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**Front Cover:** Original Temple Beth Israel building located in Heritage Park, San Diego. Photo courtesy of Timothy Schenck.

**Back Cover:** The Bishop’s School showing the chapel and tower designed by Carleton Winslow and to the right Bentham Hall entrance rebuilt. Photo editors’ collection.

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Judaism’s Colorful History in the San Diego and Tijuana Region

By Donald H. Harrison

San Diego’s Jewish community traces its history through the synagogues established—and sometimes abandoned—between 1850 and the present. Today, congregations gather at many places throughout the county and identify with Reform, Conservative, and Orthodox movements, among others. This article documents synagogues that served, and continue to serve, as places of study, prayer, ritual observance and community building in San Diego and the border region.

The Jewish experience in San Diego began in what today is called “Old Town,” but which in pioneer days was known as “San Diego” as there was no other town, old or new, nearby. Jewish San Diego had its origins in 1850 when Louis Rose arrived, and later welcomed other merchants who would make their mark on the city, including such pioneers as Lewis Franklin, Charles Fletcher, Marks Jacobs, brothers Joseph and Hyman Mannasse, their cousin Moses Mannasse, and Marcus Schiller.

Initially, there were not enough Jewish men to warrant a synagogue, so instead they gathered at each other’s homes or businesses for religious meetings, typically on holidays rather than on the

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Sabbath, or for special occasions such as the marriage of Hyman Mannasse and Hannah Schiller in 1863 at the offices of J.S. Mannasse & Company, in a ceremony officiated by layman Louis Rose.²

Among the buildings where High Holy Day services were held were the two-story Robinson-Rose House, which today serves as the visitors center for Old Town San Diego State Historic Park, and the Franklin Hotel, which is an abandoned lot next door to the Wells Fargo Museum. In a side room of the Robinson-Rose House is a portrait of Louis Rose, who was the building’s second owner, as well as a mezuzah, symbolizing the former Jewish ownership of that building. A large diorama in the visitors center depicts how Old Town might have looked between 1820 and 1870, and prominent among the buildings is the now demolished Franklin Hotel, which at three stories was considered the “skyscraper” of Old Town.

On October 8, 1859, the celebrated “San Diego incident” occurred at the Franklin Hotel, situated two doors away from the county courthouse. Only ten men were present—a bare minyan (or quorum) required for communal prayer—on that High Holy Day. At the courthouse, meanwhile, a grand jury had convened to consider a routine assault. Learning that Moses Mannasse had witnessed the assault, the jury swore out a subpoena for him to testify, instructing Deputy Sheriff Joseph Reiner to serve it on him. Had any other of the ten men at prayer been the witness, the result may have been different, but Moses was a man who took his Judaism very seriously. He, in fact, had brought San Diego County’s first Torah from his native Prussia.

When Reiner told him that his testimony was needed, Mannasse declined to accompany him, pointing out that he was the tenth man in the minyan, that Yom Kippur was the holiest day of the Jewish calendar, and that it was the Sabbath to boot. He said he would testify on another day. Reiner delivered Mannasse’s message to the grand jury, which proved unsympathetic. Compel him to come, Reiner was instructed. Reiner went back to the Franklin Hotel, and tried to force Mannasse to come with him, but Mannasse successfully resisted. Next Reiner deputized a posse, marching Mannasse out of the Franklin Hotel and to the witness’s chair in the courthouse. Asked about the assault he had witnessed, Mannasse refused
to testify. He just sat in the witness chair, maintaining silence, until night fell and the holy day was over. Then he told the grand jurors what he knew.³

That was not the end of the incident, not by a long shot. One of the nine other Jews in the service with Moses was Lewis Franklin—for whom the Franklin Hotel was named—and he was incensed, considering the disruption of the service to be one of the greatest insults suffered by Jews since Romans sacked the Second Temple in Jerusalem in the year 70 CE. He wrote letter after letter to Jewish publications around the United States, decrying this blow against religious freedom, and his impassioned pleas set off a national debate among American Jews.⁴ Had Moses done right? Should he have protested as he did? Or should he simply have gone with Deputy Sheriff Reiner to give his testimony, with the Yom Kippur service to resume upon his return? The answer in the Jewish community was divided. While most applauded his stand for religious freedom, others said he should not have made such a fuss, that he simply should have done his duty as an American citizen. Even today, upon hearing the story of the San Diego incident, American Jews may have divided opinions.
In 1861, under the leadership of Marcus Schiller, San Diego Jews organized their own congregation, which they named Adath Yeshurun, sometimes spelled “Adath Jeshurun,” but roughly translating to “Gathering of the Righteous.” Shortly afterwards, Louis Rose transferred for $5 to the congregation five acres of land for a cemetery in the Roseville area of Point Loma. Many years later, those interred in the cemetery, including Rose, were disinterred and reburied at the Home of Peace Cemetery in southeastern San Diego. The Point Loma land was sold and today is occupied by the Sharp-Cabrillo Hospital. After founding the congregation, Schiller often hosted its functions at his home.

In 1872, fire broke out between the ceiling and the roof in a general store rented by Rudolph Schiller. The fire leapt from building to building along the southwestern side of the Plaza, destroying many of the businesses. Historians mark the fire, which occurred on April 20, to signify the demise of Old Town. From 1850 through the time of this fire, “Old Town” had been the seat of San Diego County, the venue where government agencies and businesses made their headquarters. Meanwhile, “Horton’s Addition” had been growing along San Diego Bay and was steadily gaining on Old Town, luring away business and attracting residents and government offices. After the fire, it had no real competition from the little town under the Presidio.

Joseph Mannasse and Marcus Schiller were among the merchants who early in this process had established a place of business in New Town. Schiller, the junior
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partner of the business firm, was the senior member of the Jewish community, serving as the long-time president of Adath Yeshurun. He was a driving force for the construction of San Diego’s first synagogue building at the corner of 2nd Avenue and Beech Street. When that synagogue finally was put into use for Rosh Hashanah services in 1889, the congregation, with Schiller still serving as president, renamed itself as Beth Israel (House of Israel). The Jews no longer just gathered, now the community had a “house” of its own.

As synagogues go, the redwood structure was not very large, measuring 56 by 30 feet, and essentially having one room for prayer and two small anterooms. It was distinguished by a wooden replica of the Tablets of the Law (Ten Commandments) raised above the gable and seven stained glass windows designed with Stars of David. There was a loft for the choir above the main floor. Today, the synagogue has been moved to Heritage Park, in the Old Town area of San Diego, and is available as a rental for people of all religious persuasions for marriage ceremonies or other gatherings. A cabinet in front of the sanctuary once held the congregation’s Torah scrolls. Over this Aron Kodesh (Ark of the Covenant) is suspended a Ner Tamid (Eternal Light), which together characterize most Jewish places of worship. Sometimes Jewish visitors to Beth Israel No. 1 (the Reform congregation currently resides in La Jolla in its third home) falsely assume that the people who sat upstairs were women. That might have been true had the congregation been part of the Orthodox movement, in which men and women sit separately. In fact, Beth Israel began and remains a Reform congregation in which men and women sit together on the main floor. A small congregation that gathers for the High Holidays, Chavurah Kol Hanishma (Voice of All Who Breathe Friendship Circle), meets at the old Temple under the spiritual guidance of Rabbi Lauri Coskey who, in 2016, was named as the chief executive officer of the United Way of San Diego.

The differences between Orthodox and Reform became manifest during the High Holidays of 1905, at which time recently arrived Orthodox Jews from Eastern Europe had sought and received permission to schedule a separate service in the temple building. It was decided that on the day of Yom Kippur, the Orthodox would have their service first, and that at an agreed time, their service would end and the Reform service would begin. This arrangement did not work out that way however, as the Orthodox service continued when members of the majority Reform congregation arrived. Outraged by demands that their service be terminated so that the Reform service could begin, the Orthodox members trooped from Second and Beech down a hill to the home of their leader, Elias Jacobson. They agreed to form their own Orthodox congregation, which they named Tifereth Israel, meaning the Glory of Israel. They eventually established a synagogue on
18th Street near Market Street, which can be described as the portion of downtown San Diego that is “south of Broadway,” a business district. Used to living “above the store,” in Eastern Europe, many of the Orthodox Jews tried to do so again in their adopted home of San Diego. If they could not live exactly above the store, they at least could live nearby. For a brief period, similar to New York City, there were the poorer, more Orthodox, downtown Jews, and the richer, more Reform, uptown Jews. But this period did not last long.

In 1915, San Diego hosted the Panama-California Exposition in newly renamed Balboa Park, a grand enterprise intended to show the world that San Diego should be the West Coast trade depot for ships transiting from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean via the newly completed Panama Canal. While this did not happen, optimism about the city’s future continued to run deep, especially after the U.S. Navy and Army both established bases in San Diego during the World War I era. The onset of Prohibition in 1920 also had a beneficial economic effect on San Diego. People who wanted to consume alcoholic beverages and party in Tijuana, Mexico, often stayed overnight in San Diego.
Diego. The city’s population continued to grow.\textsuperscript{15}

In 1926, in response to the growth of its membership, Beth Israel moved several blocks from its first home at 2nd Avenue and Beech Street to its second home at 3rd Avenue and Laurel Street. Feeling more established, and more certain of San Diego’s economic future, the congregation retained architect William Wheeler to build a structure of Moorish design, complementing the Spanish Colonial and Mission Revival architecture in nearby Balboa Park. During his career, Wheeler also designed such San Diego landmarks as the Balboa Theatre, Church of the Immaculate Conception, All Saints Episcopal Church and the Klauber-Wangenheim Building.\textsuperscript{16}

In 1939, Beth Jacob (House of Jacob) Congregation was founded in a small home at 32nd and Myrtle Streets in the North Park area, reflecting a demographic shift of Jews from downtown to the North Park, Talmadge and Kensington neighborhoods.\textsuperscript{17} At the outset, Beth Jacob was a Conservative congregation, but it subsequently chose to join the Orthodox movement after the much larger Tifereth Israel Synagogue, under Rabbi Monroe Levens, left the Orthodox movement to affiliate with the Conservative movement. The switch in affiliation of the two congregations was achieved more or less amicably. Baruch Stern, a survivor of the Holocaust, had taught Sunday school at Tifereth Israel Synagogue while studying for rabbinic ordination. Rabbi Stern was selected in 1947 by Beth Jacob to be its first Orthodox rabbi.\textsuperscript{18}

The end of World War II witnessed a portion of the Jewish community moving to east San Diego. While Beth Israel remained at its Bankers Hill location at 3rd Avenue and Laurel Street, Tifereth Israel Synagogue moved to 30th and Howard Streets in the North Park area, and Beth Jacob moved from a home on Myrtle Street to a building at 4473 30th Street.\textsuperscript{19} It was during this period that Tifereth Israel Synagogue became the home for Beth Jacob Congregation, Jewish Historical Society San Diego (JHSSD).
to numerous refugee Holocaust survivors, who formed San Diego’s New Life Club.

As San Diego entered the 1950s, there were three synagogues in town, each representing one of the three major branches of Judaism. The oldest, Beth Israel, was Reform; the second, Tifereth Israel, was by then Conservative; and Beth Jacob was Orthodox. Some have described this period as the “golden age” of San Diego Jewry; the three rabbis were on amicable enough terms with each other to guest lecture at each other’s congregations and to schedule some joint activities, including dinners at Rabbi Levens’ residence. Rabbi Morton Cohn, who had come to San Diego as a military chaplain, headed Beth Israel, while Levens and Stern were at Tifereth Israel and Beth Jacob respectively. While they disagreed on various religious doctrines—for example Stern and Levens ate only kosher foods, while Cohn did not—they agreed that they should work together to strengthen and enlarge San Diego’s Jewish community.

In fact, their synagogues were the birthplaces of other Jewish communal organizations. For example, in 1934, Jacob Weinberger, a local attorney and board member of both the San Diego Unified School District and Congregation Beth Israel, helped to organize a local chapter of the United Jewish Relief Fund, which eventually morphed into what today is the Jewish Federation of San Diego County. Weinberger went on to become the first resident federal judge in San Diego. In 1946, the Fund hired Al Hutler as its first executive director and rented storefront offices on University Avenue. That same year, using Beth Israel as a base where children could assemble, a Jewish summer camp was established. The children walked from the temple to nearby Balboa Park for their activities. This summer camp eventually grew into the Jewish Community Center.

The Jewish population’s eastward trend continued in the late 1950s when the city’s Jewish Community Center was built on 54th Street, close to Horace Mann Junior High School. The center had basketball courts, an Olympic size swimming pool, meeting rooms, and offices for numerous Jewish clubs and organizations. For many years, until after it was replaced in the 1980s by a JCC in La Jolla, the 54th Street facility hosted the annual Holocaust commemoration on Yom HaShoah. On a promontory behind the center sat the Hebrew Home for the Aged, the thought being its proximity to the JCC would encourage residents to participate in such activities as they were able, and also spur JCC members to
visit the seniors residing at the home. In 1989, the Hebrew Homes opened Seacrest Retirement Village in Encinitas, a full service home for independent and assisted living. This was followed in 1996 with the opening of a second Seacrest Village facility in the Rancho Bernardo/Poway area. 

The North County Jewish Community Center, which began in 1954 in Oceanside and was loosely affiliated with the Reform movement, relocated 10 years later to Vista, where it became known as Temple Judea and affiliated with the Conservative Jewish movement. Today the same building that housed Temple Judea is home to a Chabad congregation, a Hasidic outreach movement. In between these times, the building was owned by a Pentecostal church.

Inspired by the North County Jewish Community Center, the founders of The Centro Social Israelita (Israelite Social Center) in Tijuana incorporated many of the same design features in 1967 to serve the small, but growing, Jewish community south of the border. Many of these Jews had immigrated from post-World War II Europe, establishing businesses and eventually maintaining residences on both sides of the border. Generally speaking, Jews in Mexico have been reluctant to call attention to themselves fearing discrimination and robberies, so the Centro was constructed in such a way as to be non-descript to passersby on the street. Once visitors entered the building, however, they were greeted by celebratory busts of Moses and Benito Juarez, the “liberators” of the ancient Hebrews and of nineteenth-century Mexico. Card rooms, a tennis court, and a large swimming pool mimicked the far grander Centro Deportivo Israelita (Israelite Sports Center) in Mexico City, which continues to be a center of Jewish social life. There also was a sanctuary, which has been presided over in turn by rabbis of the Conservative movement and of Chabad.
Expansion into San Diego’s northern and southern suburbs continued in 1957 and 1958 with the founding respectively of Congregation Beth El (House of God) in Clairemont (later moved to La Jolla) and Temple Beth Sholom in Chula Vista. Both are Conservative congregations. Beth Sholom (House of Peace), a small congregation, long has been financially strapped, resulting in difficulty retaining a rabbi. Currently, the spiritual leader is Rabbi Michael Leo Samuel, who has helped to grow the congregation, along the way changing the temple’s name from Beth Sholom to Beth Shalom. Both Hebrew formulations mean “house of peace,” but the former spelling is that of European or Ashkenazic Jewry, while the latter, with an “a,” is the spelling and pronunciation used by Sephardic Jewry and Israelis.  

In 1963, Congregation Beth Tefilah (House of Prayer) was begun at 69th and Mohawk Streets. It is not unusual for new congregations to sometimes form as a result of disagreements among members, or between members and the clergy. In this case, a rift at Tifereth Israel Synagogue led to Beth Tefilah’s founding. The congregation’s best known and most beloved rabbi was Samuel Penner, who was revered as a scholar and story-teller. One of his books, *The Four Dimensions of Paradise*, explains the four ways in which one might read the Torah. The first level is literal; the second, metaphorical; the third ethical, through the study of Talmudic commentaries; and the fourth, mystical, as sometimes revealed through gematria, or numerology, in which words are given numeric values and compared with other words or expressions. Before his death, Rabbi Penner became quite friendly with polio vaccine discoverer Jonas Salk, and they enjoyed lengthy discussions about science and religion. Another schism in 1964, in which Rabbi Morton Cohn left Congregation Beth Israel, resulted in his establishing
Temple Emanu-El (God is With Us) as a Reform congregation. Originally holding services in a church in the Rolando area, the congregation eventually moved to the Del Cerro neighborhood, where, after years in crowded quarters, it tore down the old building and constructed a modern campus in materials suggesting the stones of Jerusalem. Cohn was succeeded by Rabbi Martin S. Lawson, today the congregation’s emeritus rabbi and a force for social justice in San Diego. The current senior rabbi is Devorah Marcus who is praised for her beautiful singing voice and for the magnetism she has for children, among other virtues.

In 1966, Carlos Salas Díaz, who later converted to Judaism at the University of Judaism in Los Angeles, began teaching in downtown Tijuana about the Jewish religion that he had studied and had become enamored with. Believing that he is descended from Conversos, who outwardly practiced Catholicism while secretly holding onto their Judaism, his classes attracted others of similar background. After going through formal conversion himself, Salas Díaz began taking groups of Mexicans to conversion ceremonies at the University of Judaism, which today is named American Jewish University. He established a synagogue called Congregacion Hebrea de Baja California (Hebrew Congregation of Baja California) in the La Mesa section of Tijuana. Today an octogenarian, Salas Díaz continues to lead services and teach at the congregation.

In 1973, the Lubavitcher Hasidic movement—more popularly known as Chabad—established a beachhead at San Diego State University, and since that time has founded numerous Chabad Houses throughout San Diego County.
and surrounding areas. The regional director of Chabad, Rabbi Yonah Fradkin, today is ensconced at Chabad headquarters in Scripps Ranch on the campus of Chabad Hebrew Academy, where his son Yosef is the principal. The senior Rabbi Fradkin is involved in the process of choosing young rabbis who, with their wives, establish Chabad Houses in different parts of San Diego County, typically by offering classes and Shabbat dinners in their homes, eventually raising enough money to occupy rented facilities, and in a few notable cases going on to raise sufficient money to build full scale synagogues such as those in Poway (led by Rabbi Yisroel Goldstein), La Costa (led by Rabbi Yeruchem Eilfort), and University City (led by Rabbi Moishe Leider). Smaller Chabad Houses are located in the following communities and cities: Carmel Valley, Chula Vista/Tijuana, Coronado, Downtown San Diego, Encinitas, La Jolla Shores, La Jolla-UCSD, Pacific Beach, Rancho Santa Fe, San Carlos, San Marcos, Temecula Valley, and Vista.34

In 1974, Rabbi Sheldon Moss began the Reform Congregation Adat Shalom (Gathering of Peace) in Poway, which then had a small Jewish population but which has grown considerably since. Moss—now rabbi at Temple Beth Shalom in Sun City, Arizona—was succeeded in 1988 by Rabbi Deborah Prinz who led the large congregation through 2007.35 Today, Prinz is on the national lecture circuit as the author of On the Chocolate Trail: A Delicious Adventure Connecting Jews, Religions, History, Travel, Rituals and Recipes to the Magic of Cacao (2012).36 The current spiritual leader is Rabbi David Castiglione. Cantor Lori Wilinsky Frank, who joined the congregation in 1982, continues as its beloved cantor.37

The move to San Diego’s outlying neighborhoods and suburbs became even more pronounced in 1977 when Beth Jacob Congregation built a new facility on College Avenue quite close to the San Diego State University campus. Years later, long-time rabbi Eliezer Langer was succeeded by Rabbi Avram Bogopulsky, who is the current spiritual leader.38 The College area, where today there is Beth Jacob, a Chabad House, a ritual bath known as a mikvah, and a filament boundary called an “eruv” surrounding the area, is one of the sections of San Diego where Orthodox Jews cluster. Another such area is La Jolla, which once was “verboten” to Jews under the real estate practices of the 1950s. Roger Revelle, former director of the Scripps Institute for Oceanography, told the realtors of the area that the University of California, San Diego, would not be built in La Jolla if the exclusionary and illegal practices were not ended immediately.39

1978 saw the founding of another Reform congregation destined to become a large one. Temple Solel (Pathfinder) began in rented quarters, but within nine years was able to move onto a permanent campus at 552 S. El Camino Real, Encinitas. Its first full time rabbi, Bernard Goldsmith, was succeeded in 1985 by Rabbi Lenore Bohm who was the first woman to occupy a full time pulpit in
San Diego County. In 1991, she in turn was succeeded by Temple Solel’s current spiritual leader, Rabbi David Frank.

Tifereth Israel Synagogue relocated from North Park to San Carlos in 1979 at a location near the foot of Cowles Mountain. At that point Rabbi Levens retired and was succeeded as senior rabbi by Rabbi Aaron Gold. He in turn was succeeded by Rabbi Leonard Rosenthal who retired in 2017. Rabbi Joshua Dorsch, only the fourth rabbi to serve the congregation since 1948, recently was selected to fill the post.

Also in 1979, in the Bonita section of Chula Vista, Sephardic Jews—who trace their ancestry to Spain and North Africa—founded Beth Eliyahu (House of Elijah) Torah Center, this area’s first Sephardic congregation. While Sephardic and Ashkenaz congregations read the same Torah, and the words of their prayers are mostly the same, they have different melodies and some different customs. For example, Sephardic congregations on the day following Passover celebrate a joyous feast day called Maimuna. Some link the holiday to the life and death of the father of Maimonides, a physician and interpreter of Torah whose writings and philosophy still guide much Jewish practice. Others say the name Maimuna is derived from an Arabic word meaning “wealth and prosperity.” More recently Sephardic prayer groups, or minyot, have been established at several Orthodox and Hasidic congregations and, in 2015, an independent Sephardic congregation Kehillat Shaar HaShamayim (Congregation Gates of Heaven) was established by Rabbi Yonatan Halevy. It is based in University City.

Congregation Etz Chaim (Tree of Life) in Ramona was established in 1980
after Al Wollner, a cantorial soloist who was a resident of the area, was asked by the Jewish Federation to contact Jews living in the vicinity for organizational purposes. Many had no idea there were other Jews in the mountain community, but they came together and formed a Reform congregation. Rabbi Deborah Prinz was then spiritual leader of Temple Adat Shalom in Poway. Her husband, Mark Hurvitz, who also had rabbinical ordination but worked in private industry, agreed to become Etz Chaim’s spiritual leader. The wife and husband continued to direct the affairs of two congregations until her retirement from the pulpit in 2007. Today, Etz Chaim is led by Rabbi Leslie Bergson who also serves as the Hillel director at the Claremont Colleges.\(^44\)

In the San Carlos section of San Diego, several Orthodox families who wanted to walk to their shul founded Young Israel of San Diego, meeting at first in each other’s homes. Rabbi Daniel Korobkin oversaw the congregation’s initial growth and relocation to rented office space, which soon became too small. In 1997, Rabbi Chaim Hollander, a Judaic teacher at Soille San Diego Hebrew Day School, took over as spiritual leader, a position he continues to occupy. In 2002, the congregation moved to its current rented facility at 7291 Navajo Road.\(^45\)

The spread of Jewish congregations to the east and to the south was eclipsed in the 1980s with a pronounced movement northward, up the Interstate 5 and Interstate 15 corridors. Congregation Beth Am (House of the People) was founded in 1982 in Carmel Valley; Chabad of Poway in 1985; The Elijah Minyan (a Jewish Renewal congregation named for the prophet Elijah) in Carlsbad in 1986; Conservative Congregation Ner Tamid (Eternal Light) in Poway in 1987; and Congregation Adat Yeshurun in La Jolla also in 1987. The latter, an Orthodox congregation led by Rabbi Jeffrey Wohlgelernter, took the same name as the congregation started in the nineteenth century by San Diego’s pioneers when they met in each others’ homes. The Elijah Minyan, headed by Rabbi Wayne Dosick, recently created Shir Hayam (Song of the Sea), a lay-led offshoot in metropolitan San Diego.

Of these synagogues, Beth Am—which was pioneered in Solana Beach by Rabbi Wayne Dosick—has the largest membership. Its architecture recalls Jewish
life in the destroyed Jewish community of Roudnice, Czech Republic, from where one of its Torahs came. While spiritual leader at Beth Am, Dosick devised the custom of “twinning” bar and bat mitzvah students with children who perished in the Holocaust. This custom caused a great outpouring of emotion. When it was time to build a new campus in Carmel Valley, synagogue members visited Roudnice and made a mold of an entrance way to the only Jewish building left standing, a building where the dead were prayed over until their burial. The mold led to the construction of a free-standing arch in the synagogue’s courtyard, an architectural detail that is replicated in Beth Am’s House of Prayer. Dosick was succeeded by Rabbi Arthur Zuckerman and later by Rabbi David Kornberg, the congregation’s current spiritual leader.

The northward trend continued in the 1990s, with Chabads opening in La Costa and Del Mar. In 1997, Rabbi Baruch Lederman—who has taught at Soille San Diego Hebrew Day School and at Torah High School—began Kehillas Torah (Community of the Torah), an Orthodox congregation in Carmel Mountain Ranch that offers daily minyans at his home and Shabbat services at a nearby Doubletree Hotel.

In the year 2001, San Diego’s oldest and largest temple, Congregation Beth Israel, left its long-time home at 3rd Avenue and Laurel Street and moved to a large campus in the University City area of San Diego. It is the only congregation in San Diego—and perhaps in a wider geographical area as well—that can boast that all three of its homes are still standing. The first Beth Israel is now located in Heritage Park; the second Beth Israel at Third and Laurel is occupied by Ohr Shalom Synagogue; and Beth Israel’s current campus with multiple buildings is located at 9001 Towne Center Drive in La Jolla.

Ohr Shalom (Light of Peace) Synagogue purchased Beth Israel’s 3rd Avenue and Laurel Street property and has since renovated it, thereby preserving the historic structure. Ohr Shalom came about through the merger of Congregation Beth Tefilah and Adat Ami (Gathering of the People) Synagogue. The latter had been founded by a combination of U.S. and Mexican Jews who hired Rabbi Arnold Kopikis as their spiritual leader. Trained in a seminary in Buenos Aires, Argentina, Kopikis had become known to the Mexican Jewish community as a rabbi while serving in Guadalajara. Today the Conservative congregation, which has a bilingual membership, is led by Rabbi Scott Meltzer.

The new millennium saw more synagogues started in response to Jews moving to different neighborhoods. For example, Temple Etz Rimon (Pomegranate Tree) was part of the Reform movement, started in 2000 under the spiritual leadership of Rabbi Mel Weinman, and has been led since 2009 by Rabbi Karen Sherman. The congregation currently rents quarters from the Pilgrim Church in Carlsbad. In 2005, an Orthodox Congregation, Kehillat Ahavat Yisroel (Congregation
Love of Israel), was founded in Carmel Valley and changed its name in 2016 to Orot HaCarmel (Lights of the Carmel). Its spiritual leader is Rabbi Baruch Rock, who teaches in the high school of the nearby San Diego Jewish Academy. Orot HaCarmel’s Rabbi Daniel Boortz, meanwhile, heads up an innovative teen program that stresses community service.

In Vista, a Conservative congregation of recent vintage, B’nai Shalom (Children of Peace), recruited “retired” Rabbi Hillel Silverman to be its spiritual leader. Silverman previously had served as an interim rabbi at Congregation Beth El. Today a nonagenarian and still leading services, Silverman had served major congregations in Dallas, Los Angeles and Greenwich, Connecticut, and could claim good “yichus” (pedigree) as the son of Rabbi Morris Silverman, who authored a High Holy Day prayer book still in use in some Conservative congregations. Hillel Silverman, moreover, had gained some international fame as the Dallas rabbi whose congregants included Jack Ruby, the man who killed Lee Harvey Oswald, the assassin of President Kennedy. In the aftermath of the assassination, Silverman met his congregant regularly in his prison cell.

Over the years, Jewish congregations have been established in San Diego County identifying with movements other than Reform, Conservative or Orthodox. For example, Congregation Dor Hadash (New Generation) in 1983 became San Diego County’s first Reconstructionist congregation making its original home in Pacific Beach and later headquartering in Kearny Mesa before migrating to
the Carmel Valley campus of the San Diego Jewish Academy. Today Rabbi Yael Ridberg leads the congregation. Reconstructionist Judaism teaches that the past should have a “vote not a veto” over congregational practices. The movement was the first to ordain female rabbis, the first to offer bat mitzvah ceremonies for girls and women, and was the first to suggest that God might be conceptualized not as a personage but as a verb, manifested in our good actions.

Another branch of Jewish thought—Humanism—made its appearance in 1985 with the establishment of the Alex Levin chapter of the Society for Humanistic Judaism. Initially under the guidance of Toby Dorfman, who called herself a “madrikha” or teacher, Levin taught that one can practice cultural Judaism, including observance of the various holidays, without having to believe in God. The congregation for a while had its headquarters in the Miramar area, but today—renamed as Kahal Am (Community of the People)—meets in members’ homes and various other venues throughout the county under the leadership of Madrikha Beverly Zarnow.

Congregation B’nai Tikvah (Children of Hope) in Carlsbad has styled itself since its founding in 1999 as a transdenominational congregation, welcoming “Reform, Conservative, Reconstructionist, Eclectic or unaffiliated.” Rabbi Ben Leinow, who became spiritual leader of the congregation in 2009, officiates at same-sex weddings and intermarriages. He says it is his dream that “we become a group of friends, at ease, learning from each other, and all feeling welcome under the same roof.” He is assisted by Cantor Larry Kornit who has been with the congregation since 2001.55

There are other places in San Diego County where Jews can hold formal prayer services. Among them are the Hillel Houses at California State University, San Marcos; San Diego State University; University of California, San Diego; military chapels at Camp Pendleton and Marine Corps Recruit Depot; the two campuses of Seacrest Village Retirement Communities (Encinitas and Poway); and such religious schools as Chabad Hebrew Academy, San Diego Jewish Academy, Soille San Diego Hebrew Day School, Torah High School and Southern California Yeshiva (SCY) High.

Overall San Diego County and the border region have a large variety of Jewish congregations to choose from, spanning the philosophical range from secular humanism to strict Orthodoxy, and varying in size from small groups meeting in living rooms to Congregation Beth Israel, which occupies a large multi-building campus. The congregations are clustered in six geographic areas, from south to north: 1) both sides of the border; 2) downtown San Diego and Kearny Mesa; 3) San Carlos-Del Cerro-College neighborhoods; 4) La Jolla and University City; 5) North County Coastal; and 6) North County Inland stretching up to Southwest Riverside County.
NOTES


2. Ibid., 149.


13. Ibid., 3.


19. Today Tifereth Israel’s former building at 30th Street and Howard Street houses the Covenant Evangelical Presbyterian Church, and Beth Jacob’s former building at 4473 30th Street houses the St. John Garamed Armenian Church.


24. Harrison, “Community Property.”


St. Mary’s Chapel, The Bishop’s School, La Jolla

By Molly McClain

St. Mary’s Chapel at The Bishop’s School is a sacred space for students, staff, and alumni at the Episcopal preparatory school in La Jolla. It is a small chapel, now barely large enough to hold a class of ninth graders, though originally designed to accommodate the entire school. Built in the Spanish Mission Revival style, it has tile floors, unadorned white walls, and dark wooden stalls along either side of the nave. At the west end is the altar, flooded with light from stained glass windows. Brass plaques engraved with the names of students in each graduating class, from 1910 to the present, line the walls. It is a quiet, serene place. Through the chapel program, students have the opportunity to experience themselves as part of a larger community, and to have space and time for personal reflection.

St. Mary’s Chapel, 2017. Courtesy of The Bishop’s School.

Molly McClain, professor of history at the University of San Diego and co-editor of The Journal of San Diego History. The descendant of a Californio family, she is the author of a number of works on San Diego history including her recently published biography, Ellen Browning Scripps: New Money and American Philanthropy, 1836-1932 (University of Nebraska Press, 2017).
This year, St. Mary’s Chapel celebrates one hundred years of history and tradition. Dedicated in 1917, it was designed by Carleton M. Winslow, Sr., previously supervisory architect for the Panama-California Exposition (1915-16) who went on to become one of the prominent ecclesiastical architects in Southern California. This article explores the history of St. Mary’s Chapel and considers the continued importance of this sacred space.

The Bishop’s School was established in 1909 as a day school in Banker’s Hill, San Diego and a boarding school for girls in La Jolla. The Right Reverend Joseph Horsfall Johnson, Bishop of the Los Angeles diocese of the Episcopal Church, worked with philanthropist Ellen Browning Scripps and her sister Eliza Virginia Scripps to create an institution that would prepare girls for college at a time when educational opportunities for women were just beginning to expand. Within a decade, Bishop’s School graduates attended elite women’s colleges such as Barnard and Vassar as well as the co-educational Pomona College and the University of California, Berkeley. In 1915, the school closed its Bankers Hill site and focused its resources on the La Jolla campus. It became co-educational after 1971 when it merged with the San Miguel School, and closed its boarding program in the 1980s.¹

Irving J. Gill, a visionary modernist architect, designed the first school buildings: the day school at First Avenue and Redwood Street (1908), now the Self-Realization Fellowship; Scripps Hall (1910); Bentham Hall (1912); and Gilman Hall (1916). Thanks to the patronage of Ellen Browning Scripps, Gill also built La Jolla’s St. James’s Chapel (1908); the Biological Station (1910); the La Jolla Woman’s Club (1914); and the La Jolla Recreation Center (1915). In 1916, he rebuilt Scripps’s residence, South Molton Villa, in the same modern idiom as his other La Jolla projects. He also designed a home for Wheeler J. Bailey (1907), one of the trustees of The Bishop’s School.²
St. Mary’s Chapel, The Bishop’s School, La Jolla

View of The Bishop’s School from Prospect Street, 1912. Scripps Hall (left) and Bentham Hall (right) were designed by architect Irving J. Gill. ©SDHC #81:11867.

St. James Chapel, 1908, by architect Irving J. Gill, now St. James by-the-Sea. In 1929, the small chapel was moved to Genter Street where it housed the First Baptist Church and now the La Jolla Christian Fellowship. ©SDHC #84:15150-47.

Headmistress Anna Bentham led the Class of 1913 and younger students to St. James Chapel. Courtesy of The Bishop’s School.
The early campus did not have a chapel; instead, students walked from school to St. James’s Chapel for Sunday services and other events such as matriculation and graduation ceremonies. One early photo shows headmistress Anna Frances Bentham leading students and faculty towards St. James where her husband, Rev. Charles E. Bentham, served as resident priest. After the construction of Bentham Hall, campus gatherings took place in an assembly room that extended north of the tower known as El Miradero.

In 1916, Isabel Green Davis Johnson, the wife of Bishop Johnson, donated funds to build a chapel dedicated to the memory of her mother, Mary Holman Estabrook Davis (1807-75), an early supporter of women’s education. Isabel Johnson’s father Isaac Davis (1799-1883), a prominent lawyer and politician, was one of the founders of the Worcester Academy in Massachusetts. Isabel Green Davis, who married Joseph H. Johnson in 1881, followed her husband’s ecclesiastical career from New York to Rhode Island to Michigan and finally to Los Angeles in 1896. Although she spent much of her time in Pasadena, she
made frequent trips to La Jolla with her husband and son Reginald, who became a Los Angeles architect.

For whatever reason, Irving J. Gill was not chosen as the architect of St. Mary’s Chapel, despite the fact that he had designed all of the other buildings on campus. Nor did the patron’s son Reginald Johnson get the job. Johnson graduated from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) in 1910 with a degree in architecture and received collegiate training in the offices of Myron Hunt, Elmer Grey, and Robert D. Farquhar. Johnson began practicing architecture in Los Angeles in 1912. Margaret Gilman, who became headmistress in 1915, remarked that she was sorry “that the whole thing—designing, building, furnishing, etc., should not have been left entirely to Mr. [Reginald] Johnson; that would have completed the beauty and significance of the tribute by his mother.” Instead, the project went to Carleton M. Winslow who had worked as the supervisory architect for the Panama-California Exposition in the years leading up to its opening in 1915.

Born in Maine on December 12, 1876, Winslow left school at age sixteen and went to work first in Milwaukee and then in Chicago as an office boy for Thomas H. Mullay, an engineer and builder who had worked on the Chicago World’s Fair. “I knew very little about architecture nor about office work for that matter,” Winslow recalled, but added that he learned “a lot” from his time with Mullay. Impressed by his employer’s skill at watercolor painting, Winslow took art classes at the Art Institute of Chicago. After working as a draftsman in Shepley, Rutan and Coolidge’s Chicago office, he moved to New York in 1900 to work under Charles Eliot Birge, a “brilliant designer and man of great culture,” and Harold Van Buren Magonigle. In 1904-05, Winslow spent sixteen months in Europe, principally visiting France and Italy. He took classes in mathematics, free hand drawing, and watercolors, and briefly studied at Atelier Jean-Louis Pascal and Atelier Chifflot. He was also hired to help remodel an Italian

St. Mary’s Chapel was dedicated to Mary Holman Estabrook Davis (1807-75), the mother of Isabel Green Johnson, wife of Bishop Johnson. Courtesy of the American Antiquarian Society.
villa near the town of Capri. Returning to New York, he worked for Heins & LaFarge for a year before having the good fortune to land a position in the Boston office of Cram, Goodhue, and Ferguson. Around the turn of the century, the firm produced a significant number of Episcopal churches in an eclectic Gothic Revival style.

Winslow developed a close friendship with Bertram G. Goodhue who, like himself, had apprenticed at an architectural firm. An exceptional draftsman, Goodhue produced rigorously accurate perspective drawings that had an ethereal quality, almost too perfect for this world. Having designed the Cadet Chapel of the U.S. Military Academy at West Point (1906), his career was beginning to take off. In the early twentieth century, Goodhue and his partner Ralph Adams Cram were commissioned to build St. Thomas Episcopal Church (New York City, 1905-20); St. James Episcopal Church (South Pasadena, CA, 1906); St. John’s Episcopal Church (West Hartford, CT, 1907-09); Christ Church (New Haven, CT, 1908); The Taft School (Watertown, CT, 1908-13); the campus plan for Rice University (Houston, TX, 1909); the Chapel of the Intercession (New York City, 1910-14); and the Panama-California Exposition (San Diego, 1911-15).

In 1911, Goodhue asked Winslow to move to
San Diego to supervise the construction of the Panama-California Exposition. The former’s extended journey to Mexico in 1890 informed the Spanish Colonial Revival architecture of the fair. Goodhue personally designed the California Quadrangle that included the California Building with its dome and tower and the Fine Arts Building. Winslow, meanwhile, was involved in the design and construction of many temporary structures in the park such as the House of Hospitality, along with director of works Frank P. Allen, Jr. In 1916, Winslow published *The Architecture and Gardens of the San Diego Exposition*, with a forward by Clarence S. Stein, that described how the romance of the Spanish Colonial style lent “gaiety and color” to the fair.11

Winslow also took on other architectural projects in San Diego. He worked with William S. Hebbard to enlarge All Saints’ Episcopal Church (1912), originally designed by Hebbard & Gill, and to create a new home for the University Club (1916, demolished).12 In addition, Winslow created a Point Loma house for Ernest Riall, a lawyer and member of the All Saints’ congregation (1912); three redwood bungalows in Burlingame (1913); and the La Jolla residence of Dr. Isabella Scott Hotchkiss (1914). Together with Reginald D. Johnson, he designed the Congregational Church of La Jolla (1916) that replaced the old Union Church destroyed by fire in 1915. Winslow later remarked that they intended to express the traditions of early Congregationalism transplanted to the shores of the Pacific, “in a land shining with sunshine and redolent with the traditions of Spanish antecedents.”13

It is unclear how Winslow came to be chosen as the architect for St. Mary’s Chapel at The Bishop’s School, but by the summer of 1916 he had begun to draw up plans for the new structure. Presumably, Bishop and Mrs. Isabel Johnson admired the romantic Spanish Colonial Revival structures in Balboa Park and wished to see a chapel in the same style built on the grounds of the otherwise modern campus. Goodhue, Winslow’s patron, also may have put in a good word. In 1911, Goodhue described Bishop Johnson as his “old and valued friend.”14

Ellen Browning Scripps did not know Winslow personally, though she was well aware that he was working on the new chapel. She told her sister an embarrassing story about having mistaken a clergyman for the architect. Scripps said that headmistress Margaret Gilman brought a “Mr. Winslow” to her house. He began “to talk of the beauty of the school buildings.” Scripps assumed that this was Carleton M. Winslow and recounted that she “proceeded to lead the conversation in a material and architectural direction, instead of a spiritual one—as I discerned after a time to my horror, when I discovered the clerical cut of his garments.”15

Winslow drew up his plans for St. Mary’s Chapel after Gilman Hall had been built, but was not quite finished. In the spring of 1916, Irving J. Gill designed
Gilman as a modern building to contain classrooms, assembly rooms, and laboratories on the lower floor, and a dormitory with a sleeping porch on the upper floor. Winslow’s plans for the chapel, created in July and revised in August and December 1916, show a rectangular Spanish Mission Revival building wedged between Gilman and Bentham Halls. The north end of Gilman Hall served as the south side of the chapel. The architect indicated that he planned to cut into the wall...
on the second floor of Gilman to create niches in which to put three stained glass windows. He also interrupted Gill’s arcade leading from Gilman to Bentham Hall by inserting a porch with a large pointed arch, flanked by two smaller arches. The coat of arms of Bishop Johnson was affixed to the porch just below the Mission Revival parapet. On the east wall of the chapel, a rose window led to a pitched roof adorned with red clay tiles.  

Winslow’s 1916 plans also included a tower modeled after the California Tower in Balboa Park, designed by Goodhue. Winslow’s mentor used “tall, exuberant towers as potent symbols, standing as markers in the landscape, giving prominence and authority to the buildings below.” The construction of the tower, however, was delayed until 1930.

Inside, St. Mary’s Chapel consisted of a long nave with choir stalls lining both sides. To the right of the entrance were stairs that would lead to the future tower. Old Spanish pavement tiles lined the floor. The nave led to an arched half dome at the west end beneath which stood the altar. A small sacristy was located on the south side of the sanctuary while a chancel stood on the north side, accessible by a side door. Seats for clergy were located along the south chancel wall. Winslow created all of the furniture in the chapel, including the altar, credence table, and stalls. He also planned the Arts & Crafts tapestry that hung from hooks in the sanctuary and partially covered two west-facing windows.

The cornerstone of the new chapel was set down on September 21, 1916. Viola Gilbert, Class of 1918, recalled the ceremony with a poem:

They laid the Stone at set of sun,
As Evening shadows fell,
We all were there to see it done,
To see them do it well.
And as we stood there watching,
Singing hymns of love and praise
Ever in my mind came stealing
Visions of future days.

When maiden after maiden
Goes thronging through the door
With hymns of praise outringing
“O Salutaris” evermore"
At the same time the chapel was built, a second story was added to the west end of Bentham Hall designed by Irving J. Gill and supervised by his nephew Louis Gill. The new dormitory space had bands of continuous windows on both the north and south sides that gave the addition a particularly modern appearance. St. Mary’s Chapel was dedicated on Thursday, February 15, 1917. Ellen Browning Scripps described the “beautiful and impressive service” followed by a reception that attracted several hundred people. A tablet bearing the following inscription was placed on the wall of the chapel:

   To The
   Glory Of God

   And In Loving Memory Of
   Mary Estabrook Davis
   Of The City of Worcester
   In The Commonwealth of Massachusetts

   This Chapel
   Dedicated To St. Mary
   Is Erected By Her Daughter
   Isabel Green Johnson

Bishop Johnson was delighted with the results of his building program that included St. Mary’s Chapel, Gilman Hall, and the second story of Bentham Hall. At the annual board of trustees meeting in October 1916 he appeared “radiant” and “insisted on showing the members all over the building (or buildings) and also insisting on their admiration as well as approval.” It was fortunate that the work was finished before the US entry into World War I in April 1917. Afterwards, Scripps noted, “Building has practically come to a standstill in all this part of the country; and no one is going to do any speculative building while financial conditions are so uncertain.”

Winslow, meanwhile, moved his office from San Diego to Los Angeles. In June 1917, he was certified as a member of the Southern California chapter of the American Institute of Architects. He worked with Goodhue as supervising architect of the downtown Los Angeles Public Library, which he completed after the latter’s death in 1924. In 1918, Winslow opened a second office in Santa Barbara and competed for commissions to build large Spanish Colonial Revival
style houses, with limited success. Instead, he became the go-to architect for churches, parish halls, and church furnishings such as lecterns, communion tables, altar rails, and pews.

During the 1920s, Winslow became one of the leading ecclesiastical architects in Southern California. He worked in a variety of historic revival styles—from Spanish Colonial to Mediterranean to English Gothic—though he typically avoided ornate exterior details. Like most of his contemporaries, he used modern building methods like reinforced concrete. He had a strong working knowledge of what he and his contemporaries called the “allied arts”: sculpture, decorative painting, metal work, textiles, ornamental work in plaster, and stained glass. This was typical of architects who came of age during the Arts & Crafts movement. An Episcopalian, Winslow understood and appreciated the symbolism and “heraldry of religion”; he also earnestly studied the history of church architecture. Among the projects he designed during the 1920s in California were: First Congregational Church (Glendale, 1922); All Saints’ Episcopal Church (Highland Park, 1925); Beverly Hills Community Presbyterian Church (1925); First Baptist Church (Pasadena, 1925, with Frederick Kennedy); Vermont Square Methodist Church

Students celebrating May Day on the lawn between Bentham Hall and Prospect Street. St. Mary’s Chapel can be seen in the background. Courtesy of The Bishop’s School.
(Los Angeles, 1925-26); St. Mary’s Chapel (Boyle Heights, 1928); St. Luke’s Episcopal Church (Monrovia, 1928); St. Mary’s of the Angels (Los Angeles, 1929); All Saints’ Episcopal Church (Riverside, 1930); and All Saints’ By-the-Sea (Montecito, 1930).28

Winslow was not an innovator like Irving J. Gill, but he recognized that a great deal of architectural experimentation was going on in Southern California. In 1929, he wrote of “a rather loosely bound band of earnest seekers after the truth of architectural expression, always experimenting, trying hard to give Southern California that thing which is appropriate to the locality and practical to work, play or think in.” He added, “it is doubtful if the things being built ever become ‘old fashioned’ by this band of men.”29

Ironically, old-fashioned looking architecture—particularly the Spanish Colonial and Mission Revival styles—was in great demand during the 1920s and 1930s. Inspired by Goodhue’s buildings in Balboa Park, builders and developers scrambled to create what is called Spanish “Fantasy Heritage” architecture.30 In San Diego, architects Lilian J. Rice, Herbert Mann, Richard S. Requa, Thomas L. Shepherd, and Edgar V. Ullrich, among others, designed houses, hotels, and apartment buildings in this romantic style. Examples in La Jolla included Casa de Mañana (1924) and Los Apartamentos de Sevilla (1926, christened La Valencia Hotel in 1928), along with dozens of houses built in the Barbour Tract, La Jolla Hermosa,
By 1930, St. James’s Chapel had been moved to Center Street where it still stands, and was replaced by a Spanish Colonial Revival church designed by architect Louis Gill. Its bell tower, dedicated to the memory of Virginia Scripps, was completed in 1929. La Valencia Hotel also sported a tower designed by Reginald D. Johnson, the bishop’s son, who had become an authority on Mediterranean-style architecture.

Winslow’s contribution to this activity was his design for what is known as “The Tower” on the campus of The Bishop’s School. In 1928, the death of
Bishop Johnson led to the resurrection of Winslow’s 1916 plans for a bell tower to be attached to St. Mary’s Chapel. Trustees and friends of the school donated funds for the construction of the Bishop Joseph H. Johnson Memorial Tower with its blue-and-gold tiled dome. The Frank L. Stimson Construction Company began construction in the summer of 1930. At the same time, renovations planned for Bentham Hall—including a recreation room and infirmary—created a reason to remove its old tower, El Miradero. It was replaced with a short tower topped by a Moorish Revival dome that fit uneasily into the otherwise modern Bentham Hall.

When completed, Winslow’s memorial tower was not as tall as the one he had originally envisioned, but it was still a dramatic focal point on campus. A poem entitled “Our Tower” in the 1933 student yearbook, *El Miradero*, expressed students’ pride in the structure:

Tall and with pride in every line,
It stands serene, with cross held high
A guardian over a noble shrine,
A symbol of strength to guide me by.

Man, by the skill he could apply,
Planned and patterned its design.
He took the blue of the framing sky;
He took the gold of the gleaming sand.

From the beginning, Winslow designed almost everything connected with St. Mary’s Chapel, from the pulpit to the oak doors. He sketched the two stone statues depicting St. Catherine of Siena and Elizabeth of Hungary to be placed on either side of the arch leading to the entrance of the chapel. He drew up the plans for a processional cross, new doors, a baptismal font, and an organ front. He even went so far as to purchase an antique chair decorated by winged lions to serve as the bishop’s seat. Only the stained-glass windows were not designed by Winslow; they were made by the Judson Studios in Los Angeles. The San Diego Chapter of the American Institute of Architects (AIA) honored his work on The
Bishop’s School Chapel and Tower—including the woodwork—with an award in 1933, noting a “special problem solved with great dignity and simplicity.”

In 1934, Winslow completed construction of the Wheeler J. Bailey Library on The Bishop’s School campus. Located across a ravine (now filled) from the main quadrangle, the one-story Spanish Mission Revival building has a red-tiled roof and a simple, arcaded porch that mirrors the design of other structures on campus. Inside, Winslow referenced ecclesiastical architecture with an apse at the east end and an elevated, chancel-like platform on which stood a desk. To the left is a small, enclosed space, not unlike a sacristy; to the right is an area that might have served as a chapel in a medieval church. Reading tables were located in what looks like a nave. Winslow also designed the library’s Arts & Crafts style furnishings.

St. Mary’s Chapel received additional attention after the Long Beach Earthquake (1933) resulted in focus on structural problems. In the summer of 1938, Winslow returned to La Jolla to make improvements and additions to the chapel. A choir sacristy was added to the existing sacristy located to the left of the sanctuary, along with several offices. The chancel, meanwhile, became the

Aerial view of La Jolla, 1935, with the The Bishop’s School campus at center. ©SDHC #79:741-8.
Chapel of St. Mary’s Chapel, The Bishop’s School, La Jolla

Chapel of St. Ann with a small altar and credence; it is now used as a baptistery. Most significant was the construction of a transept that made possible additional seating. Winslow designed wooden screens to separate the north and south transepts from the stalls in the nave.\(^{37}\) He also sketched a design for the Rose window at the east end of the chapel. A number of English antique stained glass windows replaced the plain glass windows at this time. Stained glass windows designed by the Judson Studios in Los Angeles were added in the 1940s, 1950s, and 1990s.\(^{38}\)

Other structural additions that Winslow made on The Bishop’s School campus between 1934 and 1938 included: modifications to the headmistress’s office in

Students walking to St. Mary’s Chapel wearing their chapel capes and headgear, 1936. Courtesy of The Bishop’s School.
Gilman Hall, and major changes to Bentham Hall, including an addition to the art room, the enlargement of the study hall, and the creation of new bedrooms on the second floor.39

The 1930s and 1940s were difficult decades for Winslow, as for many architects, but ecclesiastical commissions kept him working. He designed St. Peter’s Church (Del Mar, 1931); Mary, Star of the Sea Catholic Church (La Jolla, 1936); a chapel for the Mission of the Holy Comforter (Los Angeles, 1939); additions to the Congregational Church of La Jolla (1916, 1939); St. Ambrose Chapel of the Church of St. Augustine-by-the-Sea (Santa Monica, 1941); and St. Mark’s Episcopal Church and Parish Hall (Glendale, 1938-48), his last project. He continued to believe that church architecture should reflect the historical origins of the Catholic Church and the various Protestant denominations, and “express the Christian faith to coming generations.” The ideal church, meanwhile, “should breathe a prayer or stimulate one to pray even when empty and in repose.”40

At The Bishop’s School, boarding students went to services twice a day: morning prayers in the study hall and evening chapel at St. Mary’s. The girls covered their heads and wore dress-length, dark chapel capes to the evening service until the mid-1960s. Day students usually did not stay for the evening service, but morning prayers were required. Seventh graders sat on benches on either side of the nave while seniors occupied the choir stalls.41
Students recalled the serenity of St. Mary’s at all times of day. Norma Kean, Class of 1926, wrote about slipping into the chapel during organ practice where beneath the sound of the organ, she could hear the low murmur of the sea:

A wonderful quiet filled my soul...I had a feeling of a perfect, deep safety and security against every petty discord and trial. It was a place apart from the world where I could get nearer to God and understand a little better, perhaps, that His message was absolutely comforting and true. And so within the very heart of our still Chapel I found Simplicity, Serenity, Sincerity.42

St. Mary’s Chapel offered “a sense of belonging and reflection,” according to Mimi Holman Test, Class of 1961, who attended The Bishop’s School with her twin sister Sheila Holman Banks. “We were here with our teachers—and our friends—so everybody heard the same thing and we had the opportunity to talk about it and to share it with each other,” she said. “The messages were short but they were life
messages...[They] were open, they were affirming, they opened up my heart, they opened up my mind.” Annie Wolterstorff Love (Class of 1965) remembered chapel as a special place that helped students prepare for the day: “We learned from the example of daily chapel to take that reflective moment to center ourselves, to prayerfully and calmly move ahead into the chaos of the day.”

Evening chapel service was discontinued in the late 1960s, along with the requirement that women cover their heads in the sanctuary. Previously, seniors had worn special chapel caps while younger girls donned purple beanies. By the 1970s and 1980s, the chapel could no longer accommodate the growing student body, so daily worship ended. Instead, various grades in the school came in for Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday morning services based on the new Book of Common Prayer (1979).

In the 1990s, St. Mary’s Chapel and Tower underwent renovations to meet new safety and seismic standards, and to comply with the Americans with Disabilities Act. Other alterations reflected changing liturgical styles within the Episcopal Church. For example, the old altar was removed and replaced by a portable, Byzantine-style altar positioned next to the lectern. This gave equal symbolic importance to the Word (lectern) and the Sacrament (altar), and allowed the congregation to witness the celebration of the Eucharist. Adjacent to the chapel, the Ruth Jenkins Memorial Garden made possible a quiet and contemplative space in which students and staff could commune with nature. Corinne Perkins Ross, Class of 1997, reflected that chapel services watered the “faith seed” in her life at a time when she faced
her mother’s mortality. She said, “My parents planted the seed, but having chapel every week only allowed the seed to grow and thrive.”

Today, students attend chapel weekly with members of their same grade level, and often lead services under the guidance of the School chaplain, The Rev. Brian Fidler, an Episcopal priest. The Altar Guild, first established in 1923, prepares the sanctuary for services and helps set the agenda for the school year. Chapel talks may take the form of a slide show, personal reflection, or discussion of a topic of interest. They represent “the richness of the beliefs and interests of the student community as well as reflect the holidays and traditions of many religions.” The Rev. Andy Shamel, Class of 2001, recalled listening to several Muslim students from UCSD who were invited to give a chapel talk. On hearing the repetition of the phrase, “Peace be upon you,” he wondered about his own faith, “Why do we do what we do? Where do my practices as a Christian come from?” and realized that for the first time, “I started thinking critically about my religion...and, I’m grateful to say, that critical thinking has never stopped.”

Austin Rutherford, Class of 2008, also remembered the chapel as a place that helped him to become more self-reflective, “What do you take for granted in life?”

Music is an integral part of worship. Organist Steven Townsend explained that he is inspired by “the extraordinary beauty of St. Mary’s Chapel at The

In 1930, students raised money for the rose window in St. Mary’s Chapel, each petal of which depicts two of the Twelve Apostles. Photographer Pablo Mason. Courtesy of The Bishop’s School.
Bishop’s School,” as well as the talented choristers that he has the opportunity to work with. A chamber music group performs regularly in the chapel, as do the Knights Chorus, the Knightingales, Bel Canto, and The Bishop’s Singers. On February 26, 2017, a music-filled Evensong service took place in celebration of the 100th anniversary of the dedication of the chapel. The Right Reverend James Mathes, Bishop of the Episcopal Diocese of San Diego, officiated. “It was a wonderful celebration with beautiful music,” said Judy Ray, a former teacher. She added that students “really treasure” the chapel program.

St. Mary’s Chapel continues to be used for alumni events, baptisms, and weddings. The Rev. Brian Fidler observed, “One of the great joys of welcoming alumni back is realizing how much a part of their lives this sacred space became while they were students here, whether they realized it at the time or not.” Chapel records show 330 baptisms since 1937, and 313 weddings since 1938. The chapel welcomes all alumni, faculty, and staff who wish to unite in Christian marriage. Virginia McKenzie Smith, Class of 1921, said of her daughter’s “lovely wedding” in the chapel, “The Bishop’s School Chapel is so pretty for a wedding because it’s long and narrow and the pews face each other.”

For one hundred years, the chapel program has served generations of students, staff, and alumni who come to pray, reflect, and remember their experiences at The Bishop’s School. St. Mary’s Chapel is revered as a place of sacred beauty and tradition, thanks to the school’s careful stewardship and the architect’s creative vision.
St. Mary's Chapel, The Bishop's School, La Jolla

NOTES


3. In 1920, Reginald Johnson joined forces with Gordon B. Kaufmann to form Johnson and Kaufmann, Architects. This later became Johnson, Kaufmann and Coate. Johnson established an independent practice after 1925. His most notable projects were the Santa Barbara Post Office and the Santa Barbara Biltmore Hotel. Finding Aid for the Reginald Johnson Papers, Architecture and Design Collection, Art, Design & Architecture Museum, University of California, Santa Barbara (UCSB).

4. Ellen Browning Scripps to Eliza Virginia Scripps, La Jolla, November 25, 1916, Drawer 3, Folder 17, Ellen Browning Scripps Collection, Ella Strong Denison Library, Scripps College (hereafter EBS/SC).


8. Carleton M. Winslow, Sr., Autobiography, 1938, Series 1, Box 1, Folder 9, CMW/UCSB. Winslow wrote this three-page document for a publication produced by the Federal Writers Project. Winslow to George Hoedinghaus (copy), January 4, 1940, Series 2A, Box 1, Folder 9, CMW/UCSB; “Reminiscence in Concrete” (draft), Series 2B, Box 2, Folder 72, CMW/UCSB.

9. Richard Oliver, Bertram Grosvenor Goodhue (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1983), 21, 52-53, 55; Romy Wyllie, Bertram Goodhue: His Life and Residential Architecture (New York: W.W. Norton, 2007), 76-77. Winslow wrote that he had “the happiest memories of great adventures in architecture,” during his time with the firm. He added, “Possibly the romance of these adventures was the influence held over by Mr. Goodhue from what was best in the twilight of Victorian times and there was much that was fine in the Victorian Era as I have heard Mr. Goodhue himself say again and again.” Carleton M. Winslow, Sr., to Mayers, Murray, and Phillip (copy), March 18, 1940, Series 2A, Box 2, Folder 35, CMW/UCSB.


13. Donald Covington, “Burlingame,” *JSDH* 39, no. 3 (Summer 1993), 149-69; “Hotchkiss, Dr. Isabella Scott house,” Series 4, Box 11, Folder 340, CMW/UCSB; “Riall, Ernest house,” Series 4, Box 11, Folder 351, CMW/UCSB; Howard S. F. Randolph, *La Jolla Year by Year* (La Jolla: The Library Association of La Jolla, 1955), 27-28; “Union Congregational Church” (1939), Series 2B, Box 2, Folder 78, CMW/UCSB.


15. Ellen Browning Scripps to Eliza Virginia Scripps, La Jolla, November 25, 1916, Drawer 3, Folder 17, EBS/SC.

16. “Bishop’s School for Girls,” Drawer 254, FlatFile 34, CMW/UCSB.


18. Ibid.

19. Ellen Browning Scripps, Diary, September 21, 1916, Drawer 23, Folder 20, EBS/SC.


21. Thanks to James B. Guthrie for pointing out the band windows on Bentham Hall, pre-1930.


23. Randolph, *La Jolla Year by Year*, 98.

24. Ellen Browning Scripps to Eliza Virginia Scripps, La Jolla, October 5, 1917, Drawer 3, Folder 18, EBS/SC.

25. Ellen Browning Scripps to Eliza Virginia Scripps, La Jolla, September 22, 1917, Drawer 3, Folder 18, EBS/SC.


27. Winslow, Sr., “The Architect’s Viewpoint” (draft 2) for *Architect and Engineer*, May 1929, Series 2B, Box 2, Folder 57, CMW/UCSB.


31. Seonaid McArthur, Molly McClain, and Diane Kane, *Jazz Age to Our Age: Architects and Developers of 1920s La Jolla* (La Jolla: The La Jolla Historical Society, 2017).


34. *El Miradero* [yearbook] (1933), TBS Archives.


36. Bishop’s School for Girls library building and furniture, Series 4, Drawer 254, Flatfile 32, CMW/UCSB.


38. Mitchell, *Reviewing the Vision*, 43, 45; Jane Bradford, “The Vision Revisited” (1999), 90, unpublished manuscript, TBS Archives; “The Altar Guild,” *El Miradero* (1925), TBS Archives. Walter W. Judson, owner of the Judson Studios and President of the Stained Glass Association of America, offered an iconography of the stained glass windows in St. Mary’s Chapel, adding, “I hope that the windows will now be used as they were envisioned—as a teaching medium.” Walter W. Judson to The Bishop’s School, [ca. 1988-89], TBS Archives.

39. Bishop’s School for Girls Bentham Hall remodeling, Series 4, Drawer 254, Flatfile 35, CMW/UCSB.

40. Winslow, Sr., Outline of Lecture on Spirituality in Church architecture, 1933, Series 2B, Box 2, Folder 87, CMW/UCSB.


52. Evensong Service Celebrating the 100th Dedication of St. Mary’s Chapel, YouTube, https://youtu.be/gx9qWZkL1ZA?list=PLmoYIPD_KckG4aXAAz8zVgl7mHy9sVy0m (accessed March 27, 2017); Judy Ray, interviewed by author, April 7, 2017.

Jack Dempsey’s Hotel in Baja California:
The Playa Ensenada

By Francisco Alberto Núñez Tapia

The story of the Playa Ensenada begins in 1924 when a group of entrepreneurs formed the Ensenada Beach Club, S. A., in Baja California with the idea to create a resort. This particular enterprise was founded in Mexico to capitalize on the profits being made along the border due to Prohibition. Between 1919 and 1933, many people invested in casinos, hotels, brothels and saloons south of the border where liquor was easy to obtain, buy and sell. Ensenada was chosen for the site of the new beach club because of its competitive location 65-miles south of Tijuana and Mexicali, border towns crowded with all kinds of hotels and gambling houses. In 1928, the American professional boxer Jack Dempsey—at one time the world heavyweight champion—became the public face of a resort that sold itself as a place to enjoy sport fishing, hunting, and beach activities. Although the hotel was never a financial success, its story sheds light on the long history of US-Mexican investment in Baja California.

One of the earliest settlements in the region, the port city of Ensenada began to be developed in the 1880s by the British-operated Mexican Land and Colonization Company. Designated as the capital of the Northern District of Baja California in 1882, Ensenada was influenced by both English and American capitalist enterprises. According to historian David Piñera, “Its urban development and economy, as well as several other substantial aspects of its existence as a

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human community, depended to some extent on foreign companies.”1 With the development of agriculture in Mexicali and surrounding areas in the early 1900s, the Mexican Colonization Company began to lose interest in the region. The government of President Porfirio Díaz, nevertheless, reaffirmed its concessions in 1906. In 1915, the capital of Northern Baja California was moved from Ensenada to Mexicali. Two years later, during the Mexican Revolution and brief government of President Venustiano Carranza, the concessions held by the Company were made null and void because of “the nonfulfillment of the duties stipulated in the concession contracts and restricting access by Mexican growers to agricultural lands by fixing high sales or leasing.”2

When the dust settled after the end of the Mexican Revolution in 1920, foreign investors were again attracted to Baja California. They, however, found that they had to invest in infrastructure in order to profit from the exploitation of any kind of activity in the region. This was the case of the Agua Caliente Mexican Company, established in Tijuana by American entrepreneurs and Abelardo L. Rodríguez, governor of the Northern District of Baja California, to establish and manage the hotel and casino Agua Caliente. The governor played a key role as he served as a tenant and facilitated the land where the hotel was constructed. The Agua Caliente group, meanwhile, advertised extensively in San Diego and Los Angeles newspapers and magazines in order to attract tourists.3

The media also covered Ensenada, located approximately 65 miles south of the border. Travel writers portrayed Ensenada as a peaceful get-away spot, unlike the noisy and boisterous Tijuana. In 1924, Aurelio de Vivanco described the city in his Baja California Al Día, Lower California Up to Date, remarking on its wide streets, timber-framed houses, “each with its small and pretty garden,” and population of 3,000 inhabitants. He continued,
... the tourists that come by the thousands to this beautiful port find a pleasure in contemplating its extremely attractive beach of some ten kilometers in length by two hundred meters in width, from where excellent fishing is to be had and beautiful sunset views to be obtained, the fantastic full moon effects produced in the vast liquid mass of the bay reflecting with their planetary rays what may be compared as to an immense mollusk with a moving shell which reflects all the shades from the emerald green to an intense indigo blue, while the fanciful mirror of the sea shining on the shore reflects with the clearness of the moon breaking of the huge waves with the curtain of spume which gently kiss the beach of the sleeping city.4

De Vivanco emphasized that Ensenada’s inhabitants spoke English perfectly, so if Californians visited they would have no problem communicating. Located close to the border, it had a number of American residents. This made Ensenada a favorable place for vacationing in Baja California, as it also had a calm and friendly background. De Vivanco’s description of Ensenada was typical of Southern California’s press; one can find similar examples in The San Diego Sun and The San Diego Union. We do not know if any American capitalist relied on newspaper reports, books, or pamphlets to choose Ensenada as the place to develop a tourist complex in Baja California, but if he did, he certainly would have concluded that Ensenada was an ideal place to invest, particularly as it had not changed much in years since its founding (1882) and did not have yet a large luxury hotel.

The Ensenada Beach Club, S.A. was formed with the idea to erect a grand hotel on the beach of Ensenada. The exact date of its creation is unknown but by June 1, 1924, it was announced that the Club was made up of one hundred
Table 1. Advisory Board of the Ensenada Beach Club, S.A., 1924.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bernal H. Dyas</td>
<td>President, B.H. Dyas Company</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>President, California Yacht Club</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E.A. Featherstone</td>
<td>Distributor, Automotive Supplies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Past President, Tuna Club</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edwin G. Hart</td>
<td>Realtor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Past President, Los Angeles Realty Board</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brook Hawkins</td>
<td>Winter Construction Company</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Director, Kiwanis Club</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harry J. Mallen</td>
<td>President, H.J. Mallen Company</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Prominent in Tuna Club</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shirley E. Merserve</td>
<td>Attorney</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Past Commodore, Newport Harbour Yacht Club</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arthur R. Peck</td>
<td>President, Anaheim Sugar Company</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Prominent Sportsman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irwin H. Rice</td>
<td>Rice Printing Company</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>President, Merchants &amp; Manufacturers Assn.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Albert Soiland, M.D.</td>
<td>Physician</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Admiral, Pacific Coast Yachting Assn.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sylvester L. Weaver</td>
<td>Weaver Roof Company</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Past President, L.A. Chamber of Commerce</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

defounding members, plus an advisory council of 10 members. Table 1 lists the names of the members of the Advisory Board of Ensenada Beach Club and Table 2 (see Appendix A) lists the names and occupations of the hundred founding members of the Club.

As a first step to ensure the success of the future hotel, investors arranged for transportation to get tourists from California to Ensenada. In the maritime field, the Club requested the services of the Los Angeles-based California Marine Transportation Company to establish special rates for passengers who wanted to go to Ensenada in their company’s steamers. In August 1924, the ocean transport company agreed to this and the Club members were advised that the company had unanimously decided to support the request and set a special rate for those who decided to travel to Ensenada. In addition, the Company informed the Club that as of October 1924 they could perform the service in one of their boats.⁵

After establishing the agreement for the transfer of passengers by sea, members of the Ensenada Beach Club approached the Douglas Aircraft Company based in Santa Monica, California. Due to the great success that the American aeronautical industry was having at this time—airplanes being an attractive and novel means of transportation—it was agreed that the company would be ideal to carry out this movement of tourists to Baja California. Founded in 1921, the Douglas Aircraft
Company built numerous large and small aircraft that established and broke world aviation records. In fact, on the date that the Club requested the services of this company, four of its aircraft were circling the world.

In early September 1924, Douglas Aircraft informed the Club that they were willing to offer their services to fly passengers on one of their aircraft to the Mexican port. To carry out the route between Santa Monica and Ensenada, they put in service the modified biplane Cloudster for the transfer of passengers. This aircraft had been chosen to circumnavigate the world but, at the last minute, another aircraft from the same company was selected to perform this task. A unique model, the Cloudster had flown for the first time in 1921; by 1923, it had already been adapted to fly passengers from one point to another. It could seat first five, then seven, finally ten passengers. It flew from Santa Monica to Ensenada from 1924 to 1926 when a mechanical failure caused the aircraft to make a forced landing on the beach. It was destroyed by the rising tide before it could be rescued.6

For unknown reasons, the Ensenada Beach Club, S.A. dissolved in 1926. A very small number of its members, however, joined a new company called Club Internationale, S.A. in order to continue the project of building the tourist complex in Ensenada. The officers included F. G. Hoffine, President; P. H. Halbriter, Vice President; John Hauerwass, Treasurer; and J. K. McDonald, Secretary and Manager.

Club Internationale registered in Mexico as the Ensenada Development Company (EDC) so that they could acquire land from the central government of Mexico. They also gained the necessary rights and privileges on Mexican soil.
On January 15, 1926, EDC signed a contract with various Mexican government agencies in Mexico City, pledging to build a post office in Ensenada and to carry out the construction of a modern commercial pier that would serve to supply or discharge cargo of large boats. In return, the Mexican government provided a long-term lease on the property that EDC had requested for the purpose of building a hotel. EDC (and the investors in Club Internationale) could boast of having the only concession for the creation of a grand resort by the beach in Baja California (see Table 4, Appendix C).7

In addition to announcing the project in the San Diego and Los Angeles press, the Club produced a book in English, Club Internationale of Ensenada (1926), describing the creation of a high-class resort in Ensenada (see Table 3, Appendix B). At a time when the “attractions” in border cities like Tijuana included drinking and gambling, the hotel offered different kinds of relaxation. Activities revolved around the outdoors such as swimming, fishing, boating, and hunting. If a visitor wanted to enjoy card games, roulette, and so on, the hotel had a casino lounge to meet those needs, as well as a small canteen where they could get alcoholic drinks; however, none of these services were intended to be the main attraction of the hotel.

Visitors were enticed by descriptions of the beach and the bay. Photographs in the Club Internationale of Ensenada showed the length of the beach in Ensenada and the tranquility of its waves. The promotional book promised calm waters with no dangerous currents. The bather would have to swim 200 meters off the shore to reach deep water. As such, it was a perfect venue for swimming events. Avid sport fishermen were informed that Ensenada Bay produced great quantities of...
commercial fish, including tuna, swordfish, yellowfin, barracuda, bonito, cod, sea bass and other species. In the environs of Punta Banda, south of Ensenada, there were abundant fields of lobster that provided local meals. The Club promised to make available fast boats, elegantly decorated and piloted by expert fishermen who in a matter of minutes could transfer the sport fisherman to the best spots. Boat rides, meanwhile, offered views of one of the most beautiful marine gardens on the Pacific Coast, with large plants, huge goldfish and other striking species.8

Hunting was another activity that visitors could pursue. This sport was becoming increasingly popular in California, drawing hunters from different parts of the United States. Relatively few people hunted in Baja California, however, so the area had plentiful deer. Mountain lambs, wild pigeons, and peacocks could also be found in some places around Ensenada. For the comfort of the guests who wanted to try their hand, the hotel owners offered excursions to look for these species. Club Internationale of Ensenada described the possibilities for sport as follows:

To the members of the Club Internationale and chosen guests will be offered the incomparable allurement of exclusive access to a vast track of proven hunting grounds which are almost virgin territory for ducks. This huge acreage is known as the Ojos Negros Rancho and comprises some twenty-three thousand (23,000) acres. It is situated but 28 miles from Ensenada, over a fair dirt road, and upon a high mesa of near 3000 feet elevation. In this high country the hunter is assured bright, crisp mornings through the summer and a bag of ducks from three to six weeks earlier than upon the lowlands. The magnificent and unparalleled preserve lies in a high basin, surrounded by timbered mountains; and dotted over portions of its surface are six perpetual spring-fed lakes, skirted by long grass tules, where all manner of ducks nest and feed through the entire year, and where deer have always been plentiful upon the borders of this mesa. An Overnight Lodge, in charge of a chef and an attendant, will be at the service of the Club Members, who will be provided with transportation from Ensenada in Club automobiles. No other exclusive hunting preserve of similar magnitude, or so ideally located, is so readily accessible—sufficient enticement, in itself, to lovers of this fast waning sport.9

Other sporting activities included golf, tennis, polo and horseback riding. The Club planned to erect one of the most attractive golf courses on the Pacific
coast with nineteen instead of the traditional eighteen holes. Modern cement tennis courts would be built, along with polo grounds. Horseback riders could travel from the hotel to one of several summerhouses located on the hills above the port where they would have a beautiful view of the sea.\(^{10}\)

First, however, the investors had to fulfill their promises to make costly improvements to Ensenada’s infrastructure. After starting to construct a pier in the port of Ensenada between 1926 and 1927, the EDC ran out of money, ceded its rights in the project, and granted its obligations to the Ensenada Improvement Company (hereinafter EIC), a subsidiary of the Compañía Mexicana del Rosarito (hereinafter CMR), consisting mainly of US shareholders.\(^{11}\)

CMR had been formed in 1928 as a way to obtain the concessions granted to companies who left behind unfinished tourist projects in Rosarito and Ensenada.\(^{12}\) Its management included Penn Philipps, president; Manuel Reachi, vice president; Jack Dempsey, second vice president; W. Byron Nelly, treasurer; Andres de Segurola, secretary; and Gene Normile, games and sports manager. The officers of its subsidiary, the EIC, were C. B. Kerr, president and general manager; Thomas C. Brady; James L. Miller; and José Vera Estañol. Both Reachi and Estañol were important shareholders.\(^{13}\)

In order to make the necessary contracts to erect the tourist complex in the port of Ensenada, Brady was sent to Mexico City as the representative of the EIC. On March 9, 1928, he signed a contract with Colonel Adalberto Tejeda, Secretary of the Interior, for the establishment and operation of games and sports in a seaside resort to be built in the port of Ensenada. The authorized recreational activities were: fishing; swimming; regattas; excursions in airplanes, riding cars or other vehicles or means of locomotion; golf; polo; baseball; football; tennis and any other ball games; fights including boxing; exercises or maneuvers of all kinds in which the strength or skill of the people were tested; sports and games of all kinds, including card games like poker in its various varieties; seven and a half or twenty-one; dice games
or dominoes; coin and slot machines; and lotteries in all its varieties. The company could also establish billiards, bowling, and a canteen in connection with the hotel.\textsuperscript{14}

The opening of the hotel would bring favorable economic benefits to the federal, state and municipal government since, among other things, it was stipulated in the contract that the EIC would pay 25 percent tax on the profits collected in the hotel for the license of games and sports authorized. This percentage would be divided as follows: 10 percent to the federal government, 10 percent to the state government, and 5 percent to the municipal government. In addition, the municipal government of Ensenada would be paid the taxes due to operate in this locality.

Brady and Ramon Ross, Secretary of State and the Office of Communications and Public Works of Mexico, signed a contract on March 10, 1928, in which land was leased to the EIC to develop a tourist complex on the beach of the port of Ensenada. Under this contract, it was specified in the second clause that the EIC was obligated to complete the construction of the fiscal pier started by the EDC, with a value of 250,000.00 pesos, and upon completion of the work, it would be owned by the nation. In addition, it was determined in the same contract that once the pier was completed, the EIC would build a railroad for the transportation of cargo and passengers and a post office at a cost of 30,000.00 pesos.\textsuperscript{15} This contract did not contain provisions for the sale of alcohol. The EIC intended to create a tourist complex that attracted a clientele interested in relaxation and recreation, not liquor and gambling.

In addition to the land leased to the EIC in this contract, located in blocks 31, 32, 48, 49, 50 and 51 facing the sea, according to Richard Stephens’s map of the Colonia Carlos Pacheco of 1887, known also as Ensenada, the company would be entitled to 7,500 meters of the beach area between the tourist complex and the

\textit{Construction of the Playa Ensenada Hotel, 1929. José Luis Fernández Ruiz-Jeanette Miller Collection, Archivo Histórico de Ensenada.}
Sideview of the construction of the Playa Ensenada Hotel by the beach, circa 1929. Photo author’s collection.

fiscal pier. This portion of federal property would have a platform or sidewalk for free public access on foot or in cars, so long as the safety of pedestrians was respected. The term for the concession of all these improvements in Ensenada—the creation of a tourist complex on the beach and the lease of the land on which the platform stood, as well as the free use of the pier—would be for nineteen years and eleven months.

The EIC also could make agreements with any shipping company for the transport of passengers without paying taxes for the use of the dock or railroad that would be built at the port. This coincided with the arrangements made by the Ensenada Beach Club with the California Marine Transportation Company back in 1924 to carry out this work.

By the middle of 1928, the EIC had begun construction of the hotel, now called the Playa Ensenada, in the Spanish Colonial Revival style. Popularized by the Panama-California Exposition (1915), this style was used through the 1920s and 1930s in an attempt to recreate what people believed to have been the indigenous architecture of Spanish California. Characteristics included white stucco walls, red roof tiles, and wood-beamed ceilings. Much of the material for its construction was transported from California by sea because Ensenada lacked the wood and construction resources to carry out the work.

Controversy over the land on which the hotel complex was to be located, however, delayed the start of construction. Carlos de Hoyos, a resident of the port, claimed the land as his property and prevented construction from being carried out. The CMR, however, claimed to have obtained the blocks from Alejandro Guerrero y Porres, a resident of Ensenada, in August 1929. The latter wrote to the District governor in confirming CMR’s purchase:

On April 16, 1926, that Government [of the Northern District of Baja California] ordered the Municipal President
of this port to carry out the procedure; that in compliance with that order, the Municipal President, in delegation, of that Government, dated May 20, 1926, awarded me these blocks of land at a public auction. That on the 29th of August last [1929], in turn, I alienated the aforementioned blocks of land to Mr. Manuel Reachi...19

The local authorities, however, could not solve the problem and turned the file over to the Ministry of Agriculture and Development. This department reviewed its documentation and concluded that the land did not belong to de Hoyos but to CMR.20 The EIC was able to continue construction in November 1929, shortly after the stock market crash of October 1929.

Architect Gordon E. Mayer was in charge of both the design and the decoration of the hotel. In the early 1920s he worked in Florida and made several trips to the Caribbean. An avid collector, he brought from the islands many architectural objects such as highly decorated, antique doors and windows from buildings in Cuba, Jamaica, Puerto Rico, Trinidad, Guadalupe, and Barbados. In order to give the Playa Ensenada a personal touch, he used several pieces from his collection as decoration and constructed niches for their protection.21 To highlight these unique pieces, the EIC produced a pamphlet that revealed a little of their history, where they were originally, how they were used, who owned them, and in what year they were produced.

Mexican artist Alfredo Ramos Martínez, meanwhile, created neo-Latin American murals both outside and inside the hotel. At the time, Ramos Martínez was in Ensenada waiting for the US consulate to approve his immigration visa to the United States (his daughter had health problems not treatable in Mexico) so it was convenient for him to be employed by the hotel.22

To make known the work that was being carried out in the port of Ensenada,
several notes were published in California newspapers. On December 20, 1929, *The San Diego Union* included this notice:

The first unit of the sun-bathed enterprise will be opened on May 30, 1930, with a ceremony that is expected to attract dignitaries and pleasure seekers from the length of the Pacific coast. Jack Dempsey, former heavyweight title holder, is interested in the resort, as are other coast sportsmen. Nowhere else can you find within two hours of the American border such an exotic land as that in and about Ensenada, a land wholly alien to our own and so fresh and inviting. The trip to Ensenada along the ocean is like traversing 20 La Jollas rolled into one... Hundreds of tons of building materials are pouring into Ensenada.²³

Jack Dempsey was key to attracting tourists, particularly those interested in recreation and sports rather than drinking and gambling. One of the best boxers of his time, Dempsey appeared in much of the hotel’s advertising between 1929 and 1931. He also built for himself and his wife a private house adjoining the hotel facing the sea.²⁴

Table 5. Shares and shareholders of the Playa Ensenada.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Shareholder</th>
<th>Number of shares</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jorge Vera Estañol</td>
<td>4998.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manuel Reachi</td>
<td>4249</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lorenzo Rosado</td>
<td>750</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>José Vera Estañol</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ramón Sánchez Albarrán</td>
<td>.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rodolfo Reachi</td>
<td>.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Martin J. Healy</td>
<td>.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
It is likely that Dempsey got involved with the Ensenada hotel through his promoter Gene Normile who had worked in Tijuana for Baron Long, an investor in the Agua Caliente hotel complex. Normile then became the sports and game manager for the new Playa Ensenada hotel and casino. Dempsey’s brother, Joe, was also involved with the CMR to some extent. Since Jack Dempsey routinely bought real estate, it is not surprising that he also looked over the California border for investment opportunities (see Table 5, Appendix B).

A new subsidiary company, Hotel Playa Ensenada, S.A., was formed in October 1930 to run the resort. The officers were US hoteliers Charles B. Hervey and James Woods; Henderson Stockton; Joseph Rossi; and Pedro Rendon. The capital stock of that company was $10,000 distributed in 100,000 shares of ten cents each. Hervey was the main shareholder with 99,960 shares, followed by Woods, Stockton, Rossi and Rendon with 10 each.

The Playa Ensenada hotel and casino opened on October 31, 1930 with Hollywood celebrities and businessmen from California and Baja California in attendance. By this time, Jack Dempsey was the de facto president of the hotel, having been appointed just a few days before the opening. The Playa Ensenada Orchestra played during the festivities, and featured the appearance of famed music director Xavier Cugat, Marga (La mexicanita), Yucatán Quintet, and tenor Luis de Ibargüen. It was reported that the $2,000,000 hotel had 74 luxury rooms (down from the 250 rooms announced by the Club Internationale in 1926, and 167 rooms anticipated by the EIC in 1929) along with almost all the activities.
described in the book published by Club Internacionale in 1926.  

The manager of the hotel, Charles Hervey, invited anyone interested to see the hotel. An article in The San Diego Sun described its striking location:

New hotel and casino Playa Ensenada, destined to be one of the great resort hotels of the world, completes the perfection of Ensenada, which has lacked only this mammoth, labyrinthine structure to become the most notable watering place on the Pacific. Infinitely remote in aspect, time, color and charm, yet physically distant only minutes by airplane and a few hours by motorcar or steamer from California, Ensenada is engagingly accessible. Snugly ensconced between mountains and ocean, Ensenada possesses an unrivalled natural situation. Cool in summer, warm in winter, Ensenada is blessed with a resort climate par excellence. Sheltered by a half-moon bay concededly one of the most beautiful in existence, Ensenada is a Newport which invites alike the smallest yacht and the largest steamer. In fact, under the able direction of Andres de Segurola of the resort company, a series of yachting regattas and other marine and land sports will be staged in Ensenada almost continuously as befits this rendezvous pleasure. Ensenada is a gateway to an unspoiled sportsman’s paradise, on water as well as land.

The most practical and convenient way to travel to Ensenada was by sea. On November 1, 1930, the Panamanian vessel Playa Ensenada, under the direction
of the Liberty Line, was made available to those interested in going directly to Ensenada. The steamer *Admiral Rogers* regularly carried passengers to Ensenada from San Diego and Los Angeles once a week, but added a second voyage once the hotel was built. Tourists interested in a little more luxury could opt to take the luxurious steamers *Ruth Alexander* or *Emma Alexander* from San Diego or Los Angeles. Operated by the Pacific Steamship Company the Alexander steamers were transoceanic in size, having operated in both the Atlantic and the Pacific. The rates varied from $17.50 to $37.50 per trip from Los Angeles and from $10.00 to $27.50 per trip from San Diego.

Private yachts also played an important role in attracting tourism to the city. In order to take advantage of the Southern California Yachting Association's excursion to Ensenada, Dempsey promoted a regatta that took place over the weekend of November 15 to 17, 1930. Andres de Segurola organized the various yacht clubs of Southern California, including Southwestern Yacht Club, Santa Barbara Yacht Club, Los Angeles Yacht Club, Long Beach Yacht Club, Newport Yacht Club, and Balboa Yacht Club, and offered a 50 percent reduced rate for contestants. Afterwards, a dinner-dance and presentation of trophies was held at the *Playa Ensenada*. Mexican actress Dolores del Rio hosted the event and gave each winner a trophy bearing her name. It was estimated that around 50 yachts made the trip to Ensenada, a relatively small number that reveals the impact of the stock market crash among the yacht-owning set.

Other options for transportation included the automobile; stage coaches operated by the Woollet Stages Company; and a three-engine Ford aircraft from Maddux Airlines that offered weekly air travel between Los Angeles and the Agua Caliente casino in Tijuana. A number of Hollywood celebrities visited the hotel in the 1930s, including Frank Morgan, Marion Davies, Merle Norman,
Jack Dempsey’s Hotel in Baja California

Johnny Weismuller, Myrna Loy, Arthur Hornblow, Lucille Ball, Desi Arnaz, Lana Turner and Gene Tierney. Newspaper magnate William Randolph Hearst also spent time at the resort.34

By 1930, the stock market crash had given way to the Great Depression, with the result that the bubble burst for the investors of the Playa Ensenada. The hotel

In the background and center of the image the Playa Ensenada, Hotel and Casino and to its right Jack Dempsey’s house, circa 1938. José Luis Fernández Ruiz-Jeanette Miller Collection, Archivo Histórico de Ensenada.
could not draw large crowds of tourists to Ensenada nor could they get much press attention, unlike Agua Caliente. It is said of the Playa Ensenada enterprise that “Jack Dempsey and Gene Normile backed by way of seeking to outdo the famous Caliente hotel [was a failure because] after a lavish opening to eclipse all openings, the crowds failed to come over the sometimes tortuous old road and Dempsey and Normile gave up the ghost within the first year.”35

Advertising, which had been instrumental in attracting both the investor and the California tourist to Ensenada, declined, as did steamer traffic. As a result, the hotel managers had to shut the resort down for the winter, two months after its grand opening, only reopening it in the summer. This went on and off until its closure in 1938.

Jack Dempsey’s relationship to the Playa Ensenada ended on a sour note, as he apparently lost a sizable amount of money on the resort. A year later, in 1939, he was asked whether he was in Reno, Nevada, to invest in another hotel and casino when, in fact, he was there to divorce his wife Estelle Taylor. Dempsey responded with a laugh, “Ensenada cured me of that type of investment.”36
NOTES


2. Ibid., 80-81.


4. Aurelio de Vivanco, *Baja California Al Día = Lower California Up to Date* (Los Angeles: Wolfer, 1924), 225.

5. José Luis Fernández Ruiz-Jeanette Miller Collection, Archivo Histórico de Ensenada.


8. Ibid., 3.

9. Ibid., 15.

10. Ibid., 23.

11. *Playa Ensenada* Hotel, permission and concession to exploit games in favor of the Ensenada Improvement Company, March 9, 1928, and January 1, 1930, Box 311, File 9, Gobierno del Estado Collection, Series: Entertainment, sports and games, Archivo Histórico del Estado de Baja California (hereinafter AHEBC).


13. Baja California Scripture Testimonies. September 25, 1930, tome 53, no. 3007, Archivo General de Notarías de Baja California (hereafter AGNBC). The subsidiary was intended to last 98 years, ending in December 2027 with an initial capital stock of 10,000 pesos divided into 10,000 shares, with a value of one Mexican peso each. C.B. Kerr would be president of the subsidiary until December 31, 1929 and was replaced in this position by Manuel Reachi, Vice President of the CMR. Neither Jack Dempsey, the face and attraction of the hotel, C.B. Kerr the president of EIC nor James Miller, builder of the resort in Ensenada, were listed as shareholders.

14. *Playa Ensenada* Hotel, March 9, 1928, AHEBC.

15. Ibid.


17. *Playa Ensenada* Hotel, March 10, 1928, Box 311, File 9, Gobierno del Estado Collection, Series: Entertainment, sports and games, AHEBC.

18. Claudia M. Calderón Aguilera and Bruno Geffroy Aguilar, *Un siglo de arquitectura en Ensenada* (México: Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes, 2001), 40. Architect James L. Miller supervised the project. In her writings, María Eugenia Bonifaz de Novelo indicated that there were additional builders on the project aside from Miller, Bill Blexton, and engineer Negrete, but evidence could not be found among the documents used for this article. María Eugenia Bonifaz de Novelo, “The Hotel Riviera del Pacifico, Social, Civic and Cultural Center
of Ensenada,” JSDH 29, no. 2 (Spring 1983): 77-85; Bonifaz de Novelo, Centro Cívico Social, Cívico y Cultural Riviera de Ensenada.

19. Playa Ensenada Hotel, March 10, 1928, AHEBC.
20. Ibid.
22. Ibid.; Bonifaz de Novelo, Centro Cívico Social, Cívico y Cultural Riviera de Ensenada, 8.
24. The “Dempsey House,” as local residents called it, was built on the beach property of the Playa Ensenada hotel. Dempsey built it for his wife Estelle Taylor at a cost of $35,000, but the couple never occupied it because they separated by the time it was ready for occupancy. “Weissmuller Lessee of Ensenada Home,” The San Diego Union, July 7, 1938.
25. In his autobiography, Jack Dempsey writes that his brother Joe was a successful real estate investor in Los Angeles, but he does not provide further details of his work. Jack Dempsey, Dempsey by the Man Himself as told to Bob Considine and Bill Slocum (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1960), 191, 219.
26. Baja California Scripture Testimonies, October 4, 1930, tome 51, number 2922, AGNBC.
27. Playa Ensenada Hotel, October 31, 1930, AHEBC.
34. Del Hotel Playa Ensenada al Centro Cultural Riviera, 75 años de historia gráfica (Mexicali: Gobierno del Estado de Baja California / Museo de Historia de Ensenada, 2005), 13.
### Appendix A

Table 2. Founder Members of the Ensenada Beach Club, S.A., 1924.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Joseph Aller</td>
<td>Aller Laboratories</td>
<td>H.H. Lewin</td>
<td>Retired</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W.M. Armstrong</td>
<td>Capitalist</td>
<td>Louis Lichtenberger</td>
<td>Leather Manufacturer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luther H. Baldwin</td>
<td>Capitalist</td>
<td>Charles W. Link</td>
<td>Auto Top Manufacturer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W.E. Ball</td>
<td>Broker</td>
<td>Austin O. Martin</td>
<td>Vice-President, First National Bank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enrique Balles-teros</td>
<td>Federal Attorney</td>
<td>M.B. McMillan</td>
<td>Retired</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M.P. Barbachano</td>
<td>Merchant</td>
<td>Clinton E. Miller</td>
<td>Real Estate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lionel Belmore</td>
<td>Motion Pictures</td>
<td>J.H. Miller</td>
<td>Broker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paul Bern</td>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Tom Mix</td>
<td>Motion Pictures</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R.H. Brackenbury</td>
<td>Broker</td>
<td>Watt L. Moreland</td>
<td>President, Moreland Truck Co.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luther G. Brown</td>
<td>Attorney</td>
<td>Fred W. Morey</td>
<td>Real Estate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Burnham</td>
<td>Retired</td>
<td>Capt. C.W. Morgan</td>
<td>Great Britain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. Hays Busch</td>
<td>President, A.H. Busch Co.</td>
<td>Gustav Mox</td>
<td>President, Mox Inc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F. Nash Cartan</td>
<td>Banker</td>
<td>J.F. Mullender</td>
<td>Walnut Grower</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geo. D. Clark</td>
<td>Real Estate</td>
<td>Harry E. Munson</td>
<td>Real Estate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H.J. Clarke</td>
<td>Hotel Proprietor</td>
<td>M.J. McDermott</td>
<td>Capitalist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J.E. Clarke</td>
<td>Attorney</td>
<td>J.A. Nadeau</td>
<td>Ford Dealer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Herbert L. Cornish</td>
<td>Commodore, California Yacht Club</td>
<td>Gus Noll</td>
<td>Ford Dealer</td>
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<tr>
<td>George E. Cross</td>
<td>Auto Distributor</td>
<td>Sherman Paddock</td>
<td>Publisher, Country Club Magazine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malcolm Crowe</td>
<td>President, National City Bank</td>
<td>Byron M. Pattison</td>
<td>Vice-President, Bank of America</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R.A. Dallugge</td>
<td>Broker</td>
<td>A.S. Pilsbury</td>
<td>Capitalist</td>
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<tr>
<td>H.S. Davidson</td>
<td>California Bank</td>
<td>Kenneth E. Preuss</td>
<td>Retired</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H.P. Densel</td>
<td>Retired</td>
<td>Robert J. Reid</td>
<td>Standard Organization Service</td>
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<td>John F. Dockweiler</td>
<td>Attorney</td>
<td>Samuel K. Rindge</td>
<td>Broker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H.E. Downing</td>
<td>Secretary, The “Times”</td>
<td>A.C. Robbins</td>
<td>President, Greer-Robbins Co.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vern Dumas</td>
<td>Oil Operator</td>
<td>L.L. Robinson</td>
<td>President, Filtrol Co.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.O. Eckman</td>
<td>Oil Operator</td>
<td>Philip E. Rosen</td>
<td>Director</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E.L. Ellingswood</td>
<td>Engineer</td>
<td>Arthur H. Rude</td>
<td>Tire Distributor</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rockliffe Fellowes</td>
<td>Retired</td>
<td>J.C. Sanchez</td>
<td>Whittier</td>
</tr>
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<td>Occupation</td>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Occupation</td>
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<tr>
<td>Arthur L. French</td>
<td>Real Estate</td>
<td>R.E. Schwanbeck</td>
<td>Broker</td>
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<td>Max C. Fleischman</td>
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<td>Harold Shaw</td>
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<tr>
<td>R.F. George</td>
<td>Real Estate</td>
<td>Dr. J. Byron Sloan</td>
<td>Physician</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M.L. Germaine</td>
<td>Oil Operator</td>
<td>Mark H. Slosson</td>
<td>Deputy State Corporation Commissioner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wallace Ginder</td>
<td>Jeweler</td>
<td>William Staunton</td>
<td>Architect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henry Grey</td>
<td>Retired</td>
<td>G. Lawrence Stimson</td>
<td>Architect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leroy H. Harrod</td>
<td>Real Estate</td>
<td>J.A. Stransky</td>
<td>Retired</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guy K. Harrison</td>
<td>Broker</td>
<td>J.R. Thorpe</td>
<td>Oakmont Riding Academy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W.O. Headley</td>
<td>Broker</td>
<td>Thos. Thorkildsen</td>
<td>President, Sterling Borax Co.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marco Hellman</td>
<td>Banker</td>
<td>A.R. Townshend</td>
<td>President, California Glass &amp; Paint Co.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percy Hilburn</td>
<td>Cinematographer</td>
<td>Harry J. Tremaine</td>
<td>Proprietor, Angelus Hotel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J.T. Hurst</td>
<td>Garage Proprietor</td>
<td>F.B. Ufer</td>
<td>Oil Operator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Franklin L. Hutton</td>
<td>Hutton &amp; Company, Stocks and Bonds</td>
<td>WM. C. Warmington</td>
<td>Real Estate</td>
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<tr>
<td>Thomas Ince</td>
<td>Motion Picture Producer</td>
<td>J.M. Waterman</td>
<td>Retired</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Garfield Jones</td>
<td>Real Estate</td>
<td>Walter Webber</td>
<td>Architect</td>
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<td>Walter Keys</td>
<td>Insurance</td>
<td>H.H. West</td>
<td>Automotive Distributor</td>
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<td>Harry Keefe</td>
<td>Broker</td>
<td>Walter R. Wheat</td>
<td>Broker</td>
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<td>J.F. Kent</td>
<td>Retired Capitalist</td>
<td>P.H.L. “Doc” Wilson</td>
<td>Yacht Broker</td>
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<td>A.H. Kisker</td>
<td>Real Estate</td>
<td>George E. Wolfe</td>
<td>Broker</td>
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<td>Cecile Kleinman</td>
<td>Capitalist</td>
<td>John A. Woodward, Jr.</td>
<td>Real Estate</td>
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<tr>
<td>Henry Krech</td>
<td>Merchant</td>
<td>Wallace Worsley</td>
<td>Director</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frank E. Lee</td>
<td>President, Santa Monica Land &amp; Water Co.</td>
<td>Alex Wright</td>
<td>Retired</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Appendix B

Table 3. Founder Members of the Club Internationale, S.A., 1926.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Charles Baad</td>
<td>Manager, Hotel Biltmore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kenneth P. Baber</td>
<td>Physician and Surgeon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Earl G. Bieg</td>
<td>President, Empire Finance Corporation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malcom Crowe</td>
<td>President, National City Bank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John H. Gage</td>
<td>President, Pig ‘n Whistle Company, President, Rotary Club of Los Angeles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Hauerwaas</td>
<td>The Hauerwaas Company</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P.H. Halbriter</td>
<td>Halbriter’s, Incorporated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. Hays Busch</td>
<td>A.H. Busch Company</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F.G. Hoffine</td>
<td>President, Los Angeles Co-Operative Club</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.B. Kerr</td>
<td>President, Master Service Corp.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J.L. Martin</td>
<td>Physician and Surgeon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J.K. McDonald</td>
<td>Producer, First National Pictures</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James L. Miller</td>
<td>Mathis Construction Co.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theo. F. Peirce</td>
<td>President, Pacific Desk Company</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.W. Placzek</td>
<td>California Furniture Company</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kenneth E. Preuss</td>
<td>Capitalist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles P. Reiniger</td>
<td>Capitalist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cliff F. Reuman</td>
<td>President, Los Angeles Dental Supply Co.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L.S. Rounsavelle</td>
<td>Insurance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.H. Shoemaker</td>
<td>Broker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles F. Smith</td>
<td>Vice-President J.P. Smith Shoe Company, Chicago</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carl Wreden</td>
<td>Secretary and Treasurer, Wreden Packing Company</td>
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Appendix C

Table 4. Article excerpts favoring the EDC and the Club Internationale, S.A., 1926.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Article</th>
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<tr>
<td>Article 10</td>
<td>“The ‘Compania de Desarrollo de Ensenada’ (the Concessionaire) shall have the right to import freely, all necessary machinery, tools, materials, etc., as will be required in the construction, as well as the right to utilize freely and without cost, all necessary raw materials as may be found upon the Public lands.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Article 11</td>
<td>“Shall have the right to use freely, without cost, all that width of the Maritime Zone (a 65ft. strip of beach land bordered by water) extending for a distance of seven and one-half kilometers (approximately 5 miles) south from the site of the new pier, which shall be necessary for the construction of thereon of an embarcadero or passage way from the said pier to the location of the improvements.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Article 12</td>
<td>“Shall have the right to use freely, without cost, and within the term of this contract, all such portions of the Maritime Zone as he may require near his embarcadero as a recreative amusement zone.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Article 13</td>
<td>“The Department obligates itself that the present old pier (now unsuited for docking purposes) and the new commercial pier herein proposed, will be the only ones legally authorized for all the maritime traffic of this port for a period of twenty years; that if within said period of time, it is deemed necessary to construct another pier for increased traffic, the Concessionaire shall have the full right, in every instance, of first preference in the construction of the same.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Article 14</td>
<td>“This Department obligates itself to take the necessary legal steps before its Immigration Offices and Officials at the port of Ensenada, Baja California, that the landing at any of its piers be not permitted to any or all persons of questionable or immoral character, or whose modes of living are known to be dishonest or doubtful, thus completely eliminating any embarrassment to the Concessionaire’s purpose of maintaining a moral and clean resort for his tourist guests.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Article 15</td>
<td>“The Concessionaire shall have the full right to institute one or more lines of navigation for connecting the Port of Ensenada, Baja California, with the Ports of Upper California of the United States of America, and within the full term of this contract, all of its boats shall be freely exempt of any and all wharf or other taxes which have any relation to the disembarkment of its cargoes, or passengers, also free use of the connecting wharf and railroad thereon.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Article 16</td>
<td>“The Concessionaire shall have the right to import, free of all import and customs duties, all its construction materials, finishing materials, furniture and fittings, all implements or machinery pertaining to water or electrical installations that he proposes for the Club.”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
EXHIBIT REVIEW

Jewish Journeys to San Diego

Joellyn Zollman, Curator

San Diego’s Jewish pioneers arrived with statehood in 1850. These risk-taking innovators came to the southwestern most settlement in the United States looking for adventure, for good weather, for better health, and, above all, for opportunity to make the American dream their own.

California’s early Jewish settlers were double immigrants—having come to America from Europe and uprooting themselves again, to go west. Since the turn of the 20th century, the Jewish community here has only grown, as Jews from all over the world have decided to make San Diego home. Why did Jewish individuals and families choose San Diego? How did they get here? What sort of community did they find, and how did they shape it? This article explores these questions through the lens of twelve Jewish journeys to San Diego between 1850 and the present.

Each Jewish journey portrayed at the History Center illustrates certain themes or characteristics of the community. They are representative stories, meant to capture the links between region and identity, journey and destination, that emerge from the timeline of San Diego’s Jewish history. Louis Rose’s entry, for example, represents the pioneer experience, considering the motivations and implications of a Jewish journey to San Diego via wagon train in 1850. This was a route travelled by dozens of other pioneer Jews who settled in San Diego. Rose’s story is his own, but his journey also reminds us of the challenges that 19th century travel to California presented for Jews, and his destination prompts us to recall the deep roots of the Jewish community in this city.

Rose’s portrait, together with the other eleven entries, highlights individuals, ideas and issues that influenced the journey of San Diego’s Jewish community from pioneer times to the present. The Exhibit will remain until Spring 2018.
Louis Rose (1807-1888)

Westward Ho! To California by Wagon Train

A trip to California in 1850 presented special challenges for religiously observant Jews, including the procurement of kosher food and the difficulty gathering a minyan (quorum of 10) for prayer. Consequently, most Jews who made this trip maintained a flexible attitude toward religion. Such was the case for Louis Rose, who traveled as part of a wagon train from Texas. Rose experienced a long and dangerous journey, as the land route traveled through the desert and treacherous mountain passes. Rose told his daughter that members of his party were so hungry by the time they reached the Cuyamacas, “the men were glad to chew their belts.”

The land route also required Jews to live and work closely together with non-Jews, a new experience for many recent Jewish immigrants who were used to living and working primarily with their co-religionists. Lasting partnerships formed on the wagon trail, as together they made their way across arduous terrain. This was the case for Rose and former lieutenant governor of Texas, James Robinson, who met on the journey to California and became long-time business and political partners in San Diego.
We do not have many accounts of women’s travels to San Diego, but we do know something about their journeys once they arrived. Hannah Schiller Mannasse sought autonomy in the west—a region that valued individualism. After a disastrous divorce, she aimed to control her own destiny, as court documents, tax records, and a cattle brand demonstrate. This sort of formidable female activity would have been harder to accomplish in the established east.

Her first marriage was to notorious lothario of Old Town, Heyman Mannasse. He deserted Hannah after less than a year of marriage, leaving on a cattle drive to Arizona and never returning. She subsequently married Joseph Mannasse, Heyman’s brother. For this marriage, she made sure to protect her assets and assert her financial independence. She owned her own herd of cattle and plot of land in Roseville. She even went to court to be sure that her assets remained separate from those of her second husband. Joseph and Hannah remained married for the rest of their lives.

The Klauber family, Abraham, Theresa and their 12 children, travelled back and forth between San Francisco and San Diego with some frequency, demonstrating how San Francisco functioned as a “hub” for Jews in the West. As San Francisco was the largest, best organized, and wealthiest Jewish community in California in the late 19th century, San Diego Jews looked to their Jewish counterparts in the
north for models of community organization, connections to the larger Jewish world, and most especially, for potential spouses. The Klaubers maintained business interests in both northern and southern California. They moved the whole family to San Diego in 1869, back to San Francisco in 1884 and then finally settled in San Diego in 1892. During their time living in San Diego, the Klaubers sent several of their children to San Francisco to be educated, to work in family businesses, and to widen their Jewish social circles. The adults would travel and stay in San Francisco for business, Jewish family and social life, and superior medical care.

Family Migration Patterns: The Levi Brothers

The Levi brothers exemplify a pattern of Jewish family migration wherein siblings or cousins would follow each other to a region, and then spread out to explore various business opportunities, forming businesses and dissolving family partnerships as they tested new ideas and territories. The Levis, like other Jewish families from the German lands, came to America to stay in the 19th century. Pushed out of Central Europe by the faltering economy and rising anti-Jewish sentiment, they sought a brighter future here.

This family migration pattern was characterized by one son (in this case the eldest, Simon) relocating first as the family pioneer who worked until he had earned enough money to send for one or more of his brothers to join him in America. This common practice allowed for families to immigrate and work together to bring over more siblings, while also sending money back to family who remained in Europe. In this way, the other four Levi brothers—Nathan, Isaac, Rudolph and Adolph, came to America. Often, once the migration of a generation was complete, one son would return home to visit parents and find a bride. Adolph Levi returned to Bohemia in 1885, to attend the wedding of his sister, where he met and married Eleanora Schwartz. Several Levi descendants still live in San Diego today.
Exhibit Review

Abraham Blochman (1834-1915) and Marie Blochman (1845-1918)

Riding the Waves to California

Pioneer Jews who came to California were adventurous! Though travel by boat was often more predictable than overland travel in the late 19th century, the sea presented challenges, as Abraham Blochman’s trip from Arkansas to California demonstrates.

Young and adventurous, with dreams of discovering gold, Blochman chose a “quick” route to California in October 1851: ship from New Orleans to Havana, then a steamer to Chagres, the chief port in Panama. Once in Panama, Blochman negotiated passage in canoe along the Chagres River. When torrential rains made continued travel on the river impossible, Blochman hiked the remaining two-day distance to Panama City, where he could catch a steamship to San Francisco. He bought a ticket, but missed the boat to California, as he had contracted Chagres fever. A local doctor advised him to leave as soon as possible, as the conditions in Panama City were not conducive to recovery. Blochman took passage on the first ship he could find, an unseaworthy old schooner called the Tryphena. The 28-day journey was captained by a drunkard whose rationing of food and water proved disastrous: the passengers and crew survived for six days on one glass of water and one glass of flour per day. In November 1852, the schooner docked at Point Loma in San Diego. Blochman stopped in San Diego to regain his strength, before continuing to San Francisco on a different ship. While he did not strike gold in San Francisco, he did find another kind of treasure: a family. Abraham, Marie and their five children relocated to San Diego in 1881. In 1902, he gathered his family and friends for a celebration in Pt. Loma to commemorate the 50th anniversary of his landing there.
Brooklyn Meets San Diego

Rose Neumann described the shock of moving from the center of American Jewish life to one of its outpost communities, “Almost to the day I left the east coast, I worked in the shoe department of the big Abraham Straus store. When we came to San Diego, for Jews it was like a prairie wilderness. That’s why Sadie Epstein and I had to have that newspaper to let one Jew know about another, what one did, where another lived, where we could meet, holiday services, who needed help, where to come for counsel, and lots of other things. Those days were wonderful, but hard for all of us.”

For Neumann, building Jewish community in San Diego was of paramount importance and would prove to be her life’s work. Together with Sadie Epstein, Neumann edited and published San Diego’s first Jewish paper, the forerunner of the San Diego Jewish Bulletin. Neumann went on to chair Federated Jewish Charities, the precursor to Jewish Family Service, for 25 years. She was also an active member of Hadassah (the women’s Zionist organization), Hebrew Home for the Aged, United Jewish Fund, and Tifereth Israel Sisterhood. She arrived in San Diego to find a “prairie wilderness” which she worked to transform into a connected and vibrant Jewish community.

Navel Oranges: Coming to California for Health and the Military

Several factors attracted people to San Diego in the early 20th century: a healthful climate, good weather, and the expanding military. The Ratner family came from Brooklyn to San Diego for all of these reasons. In 1915, Marco Ratner wrote to his maternal grandparents in San Diego complaining of the bitter cold of the Brooklyn naval yard where he worked. They wrote back, “There’s a little navy out here in San Diego. Why don’t you come and see if you can get a job here and you wouldn’t have to worry
about being cold.” Marco took their advice, and the rest of the family followed soon after.

In 1921, Marco’s parents, Isaac and Millie, moved the rest of the family west on the advice of the family doctor, who advised a diet of fresh fruits and vegetables—promised year-round in California, due to the continuous growing season—for Isaac Ratner’s diabetes. Doctors of this time period frequently prescribed southern California for their patients’ ailments. From breathing difficulties (especially asthma) to general frailty and depression, the sunshine and dry air that characterized the region were considered a cure. Reunited with their eldest son and Millie’s parents, the Ratner family prospered in the Golden State.

Academic Arrivals

Ida and Abe Nasatir, Orthodox Jews, leaders and educators in the community, arrived in San Diego in 1929 when Abraham began what would be a 50-year teaching career at San Diego State College. Abraham and Ida met as students at the University of California, Berkeley. Abe was a history graduate student; Ida majored in English. New and expanding college campuses drew Jewish academics, like the Nasatirs, to San Diego. While Abraham taught, Ida established herself as a beloved local lecturer and book critic, active in San Diego community organizations. For years, Abe was the most visible Jewish presence at San Diego State College, his traditional piety distinguishing him on campus. Beloved and brilliant, the Nasatirs shaped San Diego culture.
A Holocaust Survivor’s Story

“Anyone who comes from shattered Europe can feel only good will in the United States, and especially in this nice city,” Rabbi Baruch Stern told the San Diego Union soon after his arrival. A Holocaust survivor, Stern’s life before coming to San Diego was marked by tragedy. Stern’s parents, all four of his sisters, and his two young daughters, ages one and three, died at Auschwitz. Stern came to San Diego, together with his wife, to start a new life and went on to lead San Diego’s congregation Beth Jacob for 30 years.

The Sterns’ arrival in San Diego was organized by the United Service for New Americans (USNA), which posted bond and guaranteed to the U.S. government that refugees under the agency’s sponsorship, who had no relatives to aid them, would not become public charges. In order to ensure the best rate of success for this program, the USNA assigned Jewish communities around the country a quota of new immigrants to support so the financial burden of postwar resettlement was distributed equitably across the American Jewish community. In the original agreement between USNA and San Diego, San Diego’s Jewish community arranged to resettle one refugee family every two months. In 1948, with the passage of new refugee legislation, USNA began to handle thousands more cases each month. In light of this increase, San Diego agreed to raise its quota to one refugee family per month. In total, from 1948-1953, San Diego’s Jewish community helped resettle some 75 Jewish families, all Holocaust survivors, in San Diego.

George Feher (b.1924)  
Academic Arrivals, UCSD

The creation of UCSD changed the Jewish geography of San Diego, as a significant number of Jewish faculty, staff and students made the university and its surrounding neighborhood their home.

The new University of
California recruited a number of notable Jewish faculty in the early 1960s, including physicist George Feher. Feher was born in Czechoslovakia, where anti-Jewish legislation disrupted his schooling. In 1941, he emigrated to Palestine, where he pursued an interest in electronics that eventually led to a degree in physics from University of California, Berkeley. He was working at Bell Labs and Columbia University when Roger Revelle approached him about coming to work at a new university in La Jolla. Feher’s reaction echoes the sentiments of San Diego’s Jewish pioneers a century earlier: “We were excited to be on the ground floor in planning and building a new campus where one’s ideals could still make a difference. My colleagues at Columbia University thought I was crazy to forego a professorship at Columbia to start such a risky enterprise in La Jolla. They and others thought it would be impossible to build a first rate university in an idyllic playground like La Jolla. They were, of course, wrong.” San Diego attracts risk-takers, innovators and adventurers. Feher’s ingenious contributions to science won him the prestigious Wolf Prize in Chemistry in 2006/07.

South African Jews Settle In San Diego, 1970s-1990s

A significant number of South African Jews began to resettle in San Diego starting in the late 1970s. They left South Africa (chiefly Johannesburg and Cape Town) because of the unstable political situation. They were attracted to San

Operation Exodus: Soviet Jews Settle In San Diego, 1970s-2000s

The Finkel family, pictured here celebrating Hanukkah, was among the more than 500,000 Soviet Jews who came to the United States between the late 1970s and 2000 to escape discrimination. Roughly 50% of these Soviet Jewish refugees settled in or around New York; the remainder moved to American communities big and small, in every section of the country, including San Diego. This exodus, directed nationally by the Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society, was organized locally by Jewish Family Service and Jewish Federation. These two agencies helped resettle hundreds of Soviet Jewish refugees by arranging housing, clothing, health care, English classes, and employment. The organizations also assisted
in establishing community ties, as each refugee family was matched to a local host family who helped the new arrivals navigate San Diego. Families like the Finkels, who had faced anti-Semitic persecution in the Soviet Union, delighted in the opportunity to openly celebrate Jewish holidays here.

Jewish Journeys: Mexican Jews Settle in San Diego, 1980s-2000s

A significant number of Mexican Jews, chiefly from Mexico City and Tijuana, settled in San Diego starting in the 1980s. They left Mexico because of the unstable economy and dangerously high levels of crime. San Diego’s proximity, similar climate, large Spanish speaking population, and community of other Mexican Jews made it an ideal location. San Diego’s Mexican Jewish community supports the KEN, a Latin Jewish community organization that offers a wide range of educational, leadership, social, performing arts, and sports programs and activities. Through the KEN’s programming, its members strengthen their Jewish identity, build a connection with Israel, and maintain their Latin culture.
BOOK REVIEWS


Reviewed by Dave Bush, Adjunct History Instructor, Shasta College.

*Kearny’s Dragoons Out West* relates the story of the 1st Dragoons, a regiment created by Congress in 1833 and assigned the task of patrolling the Great American Desert, a “worthless and uninhabitable” land (p. 7). But this territory was neither worthless nor uninhabitable, and in fact the recent relocation of Indian tribes from the East to the Great Plains created inter-tribal conflicts as well as disputes between whites and Native Americans. Since dispersed infantry companies were ill-suited to contain these conflicts, Congress created the 1st Dragoons as a quick-reaction occupation force. Will and John Gorenfeld argue that the creation of the unit was the “first step toward creating a specialized cavalry capable of controlling the frontier” (p. 23). Their book examines the 1st Dragoons’ work in this capacity as well as its role in the Mexican War.

From the 1st Dragoons’ inception until the outbreak of war, these soldiers had four main objectives: to enforce American Indian compliance with federal policy by ensuring that eastern tribes recently relocated to the West did not attempt to return to their homeland and to maintain peace among tribal groups living on the Plains; to keep the Indian Territory free of unauthorized white trespassers; to protect the profitable Santa Fe trail; and finally, to map the areas they traversed.

The 1st Dragoons had a rocky start under the command of Colonel Henry Dodge. The regiment lacked supplies, including horses, and had difficulty attracting recruits and training mounted soldiers. The Gorenfelds conclude that initially the regiment suffered from “mismanagement, abuse, disease, and death” (p. 83). For Dodge, his most successful mission occurred in 1835 when he was ordered to display the might of the federal government by parading dragoons throughout the Plains. Dodge’s command traveled over 1,500 miles round-trip from their base at Fort Leavenworth to the Rocky Mountains while holding numerous councils with Indian nations at which the tribes were encouraged to remain peaceful. For all his failings, the authors conclude, Dodge created a powerful force that impressed officials in Washington with its ability to police a vast territory.

After Dodge resigned, Stephen Kearny was promoted to colonel and took command of the 1st Dragoons. The majority of the Gorenfelds’ book focuses on the
decade-plus period of Kearny’s tenure. The colonel sought to create a disciplined and professional regiment. He lobbied the army for additional supplies and improved weapons and equipment, and he accelerated recruiting and enhanced training. His attention and commitment to detail transformed his dragoons into an elite force. During the regiment’s numerous expeditions on the Plains, Kearny avoided using overt force by relying on negotiations – supported by the intimidating presence of highly disciplined and well-armed troops – to enforce federal Indian policy. Concurrently, he removed white interlopers and authorized the burning of their crops and destroyed alcohol confiscated from unlicensed traders. In 1843, when Texas President Houston sent a raiding party, the “Battalion of Invincibles,” north to disrupt Mexican trade on the Santa Fe Trail, Kearny’s dragoons proved the Texans were not worthy of their name.

With the outbreak of the Mexican War in 1846, most of the 1st Dragoons along with Missouri volunteers, collectively known as the Army of the West, headed south under the command of Brigadier General Kearny and captured Santa Fe. The general then took about 100 men west on a punishing thousand-mile desert march to secure California. In a vivid and engaging chapter, the authors scrutinize the Battle of San Pasqual (involving hungover officers, disorganized attacks, and Kearny’s disregard for rested and seasoned Bear Flaggers in favor of his professional but exhausted men) and label Kearny’s Southern California engagement a “debacle” (p. 279). The authors then turn their attention back to the Plains, the Southwest, and Mexico, detailing 1st Dragoon companies as they continued policing the Plains and participating in the battles of Taos, Santa Cruz de Rosales and Buena Vista. The book concludes with Kearny’s death in 1848.

The narrow focus of the text is a weakness yet simultaneously a strength. For example, in Chapter 1 there are just a couple of short paragraphs on the causes of the Black Hawk War while far more sentences detail the weapons (including carbine barrel length) carried by Dodge’s mounted troops. The extensive regimental detail, at the expense of a broader context, extends to the dragoons’ staffing, assignments, equipment and tactics. Using journals, newspaper articles, and official reports, the regiment’s story is often narrated through first-hand accounts of both officers and enlisted men. This multifaceted perspective brings to life the soldiers’ experiences of sickness and death, culture shock and rough travel through beautiful country. The Gorenfelds write dramatic, page-turning accounts of the dragoons’ actions. Particularly riveting, but also disturbing in the graphic loss of life, are the battle reports. This book offers a thorough account and balanced analysis of the policing activities of mounted occupation troops on the Plains in the 1830s and 1840s and the 1st Dragoons’ participation in the Mexican War.

Reviewed by Clay Hoffman, Independent Scholar.

In The King and Queen of Malibu, author David Randall tells the fascinating story of the founding of the iconic Southern California city. At the center are Frederick Rindge and Rhoda May Knight, who married in 1887. In many ways, they were an unlikely couple: Harvard-educated and the scion of a wealthy Eastern family, Frederick was a man of refinement, who despite battling rheumatic fever all his life, emanated a spirit of optimism inspired by his Christian faith. May, as she was commonly known, was one of thirteen children raised in a tiny Michigan farmhouse, with her father barely eking out a living. She learned early on that she had to fight for everything, developing a stubborn personality and relying on herself before others.

Desiring to get out from under the shadows of his father’s achievements, Frederick left his hometown of Cambridge, Massachusetts, and with his new wife headed west. Crossing the country by train, they arrived in the boomtown of Los Angeles, a place where Frederick believed he could make his own mark. But unlike other newcomers, he was already rich. Capitalizing on the situation, he invested shrewdly and quickly became a major player in the economy of the young city. He either founded or was associated with a variety of businesses, including the Pacific Life Insurance Company, Union Oil, and Southern California Edison. The Rindge Building, which was located just a few doors down from the new City Hall, towered over the City of Los Angeles. With their empire growing, Frederick and May needed a residence just as imposing. Reflecting their ascending social status, they moved into one of the city’s most impressive mansions, where they would raise their three children.

As Frederick steadily added to his real estate holdings, he still lacked the one thing that he had desired for some time: a bit of unspoiled land away from the city that he could escape to. In 1892, he learned of such a place: the Rancho Topanga Malibu Sequit. Frederick fell in love with the property and was determined to have it. The towering Santa Monica Mountains made access to the Spanish rancho difficult, bestowing on it a seclusion that was unmatched.

Frederick bought the 13,000 acre Malibu Ranch and soon built an immense three-story Victorian mansion on it. He would spend as much free time there as possible, enjoying with his family the many coves, lakes, and valleys, as well as swimming in the Pacific and sunbathing on the sandy beaches. He had succeeded
at creating his own paradise, but it would not be long before its serenity would be threatened. Homesteaders began staking claims in the Santa Monica Mountains, many edging up against the borders of the Malibu Ranch. Additionally, as Los Angeles grew, there was increasing interest in building a road or railway through Frederick’s property to enable travel up and down the coast.

Tragedy struck in 1905: while visiting Yreka, California, Frederick fell into a diabetic coma and was dead just a few hours later. Having inherited much of Frederick’s estate, May was now one of the wealthiest individuals in Southern California, and surely the most powerful woman. She took control of the various Rindge businesses, and, as a priority, resolved to maintain control of the Malibu Ranch, fulfilling Frederick’s vision.

In 1907, her attorneys sent a proposal to President Theodore Roosevelt, a former Harvard classmate of Frederick. Aware of his interest in creating national forest and park lands, May asked Roosevelt to add seventy thousand acres of the Santa Monica Mountains to the protected list, effectively limiting public access to the Malibu Ranch. The proposal reached the desk of Secretary of Interior James R. Garfield, who rejected it, determining the proposed preserve was not in the public’s best interest.

In subsequent years, as the automobile became ubiquitous in Southern California, pressure to open a public road through the Malibu Ranch continued to grow. May was considered a villainous figure as the countless legal battles and political debates played out in the media. Eventually, the matter went all the way to the U.S. Supreme Court. In 1923, the Court ruled in favor of granting public access to the ranch. Justice Edward Terry Sanford authored the majority opinion, writing that the “taking of property for a highway is a taking for public use which has been universally recognized from time immemorial” (p. 201).

The decision was a major blow to May. She had succeeded at holding off the modern world for almost eighteen years. But now the road along the Malibu coast would be opened. In 1926, a developer approached her with the idea of turning a stretch of beachfront near the ranch’s eastern edge into a beach colony. By then, May’s personal fortune had been dramatically reduced, causing her reluctantly to accept the offer. Eventually, many of Hollywood’s most prominent actors and directors made Malibu their residence. Through the years, people continued to flock to Malibu, and with them came prosperity and growth. The onetime Spanish rancho was destined to become what it is today: a symbol of southern California affluence and beach life.

May Rindge, the “Queen of Malibu” and once one of the richest women in the world, died on February 9, 1941, with just $750 to her name. But as author David Randall points out, her place in Southern California history was assured: having
never wavered in her principles, she had succeeded at preserving “the natural beauty of one of the most stunning places in the world” (p. 222).


Reviewed by Doris Morgan Rueda, Graduate Student, University of Nevada, Las Vegas.

Much of the historiography on Communism in the United States examines the ways Americans constructed their own Americanized brand of the philosophy. Beth Slutsky’s *Gendering Radicalism: Women and Communism in Twentieth Century California* seeks to add depth to the literature by applying the lenses of region and gender to the study of American Communism. Her book explores the lives of three Californian women who, at various points in the twentieth century, played influential roles as Party members and as politically active women in the public sphere. In three chapters organized chronologically, Slutsky recounts the lives of Charlotte Anita Whitney, Dorothy Ray Healey, and Kendra Claire Harris Alexander. Each woman represents a different period in the history of California’s Communist Party, which allows Slutsky to detail the complexities of the organization as it reacted to and participated in the changes of the twentieth century. Through the individual stories of these diverse women, Slutsky demonstrates the uniqueness of Communism in California as well as the pervasive brand of American-style Communist thought that shaped the lives of women in the Party.

The first chapter explores the unique and eventful life of Charlotte Anita Whitney, a wealthy white Protestant woman from Northern California who, in 1919, was among the first to register with the Party in California in 1919. Unlike the women subsequently discussed in the book, Whitney came to Communist politics much later in life. A member of temperance and suffragist groups, Whitney had a lifelong passion for political activism and social welfare. When those groups failed to be as radical as Whitney would prove to be, she found a home in the Communist Party. Her time in the Party was not without controversy: arrested in 1919 and charged with multiple counts of inciting violence, Whitney became a model martyr for the cause. Support for Whitney came from people across the political spectrum who defended her not as a Communist American entitled to free speech but as a gentle Christian woman whose feminine nature made her incapable of inciting violence. Thus while the Communist Party itself espoused gender equality, its
female members still confronted expectations of domestic femininity.

The following chapter details the life of the radically different Dorothy Ray Healey, a working-class Jewish woman who began her political activism at fourteen years old. Much of her early years in the Party consisted of working in factories and fields organizing laborers during the interwar years. Her work as an organizer continued throughout her career in the Party. Ultimately, it was her attempt to forge a partnership with the emerging New Left that led to a split between Healey and the Party. Her continuing unwillingness to follow orders from Party leaders and her criticism of the Party’s resistance to work with mainstream political candidates resulted in her 1973 public resignation from the Party. Despite this, Healey assured her supporters that she was still a dedicated Communist. Ironically, it was this persistent quest for alliances that brought in the last subject of the book, Kendra Alexander.

The final chapter follows Kendra Claire Harris Alexander, a biracial woman who grew up in Southern California during the Cold War. Alexander exemplified the change in the Communist Party during the midcentury. The Party was becoming increasingly diverse and pursuing a wider range of special interests, while also solidifying the separation between itself and the Soviet Union. Alexander became active in the Civil Rights Movement in college when she joined the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE). Her growing role in CORE and the DuBois Club would eventually lead to her official registration with the Communist Party. Her work with the Party was remarkably different from that of her predecessors Healey and Whitney. Alexander, and those of her generation, were dedicated to combating the racist elements in American society. Her rise through the Party’s ranks signaled a dramatic change in an organization that had begun as a place for white Protestant elites interested in reform and driven by Christian duty.

With these narratives, Slutsky forces readers to reexamine previous held notions about Communism in America. Additionally, she constructs a convincing argument that regardless of the egalitarian rhetoric coming from the American Communist Party, gender norms and the ideal of domesticity were impossible to escape. Her use of these three dramatically different women in the Party also helps readers understand the ways the Party grew and transformed throughout the twentieth century. Slutsky balances the individual narratives with historical context that brings not only the women, but the world around them, to life. Gendering Radicalism is a welcome addition to the study of American Communism that brings women and California to the forefront.
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