 *Jewish Tribune*, September 2, 1921, as quoted by Zielonka, *op. cit.*

37 *The Index*, January 1923, as quoted by Zielonka, *op.cit.*, pp.425-426.

38 *American Jewish Year Book 5686* (Philadelphia, 1925), Volume 27, pp.67-68.

The only group to render a positive report in this post-World War I period was a committee of the B'nai B'rith which, in 1921, stated: "Mexico will soon boast of loyal Jewish communities who found peace and opportunity in our neighboring Republic."[39] The conclusion of Rabbi Martin Zielonka, who was the spiritual leader of Temple Mount Sinai of El Paso, Texas, in the 1920s, has proven prophetic. He felt that though there was "no future for Jewish farm colonies in Mexico, there is abundant future for Jewish immigrants who desire to establish themselves in trade and handicrafts."[40]

In the fall of 1938, as a result of the efforts to find homes for the victims of Nazism, Baja California was again mentioned as a possible place of refuge. A columnist for the *B'nai B'rith Messenger* of Los Angeles reported:

> Someone said "Lower California." Someone else heard it . . . before long heads of governments were seriously putting forth Lower California, Mexico, as a possible refuge for Nazi victims. No one, apparently, had bothered to ask the Mexican government — or the Mexican farmers who happen to live on the soil — what they thought of the idea. . . .
>
> The Mexican farmers in Lower California heard about it, became panicky at the thought that they would become dispossessed. So, today, at this very moment, they are thronging the offices of their administrators, pleading for the right to continue their existence without losing their land.[41]

39 Zielonka, *op.cit.*, p.426.
40 *Ibid.*, p.437.
41 Nayer Tomid (pseud.), "Food for Thinkers," *B'nai B'rith Messenger*, November 18, 1938, p.5, c.1.

The writer deplored the public relations aspect of the furore, suggesting that some appropriate pronouncement be made to calm all concerned. He felt that if a "humane appeal [was] properly directed at Mexican authorities and citizens, a voluntary invitation may be forthcoming."[42]

The threat of being dispossessed by European Jewish refugees was apparently taken seriously by many citizens of Baja California, for the day after the columnist's report appeared in Los Angeles, the governor was moved to issue a statement. The Associated Press, reporting on November 19, 1938, from Mexicali, said that

> Governor Rudolfo Taboada of the northern territory of Lower California said in an interview today that the proposal of a group of United States Jews to establish a Jewish refugee settlement in his State was a "fantastic dream."[43]

This statement from Governor Taboada called forth an interesting response from Hyman S. Wolf, of San Diego, which was featured on the front page of the *San Diego Union*. Wolf, who had lived in San Diego since the 1890s, was an avid Zionist and one of the founders, in 1905, of Congregation Tifereth Israel. He had served as the president of Lasker Lodge, No. 370, B'nai B'rith, in 1911, and in 1912 had participated in a debate on Zionism be-

[42] *Ibid.*

[43] *New York Times*, November 20, 1938, p.34, c.3. See also *San Diego Union*, November 20, 1938, p.1, c.7. Governor Taboada's statement included the gratuitous information that "The Mexican Government is not willing to cede or sell any part of its national territory, even if it takes every citizen to defend its integrity."

fore that San Diego lodge, in which he strongly championed the hopes and dreams of the Zionist movement.[44] In 1937 and part of 1938, he enjoyed a lengthy visit to Palestine, living principally in Tel Aviv.

Wolf was interviewed by W. B. France of the *Union* a few days after Taboada's statement appeared in the press. The interview was headlined: "Will Lower California become another Promised Land, Flowing with Milk, Honey?" Wolf said that if the proposal to establish a Jewish refugee settlement in Baja California should become a reality,

> Jews could accomplish much more in Lower California than even the great things they have accomplished in Tel Aviv and other Jewish settlements in Palestine. If they can farm in Palestine, they can farm anywhere.[45]

He described in glowing terms the development and growth of Tel Aviv on the site of which, prior to 1909, "there was not a blade of grass, not a stick of wood." Wolf felt that if the Jewish people "could do this in Palestine, they could do much more in Lower California with its *greater natural resources.*"[46]

44 *The Yoval: The Jubilee Book, Commemorating the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Founding of Lasker Lodge No. 370, B'nai B'rith* (San Diego, California, 1937), pp.25, 30, 53, 56-58. Wolf had operated a shoe store in San Diego for many years and in 1938 was engaged in real estate and in managing the Pacific Building in that city. *San Diego City Directory 1938*, p.713.

45 *San Diego Union*, November 23, 1938, p.1, cs.2-4.

46 *Ibid.* Italics supplied by the writer.

Now, in the mid-twentieth century, with the improvement of the highways in Baja California and the availability of air transportation to and from the peninsula, its true value, recreational, industrial and agricultural, is beginning to be realized. It is fascinating to contemplate today, that for a lengthy period of time, beginning over eighty years ago, Jewish leaders in the West, men as dedicated and knowledgeable as David Lubin of Sacramento, Rabbi Jacob Voorsanger of San Francisco, Victor Harris of Los Angeles, and Hyman S. Wolf of San Diego, were all enthusiastic about Baja California as a place of Jewish refuge or as a Jewish homeland.

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COMPAÑIA
MEXICANA INTERNACIONAL
DE VAPORES DEL PACIFICO Y GOLFO DE LA BAJA CALIFONIA.

EL NUEVO Y HERMOSO VAPOR

"CARLOS PACHECO."

Su Capitan H. C. Nelson.

HACE 3 VIAJES EN LA SEMANA ENTRE ESTE PUERTO Y EL DE SAN DIEGO, CAL.

ITINERARIO.

De la Ensenada a San Diego.	De San Diego a la Ensenada.
El Mártes á las 8 P. M.	El Lúnes á las 5 P. M.
" Juéves " " "	" Miércoles " " "
" Sábado " " "	" Viérnes " " "

Por fletes y pasajes dirijánse á

CHARLES SCOFIELD, AGENTE,

Edificio del Primer Banco Nacional, en San Diego, ó á

MAXIMILIANO BERNSTEIN,

Agente en la Ensenada de Todos Santos.

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BOOT AND SHOE FACTORY.

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Ladies, Gentlemen and Children's Boots and shoes made to order in the latest styles.

Repairing neatly done, with dispatch.

Aviso Interesante.

Habiendo sido declarada por acuerdo especial del Ministerio de Fomento de fecha (Abril 14 de 1887) la Ensenada de todos Santos de la exclusiva propiedad de la Compañía Internacional Colonizadora.

El suscrito suplica á las personas dueñas de lotes en este Puerto, se presenten en su oficina para que se les extienda su nuevo título en todo conforme á su original.

Ensenada de Todos Santos, Mayo 21 de 1887.

M. BERNSTEIN, Agente.

La Sociedad de Artesanos de Mazatlan.

El Sr. David Goldbaun ha arribado á este Puerto, procedente de la Perla del Pacífico, Comisionado por la Sociedad Mazatleca de Artesanos para tomar informes sobre las industrias que pueden implantarse en este Partido. El incremento que toma dia á dia nuestra poblacion y las franquicias que se otorgan á los colonos son un aliciente para cualquier empresa, y estamos seguros de que el Sr. Goldbaun gratamente impresionado informará á sus comitentes que en la Ensenada de Todos Santos todo hombre encuentra trabajo y mercado para toda clase de artefactos; así pues esperamos que algunos de los honrados artesanos de Mazatlán vengan á establecerse entre nosotros.

Dia á dia sobra trabajo y faltan brazos.

LEVY Y WERTHEIMER

[Sucesores de A. Schneider.]

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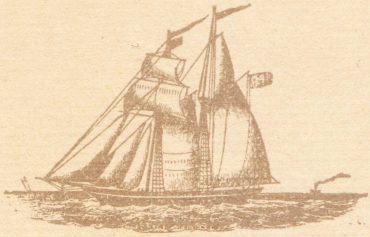
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