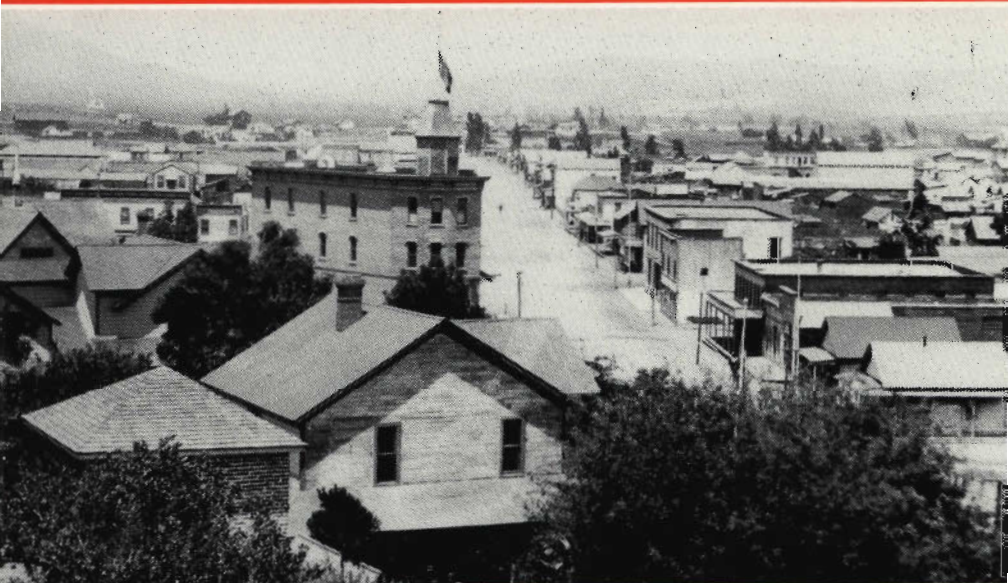


David Piñera

American and English Influence
on the Early Development of Ensenada,
Baja California, Mexico



BORDER STUDIES SERIES

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Paul Ganster
General Editor

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Ensenada, Baja California, Mexico

Cover Photograph: View of Ensenada, c. 1885 (Courtesy of San Diego Historical Society, Photograph Collection)

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by

David Piñera

Institute for Regional Studies of the Californias
San Diego State University
San Diego, California 92182-4403

1995

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INTRODUCTION

During its initial stages as a city, Ensenada was influenced strongly by the Americans and the English. Its urban development and economy, as well as several other substantial aspects of its existence as a human community, depended to some extent on foreign companies. This influence began in 1886, four years after Ensenada's foundation, and continued for 15 years, leaving a deep and lasting impression. The American and English episodes took place during a period of economic expansion of the United States that was undermining England's worldwide supremacy.¹ Baja California bordered on the United States and the Americans considered the peninsula to be part of its area of influence. Thus, the involvement and competition of English and American companies in early Ensenada aroused considerable interest in the United States, in England, and in Mexico.

After the withdrawal of the Americans and English, the city's subsequent development was a gradual result of the impulse and guidance of Mexican authorities and local social sectors, following the same pattern of other Mexican towns. Ensenada's location, so close to the border between the United States and Mexico, gave this urban development a special dimension. Most importantly, Southern California's real estate boom of the 1880s reached Ensenada.² American land promoters saw the convenience of expanding California's profitable real estate market south of the border. The border line seemed to disappear in 1886, opening a binational zone homogenized by the same economic dynamics. In this atmosphere, Ensenada emerged in Baja California as a land development site for American clients just as California cities such as Escondido, Coronado, National City, and Chula Vista had resulted from the real estate boom north of the boundary. Along the entire

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1. Robert A. Divine et al., *American Past and Present*, 2 vols. (Glenview, Illinois: Scott, Foresman and Company, 1987), 1:220.
 2. Glen S. Dumke, *The Boom of the Eighties in Southern California* (San Marino, California: Huntington Library, 1944), pp. 132-56.

U.S.-Mexican border, there is no other case of such strong American influence in the origins of a Mexican town as can be seen in the example of Ensenada.

As is well known, the United States began its economic expansion after overcoming the Civil War (1861-1865).³ Starting in the 1870s this expansion was quite evident in Mexico, especially along the border. American companies became involved in a series of activities, including land colonization, mining, railroad introduction, and agricultural and cattle raising.⁴ These ventures were fundamental in the creation of several Mexican border towns. Between 1880 and 1881, Nogales, Sonora, emerged as a railroad station that gave important United States railroad lines access to the sea through the port of Guaymas.⁵ The small Sonoran villages of Agua Prieta and Naco began to emerge as settlements in 1901 as a result of railroad tracks laid by American mining companies working in that zone.⁶

In Baja California, Tijuana's urban settlement began in 1889, stimulated also by California's real estate boom.⁷ Somewhat later, urban Mexicali emerged from agricultural developments begun in 1902 by the Colorado River Land Company.⁸

All of these activities indirectly influenced the emergence of new border towns. In the case of Ensenada, though, the main objective of

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3. Mary Norton et al., *A People and a Nation. A History of the United States* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1982), p. 127.
 4. David Piñera Ramírez, ed., *Visión histórica de la frontera norte de México*, 2nd ed. rev., 4 vols. (Mexicali, Mexico: Universidad Autónoma de Baja California y Centro de Investigaciones Históricas UNAM-UABC, 1987-94), 4:202-10.
 5. Piñera Ramírez, *Visión histórica*, 4:219.
 6. Piñera Ramírez, *Visión histórica*, 4:219.
 7. Thurber Dennis Proffitt III, "The Symbiotic Frontier: The Emergence of Tijuana, since 1769" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 1988), p. 166.
 8. Jorge Martínez Zepeda and Lourdes Romero, eds., *Mexicali. Una historia*, 2 vols. (Mexicali: Universidad Autónoma de Baja California, 1991), 1:153.

the American company working there was to design an urban plan, establish services, and proceed with the sale of land lots using the usual procedures and advertising resources of real estate businesses. Consequently, American promoters became important participants in northern Mexico's urban history. As already mentioned, it all began with a small nucleus of Ensenada's population created only four years before in 1882 that received a strong impulse because of its relations with the dynamic American economy.⁹

The central subject of this work is the emergence of the city of Ensenada and the important contribution made by a group of American entrepreneurs as by their English counterparts who later took their place. In order to comprehend this and the performance in the process of the Mexican authorities, certain antecedents that started in the second decade of the nineteenth century need to be analyzed.

After Mexico's independence from Spain and for most of the nineteenth century, the development of the isolated peninsula of Baja California was relatively slow. Some of the steps taken by the central government to encourage the region's population and economic growth had very minimal results. The great distance between the peninsula and central Mexico and the barrenness of the land were almost unconquerable obstacles. Even with its new role of borderland that begun in 1848, important changes did not readily come about.

Beginning in 1824, the Mexican government had planned to carry out a colonization program but failed. However, in the second half of the nineteenth century, the government tried again by following the guidelines that were attracting European immigrants to the United States and strengthening its economy. Argentina and Chile also admitted an important influx of European immigrants. In spite of

9. Jorge Martínez Zepeda clearly describes the city's origin in "Ensenada: Apuntes para su historia urbana," in *El crecimiento de las ciudades noroccidentales*, ed. Jaime Olveda, (México, D.F.: El Colegio de Jalisco, 1994), pp. 53–62. He explains how in 1882 Ensenada had only three houses and a custom's office. Its growth started when the town was made head of the Northern Section of Baja California, as is noted in the Archivo General de la Nación. The Registro Público de la Propiedad of Ensenada has records of land sales from 1882 to 1886, the year the International Company's became active. The Registro Civil of Ensenada has records of births dated in Ensenada from 1882.

repeated modifications to Mexico's colonization laws, the results of all colonization efforts were almost nil, perhaps due to political instability.

Such was the situation in the Baja California peninsula, especially in the northern part where almost at the end of the nineteenth century there was still a sparse population and a very weak economy. That state of events started to change noticeably when the International Company of Mexico, an American company recently established in Hartford, Connecticut, began operating in 1886. One chapter of the present work refers to the accomplishments of that company in promoting Ensenada's development and in bringing in an influx of settlers from the United States and Europe. It also covers the financial problems faced by the company that forced it to transfer its interests to the English Mexican Land and Colonization Company. The latter also had an important part in the development of Ensenada and the entire region.

For the study of these issues, different Mexican sources were consulted. The Archivo General de la Nación (National Archives), the Archivo Histórico of the Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores (Historical Archives of the Secretariat of Foreign Relations), and Ensenada's Registro Público de la Propiedad (Public Registry of Real Estate), and Registro Civil (Civil Registry) were used. Also, the appropriate printed sources were employed extensively in this work.

For the biographical sketches of members of the colonization companies operating in Baja California, American and English documentary and periodical collections such as those in the Bancroft Library of Berkeley, California, and in the Guildhall Library in London, were utilized. These diverse sources allowed for two different points of view. One was a product of Mexican authorities and public opinion. The other came largely from the personal experiences of the Americans and Englishmen who participated in those events.

It is important to note that the biographical sketches from the Bancroft Library are being published here verbatim for the first time. Bancroft used only a portion of the information in these biographical sketches in the compilation of his works, so this material is not well known. We consider this an important contribution to the general knowledge of

the phenomena with which the Americans were related. Inclusion of the texts, then, is an important contribution to the understanding not only of the specific events and actors associated with the Ensenada venture, but also of the general phenomenon of American capitalism abroad.

Chapter One

The Slow Development of the Baja California Peninsula

Shortly after Mexico achieved its independence from Spain, the Constitution of 1824 was put into effect. This organized the nation according to modern political principles. The Constitution and its derivative laws created great expectations for progress, similar to that of systems adopted by other countries. There was enthusiastic acceptance of the immigration policies of the United States, Argentina, and Chile—countries which had been receiving an enriching influx of foreigners from different European nations. The thinkers in Mexico were encouraged by these perspectives. Imbued by new liberal principles, they were excited by the idea of colonizing with European immigrants the vast uninhabited regions of the country. It was expected that the immigrant's work ethic would be exemplary for the Mexicans. Because of this belief, it was common to find in the political dissertations of the time statements like the following: "The example of the reliable Englishman, the austere German, the diligent Frenchman, and the virtuous American will take root in our simple farmers."¹

The image of the foreign colonist was idealized in such a way that he was conceived to be a "strong family man, almost congenitally honest, enraptured with his work, with no political ambitions, respectful of authority, and extremely knowledgeable in the art of drawing prosperity from a stubborn land..."² These ideas gave rise to the legal

1. Congreso de Veracruz, *Proyecto de ley sobre colonización* (Jalapa: 1826), cited in Dieter George Berninger, *La inmigración en México, 1821-1857* (México, D.F.: Sepsetentas, 1974), p. 68. See also Francisco de la Maza, *Código de colonización y terrenos baldíos de la República Mexicana. Años de 1451 a 1892* (México, D.F.: Oficina Tipográfica de la Secretaría de Fomento, 1893), p. 195.

decisions that governed immigration policies during the country's first years of independence. Yet, the results were far from those desired.

In agreement with the aforementioned concepts, the first article of the Colonization Law of 1824 was expressed in the following terms: "The Mexican nation offers every foreigner who arrives to settle in its territory security for himself and his property..." Furthermore, this offer stated that no entry duty would be imposed (Article 16) and the contracts between the immigration promoter and the colonizer would be guaranteed (Article 14).

It was expected in Mexico, as in other high immigration countries, that foreigners recruited by promoters would arrive individually as well as in groups. Although there were men like Tadeo Ortiz and Vicente Rocafuerte who tried very hard to encourage Europeans to immigrate to Mexico, the results of this government policy were very minimal.

Records of that time show that an average of 700 foreigners arrived in Mexico yearly.³ The majority settled in cities instead of in the territory designated for colonization. One of the main obstacles that perhaps discouraged colonization was the religious intolerance established by the Constitution of 1824.⁴ That, together with situations like the political instability prevailing in Mexico, created an atmosphere of distrust abroad.

2. Berninger, *La inmigración en México*, p. 184.

3. Berninger, *La inmigración en México*, p. 36.

4. Article 3 prohibited the practice of any other religion besides Roman Catholicism. This opened a debate between Liberals and Conservatives. The former favored religious tolerance so that colonists from Protestant countries would feel free to immigrate to Mexico. The Conservatives opposed that and proposed turning to Catholic immigrants such as Italians, Irish, Rhinelanders, or even Spaniards who were still distrusted because of Spain's interest in reconquering Mexico. See the newspapers *Aguila Mexicana* (December 10 and 11, 1823) and *El Sol* (March 19, 1826). Religious intolerance prevailed for it was not until December 4, 1860, that the law of religious freedom was decreed. See Felipe Tena Ramírez, *Leyes fundamentales de México* (México, D.F.: Editorial Porrúa, 1964), p. 660.

During this same period, more than a dozen foreigners born in France, England, Spain, Manila, and Peru were living in the southern Baja California peninsula, a rather high number, proportionally speaking. The colonization law had nothing to do with their being there and some had lived there since the colonial period. Most probably, they had entered the country without legal documentation. All were married to *Californias* (the name given at that time to women born in the peninsula). The foreigners owned cattle and agricultural lands and even managed to hold public offices. Their presence only reaffirms one main characteristic of the peninsula that has been present since the period of the Jesuits: Baja California was a place where people of many regions converged.

If the articles of the Colonization Law of 1824 are analyzed, it is clear that, with the exception of all private or corporate-owned properties, only land owned by the nation could be colonized (Article 2). When land was distributed, Mexican citizens were given priority (Article 9). In general, the distributed land could not exceed one square league of irrigated fields, four square leagues of unirrigated fields, and six square leagues of land for cattle per individual (Article 12). Finally, and this concerns Baja California, it was decreed that the federal government should proceed with the colonization of its lands (Article 16) while the states had the power to do so in their respective jurisdictions.

Colonization and the Specific Case of Baja California

The regulations created on November 21, 1828, were intended to execute what was established in Article 16, but they were not implemented in the Californias until 1830. These regulations, in accordance with the principal law, gave territorial political leaders the authorization to distribute uninhabited lands to promoters, families, or individuals who applied, either Mexican or foreign (Article 1). Likewise, it established the procedure for granting land titles for the various circumstances contemplated in the laws. When dealing with private individuals or families, consent from territorial authorities was

necessary. In cases of concessions given to promoters who wished to colonize with groups of families, besides the consent of the authorities, it was necessary to have the approval of the federal government. Promoters had to present members of at least 12 families as settlers to be granted authorization for the founding of a new town (Article 10).

The last resolution, stemming from Article 2 of this law, was particularly important for Baja California: "The land of the territories where missions have been established cannot be colonized for the time being until it is determined whether they should be considered property of the groups of novices, converts, and Mexican settlers."

The creators of these regulations were very cautious—perhaps too cautious—as they postponed resolving the problem of the missions, which was a fundamental matter for Baja California. It should be noted that these were general regulations, applied in the territories of the Californias as well as in those of Colima and New Mexico, regions with different characteristics. Nevertheless, the regulations still left the fundamental matter of Baja California unresolved.

In summary, as a result of the law and regulations in question, judicial bases were established to give away national lands as private property since a price is never mentioned. National lands are to be understood as those not considered private property or belonging to any corporation or town, and which, therefore, could be colonized either by Mexicans or foreigners.

The legal situation of the lands occupied by the missions existing in those territories would be determined later. Nonetheless, conditions were created to overcome existing doubts about land ownership caused by the lack of regulations in Baja California. Hereafter, there were specific legal resolutions issued by the proper authorities. These resolutions increased civilian colonization and multiplied the number of private property owners in the peninsula. The missions, with their peculiar rules of mission ownership, continued a gradual process of decline; and the natives, with their seminomadic way of life, continued on their fateful road to extinction. The events of that time pointed toward civilian colonization as the means of populating the uninhabited peninsula of Baja California, replacing mission colonization which ended in 1840 when the Santo Tomás mission

ceased to function. Located in the north, Santo Tomás was the last mission center of the peninsula of Baja California.⁵ All other missions had been closed earlier.

The end of mission colonization was confirmed by the decree of 1851 by the territorial authorities of Baja California, declaring lands previously owned by the missions in the entire peninsula free for colonization. To further encourage the colonization of the frontier, it was specified that the colonization of these lands would be exempted from the payment of the usual fees. The frontier would be "the lands from El Rosario as far as the dividing line with Alta California."⁶

The New Border

The effects on the northern region of Baja California of the determination of territorial boundaries by the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo of 1848 are important. Also significant was a series of situations that demonstrated the uncertainty over land ownership in Baja California in the first half of the nineteenth century. These influenced the behavior of the surveying and colonizing companies in the second half of the nineteenth century.

From 1835, when the situation in Texas became critical, the American government started to promote the acquisition of the Californias through diplomatic channels. Several purchase offers were made but were refused categorically by the Mexican authorities. At the same time, American colonizers were settling in Alta, or upper, California and from there they tried to promote its separation from Mexico.

Due to favorable natural conditions, the interest of the Americans was centered basically on the territory of the Alta California. But to some degree, American attention also included the peninsula, both because

5. See Miguel León-Portilla, "La labor de los dominicos," in David Piñera, ed., *Panorama histórico de Baja California* (México, D.F.: Centro de Investigaciones Históricas UNAM-UABC, 1983), p. 138.

6. As established textually in Article 8 of the aforementioned decree.

it was considered an appendage of the upper region and because of its commercially and strategically advantageous geographic position. For these reasons, the destiny of the Californias was more at stake than other parts of Mexico in the international conflict that ensued. This conflict reached its most heated period when, because of the annexation of Texas, Mexico felt it had no alternative but to break relations with the United States.

As a consequence of the armed conflict, part of the peninsula was occupied by the Americans for two years, from September 1846 to September 1848.⁷ During this period, many residents of Baja California fought boldly against their enemies, performing acts of great patriotism. However, there was also collaboration with the Americans by some sectors expecting that, once the war was over Baja California would become part of the United States.

When hostilities ceased, Commodore Stockton made a public declaration in the peninsula affirming that whatever the result of the war, the government of Washington, D.C., intended to keep both Californias. This declaration offended the patriotic sentiments of some Baja Californians but raised hopes for others of obtaining American citizenship. The declaration also stated that titles of uninhabited lands granted by Mexican authorities would be ratified and the right of ownership of those with no title would be honored.⁸

After the cease fire was proclaimed in Tacubaya in August 1847 and almost immediately broken, Mexico, unable to repel the aggression, had to agree to end the struggle by signing the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo on February 2, 1848. During the peace negotiations that followed, the old American ambitions concerning Baja California reappeared. In the initial proposal presented in August 1847, the Americans demanded cession of Baja California together with Texas, New Mexico, and Alta California.

7. Ramón Alcaraz et al., *Apuntes para la historia de la guerra entre México y Estados Unidos. 1848*, facsimile edition (México, D.F.: Editorial Siglo XXI, 1977), p. 203.

8. Ulises Urbano Lassépas, *Historia de la colonización de la Baja California y Decreto de 10 de marzo de 1857* (México, D.F.: Imprenta de Vicente García Torres, 1859), p. 94.

Eventually, after Mexico's refusal, the United States gave up their claims on the peninsula, which remained Mexican. This outcome was a surprise to the occupation force in the peninsula, known as the New York Volunteer Battalion. Above all, it frightened the group of Baja Californians who had sided with the Americans and now saw that the patriots intended to punish them. The Americans came to their rescue and when they left La Paz, they took with them to Alta California more than 300 Baja California collaborators.⁹

The International Treaty of 1848

The new boundary between the two countries was established in Article V of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. The description started at the Gulf of Mexico and from the point where the Gila and Colorado rivers met: the boundary towards the west

...the dividing line will follow the boundary that separates Alta California from Baja California as far as the Pacific Sea... and to prevent any difficulties when drawing on land the boundary that separates Alta and Baja California, it is agreed that the said boundary [will run] from the Gila River to the point on the coast of the Pacific Sea one sea league distance to the south of the southernmost point of the port of San Diego according to the way it is drawn in the survey of 1782 by the second pilot of the Spanish armada D. Juan Pantoja...¹⁰

It is pertinent to mention that the dividing line was drawn a little bit north of the Rosarito stream, which was previously considered as the boundary of the Californias.¹¹ This stream was located four leagues

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9. Jorge Flores D., *Documentos para la historia de Baja California*, vol. 2 of *Papeles históricos mexicanos* (México, D.F.: Talleres Gráficos de la Nación, 1940), p. 95.
 10. Antonio de la Peña y Reyes, ed., *Algunos documentos sobre el Tratado de Guadalupe y la situación de México durante la invasión americana* (México, D.F.: Departamento de Relaciones Exteriores, 1930), p. 118.
 11. Francisco Castillo Negrete, "Geografía y estadística de la Baja California, 1853," in *Boletín de la Sociedad Mexicana de Geografía y Estadística*, first era, vol. VII (México, D.F., 1889), pp. 338–59.

from the landmark placed there in 1773 by Palóu to mark the boundaries between the areas corresponding to the Franciscans and Dominicans who founded the Descanso Mission in this place.

One of the changes resulting from the new territorial demarcation took place in the Valley of Tijuana. It was transformed from a peaceful place with some farming and ranching, first to a "valley of plunder" and later to a frontier town that had a customhouse and supplied towns further south. The first recorded information for these places is found in the diaries of the Franciscan friars Junípero Serra and Juan Crespí who camped there in 1769 when heading to San Diego from San Fernando.

Among the *rancherías* (sites with small Indian populations) that were property of San Diego de Alcalá Mission was one belonging to "Tía Juana." The baptism of a native in the "Ranchería la Tía Juana"¹² was recorded in 1809 in the *libros de bautismos* (baptismal record books). Twenty years later, Santiago Argüello received a title of ownership from governor José María Echeandía covering six *sitios de ganado mayor* (parcel of land for livestock raising for cattle, horses, and mules) located in this place. Subsequently, in 1846, governor Pío Pico ratified Argüello's rights with a new title. At that time, Argüello owned a cattle ranch there that he only visited occasionally because he lived in Los Angeles and San Diego where he managed various administrative offices.

The new territorial demarcations of 1848 broke the ranch's ecclesiastic and economic links with San Diego. As well, it gave the place a new role by transforming it into a border town. Because of its location, "Tía Juana" was a favorable passage between both Californias, and soon every kind of gold digger, murderer, and tramp started to gather there. All this changed after the place was designated as custom's office because of its considerable traffic.¹³

12. Deane T. Conklin, "Tijuana: Génesis y primeras noticias," in *Proceedings of the Fifth Annual Symposium about Baja California, from the Cultural Association of Both Californias* (Tijuana, Baja California, 1967), p. 77.

13. Ramo Gobernación, 1874.11. It was in 1874 that the government decided to establish a custom's office there. Archivo General de la Nación.

Another consequence of the war with the United States was the demoralization of the Baja Californians who fought against the invaders but were not rewarded for their services. While the war was taking place, the Ministerio de Relaciones Interiores y Exteriores (Ministry of Interior and Exterior Relations) forwarded a circular to Baja California requesting an exact report of the war damages suffered by public and private properties so that, at the right time, the corresponding legal claims could be filed. *Jefe Político* (Political Chief) Nicolás Lastra, distributed this circular to the various municipalities of the territory emphasizing that everything should be done as fast as possible so that the Ministry could proceed with the corresponding indemnifications. This note, written at the initiative of the *Jefe Político*, created expectations. The affected Baja Californians thought they would shortly be compensated by the government for the damages suffered by their properties.

When, of course, the compensation failed to arrive, Lastra addressed the Ministry explaining that it was urgent that the inhabitants of the territory be compensated, "because the American government did so for the Mexican traitors who left with them" and because "the honor of the supreme government" was put on the line by the circular.¹⁴ The government of the republic was going through difficult times—approaching indigence—and was unable to respond to that petition. Its reply was limited to expressing gratitude for the services rendered by the patriots and a promise of a reward.

The Baja Californians were not pleased; they spoke badly of their government, comparing it unfavorably with the United States. The terms of the war settlement could not satisfy the plaintiffs because the critical state of the public treasury made direct compensation impossible. Instead, the government decided that damages would be discounted from the amount of their "territorial canon" (a tax similar to today's property taxes), or would be paid in property grants according to the Colonization Law of 1821. The latter was, in truth, an illusionary reward; since anyone could benefit from this law even if not affected by the war.

14. Lassépas, *Historia de la colonización*, p. 218.

Throughout the history of this region and up to the present, residents of Baja California, especially those living along the border, have been aware of the efficiency in the United States' public administration system. The United States public administration is taken into account and consciously or unconsciously compared with that of Mexico. This situation must be taken into consideration when trying to explain some of the region's historical events.

Military Colonies

The unfortunate experience of the events of 1846-1848 prompted the Mexican government to attempt to populate the northern regions of the republic and to safeguard the recently established boundaries in order to prevent new losses of territory. As a result, interest in promoting immigration was renewed and a different outlook was given to colonization policy. The Dirección de Colonización e Industria (Department of Colonization and Industry) was created while the war with the Americans was still going on.¹⁵ This office, with the support of José María Lafragua and Mariano Otero, who were Ministers of State, made great efforts to accomplish the above goals.

Even under disastrous national conditions, foreign immigration was still considered a way to strengthen the nation. Moreover, this immigration would be directed to the northern uninhabited regions as a way of discouraging American interests. This incongruous solution—building a barrier of foreigners against their neighbors to the north—was partly justified by the hope that those foreigners would have a different cultural tradition and would feel antipathy toward the Americans.

After the Department of Colonization came to be controlled by the Liberals, a proposition was issued in 1848 for the establishment of religious tolerance with the intention of removing any obstacles that could hinder the influx of immigrants to the country.¹⁶ But the

15. The Decree of November 27, 1846, in Francisco F. de la Maza, *Código de colonización y terrenos baldíos*, p. 346 ff.

Conservatives, doubtful of the unpredictable results of this immigration, opposed the project and prevented it from becoming law.

Another measure taken by the government in order to maintain territorial integrity was the issuance of a decree on July 19, 1848, to establish military colonies along the new border line with the United States. For this purpose, the northern border was divided into three sectors: the eastern section of Tamaulipas and Coahuila; the Chihuahua border; and the western section of Sonora and Baja California. Colonies were to be established in each of these sectors and that corresponding to the peninsula would be located in El Rosario. These colonies would be under the *Gobierno General* (General Government) in every aspect and their purpose was for the militia to form the original nucleus of future towns.¹⁷ A captain, two sergeants, three corporals, and four soldiers were assigned to the El Rosario colony.¹⁸

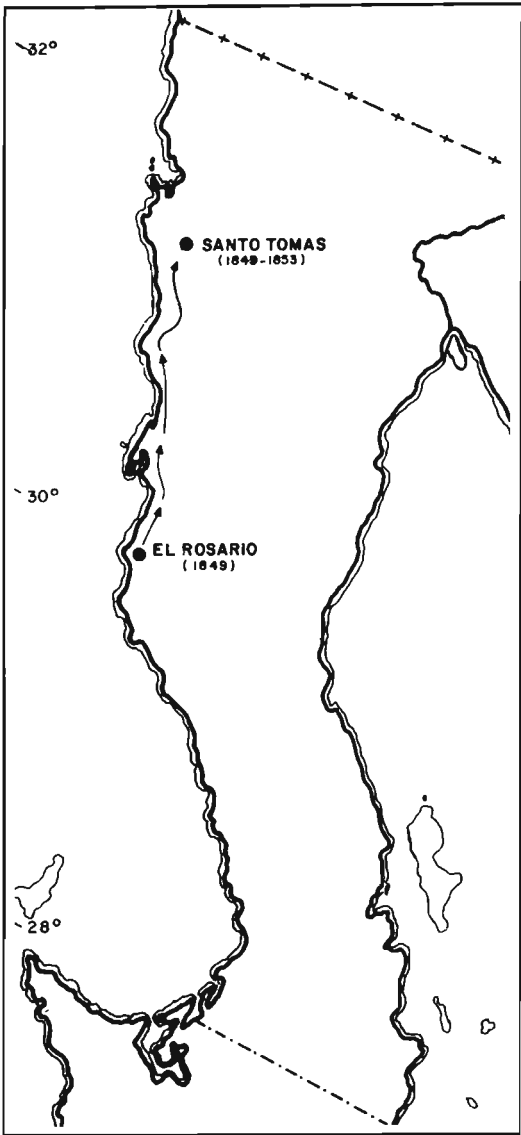
In compliance with the decree, the new Jefe Político of Baja California, Colonel Rafael Espinoza, proceeded to organize the military colony of his jurisdiction. This colony was established in March 1850 under the command of Captain Manuel Castro. Castro had excelled in the defense of the peninsula against the Americans but, as leader of the colony, committed all kinds of abuses against the few residents of the border. A few months after the colony was founded it was moved to Santo Tomás where, due to better soil conditions, it experienced some progress and even managed to have as many as 200 settlers.¹⁹ However, most of these settlers later abandoned the colony because of the constant abuse of the military leaders. In a futile attempt to correct this situation, the Jefe Político first sent Colonel Francisco Xavier

16. de la Maza, *Código de colonización y terrenos baldíos*, pp. 368–85.

17. de la Maza, *Código de colonización y terrenos baldíos*, pp. 400–401.

18. *Contribución para la historia de la Baja California. Compilación de datos ordenados por el Sr. Gral. Amado Aguirre, Gobernador del Distrito Sur de Baja California* (Baja California Sur: Taller Tipográfico del Gobierno del Distrito, 1928), p. 65.

19. Adrián Valadés, *Historia de la Baja California 1850/1880* (México, D.F.: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1974), p. 23.



La Frontera Military Colony

Castillo Negrete and later Captain Juan de Dios Angulo to intervene. Neither was able to solve the situation since Castro had taken refuge in Monterey, Alta California. A report of that time states that when Castro left, two of his accomplices stayed behind governing the border: *Alcalde* (Mayor) Tomás Bona, "English by birth and habitually drunk," and Lieutenant Manuel Chávez.²⁰

Because of the federal government's insistence that a colony should be established, Colonel Castillo Negrete was again commissioned, this time as border *Subprefecto* (Assistant Prefect). He was unable to solve anything due to the restlessness that still prevailed in that part of the country. In reference to those events, Adrián Valadés stated that, "it was evident once again that if the government attended to all matters convenient for the country, it was powerless, because of the current circumstances, to draw satisfactory conclusions from its resolutions."²¹

In another effort to populate the border, a decree was issued on August 19, 1848, that established that all Mexican citizens who, because of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, found themselves residing on American territory at the end of the war, would be transported at the expense of the Mexican government if they wished to resettle in Mexico. Furthermore, commissioners were appointed to go to the lost territories and facilitate transportation of Mexican families from New Mexico to Chihuahua; from the north of the Río Bravo to Tamaulipas, Coahuila, or Nuevo León; and from Alta California to Baja California or Sonora. This project was also unsuccessful.

To conclude the discussion of the consequences of the war with the United States on the peninsula, reference will be made to the sales made by Governor Pío Pico of lands previously owned by some missions in northern Baja California. A document of that period reports that "according to some, the governor's intention was to appropriate funds to evade the war against the Americans...according to others, his intention was to appease the Mexicans, believing that

20. *Contribución para la historia*, p. 65.

21. Valadés, *Historia de la Baja California*, p. 23.

Baja California would also be lost."²² There was other testimony that this affair was handled questionably by Pío Pico, considering that he simulated the sale of the land of the Guadalupe Mission to his Secretary, Juan Bandini.

Colonel Francisco Xavier Castillo Negrete, *Subjefe Político* (Assistant Political Chief) of the northern section, was determined to have those sales declared null. The reports he submitted to his superior about this matter are very illustrative. In one, dated May 22, 1851, he expressed himself as follows: "...the Governor of Alta California not only sold the Ex-Mission of Santo Domingo but also those of Guadalupe, El Descanso, San Miguel, Santo Tomás, Santa Catarina, San Vicente, El Rosario, and San Fernando..."²³

He adds that Pico did not have the power to sell lands that were not in his jurisdiction. Castillo Negrete asserts in another report that the sales were null for the following reasons: "First, they were made without jurisdiction; second, the main objective of these sales was not accomplished and the payments were never made, for which reason the sales were not closed; and third, the majority of those lands are not cultivated and have been abandoned."²⁴ After repeated efforts by both Colonel Castillo and Jefe Político Espinoza, the Secretaría de Estado y del Despacho de Gobernación (Secretary of State and Office of the Interior) determined in 1854 that those sales had no validity because they were included in President Santa Anna's decree of November 29, 1853, concerning the invalidation of all sales of uninhabited lands made by the governors of states and territories.²⁵

22. Lassépas, *Historia de la colonización*, p. 232.

23. Lassépas, *Historia de la colonización*, p. 224.

24. Lassépas, *Historia de la colonización*, p. 224.

25. Lassépas, *Historia de la colonización*, pp. 234–35.

Descriptions of the Peninsula in the Middle of the Nineteenth Century

Rafael Espinoza and Francisco Xavier del Castillo Negrete wrote interesting descriptions of Baja California in 1853. Published in a prestigious intellectual bulletin of the time, the *Boletín de la Sociedad Mexicana de Geografía y Estadística*, their descriptions gave a general overview of the prevalent conditions of the region. Espinoza's "Reseña estadística sobre la Antigua o Baja California" referred in a broad way to the main economic activities of the region. He considered that agriculture would never be an element for prosperity because the soil was "rough and barren" and not fit for planting. However, cattle raising, though scarce and with few benefits, was the principal element of territorial prosperity.²⁶ He also explained that part of what those elements produced was allotted for local use and the rest was sent to the mainland coast, especially to the ports of Mazatlán and Guaymas. To these ports products like "jerked beef, cowhides, cheese, soap, brown sugar cones, and tallow were shipped from both the north and the south sections. The products of the south also included its own varieties of grapes, onions, potatoes, sweet potatoes, and pitahaya paste. The north produced its own variety of grapes, figs and dates, olives and some wine of which the best is made in San Ignacio."

Aware of the fact that the peninsula's economy was not self-sufficient, ships returning from the opposite coasts brought with them "flour, corn, beans, rice, chickpeas, lentils, sugar and also linen goods, groceries, boards and beams..." Mining was poorly developed with very small quantities of metal extracted in San Antonio and Cacachilas. Only gold dust was collected in the Tule and Tescalcama streams. In the north, as well as in the south, there were precious metals, sulphur, and rock crystals that were not mined.

Pearl diving continued to have some importance in the Gulf of Cortés. On the Isla del Carmen, salt was extracted by national as well as

26. Rafael Espinoza, "Reseña estadística sobre la Antigua o Baja California," in *Boletín de la Sociedad Mexicana de Geografía y Estadística*, first era, vol. 4 (México, D.F., 1854), pp. 120-27.

foreign ships. Only foreign ships benefitted from whaling, on which no taxes were paid. There were no industries, manufacturing or mechanical, but there were a few craftsmen such as "shipwrights, joiners, blacksmiths, tailors, shoemakers, masons, tanners, and potters."²⁷

Espinoza mentioned that according to a census taken in 1850, there was a population of 7,921 inhabitants in the peninsula. He judged that by the year of his review, 1853, the population was basically the same, considering the slow rate of demographic increase. A small population was one of the reasons why he felt it necessary to promote immigration, especially of the Chinese, because they were known to be "working men and accustomed to a hotter climate than Baja California."²⁸ Espinoza gave the example of Alta California, where hundreds of these people were settling. He stated that duties and taxes generated by Baja California were not enough to cover the expenses of public administration. Therefore, in order to stop being a burden to the national treasury, population should be increased and mining encouraged.

Castillo Negrete contributed greatly with his "Geografía y estadística de la Baja California, 1853," that was a detailed description of a large part of the peninsula, from Loreto to the border.²⁹ Like Espinoza, he provided facts about agriculture, cattle raising, industry, and commerce that generally agreed with Espinoza's information.

Castillo Negrete gave information about the judicial branch of government and presented interesting itineraries that list the distances from one town to another, the places he saw, the condition of the roads (many of which had been laid out by the Jesuits), the existing ranches, and so forth. The references he made about the dimensions of each town are of great interest. He listed the number of houses in many of the settlements and, for instance, there were 37 in Santa Rosalía, 4 in Santa Gertrudis, and 8 in Santo Tomás. He also corroborated that the

27. Espinoza, "Reseña estadística," p. 124.

28. Espinoza, "Reseña estadística," p. 126.

29. Castillo Negrete, "Geografía y estadística," pp. 338-59.

missions had in fact disappeared years before. In San Borja, San Fernando, and San Vicente some small groups of Indians remained in the proximity of the missions and still kept the books, chasubles, sacred vessels, and ornaments pertaining to the missions.³⁰

Finally, Castillo Negrete described the Baja Californian personality that was starting to develop: a mestizo or creole, not an Indian, with rude manners, as if raised in a hostile environment where only basic elementary activities such as agriculture and cattle raising are carried out at a subsistence level. For this reason, being an educated man, he gave this somewhat harsh portrayal: "The inhabitants or natives of the country are generally indolent, their only ambition is to own vast lands and cattle so they won't have to work."³¹

The Adventurer William Walker

In the days when the descriptions of Espinoza and Castillo Negrete were written, some in Alta California, especially fortune hunters and speculators, were still considering the invasion of the peninsula.³² It was in this climate that the filibuster invasion was conceived in October 1853. Headed by William Walker, it worried the residents of Baja California during a period of six months. The Treaty of the Mesilla was signed in December 1853, raising rumors of the possibility that the rest of Sonora and Baja California would be acquired by the United States.³³ So Walker's invasion created promising possibilities for those who wished to speculate with lands seized from Mexico.

30. Castillo Negrete, "Geografía y estadística," pp. 344, 348, 352.

31. Castillo Negrete, "Geografía y estadística," pp. 358-59.

32. Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of the North Mexican States and Texas, 1801-1889*, vol. 16 of *Works of Hubert Howe Bancroft* (San Francisco: The History Company, 1889), p. 673.

33. Bancroft, *History of the North Mexican States and Texas*, p. 722.

The filibuster invasion was openly and shamelessly planned in San Francisco, California. Walker established a recruiting office there and raised funds to buy guns, with the agreement that those who supported the project would have “the incentive of grabbing easy profits and the promise of new and rich lands.”³⁴ Forty-six filibusters set sail and on November 3, 1853, seized La Paz, capital of the territory, in a surprise attack. In the government palace, Walker proclaimed the Republic of Sonora and Baja California, lowering the national Mexican flag and hoisting a new one. Furthermore, he had himself elected president. But knowing he would not be able to repel Mexican forces arriving from the mainland he decided to sail to the north and settle in Ensenada. During some months he stayed in the border region, seizing a good number of cattle, but even with reinforcements from San Francisco he was finally expelled from Baja California by Antonio Meléndres, a brave frontiersman who commanded a group of volunteers that included some local Indians. According to the American historian Bancroft, once the filibusters had returned to the other side of the border, they were treated with leniency by the government of the United States.³⁵

34. Adrián Valadés, *Historia de la Baja California*, p. 39.

35. Bancroft, *History of the North Mexican States and Texas*, p. 724.

Chapter Two

Uncertainty about Land Ownership

The following paragraphs refer to events that illustrate the uncertainty about land and property ownership in Baja California during the period of this study. On March 10, 1857, Ignacio Comonfort, President of Mexico, declared null all ownership titles of Baja California's lands issued from 1821 to that day. Land titles were of no value until ratified by his government.¹

As could be expected, Baja Californians were very alarmed to see their patrimony seriously threatened. Moreover, in order to validate their titles, the established payment to the supreme government was 300 *pesos* for each *sitio de ganado mayor*.² In order to have an idea of how high this fee was, better quality lands than those of Baja California that were regulated by the government in Sonora, Chihuahua, and Coahuila paid fees of 50, 30, and even 7 pesos per *sitio de ganado mayor*.³

Manuel Amao, at that time the governor of Baja California in La Paz, wrote about the effects caused by Comonfort's decree:

...the natural apprehension brought about by the decree, has degenerated into a strange determination to leave the country and go abroad. According to official news sent to this government, the movement began at Todos los Santos municipality and up to this day,

1. Lassépas, *Historia de la colonización*, pp. 248–49.

2. Lassépas, *Historia de la colonización*, p. 26.

3. Lassépas, *Historia de la colonización*, p. 26.

more than thirty-five persons of all ages and sexes have sailed to the Sandwich Islands [Hawaii] after selling-off their small possessions, traveling aboard American whaling ships that hunt every year in Magdalena Bay.

Encouraged by the same ideas, other working-class families are ready to follow the others who have opened this new road to misfortune for the territory. It is to be expected, if this depopulation continues, that the piratical enterprises will be able to seize the country with greater ease. It is surprising that Mr. Comonfort's administration has ignored the principles of colonization, giving this land another element of misery. If the *Californios*, because of the poverty that is essentially based on the aridity of the territory, are practically unable to buy from the government the direct possession of the miserable lands they own (here I speak of the bulk of the colonists), then why have they been appraised at so high a price?⁴

The local authorities, fearing a greater depopulation of the peninsula, recommended calmness; and the affected took defensive measures.⁵ There had been similar decrees before that of Comonfort's. For example, President Santa Anna on November 25, 1853, and on July 7, 1854, had issued similar title revisions that were countrywide in scope.⁶

While Comonfort's decree is not the only one of its kind, it is that for which most information is available, thanks to Ulises Urbano Lassépas' book *Historia de la colonización de la Baja California y decreto de 10 de marzo de 1857*, published in 1859.⁷ Little is known about Lassépas.

4. "Manuel Amao, Gobernador de Baja California, al Comandante General de los Estados del Occidente, 13 de marzo de 1853," Caja 66, Archivo Histórico Pablo L. Martínez, La Paz, Baja California Sur, (hereafter, AHPLM).

5. Valadés, *Historia de la Baja California*, p. 68.

6. Lassépas, *Historia de la colonización*, pp. 234, 237, 239.

7. The work was published by the highly reputed printer and journalist, Vicente García Torres, widely known in Mexico. Founder of *El Monitor Republicano* in 1884, one of the most important newspapers of the nineteenth century. He fought against the Americans in 1847 at Padierna, Churubusco, and Molino del

From his last name and some other references it can be assumed that he was a Frenchman. According to information in one of his book's transcripts, it is known that Lassépas was an officer of Mexico's Ministerio de Fomento, Colonización, Industria y Comercio (Ministry of Development, Colonization, Industry, and Trade),⁸ in La Paz, Baja California, in 1856, a year before the infamous decree. Thereafter, he became acquainted with the problem of land title revision and as an officer made great efforts to find a just and realistic solution. The government's demand for money to validate ownership titles was based on two motives. First was the need to raise funds to relieve the critical situation of the public treasury. Second, there was the effect of exaggerated news stating that in faraway Baja California the residents supposedly received large sums of money from land sales to American citizens.

Lassépas, knowing that in general terms this was not the case, proposed in 1856 that those who truly needed to validate titles should pay between 16 and 50 pesos to the government.⁹ But the government, ignoring these reasonable suggestions based on the quality of the land, set the exaggerated sum of 300 pesos for each sitio de ganado mayor.

Nine months after Comonfort's designation as president, on March 10, 1857, a decree of revision was issued. Soon after, on April 23, 1857, the Ministerio de Fomento sent an official letter to Lassépas informing him that because of the government's lack of funds the president of the republic had ordered that the duties of that ministry's officer should be performed by the Jefe Político of Baja California's territory.¹⁰

Once Lassépas was out of work, the owners affected by the decree, taking his knowledge of land ownership into consideration, named

Rey.

8. Lassépas, *Historia de la colonización*, p. 247.

9. Lassépas, *Historia de la colonización*, pp. 114–15.

10. Manuel Orozco, por ocupación del Ministerio de Fomento, a Ulises Urbano Lassépas, Caja 66, AHPLM.

him as their representative before the government.¹¹ He wrote a long petition in which he supported the land owners by exposing the injustice of sanctioning all land owners in the peninsula who were honestly dedicated to cattle raising and agriculture because of a few isolated cases of people along the border who had sold their land to foreigners.¹² Together with the petition, he sent for review more than two hundred ownership titles that included 223 sitios de ganado mayor that had been granted between 1821 and 1856.¹³ Lassépas also stated that in order for justice to be served, and to remedy the critical economic situation of the peninsula, ownership titles should be validated without charge.

The petition, an excellent judicial-historical document, was printed. It was a common practice of the times to attempt to influence public opinion by publishing famous lawsuits or petitions concerning similar cases. In this way the document of Lassépas, one of the most earnest and detailed studies of land ownership in Baja California, entered the public domain.

In order to reinforce what he had stated in the petition, Lassépas traveled to Veracruz to explain his arguments personally to the cabinet members of President Benito Juárez, who had replaced Ignacio Comonfort.¹⁴ Juárez's government was installed in Veracruz because at that point of the War of the Reform the Conservatives held Mexico City.

The results of Lassépas' trip were favorable. President Juárez determined that the ownership titles of the Baja Californians would be

11. Governor Amapo to Comandante General de los Estados de Occidente, March 13, 1858, Caja 66, AHPLM.

12. Lassépas, *Historia de la colonización*, p. 169.

13. Lassépas, *Historia de la colonización*, pp. 119–29.

14. President Juárez established his government in Veracruz supported by Manuel Gutiérrez Zamora, governor of that state. See José María Vigil, *México a través de los siglos*, 23rd ed. rev., 4th reprint (México, D.F: Editorial Cumbre, 1989), 9:311 ff.

validated free of charge.¹⁶ Thus ended the problem that, as stated before, was characteristic of the uncertainty about land ownership that prevailed in Baja California at that time. Another positive result of this situation was the magnificent written work of Lassépas.

Lassépas' work starts by presenting the historical development of colonization in the Baja California peninsula including the mission and pre-mission periods as well as the reforms of the Spanish *Visitador* (Inspector) José de Gálvez who had been appointed by the Spanish royal crown for an inspection of New Spain and to propose solutions to the problems it was facing. As for independent Mexico, he describes the colonization policies of the federalist and centralist administrations. He also lists titles issued for vacant lands, some of them granted during the colonial period and others between Independence in 1821, and 1858, when the book was written. The final section of the work includes transcriptions of a series of laws and decrees related to Baja California's colonization. This book is a key source for the history of Baja California.¹⁷

The Borderland in the 1860s

For an examination of the situation of the northern part of Baja California at the beginning of the second half of the nineteenth century, an important but little known document will be used. This is *La relación estadística de los pueblos, ex-misiones y ranchos del Partido Norte de la Frontera de la Baja California*, (Statistical Report of Towns, Ex-Missions, and Ranches of the Northern Border Section of Baja California), dated May 1, 1861, by José Matías Moreno, Subprefecto of that region.¹⁸

16. Gerónimo Amador, Jefe Político of Baja California's territories to Lassépas, May 29, 1860, Caja 66, AHPLM.

17. Because of its importance, the Universidad Autónoma de Baja California and the Secretaría de Educación Pública (Ministry of Education) of Mexico's government will soon publish a second edition of this book in the series *Baja California: Nuestra historia*. (Baja California: Our History).

18. This was published as José Matías Moreno, *Descripción del Partido Norte de la*

This report provides information about the region between the ex-mission of San Fernando and the international border line. Particularly, it discusses the characteristics of land and property, the arable land, pasture, woodlands, and water as well as the authorities that granted the titles and the landowners or occupants. The description begins at the Pacific coast with the ex-mission and town of El Rosario, inhabited by 138 persons who owned 130 head of cattle. Next, it describes San Quintín with its two large salt pans, and a number of cattle ranches like San Simon, La Calentura, San Telmo, and others where cattle, horses, or sheep and goats were raised.

The report also describes some places where the native Indians living there gave a certain air of the far west. San Pedro Mártir was the dwelling place of some seventy Giligüis, with an Indian named Luciano as their captain. The "savage" Huerteños roamed the Valle de la Trinidad under the command of their captain, Cabelludo. The Neji, Las Juntas, and Jacumé were groups that included around three hundred individuals and the margins of the Colorado River were home to approximately 3,000 Yumas. The Yumas raised vegetables and worked for the Americans who had a fort and a warehouse there to store the merchandise they transported along the river.

Moreno's report provides information about a considerable number of important old concessions, some dating from 1825, like those of the ranches of San Ramón, La Grulla, and Tecate granted by Echeandía. Some recent land grants included La Calentura, authorized by Monterde, and those of Santa Clara and San Antonio de Murillo signed by Castillo Negrete. It also mentions places that in time have become well known such as Ensenada de Todos Santos, granted in 1804 by Joaquín de Arrillaga, governor of both Californias, to *Alférez* (Second Lieutenant) José Manuel Ruiz for an area of two sitios de ganado mayor (3,494 hectares). Of that area, Matías Moreno notes that "it has water and grassland for cattle raising and certain conditions for agriculture..." and that it covers the bay area of Todos Santos which "has a length of ten leagues by eight of latitude, three river mouths

Baja California, 1861; introduction and notes by David Piñera and Jorge Martínez Zepeda (Mexicali: Universidad Autónoma de Baja California, 1984). This was text taken from the correspondence minutes of northern Baja California's *Subprefectura*.

which are El Sauzal de Camacho, La Punta Banda and La Ensenada." All of these made up an uninhabited area on the northern part of the bay in the El Sauzal region with only some marked lots that were sold to Americans. He noted that "stone fences have been raised and water wells have been dug on two of those lots, and there is a wooden house on one of them..."¹⁹ Moreno also mentions the Rancho de Tecate, granted to the Spaniard José Bandini, "consisting of two beautiful ravines with water, grass, wood, and farming land which covers an area of four leagues..." and the "Rancho de la Tía Juana," or "Ti-Juan" located at the border and owned by Don Santiago Argüello, a naturalized American.

When describing the lands between the Sierra de Santa Catarina and the Colorado River, Moreno foretold what indeed later occurred. He pointed out that these lands would be appropriate for farming cotton and other crops because of the warm climate and because "the river bursts its banks every year, like the Nile...it fertilizes the lands on both sides." When "farmed by hard working people..." Moreno declared, these lands "would produce a great harvest that could be exported to all the ports of Baja California and the south of Mexico..."

Finally, Moreno mentions the islands, particularly those of Cedros and Guadalupe, whose resources were being exploited without limit by foreigners.²⁰ As can be seen, the characteristics of the region described by Moreno, from parallel 30° to the border, were better for human occupation than those of the regions farther south described by Espinoza and Castillo Negrete in their reports. The reason was that Moreno covered the Californian biotic province, which had the best natural resources of the entire peninsula.

This report has an appendix titled: "Títulos de tierras de que hay memoria, concedidos por el Coronel Don José Castro, con el carácter de Jefe Superior Político de la Frontera de la Baja California, y que la mayor parte de estas concesiones se hallan vendidas a manos extranjeras" (Land titles for which there is record, granted by Colonel

19. de la Maza, *Código de la colonización*, p. 94.

20. de la Maza, *Código de la colonización*, p. 98.

José Castro as the Supreme Political Chief of Baja California's border region, the majority of which have been sold to foreigners).²¹ Castro held this position from 1856 to 1859, a period in which he speculated with land and led a dissolute life surrounded by low-class people from Alta California as well as from the peninsula and was murdered by those same people in 1859.²²

The grants given were of very large areas. Many were 11 sitios de ganado mayor each, like those granted to the "Baron of the Swedish-Norwegian nobility, Juan Julio Morner"²³ in the San Fernando ex-mission and in Jacumé. There were also those of the ex-mission of Santa Gertrudis and in the lands of El Sauzal de Camacho given to an Austrian-Italian named A. Milatowich, and the grant to Feliciano Ruiz de Esparza on the island of Guadalupe. Other minor grants ranged in size from one to eight sitios de ganado mayor. Moreno concludes his report with a listing of "Concesiones de tierras hechas en la frontera por el dictador Feliciano Ruiz de Esparza"²⁴ (Border land grants made by dictator Feliciano Ruiz de Esparza), the majority of them along the Colorado River.

At Castro's death, his secretary Esparza, appointed himself Subjefe Político by means of a fraudulent election.²⁵ Moreno explains that a great part of the grants made either by Castro or his successor were to "foreigners and Mexicans living abroad who had no intention of populating the border and who had received the titles to sell them at very low prices in the San Francisco plaza in Alta California. Both sellers and buyers, dreamed of selling all of Baja California to the United States."²⁶ As can be seen, this long-suffering frontier land was

21. de la Maza, *Código de la colonización*, pp. 108–11.

22. Valadés, *Historia de la Baja California*, p. 99.

23. Moreno, *Descripción del Partido Norte*, p. 109.

24. Moreno, *Descripción del Partido Norte*, p. 112.

25. Moreno rebelled against Esparza and for months there was a sort of civil war in the border, until Esparza was overthrown with the help of Sinaloa's military forces requested by Jefe Político Teodoro Riveroll. Valadés, *Historia de la Baja California*, p. 99.

victim of the excesses of the commissioners appointed by the government, the majority of whom were military men.

Overview of the Peninsula

Moreno's report, complemented by the others discussed, provides an overview of land ownership in the peninsula at the beginning of the 1860s. The Baja California territory had two sections, the south and the north, divided approximately on the 30th parallel. The southern territory had six municipalities: La Paz, San José del Cabo, San Antonio, Todos Santos, Comondú, and Mulegé. The north had only one: Santo Tomás, also known as Frontera. The total population of the peninsula was around 12,500 and the majority lived in the south. La Paz, the territorial capital, had 1,057 people and San José del Cabo had 1,091. The rest of the southern settlements were small, with a population ranging between 300 and 500 inhabitants, such as Todos Santos, Loreto, Comondú, Mulegé, and San Antonio, that were heads of their own municipalities.²⁷

The rest of the Baja Californians lived in ranches spread throughout its vast territory. Some of these ranches, also known as *caseríos* (small groups of houses), due to their proximity to each other, were named congregations and accounted for approximately one hundred *vecinos* (residents) each. Such was the case of Tescalama, El Triunfo, Cacachilas, and Santa Gertrudis.²⁸ It is worth noting that a high percentage of the inhabitants was concentrated in and south of La Paz. Approximately 60 percent of the total population (7,366 people) lived in this small area (equivalent to approximately one-tenth of the territory). Another 20 percent was settled between just north of La Paz and Santa Gertrudis (parallel 28°), and the last 20 percent between this point and the international border.

26. Moreno, *Descripción del Partido Norte*, pp. 112–13.

27. Lassépas, *Historia de la colonización*, p. 47.

28. Lassépas, *Historia de la colonización*, p. 47.

In reference to the Frontera municipality, which began at parallel 30°, it should be noted that in 1861 it consisted of only 184 *criollos*²⁹ and *mestizos*,³⁰ including men, women and children. The rest, 3,697, were native Indians, mainly Yumas from the Colorado River area.³¹ Frontera was largely a land of natives. Some of these, known as the “huerteños” continued “roaming in a savage state living on roots, wild seeds, and hunting” (as explained by Moreno in his *Descripción del Partido Norte*). There were others, such as those from the ex-missions of Guadalupe and Santa Catarina, that were Christian and “useful for ordinary field labor.”³² The whites, *criollos*, and *mestizos* lived in small ranches established in territories that had belonged to the missions of Santo Tomás, Santo Domingo, San Vicente, El Rosario, and San Miguel, as well as in diverse isolated spots, such as La Calentura, San Ramón, La Grulla, Tijuana, or Tecate. But—and this must be clearly stated—the population of none of the settlements reached 40 inhabitants. The most populated settlement was El Rosario, and it only had 37 inhabitants. This is to say, there was not a place that could be called a town, including Santo Tomás which was considered the head of the municipality. For example, Moreno’s *Descripción* states that Santo Tomás was abandoned by 1861 because its people emigrated to Alta California, and that El Rosario had an unstable population.³³

In the southernmost area of the peninsula, from La Paz south, there was a concentration of titles for *sitios de ganado mayor* due to the fact that it was in this area that more than 60 percent of the land titles of the peninsula had been granted. Regarding this matter, Lassépas estimated that from the colonial era through 1858 (when he wrote his report) property titles for a total of 514.5 *sitios de ganado mayor* were granted in Baja California. Some 311 of these were located in the southern area, which covers the municipalities of La Paz, Todos

29. A person of primarily European descent born in the New World.

30. Persons of mixed race.

31. Moreno, *Descripción del Partido Norte*, p. 118.

32. Moreno, *Descripción del Partido Norte*, pp. 97 and 87, respectively.

33. Moreno, *Descripción del Partido Norte*, p. 72.

Santos, San Antonio, and San José del Cabo. Some 109 titles were in the San José del Cabo region. The rest of the *sitios de ganado mayor* titles were granted as follows: 80 in Comondú; 38 in Mulegé; and 85 in Santo Tomás.³⁴ It is worth mentioning that the 514.5 titled *sitios de ganado mayor* represented approximately one-ninth of the peninsula's total area (142,578 km²). The remaining area was national territory, in other words, they were part of the nation's preeminent domain.

When reviewing archival information and taking into consideration Lassépas' research,³⁵ it is apparent that the majority of the titles granted covered only one *sitio de ganado mayor*, or 1,747 hectares. Only a few covered two or more *sitios*. Tentatively, then, there were between 400 and 450 proprietors of *sitios* on the peninsula. Cattle raising was their main economic activity, followed by horse, mule, and sheep raising, in that order.

As for the actual distribution of cattle ranching, most were found in the southernmost area, in which, for example, 80 percent of the livestock was concentrated, or 68,514 out of the total of 88,015 animals. The rest were distributed in part in the municipalities of Comondú, Mulegé, and Santo Tomás.³⁶

The agricultural areas were not very large because of the scarcity of water. Lassépas estimated that by the time of his report, titles had been granted in the peninsula for 386 agricultural plots.³⁷ In today's measurements, this would be the equivalent of 600 hectares.³⁸ The

34. Lassépas, *Historia de la colonización*, p. 153.

35. Lassépas, *Historia de la colonización*, pp. 119–29; 130–33; 135–38; 139–43; 144–53, 154–58.

36. Lassépas, *Historia de la colonización*, p. 181.

37. Lassépas, *Historia de la colonización*, p. 154.

38. Agricultural fields had 20,000 square varas; Juan A. Ortega y Medina assigned 836 meters to a lineal vara. See preliminary study, Alejandro de Humbolt, *Ensayo político sobre el reino de la Nueva España*, preliminary study and notes by Juan A. Ortega y Medina (México, D.F.: Editorial Porrúa, 1966), p. cxliv.

usual plot size, the so called *huertas* (orchards), was between one and three hectares, although there were smaller ones, and even some that reached approximately ten hectares. Most of these *huertas* were located adjacent to the settlements, while others were part of the ranches.³⁹ The most common crops on the peninsula were corn, beans, and sugarcane. In Comondú and Mulegé, the crops harvested also included grapes, figs, dates, and olives.⁴⁰ Grapevines and fruit trees were predominant in Frontera.⁴¹ It is logical to assume that since the farming areas were small, so were the harvests. In present day measurements, the agricultural production included the following: San José del Cabo, 62 tons of corn and 16 tons of beans; Comondú, 22 tons of raisins and 48 tons of figs; and Mulegé, 36 tons of dates. Of course, there were other regions where these products were harvested, but in very small quantities. For example, three tons of beans were produced in Todos Santos and one-half ton was produced in La Paz.⁴² Other products of agriculture included wine, for which Comondú and Mulegé were famous, and *panocha* (cakes of crude brown sugar), that was an important product of San José del Cabo and La Paz.

By the beginning of the 1860s, none of the settlements in Baja California had established its legal city limits (*fundo legal*). Therefore, it is very likely that the majority of the lots on which the houses were to be built were only possessions and not occupied with constructed dwellings. The irregularity of this situation obstructed the progress of the settlements and there are records of the efforts made to overcome it. Outstanding among those is the decree of the *Jefe Político del Territorio*

39. Lassépas, *Historia de la colonización*, p. 154.

40. Lessépas, *Historia de la colonización*, p. 181.

41. In *Descripción del Partido Norte*, Moreno mentions that they had some of these crops in Santo Domingo, p. 74; Rancho de San Rafael, p. 77; Rancho Guadalupe de los Ocios, p. 81; La Grulla congregation, p. 83; Rancho Agua Caliente, p. 85; Rancho de San Isidro, p. 91; Rancho de Santo Domingo, p. 92; and ex-mission of Guadalupe, p. 92.

42. Lassépas, *Historia de la colonización*, p. 181. Obviously the author employs, accordingly, the usual units of that time: *fanegas* (a grain measure of about 1.60 bu.), *arrobos* (a variable liquid measure of 25 lb.), and so forth, but to make it easy for the reader the approximate figures have been given in today's units.

(Political Chief of the Territory), Manuel Amao, dated February 6, 1858. This decree gave the status of towns to the following settlements: San José del Cabo, Santiago Miraflores, San Antonio, San Bartolo, El Rosario, Comondú, Loreto, San Xavier, La Purísima, Mulegé, San Ignacio, and Santo Tomás.⁴³ La Paz remained as capital of the territory. In the same way, this decree required the survey of rural properties and their corresponding *ejidos* (common lands).

There are no specific records to indicate whether or not the above operations were carried out. However, there are references that in La Paz on October 2, 1861, a meeting was held to determine the capital's legal city and common land limits, although this was not recognized by the federal government. Consequently, the legal situation of the peninsula's settlements remained confused for some time.⁴⁴ Generally, when public authority established a settlement's legal city limits, the municipal government acquired the direct control over the land included in those limits. This control was next handed over to individual owners who could then legalize their properties and start paying the corresponding property taxes, at that time known as the territorial canon. Likewise, the rural common land was used equally by all neighbors to hold their cattle or thresh their grain. Baja Californians were resentful in the delays in establishing the lands for the use of each settlement.

Uninhabited Lands as a Means of Incrementing Public Funds

During the period under discussion, the Mexican government had not worked out a solution for agricultural problems. However, it

43. Lassépas, *Historia de la colonización*, p. 186.

44. It was not until October 13, 1869, that the general government determined the legal city limits and rural common lands for all the settlements in the Baja California territory. To this effect it was established that, from the center of each settlement and to each of the cardinal points, 502.8 meters would be measured to determine the legal city limits and 2,095 meters to determine rural common lands. See Francisco de la Maza, *Código de colonización*, pp. 804–5.

continued encouraging foreign immigration and colonizing uninhabited lands, especially those on the northern part of the country.⁴⁵ This position—part of the general guidelines of the colonizing policies in effect since 1824—was given a peculiar perspective by the difficult conditions surrounding the Juárez regime at the beginning of the French intervention in 1862 and when the French army occupied Mexico City in June 1863.

The republican government constantly relocated around the country, and with the objective of raising funds to drive back the invading forces, it resorted to creating a law on the occupation and alienation of vacant lands. This was enacted in San Luis Potosí on July 20, 1863.⁴⁶ It established that all the territories in the republic that had not been destined for public use or granted by an authority to an individual or corporation were considered uninhabited land. It gave the right to all the residents of the country to claim up to 2,500 hectares of uninhabited lands, with the exception of those born in the countries bordering the republic, who under no circumstances could buy territory in the adjacent states.

The price of the uninhabited land for each of the entities was established in a tariff that was published separately. This tariff deliberately neglected to distinguish between lands of different quality. The prices were so high that it was assumed that only the best land would be claimed. Two-thirds of the price paid for the land was in cash and the rest in bonds on the public debt, national or foreign; the cash would be divided between the federal government and the corresponding state. The occupants and users of the uninhabited lands were given certain preferences in the claims as well as discounts on the purchasing price. Likewise, the judicial procedure that was to be followed to claim, survey, and award the territories was determined; this required the Ministerio de Fomento's approval.

A number of problems were found with this law. Among them was that of not having the necessary protection to private property and that

45. Francisco R. Calderón, *Historia moderna de México, la república restaurada, la vida económica* (México, D.F.: Editorial Hermes, 1957), p. 61.

46. de la Maza, *Código de la colonización*, pp. 738–40.

of compromising the sovereignty of the states by granting the federal government more than half the profits on the sale of the land.⁴⁷ This was due to the creation of the law during the government's constant relocation, when there was inadequate time to consider the topic of colonization and there was enormous pressure to generate revenues to support the war against the French.

The Leese Concession was derived from the *Ley de Baldíos* or Vacant Land Law. This concessionaire consisted of 15 Americans, one of whom was Jacob Leese. On March 30, 1864, the Juárez government, which was located at that time in Saltillo, Coahuila, granted Leese and his associates the right to use the land under the rules and regulations derived from the *Ley de Baldíos*. This act by President Juárez became the object of a strong political controversy. At the time, it was severely criticized by sectors of the opposition, and in later years, it was attacked by writers such as Francisco Bulnes and Alejandro Villaseñor y Villaseñor.

The concession gave Leese and his associates the authority to colonize the uninhabited land of Baja California that stretched from the 31^o north latitude, south to 24^o and 20 minutes. This area included approximately two-thirds of the peninsula of Baja California. The concessionaires were empowered to utilize productively the lands to their full extent for agriculture, cattle ranching, fisheries, mining, and so forth. They also had the obligation to introduce over a five year period 200 families into the area to form colonies, reserving one-fourth of the land for Mexican colonists. They were required to respect and honor the rights of possession of the existing colonies and landholders. In exchange for these concessions, the government was to receive 100,000 pesos payable in three installments.⁴⁸

Everyone thought the concessionaires planned to comply with the stipulations of the agreement. They did send an exploratory expedition that established itself in a small town which they then

47. Calderón, *Historia moderna de México*, p. 63.

48. See *Contribución para la historia de la Baja California*, p. 73–4; also transcribed completely in Fernando Iglesias Calderón's *La Concesión Leese* (México, D.F., 1924).

founded and named Cortés. A great deal of publicity was created, trying to encourage the Mexican residents of Alta California to come and establish themselves on the peninsula. The concessionaires advertised in the newspaper *The Lower Californian*, in which the publicity and promotional advertisements were distinctly worthy of notice. The advertisements stressed the mildness of the climate,⁴⁹ that the soil was black humus, that the pastures reached the shoulder of a horse, and that it was possible to raise even two crops a year without a need for irrigation. Although the publicity made an impact, in reality it only produced a few Mexicans, South Americans, Germans, and Chinese as immigrants. They established themselves on one site which they named Ojo de Liebre, located a bit south of the Bay of Sebastián Vizcaíno, approximately in the middle of the peninsula. With grand expectations, they dedicated themselves to agriculture and cattle breeding. They soon realized that to obtain a meager product from that arid and inhospitable environment, they would have to work very hard. Many changed their occupations and ended up as salaried workers of the South American company of Cobos and Monroy, a firm that exploited on a grand scale the *orchilla* (a plant that produced a violet dye). This company rented land from Leese and his associates in order to collect this dye plant which was then in great demand. The profits, obviously, were for the company and the colonists only received modest salaries. This greatly disturbed the colonists and failed to satisfy expectations formed through the publications that invited them to come to this supposedly promising land.

The colonists began to depart and new colonists no longer arrived. Because of these circumstances, Leese and associates could not comply with their agreement to bring 200 families to form colonies as stipulated in the contract. Added to this, the residents of the peninsula never viewed the concession as a good idea; the farmers and ranchers who had never received the rightful titles to their lands saw Leese and his associates as a dangerous menace. These sentiments were expressed in the newspaper *La Baja California*, published in La Paz, and in Mexico City many criticisms were also heard. In Congress, Senator Ezequiel Montes in expressing his displeasure with the government said: "it sold Baja California for a plate of lentils."⁵⁰ After these

49. Calderón, *Historia moderna de México*, pp. 71"2.

occurrences, on July 29, 1871, Juárez declared the Leese Concession rescinded for lack of compliance with the contract. At this time, the position of the Juárez government was much improved since the Empire of Maximilian had been defeated and the republic had been restored. Furthermore, by 1867 the government had sufficient political control to win a reelection.

After declaring the Leese contract rescinded, the concessionaires were to receive as compensation ownership of 500 sitios de ganado mayor. However, this did not satisfy the concessionaires. Finally, a solution was arrived at and the concessionaires obtained a lease of all the uninhabited lands of the peninsula for six years to be used for orchilla production.

Juárez's critics had already indicated that the concession produced little gain compared to the risk of losing Baja California, and that Juárez, because of his desire to remain in office as president of the republic, had put the integrity of the territory in great danger. His defenders refuted many of these charges. Fernando Iglesias Calderón, in *Las supuestas traiciones de Juárez* (The Assumed Disloyalties of Juárez), stated that it was inconceivable that the man who fought so hard against the three European nations in defense of his country, could be accused of authorizing a contract intending to give away a part of it.⁵¹ Another interesting point of view is that of Henry Panian.⁵² He pointed out that the Leese Concession should not be considered by itself, but as one more act within the general political immigration plans of the Juárez regime which also planned to bring in workers and foreign capital to develop the extensive uninhabited lands of Mexico. Panian also maintained that the concession should be taken as one extreme emergency measure in light of the immediate need for Juárez to find the funds to resist the French invasion of those times. Furthermore, Juárez's defenders agreed that the concessionaires were

50. Calderón, *Historia moderna de México*, p. 74.

51. First published in Mexico City by Fondo de Cultura Económica in 1907 to refute Bulnes' *El verdadero Juárez*; reprinted in 1924.

52. Henry Panian, "Juárez y la Concesión Leese de Baja California," *Report on the Californias Cultural Association's X Symposium* (México, 1972).

persons who had demonstrated kindness and understanding toward Mexico to the point that three of them, Leese, Branam, and Nenley, were married to Mexicans. Moreover, the United States favored Mexico by not recognizing Emperor Maximilian, unlike almost all the European countries. Circumstances were truly difficult for the government of the republic, and this was the reason uninhabited Baja California was put in danger of being lost by Mexico for the sake of the general interest of the nation. One part was risked to save it all.

Due to a series of contributing circumstances and the peninsula's isolation, its local authorities were never subjected to the empire of the French, but remained devoted to the republican regime. In the event of an invasion by Imperial troops, it most probably would have surrendered since there were no garrisons or economic resources to raise and maintain an army. Not having been ruled by the empire actually prevented greater complications over land ownership in the peninsula. If such had not been the case, the Imperial authorities would have granted ownership titles that undoubtedly would have been declared invalid upon the republic's restoration.

The Border

With respect to the prevailing situation in the northern part of the border during the 1860s, there was only one municipal government, *de la frontera* (of the border). Its capital was located in Santo Tomás, San Vicente, or Santo Domingo, depending on the place of residence of the *Primer Regidor* (First Councilman) or *Presidente Municipal* (Municipal President), which was probably an honorary position. For instance, in 1864 (the year of the Leese Concession), the position was held by Cecilio Zérega who settled the capital in Santo Domingo.⁵³ In the rest of the municipality there were other minor authorities, such as local judges, in Rancho de Tijuana, Misión Vieja, Santo Tomás, San Quintín, and El Rosario; and *comisarios* (commissioners) in those areas of even

53. See Celso Aguirre Bernal, *Historia compendiada de Tijuana*, 2nd ed. rev. (Mexicali, Mexico: Celso Aguirre Bernal, 1989) p. 84.

smaller population, such as Sierra de Santa Catarina, Valle de San Rafael, San Vicente, and San Telmo.

One characteristic of the residents of that region was that a great number of them were from different origins, whether near or far. Such was the case of Zérega himself who was born in Venezuela; the Bandinis who came from Peru; the Crosthwaites and the Gilberts from Ireland; the Ames from England; and the Argüellos and the Yorbas from Spain. The majority of them had lived in the region since colonial times and under the Spanish domain and upon the declaration of independence and the decline of the missions, had the opportunity to obtain lands that were once part of the mission estates. Some of the members of those families remained in Alta California and maintained a close relationship with their relatives living in Baja California.

The United States' New Policy Toward Mexico

By 1870, the United States and Mexico had moved their relations along a different road from that previously followed. By then, both nations had overcome internal situations that had prevented better relations, including the United States Civil War from 1860 to 1865 and Mexico's Imperial period from 1864 to 1867. Likewise, conditions in the United States by 1870 encouraged its government to consider the restraint of its policy of territorial conquest and to substitute the peaceful conquest of financial infiltration. For its part, the Liberal Mexican government was considering the possibilities of economic development that could result from a better relationship with its powerful neighbors.⁵⁴

Another concurrent factor was the beginning of Ulysses S. Grant's presidential period. He was a member of the Republican Party which was struggling to maintain friendly political relations with Mexico, while the Democrats persisted in the idea of new territorial conquests at the expense of the already mutilated Mexico. These conditions

54. Sergio Ortega Noriega, "Integración socioeconómica del noroeste mexicano" (Paper delivered at the Seminario de Historia Social y Económica de México, Facultad de Filosofía, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1990).

supported a better relationship between both countries and opened a new road to economic ties from the north to the south that started in a small scale and would increase with time.

The Lerdo Law

A new colonization law was issued on May 31, 1875, under President Sebastián Lerdo de Tejada.⁵⁵ Even though its objectives were never completely fulfilled, it is worth considering briefly.

In the particular case of Baja California, some uninhabited land titles were granted under the Lerdo Colonization Law. The Lerdo Law granted the government a more active role in supporting, encouraging, and stimulating colonization. It empowered the authorities to raise interest among the potential colonizers by offering all kinds of facilities, incentives, and privileges, such as helping with their expenses and transportation; providing an entire year's support; granting foreigners naturalization and citizenship; and, in summary, offering everything that could sound attractive to the potential colonizers.

In order to have the lands ready for the immigrants who were expected to arrive in great numbers, the president was also authorized to nominate and appoint exploratory commissions to acquire lands for colonization with the proper measurement, delimitation, surveying, and description requirements. The law even foresaw the possibility of purchasing private lands for colonies. At the beginning of the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the country still harbored hopes of foreign immigration. Mexican leaders still expected a great influx of hardworking colonizers to arrive from other countries and populate the furthestmost parts of the country, thus ushering in a new era of prosperity.

55. de la Maza, *Código de la colonización*, pp. 826–29.

Chapter Three

Ensenada and the International Company

The discussion of the slow growth of the peninsula and of Mexico's colonization policy provides a backdrop for the emergence of the city of Ensenada. As well, the events that took place in the neighboring state of California were of importance to the development of Ensenada.

When Porfirio Díaz took office in 1876, Mexico started an era of internal pacification and of strengthening the policy of liberalization towards American investment. Mexico's basic economic sectors, such as railroads, mines, metallurgical industries, lands, commerce, oil, and more, came to life with investment from the north, thus breaking the European monopoly on foreign investment in Mexico.

Due to its proximity, there was a special flow of investments from the southwestern part of the United States to the northwestern part of Mexico, which consolidated a series of old economic relations that had been partially obstructed by the delimitation of the international boundary in 1848. This infiltration covered different areas. In Sonora and Sinaloa, it was especially apparent in the areas of mining, railroads, and cattle raising, while in northern Baja California, it became evident in matters of land development and urbanization, since the emergence of its cities was closely related to the expansion of the United States Southwest.

The Survey Companies

In order to understand the peninsular phenomenon, reference must be made to the colonization law of December 15, 1883. This regulation was issued by President Manuel González who governed under General Porfirio Díaz's influence. It followed previous practices of providing all kinds of facilities to attract foreign colonizers, including payment for sea or land transportation and equipment; maintenance subsidies for short periods of time; provision of tools, construction materials, seeds, and work animals; granting military service exemptions and tax deferments; and so forth.¹ What was unusual about this law was that, in order to offer lands to colonists, the law empowered the president of the republic to authorize companies to survey uninhabited lands. As a compensation for their work, these companies could obtain the proprietorship of one-third of the surveyed areas and could also receive the right to purchase the other two-thirds at a very low price. At the same time, those companies could transport and establish colonizers in those same lands. These dispositions proved harmful to Baja California because under them, during the *Porfiriato*, a great part of the peninsula fell into the hands of foreign survey companies.

On May 31, 1883, General Carlos Pacheco, secretary of Fomento, Colonización, Industria y Comercio, representing the president of the republic, granted a vast land concession to Conrado Flores and Santiago Hale and Company. This concession allowed them to measure and survey a strip of uninhabited lands six leagues wide along the coast of the Pacific Ocean, starting from 23.5° and ending at 29° latitude north, which is practically all the coast of the southern half of the peninsula plus almost one-fourth of the other half, representing around 1,496,455 hectares.²

1. Piñera Ramírez, *Visión histórica*, 2:240.

2. Moisés González Navarro, *La colonización en México, 1877-1910* (México, D.F.: Moisés González Navarro, 1960), p. 84.

The company committed itself to establish, over a two year period, 30 foreign families and 20 Mexican families, and during the following three years, 50 foreign and 20 Mexican families. Rulings were made by the government in favor of the company and against small landowners in that vast territory, based on a strict application of the colonization law of 1865. This law established that in order to keep his land a colonizer should have at least one resident per 200 hectares of his land. That is why many of them, without a suitable trial, were deprived of their lands which were handed over to the company. In fact, the company never took the colonization agreement seriously. Its only interest was the exploitation of orchilla, since this dye still had market demand. Later, the lands were handed over to others.

The concession Porfirio Díaz granted in 1885 to the Compañía Minas del Boleo for the establishment of a mining colony in the Santa Rosalía region in the middle part of the peninsula, followed his government's tendency to promote the development of the arid and uninhabited Baja California peninsula with foreign capital. The Boleo Company raised 12 million francs of the capital in Paris and began to extract copper on a large scale.³ This enlivened the region for a while, for by 1887 there were 737 residents in that colony; 91 were foreigners and 646 were Mexicans.

The mineral exportations to Europe made it necessary to establish a customshouse in Santa Rosalía. The company's holdings reached 600,000 hectares, including the mining properties as well as the lands purchased later for use in agriculture.⁴ Unfortunately, this company distinguished itself by the inhuman treatment of its miners. Obviously, the work accomplished by the company benefited almost exclusively the French investors.

One of the Mexicans who ventured into the colonization experience was Guillermo Andrade from Sonora. It is pertinent to mention him

3. *Exposición que hace el Secretario de Fomento sobre la colonización de Baja California* (México, D.F.: Oficina Tipográfica de la Secretaría de Fomento, Colonización, Industria y Comercio, 1887), p. 27.

4. León Diguët, *Territorio de la Baja California. Reseña geográfica y estadística* (Paris-México: Librería de la Viuda de C.H. Bouret, 1912), p. 28.

because of his special characteristics and the significance of his activities in the Colorado River region. He came from a rich family, studied in Europe, and later lived for some years in San Francisco, California, where he was a banker and broker.⁵ There he created in 1874 the *Compañía Mexicana, Agrícola, Industrial y Colonizadora de Terrenos del Río Colorado*, (Mexican Agricultural, Industrial, and Colonizing Company of the Lands of the Colorado River) and soon obtained contracts from President Sebastián Lerdo de Tejada to colonize the river's delta as well as to open roads in that region. The company then established Colonia Lerdo on the east bank of the Colorado River. But, Andrade had to turn to the San Franciscan capitalist Thomas H. Blythe when the company ran out of funds. Blythe's support strengthened the colony and new land was purchased.⁶ However, Blythe's sudden death was a new source of economic trouble for Andrade. But, because of good political relations in Mexico City and with the advice of Ignacio L. Vallarta, a prominent lawyer, Andrade managed to transfer the company's previous concessions to his name. He thus became the owner of most of what was to be known as the Mexicali Valley, from the international border line to the Colorado River's mouth at the Sea of Cortés, as well as of some other lands along San Felipe Bay and the Sierra de Juárez.⁷

The titles Andrade received in 1888 covered an area of 305,753 hectares, which he later sold to American investors. Andrade was one of the few examples of Mexicans who dared to go into colonization activities. At the end, though, partly because of lack of economic resources or because of the desire to speculate, this venture became a "sort of bridge through which the vast areas of land he accumulated were handed over to foreigners."⁸

5. Herrera Carrillo, *Colonización del valle de Mexicali*, facsimile ed. (Mexicali: Universidad Autónoma de Baja California, 1976) p. 67.

6. William O. Hendricks, "Guillermo Andrade y la explotación de los terrenos del delta mexicano del Río Colorado," *Memoria del VII Simposio sobre Baja California* (Tecate, B.C., and San Diego, California, 1969).

7. Inscripción número 1, 23 julio 1886. Registro Público de la Propiedad, Ensenada, Baja California, (hereafter RPPE).

8. Herrera Carrillo, *Colonización del valle de Mexicali*, p. 101.

Around that time, other similar concessions were granted for surveying and colonization. As a result, by the beginning of 1887, a great part of the peninsula had been granted as seen in the following list:⁹

Concession Recipient	Size in Hectares
Conrado Flores and Santiago Hale and Company	1,496,455
International Company of Mexico	5,394,989
Adolfo Bulle	702,268
Pablo Macedo	488,315
Guillermo Andrade	305,753

These concessions amounted to 8,387,780 hectares, or 60 percent of the peninsula's total area.

A high degree of foreign dependency is evident, considering the direct or indirect support those investors received from foreign capital. It should be pointed out that the concessionaires did not receive the possession of those areas, but they did have the opportunity to purchase those lands later on. It should also be noted that the concessionaires received a third part of the surveyed lands as direct remuneration, with an option to buy the other two-thirds at very low prices. Fortunately for Mexico, the concessions and surveying, with some exceptions, were never carried out on a large scale. To some extent, all the interest about lands on the peninsula was a likely reaction to the period of real estate speculation ongoing in the state of California since 1880.¹⁰

9. See map No. 3202 titled "Terrenos deslindados por empresas autorizadas por el Gobierno," Colección Orozco y Berra, Secretaría de Agricultura y Recursos Hidráulicos, México, D.F.

10. Hendricks, "Guillermo Andrade," p. 112.

The International Company Makes an Appearance

The International Company of Mexico, especially in Ensenada, stood out for its use of the most advanced methods of capitalism as practiced in the United States during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The impact of the company on the region was enormous. Until 1882, the capital of the northern section of Baja California was in Real del Castillo, the largest town with nearly 200 inhabitants. The capital was moved that same year to Ensenada de Todos Santos, a practically uninhabited town. Ensenada would soon be swept up in unprecedented change as the International Company of Mexico's activities unfolded.

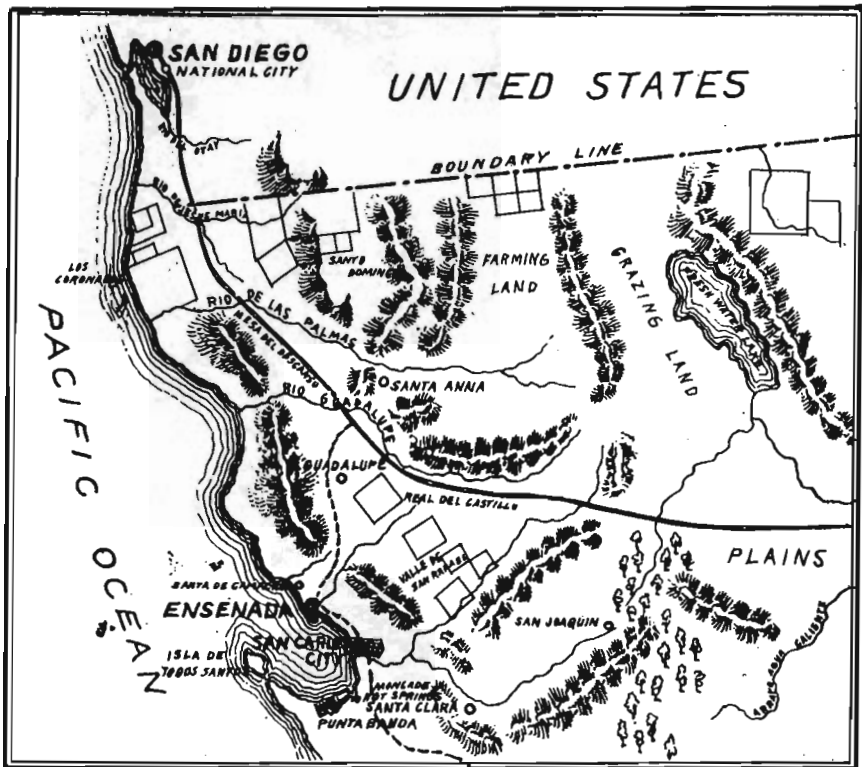
Luis Huller and Company obtained in 1884 the concession to survey uninhabited lands covering an area bordered on the south by the 29th parallel; on the north by the international border, on the east by the Gulf of California, and on the west by the Pacific Ocean, including Cedros Island. The company was also authorized to establish agricultural, mining, and industrial colonies. Subsequently, the company obtained the lands between parallels 28° and 29° from Adolfo Bulle, so that in a way they held practically the entire area of the present state of Baja California.

Huller, a Mexican citizen, had already been acquainted with the American Major George H. Sisson who was able to interest in the venture a strong financial group operating mostly in the northeastern United States. Thus, the International Company of Mexico was established, with its main office in Hartford, Connecticut, its treasury in New York, and other offices in San Francisco, San Diego, London, and Mexico City. The president and treasurer of the Company belonged to the aforementioned group, and Sisson and Huller were appointed as General Manager and Resident Director in Mexico, respectively.¹¹ There are indications that the Americans who took part in this enterprise moved in the world of high finance. For example, the

11. *The International Company of Mexico* (New York: The International Company of Mexico, 1888), p. 14.



View of Ensenada, c. 1885 (Courtesy of San Diego Historical Society Photograph Collection)

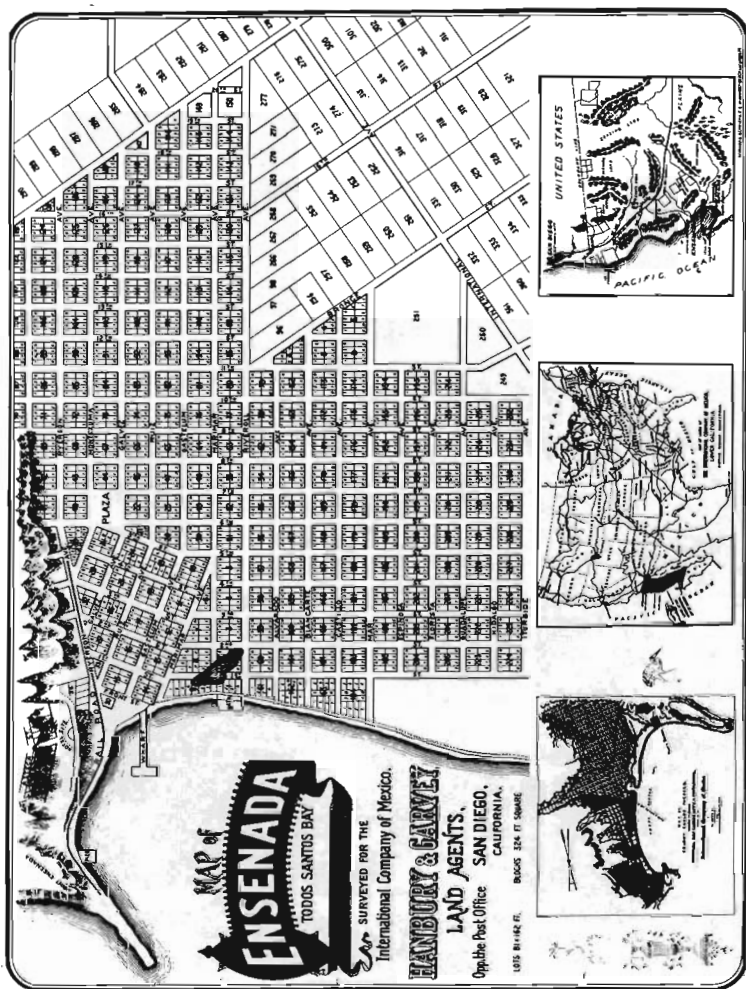


Detail of Map of Ensenada, Showing Ensenada and Border Region

president, Edgar T. Wells, was also an important officer of other companies involved with railroads, mines, and metallurgy. George Sisson had made his fortune in the practice of law and in mining.¹²

The International Company of Mexico was established with an initial capital of one million dollars, but later, through subsidiary companies, this was increased to twenty million. On the strength of this financial base, in 1886 the Compañía Internacional, as it was known in Mexico, started to develop survey activities at a scale never seen before on the peninsula and especially along the uninhabited border.

12. Bancroft's Works, 16:734-35.



Map of Ensenada, Todos Santos Bay, Surveyed for the International Company, Hanbury & Garvey Land Agents
(Colección Orozco y Berra)



*Office of Handbury & Garvey, Agents of the International Company,
6th and F Streets, Across from the Post Office, San Diego, 1888
(Courtesy of Mandeville Department of Special Collections,
University of California, San Diego)*

In one of its initial advertising pamphlets, the company informed the American public, to whom their promotions were always addressed, that the northern part of Baja California, "the part acquired and controlled by this company, has around five hundred inhabitants, most of whom speak English."¹³ During 1887, work intensified, including urban colonization activities consisting of city surveys and house and building construction; establishment of commercial businesses; and the introduction of means of communication such as telephone, telegraph, and a steamboat line. Progress was such that by the end of the year Teófilo Masac, the colony's inspector, was able to render a highly satisfactory account of the company's accomplishments.

Masac's account to the Ministry of Development is dated November 3, 1887, and even assuming that it was overly optimistic, it gives a broad idea of the activities that were taking place.¹⁴ This account begins by referring to "the cities of Ensenada, San Carlos, and Punta Banda," projected for the Bahía de Todos Santos, which would constitute "as a group the Carlos Pacheco colony." It pays special attention to Ensenada and considers that year's development as extraordinary. Among the most noticeable improvements it mentions, are the Hotel Iturbide, located on a hill with a view of the entire bay and "beautified by a great tower with a spectacular mirador"; it had a reception and dining area, billiards, and telephone service for local calls or to communicate with San Diego.

To comply with the government's requirements, the company had two steamboats that sailed from San Diego to San José de Guatemala, making stops at several ports on the Pacific. Smaller steamboats provided daily service to San Diego. The company published two weekly newspapers with considerable circulation: the bilingual *La Voz de la Frontera* and the English-language *The Lower Californian*. A special group was formed with the intention of founding a university that would be "a great institution for public teaching" and which already "has the necessary capital to begin construction of the buildings."

13. *The International Company of Mexico*, p. 3.

14. This report appears in *Exposición que hace el Secretario de Fomento sobre la colonización de la Baja California*.

There were entrepreneurs among the colonists such as Hanbury and Garvey, who were also the land agents for the International Company in San Diego, where they had their offices opposite the post office at the corner of 6th and F streets. They were constructing a great building at the corner of Ryerson Avenue and Ruiz Street, a "building that would be a real palace," for their offices and banking house. Hanbury and Garvey also established a land service to San Diego and by sea they had a small steamboat traveling daily along the bay of Todos Santos. Carlos Bennett, another of those entrepreneurs, had a candy and preserves factory and a steam powered carpentry shop. Bennett was also in charge of the works to bring potable water to the settlement. He employed from 60 to 70 laborers in his various businesses.

The same report mentions that according to the plans and maps, San Carlos would be "a great city, a true metropolis on the Pacific." The charts show that it really was an ambitious project consisting of 359 blocks with 20 lots each.¹⁵ The main boulevard would be called "Díaz," and avenues would alternate American heroes and Mexican heroes. When Masac visited, some streets were being constructed and "six highly pretentious houses" were being built. Punta Banda was "the third of the three sister cities" planned on Todos Santos Bay, and like San Carlos, it would cover an area of 2,000 acres. Its peculiarity consisted of its thermal waters with medicinal properties which the inspector compared with "the famous waters of Carlsbad, Austria." After enumerating all these highlights, Masac made the following enthusiastic statement: "with such elements, who would dare predict the future of this great Carlos Pacheco colony, an eternal monument to the colonization law's wisdom."

In similar terms, the reports refer to the lot subdivision and street alignment that was being done in the city of Coronita, the Sauzal de Camacho (north of Ensenada), and the Romero Rubio colony on the bay of San Quintín, at approximately 300 kilometers to the south of the Todos Santos Bay.¹⁶ Inspector Masac concludes his report by

15. 100 E.N.C. 232, Colección Orozco y Berra, Secretaría de Agricultura y Recursos Hidráulicos.

16. Along the coast stretching between the Todos Santos Bay and San Quintín

stating that the number of Mexican colonists had increased as soon as he convinced them that the colonization law was issued not only to protect foreign immigration but also to lavish "its great benefits to every honest and hardworking man without distinction of nationality."

Advertising Pamphlets

There were other sources of information about the International Company's activities, such as the pamphlets published by the same company. Those were mostly in English since their purpose was to attract American clients. One pamphlet states: "The International Company of Mexico...has acquired a complete and perfect title over eight million acres of land in the Mexican territory of Baja California..." It continues, "...we are here with a new field in this peninsular land, whose soil fertility...favorable climate and beautiful landscape is not inferior but in many aspects superior to the state of California."¹⁷

For those reasons, the company recommended the land for planting grains and fruit trees as well as for cattle breeding, mining, and the establishment of health centers. High praise was given to the quality of local wines whose excellence was compared to the wines of "Imperial Rome." Even the mild Mexican tax system was lauded as being very attractive to investors. The pamphlets also emphasized that the foreign colonizers who settled in Baja California could maintain their nationality or, if they wished, could acquire Mexican citizenship.

As already noted, all land speculation and propaganda activities were closely linked to the phenomena of demographic and economic expansion in Southern California, including San Diego, a city close to the border. That same area was going through a considerable

subdivisions were planned for the San Rafael and San Telmo valleys as well as Cabo Colnett. Planos 100B and 101, Colección Orozco y Berra, Secretaría de Agricultura y Recursos Hidráulicos.

17. *The International Company of México*, pp. 3-4.

population increase due to the real estate boom.¹⁸ With that motivation, important developments were achieved where rural lands such as Coronado, La Jolla, Encinitas, National City, Chula Vista, Pacific Beach, Ocean Beach, Escondido, and La Mesa, were rapidly urbanized and produced good profits for the developers.¹⁹ The land development boom was encouraged by the arrival in San Diego of a great number of people, many of them coming from the eastern United States and arriving from Los Angeles and San Francisco by means of the newly-laid railroad tracks.²⁰

Under those circumstances, neighboring Baja California was looked upon by real estate promoters as a favorable field to extend that boom. Emphasis was given to the international border region and the bay of Ensenada, whose location and beauty were ideal for urbanization and to capture the interest of American clients. Advertisement notes can be found in the newspapers of that time that mention Ensenada as "the second San Diego,"²¹ the "future giant,"²² and at the same time predicted that it was to be "the countryside of Southern California."²³ Due to the technological advances of the time, steamships were the fastest and most convenient means of transportation, so Ensenada turned out to be the most easily approached city for San Diego and San Francisco, since Tijuana, even with its proximity, had the inconvenience of a tiresome stagecoach journey.²⁴

18. Such phenomena are well described by Larry Booth et al., in "Portrait of a Boom Town, San Diego in the 1880's," *California Historical Quarterly* (1971), p. 32.

19. Glenn S. Dumke, *The Boom of the Eighties in Southern California* (San Marino, California: Huntington Library, 1944), pp. 132–56. This work provides wide coverage of these phenomena so characteristic of the American economy, not only in San Diego but also in Los Angeles, San Gabriel, Pasadena, Glendale, Burbank, San Fernando Valley, Pomona, San Bernardino, and Santa Barbara.

20. Richard F. Pourade, *The Glory Years*, vol. 4 of *The History of San Diego* (San Diego, California: Union Tribune Publishing Company, 1966), pp.189–90.

21. *San Diego Union*, May 12, 1887.

22. *San Diego Union*, November 30, 1886.

23. *San Diego Union*, June 19, 1887.

TIERRA PERFECTA, THE PERFECT LAND
OF THE MISSION FATHERS.

LOWER CALIFORNIA

THE PENINSULA

NOW OPEN TO COLONISTS.

For particulars apply to party whose name is stamped on this Circular, or to

HANBURY & GARVEY,

LAND AGENTS.

CORNER OF SIXTH AND F STREETS, SAN DIEGO, CALIFORNIA.

EDGAR T. WELLES, President, - - - Hartford, Conn.
GEO. H. SISSON, Vice-President and General Manager, San Diego, Cal.
W. E. WEBB, Land Commissioner, - - 160 Broadway, New York.
Captain FRANCIS PAVY, European Representative, 4 Bank Buildings,
London, E. C., Eng.

*Title Page for Pamphlet "Tierra Perfecta, the Perfect Land of the Mission
Fathers. Lower California. The Peninsula Now Open to Colonists"
(Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, Universidad
Autónoma de Baja California)*

Concerning the magnitude of the works that were being done by the company in the bay of Ensenada region, the press maintained that it was the greatest colonization project of the world, even greater than the renowned "Eastern India Company," which dealt with spices and a country's treasures or the "Hudson's Bay Company" dedicated to fur trading.²⁴

The International Company not only advertised through newspapers and pamphlets but also through formal works such as the *Peninsular California* written by Charles Nordhoff.²⁵ Although it appears to be an objective description, promotional goals still show through. Even a serious author like Hubert H. Bancroft, in volume XVI of his *Works*, published in 1888, seems to echo the company's publicity with the information he gives about the matter which is mostly taken from the company's advertising pamphlets.²⁶

Protests from Mexico City

The International Company's unusual activities in 1887 alarmed the people of Mexico City to such an extent that newspapers covered the matter extensively. *El Nacional*, on November 22, 1887, declared: "...the matter of Baja California represents a definite danger for the country. This is why we dare call the attention of General Díaz... Will we be heard? We believe we will because the call of our country in danger demands it."²⁷ Four days after, in a stronger tone, the same newspaper referred to the International Company of Mexico's pamphlet as follows: "That company published an extensive pamphlet, which even scandalized the United States, where it offers for sale the trifle of 18,000,000 acres in the Baja California territory..."²⁸ Finally, the newspaper warned that if "we now lose Baja California,

24. *San Diego Union*, July 21, 1887.

25. Charles Nordhoff, *Peninsular California* (New York: Harper, 1888), p. 130.

26. Bancroft, *History of the North Mexican States and Texas*, pp. 729-38.

27. *El Nacional* (Mexico), 121, 22 noviembre 1887.

we will soon lose Chihuahua, Sonora, Sinaloa, and Coahuila, as we have already lost Texas, New Mexico, and Alta California." Another newspaper, *El Monitor Republicano*, in its November 20 and December 1, 1887, issues, insisted that it was essential that the government give an explanation of the changes made, "for Baja California's situation has become alarming."²⁹

Government's Reaction to the Protests

All the excitement forced General Carlos Pacheco, head of the department in charge of colonization, to publish a well-documented declaration that appeared on December 6, 1887, under the title of *Exposición que hace el Secretario de Fomento sobre la colonización de Baja California* (Declaration Made by the Secretary of Development about the Colonization of Baja California).³⁰ In it, the contract celebrated with Huller, which was later transferred to the International Company, was compared clause by clause with the law of colonization in force, in order to demonstrate that the contract was strictly adhered. Moreover, it was indicated that there were even obligations imposed on the concessionaires beyond the requirements of the law.

Pacheco explained that from 1824 to that date, other government administrations had followed the same line, trying to attract foreign immigration. The difference was that their efforts had been fruitless and the Porfirian administration had been successful in Baja California, as demonstrated by the statistical tables of colonizers, foreign or Mexican, of the Carlos Pacheco, Romero Rubio, and San Vicente colonies, where there were 310 Mexicans, 166 Americans, 211 Europeans, and 50 Africans, for a total of 737 colonists.³¹ He argued that those figures showed that the colonization carried out by

28. *El Nacional* (Mexico), 125, 26 November 1887.

29. *El Monitor Republicano* (Mexico), 276, 20 noviembre 1887; 278, 1 diciembre 1887.

30. *Exposición*, p. 113.

31. *Exposición*, pp. 25–26.

individuals was more effective than that carried out directly by the government, which had proved to be expensive and ineffective. Pacheco then stated that the principles on which the government's colonization policy was based were the same principles seen several times in previous administrations. The central concern was the necessity of promoting foreign immigration to populate uninhabited zones of the country; the convenience of attracting labor and capital to encourage the country's development by following the examples of the United States, Argentina, Chile, and Uruguay; and a confidence in the great fertility of the Mexican soil. About the doubts concerning any similarity to the case of Texas, he answered that it was a mistake to compare events that seemed identical, taking them out of context with respect to time, social circumstances, and other particularities. Above all, he insisted that it was not the same situation as in 1830, especially considering that by 1887 there was a stable government that had exhibited its capacity to mobilize up to 20,000 men when necessary. Pacheco emphasized most of all that the government's acts were strictly restrained by law, stating: "The Ministerio de Fomento has proven its blind submission to the present laws, it has revealed the economic convenience of its dispositions, and addressed the serious concerns which threaten to turn a simple economic question into a dangerous patriotic one."³²

The Porfirian government was interested in maintaining a good image before American public opinion and especially with possible investors. Therefore, it published Pacheco's *Exposición* not only in Spanish but also in an English version to circulate in the United States.³³

As indicated, the Ministry of Development's *Exposición* centered fundamentally on proving that the acts for which the government was criticized were strictly in accordance with the law. While the *Exposición* was being prepared, the necessary steps were taken to modify the

32. *Exposición*, p. 76.

33. *Memoria presentada al Congreso de la Unión por el Secretario de Estado y del Despacho de Fomento, Colonización, Industria y Comercio de la República Mexicana, Carlos Pacheco, enero 1883-junio 1885*, 5 vols. (México, D.F.: Imprenta de la Secretaría de Fomento, 1887).

political status of administrative units of the region. The *Partido Norte* (Northern Section) of the territory of Baja California was elevated to *Distrito Norte* (Northern District), with its own government. The new configuration was no longer subordinated to the *Jefatura Política* (Political Headquarters) that had been located in La Paz since 1829. To make that change, the federal government took into consideration the growth that was taking place because of the colonization and urbanization projects that were being carried out in that region. It most likely also considered the need for a stronger governmental presence in the rapidly changing border region.

The administrative reorganization decree was published in the *Diario Oficial* of December 15, 1887, only nine days after General Pacheco's *Exposición*. It established that the Baja California territory would be divided into two political districts, namely South and North. The first would be composed of what were then called the Southern and Middle Sections; the second included the Northern section. Each of the districts would have a *Jefe Político* directly responsible to the federal executive. The head of the new local government would start his term of office on January 1, 1888. This date marks a clear division in the subsequent development of the south and north of the peninsula. Although they would still share a certain similarity, in the course of time the south and the north would diversify noticeably.

According to that resolution, at the beginning of 1888 General Luis E. Torres became the first *Jefe Político* of the Northern District. He had the full trust of President Porfirio Díaz and had, in one way or another, the full control of the northwestern section of the country during the long Díaz regime.

With the change of status came an increase in the number of troops for that zone, from 40 to 100 soldiers. A district court of justice was created to deal thereafter with all the vacant land proceedings foreseen in the colonization law (Article 20). Its head was also in charge of the *Registro Público de la Propiedad*. It is in this way that, as a result of the vacant land concessions, the press protests, and the rather spectacular works of the International Company of Mexico, growth in the political, administrative, military, and judicial system of the northernmost part of the peninsula was brought about. Thereafter, the region remained in its category of Northern District of Baja California.

Another Problem for President Porfirio Díaz

With the intent of convincing those who had been against the colonization activities that were taking place in Baja California, the Porfirian government requested that one of those opponents directly inspect the site of the events, and chose for that purpose an ex-deputy of the opposition, Manuel Sánchez Facio. He was asked to determine the number of colonists, the material improvements that had been made, and the land sales that had taken place. In general, he was to substantiate if the colonization contract signed by the Ministry of Development was being fulfilled. Sánchez Facio arrived in Ensenada on January 1, 1888, and after five months of performing his duty he rendered an extensive, detailed, and critical report.³⁴ He declared that the company was giving false data in its census report, and, besides other things, was inflating the number of colonists. He stated that there was an "artificial creation of colonizers in which the bad intentions of the company and the malignant or unconscious compliance of the inspectors had collaborated." Of the 1,373 inhabitants of Ensenada, according to a census requested by the political chief of that place, only 243 had a colonist's certificate and the requirement that 30 percent of the colonists should be Mexican was not obeyed. Several of the material works were not finished and some were merely projects. Sánchez Facio also reported that Maximilian Bernstein, agent of the company in Ensenada, had obstructed his work of inspection, delaying for four months the information he requested. He charged that the company, without a legal right to do so, had constituted subsidiary companies and had granted them land deeds that were signed before notaries from San Diego, California. Finally, he indicated that in several cases, the surveys of the vacant lands were not made in good faith and thus produced damages to third parties, some of whom were well known in the region.

The report was published in English in early 1889 in San Francisco, California, under the suggestive title *The Truth about Lower California*.

34. The document is dated June 4, 1888, in San Diego, California, and can be consulted in Sección 15, Caja 4, Expediente 5 of the Archivo Histórico, Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores (hereafter SRE).

Perhaps it was designed to cause an impact in the financial circles of the United States, the opinion of which was deemed important to the government of Porfirio Díaz and the International Company. As can be imagined, the report had a strong impact.

The role of Sánchez Facio may have been more than that of conducting a straightforward examination of the Ensenada activities of the International Company. There are documents in the historical archives of Mexico's Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores, that mention that in 1890 Sánchez Facio was in San Francisco, California.³⁵ According to the local Mexican consul, he was there contacting persons who wished to obtain legal rights over Baja California lands.³⁶ It was also stated, in newspaper articles as well as diplomatic communiques, that he was involved in a filibuster movement centered in San Diego, California, that planned to take over Baja California.³⁷ Sánchez Facio's participation in this movement is not completely proven in such documents. Possible links to filibustering call into question the validity of his report on the International Company.³⁸

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35. There is a considerable number of documents in the SRE archive that includes the official correspondence and reports of the Mexican consuls: A.K. Coney, in San Francisco; Tomás Valdespino in San Diego; and Díaz Prieto in Los Angeles. Also included are documents from Mexico's ambassador in the United States, Matías Romero, and from the political chief of the Northern District of Baja California, Luis E. Torres. The majority of the letters are addressed to the Secretary of Foreign Affairs, and some are letters written by the same officers to each other.
 36. A.K. Coney to Major Officer of the Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores, 11 June 1890, FIL-1-IV, ff. 45-47, SRE. This document includes a notarized testimonial to that effect, from A.M. Burham, American residing in San Francisco.
 37. Matías Romero to Secretario de Relaciones Exteriores, 20 noviembre, 1889, FIL-1-III, f. 126, SRE, includes newspaper clippings of articles published that day by the *Chronicle Examiner* and *Morning Call*; Luis E. Torres al Secretario de Relaciones Exteriores, 7 julio, 1890, FIL-1-IV, f. 169, SRE.
 38. The projected filibuster expedition never took place because the conspiracy was discovered and it seems that the opinion of the Mexican Ambassador in Washington, Matías Romero, prevailed in the sense that it was not convenient to ask the American authorities to file legal actions against the conspirators. Previous experiences showed that the members chosen for the jury on those matters usually favored and absolved the accused and would even give them a "hero" image. See Matías Romero al Oficial Mayor Encargado de la Secretaría

New Conditions on Land Ownership

The impact of the International Company of Mexico's activities on an institution whose purpose was specifically to control the transfer of real estate ownership is quite significant. The institution, Ensenada's *Registro Público de la Propiedad*, is where there is documentation of land sales beginning in 1880.³⁹ The registry contains numerous records related to the International Company. First, the records indicate the way in which the company obtained the property titles of enormous areas of land in that region. Most of those lands were obtained by surveys of vacant lands while others were purchased from their owners. A number of examples from the registry illustrate the company's land acquisitions. Ensenada de Todos Santos with an area of 3,511 hectares, was obtained by the company on October 17, 1887, by purchase from Pedro Gastelum through the company's agent Maximilian Bernstein.⁴⁰ From these properties arose no less than the city of Ensenada. On June 2, 1886, the president of the republic, General Porfirio Díaz, granted ownership titles to the International Company for a total of 44,291 hectares that included.⁴¹

de Relaciones, 10 junio 1890, FIL-1-IV, ff. 39, 40, SRE. All of these factors made it impossible to know the true participation of Sánchez Facio in those events.

39. The Real Estate Registry was instituted in the *Código Civil* for the District and Federal Territory of Baja California of 1870, but it was not until 10 years later on September 21, 1880, that it was established in the *Partido Norte* of Baja California. The *Registro Público* functioned first in Real del Castillo, the capital of the region at the time, and when Ensenada earned that title in 1882, the registry's books were transferred there, and its first registration in that city was in 1883. Since then, it has been functioning continuously and is a good source for the history of land ownership of that region. In subsequent references, RPPE will be used for Ensenada's *Registro Público de la Propiedad*.

40. *Inscripción número 40*, tomo I, 17 octubre 1887, RPPE. This document deals with the sale of the *Rancho de Ensenada* by Maximilian Bernstein to the International Company. *Inscripción número 32* of the same volume, dated May 10, 1886, is the purchase of that ranch by Bernstein from Pedro Gastelum, not for himself, but for his employer, the International Company.

41. See *inscripción número 34, 35, 36, 37, 47, 48*, tomo I, RPPE.

Property Name	Size in Hectares
Sauzal de Camacho	3,170
Punta Banda	9,522
Valle de la Trinidad	7,022
Valle de San Rafael	5,266
Valle de las Palmas	19,311

One after the other, the company obtained from the government property titles to lands of historical importance for the region such as those corresponding to the ex-missions of Santa María, San Fernando, San Pedro Mártir, Santa Catarina, and Santo Tomás that were recorded in the Registro Público.⁴² There were also others with names of great tradition such as Llanos de San Quintín⁴³ and El Ciprés.⁴⁴ Some were obtained from well-known residents as in the case of Manuel Clemente Rojo who sold San Vicente Ferrer ranch, and Marie Motte and Alejandro Jaussaud who sold Ojos Negros ranch.⁴⁵ The last months of 1888 were of intense activity for Ensenada's Real Estate Registry. It handled the International Company's title work to such an extent that all of the 46 records entered in October were for the company.

Not only did the company acquire land, but it sold real property. Particularly notable was the high number of urban lots sold in Ensenada, according to the city plan drawn up by the company's engineer Richard J. Stephens that is still officially recognized today.

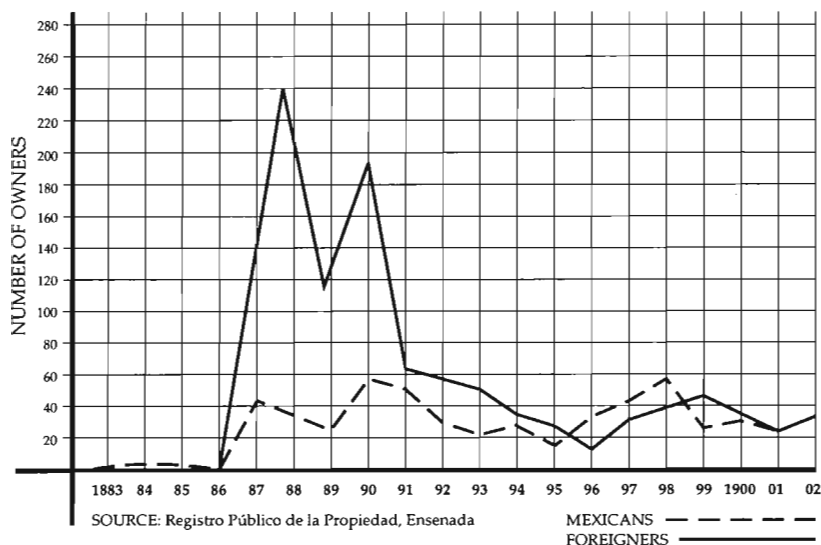
42. Inscripción número 2, tomo I, 1 octubre 1888, RPPE.

43. Inscripción número 50, tomo I, 18 noviembre 1887, RPPE.

44. Inscripción número 82, tomo I, 17 noviembre 1888, RPPE.

45. Inscripción número 58, tomo I, 22 diciembre 1887, RPPE.

Nationality of Urban Lot Owners in the Registro Público de la Propiedad, Ensenada, 1883-1902



The buyers were largely foreigners because the company's promotions were directed to that type of client, especially Americans. The graph "Nationality of Urban Lot Owners in the Registro Público de la Propiedad, Ensenada, 1883-1902" illustrates this activity. The line representing the sales started to rise noticeably in 1887, reaching its climax in 1888, clearly reflecting Ensenada's boom caused by the company that was an extension of the land book of Southern California. In 1889 there was a sudden decline in lot sales and a collapse of prices that took place that year in Ensenada. This followed similar trends in Southern California.

While most American buyers were in Ensenada only as transient residents or never even visited it, there were some foreigners who purchased urban lots from the International Company, established their residences, and settled down in the city. Examples are the German merchants George Ibs⁴⁶ and Andrew Strickrot.⁴⁷ The American Charles Bennett established a fruit preserves industry,

while the versatile associates Francisco Andonaegui, an Italian, and Miguel Ormart, a Basque, functioned as merchants, brokers, and customs agents.⁴⁸ There is also the case of John D. Hanbury and Richard Garvey, Americans with residences in San Diego, who constructed one of Ensenada's most impressive buildings of that time and who not only purchased lots from the company but were also its sales agents.⁴⁹ There is no proof that Charles Nordhoff (the author of *Peninsular California*) lived in the city, but there are records that show that the company transferred the ownership of three lots to him.⁵⁰ This may have been as payment for writing such a complimentary book.

The International Company also sold urban lots to Mexicans who arrived in Ensenada to settle down in the city, including the noteworthy merchant Eulogio Romero, who established the well-known business house *Dieciseis de Septiembre* in 1888 and had an interest in mining as well as being the treasurer of the city council.⁵¹ The prominent lawyer Francisco P. Ramírez, who also connected with mining activities, was another Mexican settler who purchased an urban lot from the International Company.⁵²

In addition to these records of purchases and sales carried out by the company, there are numerous private sales between individuals, some of whom eventually became renowned citizens of Ensenada. One example was Federico Appel, who arrived in Baja California drawn by mining, and when established in the city, purchased from

46. Inscripción número 151, tomo I, 26 may 1888, RPPE.

47. Inscripción número 203, tomo I, 29 agosto 1888, RPPE.

48. Inscripción número 38, tomo I, 1 agosto 1887, RPPE.

49. Inscripción número 75, tomo I, 10 octubre 1887, RPPE.

50. Inscripción número 114, 115, tomo I, 7 noviembre 1887, 15 noviembre 1887, RPPE.

51. Eulogio Romero arrived in Ensenada from La Paz, Baja California Sur. Inscripción número 27, tomo I, 3 febrero 1888, RPPE.

52. Inscripción número 148, tomo I, 24 mayo 1888, RPPE.

Prudenciana López de Moreno a part of the San Isidro Ajolojol ranch.⁵³ Heraclio Ochoa was a clothing and groceries tradesman who purchased an urban lot from Feliz Regalado.⁵⁴ The celebrated Subjefe Político Jorge Ryerson, who pretended to have been born in Texas when it was still Mexican territory, was the purchaser of a part of the *laguna* (lake) belonging to Jacobo Hanson's estate.⁵⁵

A Necessary Reflection

In light of the controversy raised by the American company's colonization efforts, some aspects need to be examined in detail. The statement made by Minister Pacheco in his *Exposición* was fundamentally true in the sense that the government's actions were always within the limits of the law. The International Company did not violate the colonization law nor the dispositions established by the regulations in force with the concessions it obtained. However, there were probably aspects of the law itself that involved dangers that likely were never considered by the legislators. It was evident that along the northern border, the colonization policy could bring about worrisome situations like the one that took place in Baja California.

The government had not been aware of potential problems of foreign colonization in the north because it had not been able to achieve colonization activities at a greater scale before. Since 1824, the Mexican government had maintained the policy of inviting foreigners to come to Mexico and granting them incentives to populate uninhabited lands without significant results. As soon as the American investors accepted the invitation, bringing systems of an advanced capitalism, Mexican public opinion became alarmed and there were loud protests, especially from Mexico City's press, predicting new losses of national territory. Fortunately, the situation calmed down, partly because the

53. Inscripción número 18, tomo I, 9 julio 1887, RPPE.

54. Inscripción número 1, tomo I, 21 enero 1888, RPPE.

55. This deals with a beautiful site adjacent to Laguna Hanson. Inscripción número 59, tomo I, 24 diciembre 1888, RPPE.

forces that moved it were part of a complex economic phenomena that was taking place in Southern California. Specifically, the real estate boom that started in California in 1880 underwent a sudden collapse in 1889, which had repercussions on the other side of the border. These events turned the process around and dispelled the fears of a repetition of the Texas affair as predicted by the press in Mexico City.

Seen from another angle, these activities had some positive outcomes. Among them was Ensenada's consolidation as an urban settlement of considerable dimensions and the development of a modern infrastructure. Also important was an increase in the political-administrative importance as the region was elevated to the status of district with its capital in Ensenada and was removed from subordination to La Paz in Baja California Sur. Thus, the International Company was key in the urban development of Ensenada and the political and administrative emergence of the region.

Chapter Four

The Mexican Land and Colonization Company

The International Company went through difficult financial conditions that forced it to stop operating. Outstanding among the causes was the decline in land sales and the collapse of prices that took place in Baja California in 1889, as a repercussion of the end of the boom in neighboring California. Also important was the poor management by the company's chief officer, George Sisson. Finally, the damages brought about by the publication of inspector Manuel Sánchez Facio's critical report were considerable. Under these circumstances, the International Company determined that the best solution for its serious difficulties was to look for a party interested in acquiring the company's assets and continuing business, solving the problems facing the colonization enterprise. The answer came from London and, after the requisite negotiations, on May 11, 1889, the International Company ceded in that city all its properties and debts to the Mexican Land and Colonization Company, Limited.¹ In documents written in Spanish this company was denominated the *Compañía Mexicana de Terrenos y Colonización* and in Baja California it became known as *La Compañía Inglesa* (The English Company).

After receiving the large land concessions of its predecessor, as well as the buildings, installations, businesses, and other assets, the new English Company continued the works initiated by the International Company. Initially, it maintained the priority of Ensenada's urban development, as can be seen in the continued activities that were recorded in the local Real Estate Registry. Later, the English Company

1. That operation was subsequently recorded in Ensenada's Real Estate Registry on May 12, 1891.

diversified its activities into mining, agriculture, cattle ranching, commerce, transport, and other activities, in such a way that it controlled the basic elements of the region's economy.

Such a strong English influence in a zone so close to the border with the United States had to be noticed, and a reaction was not long in coming. In 1889, the United States House of Representatives asked President Benjamin Harrison to open negotiations with the Republic of Mexico for the purchase of the peninsula of Baja California.² However, that did not happen.

By the end of the nineteenth century, the United States was already the chief foreign investor in Mexico,³ while England was the dominant world economic force.⁴ Baja California seemed destined to be the arena in which both economies sized up each other's strength. The way the events turned out suggests that in the final analysis the English preferred to avoid confrontation.

When the English Company began activities in Baja California, Major Buchanan Scott was in charge. He arrived from India where he had served the British Empire for 17 years. Buchanan was a graduate of the Royal Military Academy, a member of His Majesty's Corps of Engineers, and an expert on railroads. He had received, for his merits, the title of Knight of the Imperial Order.⁵

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2. Luis G. Zorrilla, *Historia de las relaciones entre México y Estados Unidos*. (México, D.F.: Editorial Porrúa, 1965), 2:59.
 3. Luis Nicolau D'Olwer, "Las inversiones extranjeras," *El Porfiriato: Vida económica*, vol. 2 of *Historia Moderna de México* (México, D.F.: Editorial Hermes, 1957), pp. 972-1185. Alfred Tischendorf provides an excellent study about English investments in Mexico in his work *Great Britain and Mexico in the Era of Porfirio Díaz* (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1961), p. 197.
 4. Eric J. Hobsbawm, *Industria e imperio. Historia económica de Gran Bretaña desde 1750* (Spain: Ariel, 1977), p. 146.
 5. See, Donald Chaput, "The British are Coming or the Army of India and the Founding of Ensenada," *Journal of San Diego History*, vol. 30 no. 4 (1987), pp. 155-56.

The Threat of Filibusters

Mayor Scott was an excellent administrator and began resolving a good number of the problems left by the International Company. But soon his performance was questioned when he was accused of having ties with those involved in the filibuster plan, to which Sánchez Facio might have been linked.⁶ American residents of San Diego were heading the filibuster movement. They intended to achieve their plan in August of 1890, but were unable to pull it off, for in May of that same year they were exposed by the *San Francisco Chronicle* and *The San Diego Union* newspapers. It became known that they intended to control the region through armed forces and then establish the Republic of Baja California.

According to their scheme, the new republic would be governed by the leaders of the conspiracy. Walter G. Smith would be General Governor, Augustus Merrill was designated as Commander, B.A. Stephens was to be General Secretary, Randford Worthing was tapped for Treasurer, and Colonel Edward Hill was selected to be War Secretary.⁷ The next step was said to be the region's annexation to the United States. Significantly, it was alleged that Major Scott gave economic support to the conspirators, motivated by the possibility of the great increase in value that the land and investments of the company would undergo once Baja California became part of the United States.⁸

Major Scott's responsibility in those events was never clearly established since the plot was exposed and never carried out and a trial was never held. But Tomás Valdespino, the Mexican consul in San Diego, identified Scott as having been involved in the plot. Valdespino

6. Chaput, "The British are Coming," pp. 155–56.

7. Anna Marie Hager, *The Filibusters of 1890: The Captain John F. Janes and Lower California Newspaper Reports and the Walter G. Smith Manuscript* (Los Angeles, California: Dawson's Book Shop, 1968), p. 50.

8. Andrew F. Rolle, "Futile Filibustering in Baja California, 1888–1890," *Pacific Historical Review*, vol. 20 no. 2 (1951), p. 159–66; Hager, *The Filibusters*, p. 59.

provided details of the episode in his report of May 22, 1890, to the Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores in Mexico City, right after the conspiracy was discovered. In that report, among other things, he indicated that Jorge Ryerson, distinguished resident of Ensenada, confided to him that Scott "tried to convince him once of the convenience of Baja California's peninsula becoming part of the United States domain."⁹

In an official letter written the next day, on May 23, 1890, by Matías Romero, the Mexican Ambassador in Washington and a man of great experience in these matters, he gave his assessment of the matter in hand to the Mexican Secretary of Foreign Affairs. Romero declared that he was "convinced of the Baja California Colonization Company's involvement in these attempts" and then gave a very important analysis of the colonization policy developed by the government of which he was part:

This event will, in my opinion, demonstrate that the only effective guarantee for respecting our rights is in our own hands. We see how deceptive the prevailing thoughts of many sensible Mexicans has been. By interesting European capitalists and companies in the development of our country, we felt that we were helping to ensure our independence. In this case, we can see that an English enterprise has been the instigator or supporter of a filibuster movement against our country, in spite of the high risk and all that they have to lose with their conduct. When there are no scruples and gaining money is all that counts, it makes no difference whether you are dealing with Europeans or Americans.¹⁰

Major Scott left Mexico in the same month of May 1890, heading for England, never to return. Concerning the company in general, Porfirio Díaz's government decided not to cancel the concessions that had been granted, so that it continued operating. From 1892 to 1896 there were severe droughts that considerably affected the activities of the company, especially farming and cattle raising. According to historians Pablo Herrera Carrillo and Pablo L. Martínez, this

9. FIL-1-III, ff. 131-33, SRE.

10. FIL-1-III, ff. 146-150, SRE.

consumed a great part of the company's resources and limited the extent of its future operations.¹¹

The Beginning of the Twentieth Century

With time, despite nature's adversities, the English Company achieved considerable development of economic activities. A number of sources indicate that during the first five years of the 20th century, the company stimulated diverse economic activities of the region such as agriculture, cattle raising, commerce, and mining. As an example, in the weekly Ensenada newspaper *El Progresista*, there are multiple references to the numerous goods, businesses, and belongings of the company. There were thousands of head of cattle in several valleys of the region. There was a flour mills in Ensenada and another in the San Quintín zone that was given special emphasis; wheat fields; a commercial establishment in Ensenada with branches in San Quintín and El Alamo; several mines; a banking house; the famous Hotel Iturbide; and the steamship service between Ensenada and San Diego.¹² As a result, the English Company gained an economic preeminence that approached monopoly in that region. The company's manager on duty had an influence similar to that of the *Jefe Político y Militar* (Political and Military Chief) of the Ensenada region.

It was to be expected that the company's economic control would raise concerns and objections from the local sectors that felt affected. The Chamber of Commerce of Ensenada complained in very strong terms¹³ as did the farmers who received the company's financing for

11. Herrera Carrillo, *Colonización del valle de Mexicali*, p. 5; Pablo L. Martínez, *Historia de Baja California* (México, D.F.: Libros Mexicanos, 1956), p. 472.

12. See article from *El Progresista* of January 31, 1904, titled "La Baja California. Tierra poco conocida y rica en recursos naturales."

13. This was endorsed by James Moorkens, president of that Chamber, though afterwards the company defended itself by arguing that the local traders increased the merchandise prices too much. See Herrera Carrillo, *Colonización del valle de Mexicali*, p. 48.

sowing wheat who maintained that the prices the company paid for the grain were very low.¹⁴

The Urban Image of Ensenada

From another point of view, the performance of the English Company for a period of two decades, and of the preceding American company, gave Ensenada in its early stages as a city a certain Anglo-Saxon urban ambience. This was noticed by travelers and writers who published accounts in various periodicals. The California magazine *Land of Sunshine*, dated October 1898, described Ensenada as a town with "a nice mixture of old Mexican flavor and English comfort."¹⁵ It also praised the elegant Victorian lines of the Iturbide Hotel and its British comfort.

English businessman and editor J.R. Southworth, wrote in 1899: "The houses, factories, and other buildings portray the most picturesque image of the diverse architectural orders which result from the combination of the old style of the construction with the modern American one."¹⁶ He said, "one can be attracted by the long, wide avenues, the comfortable rooms for the families, the headquarters building, the well-managed hotels, the spacious stores, and the whole appearance which makes the town known as a center for commercial activities."¹⁷ He added that the city is "perfectly illuminated with

14. See taped oral history interview of Emilia Ochoa de Ojeda, December 1980, made by María Eugenia Bonifaz de Novelo. Ochoa de Ojeda's father, Heraclio Ochoa, had made these complaints. He had arrived in Ensenada in 1886. Archivo Oral, Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, Universidad Autónoma de Baja California.

15. "Baja California" in the *Land of Sunshine* magazine (California) v. 9 (October 1898), p. 267.

16. J.R. Southworth, *El territorio de la Baja California, México, ilustrada* (San Francisco, California: Hick-Judd, 1899), p. 16. Southworth was a mine machinery salesman who combined that activity with the publication of works about the natural resources of diverse parts of Mexico.

electric light, and has all the modern improvements characteristic of the main American cities."¹⁸

The lawyer, writer, and traveler from California, Arthur W. North, visited Ensenada in 1905 and described his impressions: "it is a relatively new, American-Mexican-English town with 1,500 inhabitants, great weather and a beautiful location on the curved white beach of Todos Santos Bay. It is the headquarters of an English colonization company and the seat of the government of the Northern District of Baja California."¹⁹

Along with those descriptions—made by Americans and Englishmen—that emphasized the Anglo-Saxon atmosphere of Ensenada, there were other writings by Mexican authors that find very Mexican features in the town. For instance, the pages of the newspaper *El Progresista*, that was published in the city during the first five years of this century, convey the image of a life style of the community of Ensenada very much in agreement with Mexican customs.²⁰ Its articles, chronicles, and notes provide insight about every day life in the small and peaceful town of Ensenada. They document get togethers, charity fairs for the parish, serenades given by lovers at the foot of their girlfriend's balconies, bullfights, concerts by the band at the "Porfirio Díaz" park bandstand, and housewives with maids from the central region of the country. Ensenada had all the tales and leisure characteristics of the Mexican provinces, and all the wide variety of features, attitudes, and traditions of the Mexican way of life.

To a great extent, the city received its foreign ingredients through the men arriving from different countries and who for the most part,

17. Southworth, *Baja California ilustrada*, p. 16.

18. Southworth, *Baja California Ilustrada*, p. 16.

19. Arthur W. North, *Camp and Camino in Lower California* (New York: Baker and Taylor Co., 1910), p. 259.

20. For a complete compilation of this weekly newspaper see David Piñera Ramírez, ed., *El Progresista. Ensenada, Distrito Norte de la Baja California*, facsimile reproduction (México, D.F.: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1982).

married native Mexicans. Thus, little by little they adapted themselves to the intimate life style of the city. With them, these men brought external factors represented by economic control of the American company and then the English Company, the architectural styles of the buildings they constructed, and the work methods. Together, these constituted the umbilical cord that linked everything to the Mexican culture. This link was strengthened by the people coming from different regions of Mexico, especially from the south of the Baja California peninsula. To all of this must be added the integrative role of the local authority that bonded this region to the whole context of the Mexican republic. This town was very much integrated into the economy of Southern California in the United States. It received English influence through a colonial company. Above all, it was closely linked to its origins in the Mexican culture.

The End of Colonizing Activities

The government of Porfirio Díaz reaffirmed in 1906 the concessions to the English Company, but the firm's activities started to decrease little by little. At the same time, its influence in the region began to diminish. The process of development of the Northern District of Baja California shifted focus to the Mexicali Valley, away from the northwestern coast. Ensenada would cease to be the main pole of development and Mexicali would take its place once it became the coordinating center for important agricultural activities in the surrounding valley. In fact, with the great sorrow of the people of Ensenada, the city lost its rank of state capital to Mexicali in 1915.

On November 16, 1916, the governor of the state, Colonel Esteban Cantú, decreed the expiration of the concessions of the *Compañía Mexicana de Terrenos y Colonización* and its subsidiary, the *Compañía de Desarrollo de Baja California*, both known as the *Compañía Inglesa*. The reasons Cantú gave were the nonfulfillment of the duties stipulated in the concession contracts and restricting access by Mexican growers to agricultural lands by fixing high rates for sales or leasing. Actually, Cantú did not have the authority to issue such a decree because this was a federal matter. However, on April 17, 1917,

Venustiano Carranza, the First Chief of the Constitutionalist Army and de facto chief executive of Mexico, also declared the concession contracts null and void for the same reasons cited by Cantú.²¹

Ensenada Today

From the strong American and English influences experienced in its early years, the community of Ensenada continues to develop its typically Mexican features. Fortunately, Ensenada has not grown much. Its population is about 300,000 inhabitants, which has helped to maintain the peaceful ambience. The beauty of its bay is still an attraction for visitors, especially for Americans, so a tourist infrastructure is being developed.²² Since it is a first-rate seaport, and because of its location on the Pacific coast, maritime commerce is significant.²³

A number of other activities contribute to Ensenada's economic life. Fishing is significant and includes canning of tuna, sardines, and other species. Wheat, barley, and grapes are grown in the region. Tomatoes and other vegetables are grown in the San Quintín Valley, to the south of Ensenada, for export.²⁴ Wine production has become a tradition, at

21. Martínez, *Historia de Baja California*, pp. 473–75.

22. In addition to hotel and restaurant services, there is the tourist and cultural center Riviera del Pacífico, now properly restored, that was constructed during the 1920s as a casino. Among its natural attractions is La Bufadora. This is a cave formed by marine erosion in which the action of the waves produces a blowhole with a singular sound and a spout 20 meters high. The scenic drive Ensenada-Tijuana offers a beautiful view of the coast and the cliffs.

23. All the cotton production of the Mexicali Valley is exported through the port of Ensenada, mainly to Japan. Merchandise arriving from diverse industrial centers of the Far East is received through that port.

24. The San Quintín Valley, with its significant tomato production, attracts a strong immigration flow of temporary workers from Oaxaca and Sinaloa to work in tomato growing and packing.

first with local investment, and more recently with investment from central Mexico.²⁵

A characteristic that distinguishes Ensenada is that it has become a center of scientific activities during the last decades. The Universidad Autónoma de Baja California (UABC), the Centro de Investigaciones Científicas y Enseñanza Superior de Ensenada (CICESE), and the Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (UNAM), all have important schools there that conduct high-level research and offer bachelor's, master's and doctoral degrees.²⁶ The main areas of focus are oceanography, physics, astronomy, biology, computers, and electronics. Ensenada today has the highest per capita concentration of scientists of all the cities of the country.

Ensenada has changed in important ways over the last century. From its origins that were stimulated and shaped largely by foreign influences of the development companies and the economic trends of Southern California, Ensenada has matured into a thriving city of Mexico's border region.

25. Besides the wine that had been produced at the missions, modern wine industrialization and production began in the 1880s. As of 1970, the Pedro Domec Company, whose main office is in central Mexico has vineyards and a production plant in the Calafia Valley, located in the Ensenada Municipality.

26. UABC was created in 1957, CICESE in 1973, and UNAM started activities in Ensenada in 1979 through the Astronomy Institute and later the Geophysics Institute.

Appendix One

The Men of the American Company

Preliminary Note

The documents of this appendix provide a closer view of the main participants in the development of the International Company of Mexico during the early stages of Ensenada. These are biographical data that were obtained between 1887 and 1889 as part of the preparation of works published by renowned historian Hubert Howe Bancroft.¹ It should be noted that documents in the three appendices are printed as they originally appear, including abbreviations, misspellings, and so forth.

These biographical sketches portray the men who participated in this intensive three-year Ensenada adventure that was characterized by ambitious projects and surprising accomplishments, but also by disenchantment and failure. Although the majority are brief, the texts contain substantial information on the men from the "Compañía Americana," (American Company) as it was known in Ensenada. By in large, they were people from the east and midwest of the United States who arrived in this part of the country moved by their spirit of enterprise and by the opportunities found in California. California

1. Hubert Howe Bancroft (1832-1918), from Granville, Ohio, holds a prominent place among American historians for his numerous published works, his collection of documents, and his excellent library of more than 60,000 volumes that are kept under his name at the University of California in Berkeley. *The Works of Hubert Howe Bancroft* (39 volumes) published between 1874 and 1890 is probably his best known publication; it is an important reference source on the history of the United States, Mexico, and Central America.

held an attraction by itself as much as by its close links with its Mexican neighbor, the almost uninhabited Lower California with its largely unexploited natural resources.

These men were in the prime of their lives; some were in their forties, while others were even younger. They were men with solid family backgrounds; the majority of them were members of wealthy families who were able to provide their sons with a higher education.² Four of the seven individuals included in this appendix were lawyers: Sisson, Welles, Fuller, and Seeber.

George H. Sisson must be given credit for having the initiative in the colonization of Lower California and in the establishment of the International Company of Mexico. He contributed not only his labor and expertise, but personal financial resources as well. Undoubtedly, Sisson was responsible for the project, for attracting important capitalists to invest in the enterprise and, as general manager, he was the main promoter, showing remarkable creativity and impetus. However, it seems that he was not a good administrator, a fact that created some difficulties.³

Before the colonization of Lower California, Sisson had been involved in several important activities. He practiced law in Indiana, he worked in real estate in Chicago, and was in the mining industry in Colorado and Arizona, where he was able to amass considerable wealth. Shortly after he left Lower California, he engaged in important colonization and railroad activities in the Mexican states of Sonora, Chihuahua, and Sinaloa. Lower California, then, was not the only place where he operated, although according to his autobiographical dictation, it seems likely that the Baja California projects were the most significant of his career.⁴

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2. George H. Sisson mentions it in his *Autobiographical Dictation* [C-D 925], p. 2, found in the Bancroft Library. A similar notation is made in Edgar R. Welles' biographical sketch included in this appendix.
 3. See Ruth Elizabeth Kearney, "American Colonization Ventures in Lower California, 1862-1917," thesis for the degree of Master of Arts, University of California, Berkeley, 1944, p. 89.
 4. Sisson emphatically requested that everything relating to the International

The attached passages regarding Sisson and other members of the International Company of Mexico are part of the information that was collected for use in Bancroft's publications. A biography of George H. Sisson was included in Volume VI of *Chronicles of the Builders of the Commonwealth: Historical Character Study*, published in San Francisco, California, 1891-1892.⁵ This important work features in its seven volumes the biographical sketches of prominent men in politics, business, and other aspects of community life. Mentioned, for example, are Alonzo E. Horton, "Father of San Diego," Governor Francis Emory Warren, and other outstanding personages such as Sisson who contributed considerable sums of money in subscribing to Bancroft's works.⁶

Bancroft had a team of collaborators who obtained the biographical data for the *Chronicles* through personal interviews. Edwin W. Fowler, who was in charge of the Southern California area, was appointed to obtain the information about Sisson.⁷ Sisson's biographical sketch was based on that same information. Fowler's data were also used, very briefly, in a chapter about Lower California in the *History of the North Mexican States and Texas*, Volume XVI of *The Works of Hubert Howe Bancroft*.⁸

Company of Mexico, especially his performance as General Manager, should be given full attention. Letter addressed to Hubert H. Bancroft by Edwin W. Fowler who was appointed to collect Sisson's biographical data. Los Angeles, California, September 28, 1889. Bancroft Library (CD-925) manuscripts folder.

5. Hubert Howe Bancroft, *Chronicles of the Builders of the Commonwealth: Historical Character Study* (San Francisco, California: The History Company, 1891-92), 6:161-205.
6. See John Walton Caughey, *Hubert Howe Bancroft, Historian of the West* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1946), pp. 313-29, for explanation of the monetary contributions and how they became public knowledge.
7. In Sisson's manuscripts folder, Bancroft Library (CD-925), there are several documents written by him, notes he took from the information Sisson gave him personally or letters he wrote to people who knew Sisson asking them for their opinion and comments about him.
8. *Hubert Howe Bancroft* (San Francisco, California: The History Company, 1889).

Edgar T. Welles was probably the wealthiest member of the group. Besides being the president of the International Company of Mexico, he was on the board of directors and a shareholder of important armament manufacturing, railroad, mining, and smelting businesses. His family was well known in high government and financial circles, and he was a proud descendent of old Puritan New England stock.

George C. Cheape was a shareholder and Francis Pavy was the company's European representative; both were English with London domiciles. That should explain why, when difficulties began, the company was transferred to English capitalists.

Major Gabriel Erb, from Pennsylvania, made his fortune in the hotel business in Illinois and Utah.⁹ He had an ambitious project to build in Punta Banda, Ensenada, an elegant hotel of grand dimensions that would transform the area into one of the finest resorts in the world. Unfortunately, it was an unfulfilled dream.

George Fuller and Chester Seeber were the company's employees and not shareholders as were Sisson, Welles, and Cheape. They were lawyers from New York, and before they arrived in Ensenada to work for the company, they had been in different parts of the United States. One had been to Wisconsin and Washington Territory. The other prided himself on knowing well the Pacific Coast from Panama to Cape Prince of Wales in Alaska. They both shared the same characteristic with the other Americans of this study: all traveled from east to west of the United States, urged by the spirit of enterprise and adventure.

Finally, Charles Scofield should be mentioned. He was in charge of the company's office in San Diego. Sisson was married to his sister Sarah Scofield and he was Sisson's confidential advisor.

9. Gabriel S. Erb, Dictation for the Bancroft's Works (CA. 1887), [M-M526], The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley. It should be mentioned that although Erb was not a military man, he kept the title "Major" from his participation in the Civil War, as did his colleague Sisson.

Biographical Sketch of George H. Sisson¹⁰

George H. Sisson was born in Cass County, Michigan, in 1844. After receiving a common school education he attended Ashbury University for two years, Ann Harbor Law University for two years and Albany Law School one year, where he graduated at the age of twenty three.

In 1867 Mr. Sisson married Miss Sarah Scofield, daughter of Edward Scofield, D.D.¹¹ who, by the way, was a bosom friend of Gen. Harrison¹² and the Greek tutor of Henry Ward Beecher and Harriet Beecher Stowe.¹³ Mr. Sisson's wife and four children, Edward A., Charles H., Lucille and Genevive, are at present temporary residing in New York, but their home in the near future will be with the loving and beloved husband and father at Ensenada, Mexico.

After graduating, Mr. Sisson practiced law in St. Joseph County, Indiana, for one year and in 1868 moved to Chicago, Ill. Shortly after moving to Chicago, Mr. Sisson engaged in the real estate business, loaning money and abstracting of titles. He remained in this business for nine years during which time he accumulated a considerable fortune. In 1873 Mr. Sisson invested a large portion of his fortune in mineral lands in southern Missouri. Following close upon this investment came the financial depression of '73, which wrecked so many fortunes through the East and Mr. Sisson became heavily involved [*sic*]. Hoping to recover his financial losses, Mr Sisson engaged in mining enterprises in Colorado and Arizona. Mr. Sisson's father having been a metallurgist, he had given considerable study to the art in early life and had also given several year's study to the

10. Sisson, George Hamilton [C-D 925], The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley. This document is excerpted here.

11. Reverend Edward Scofield, D.D., father-in-law of Sisson, was well respected. Sisson referred to him in very complimentary terms.

12. General William Henry Harrison in 1841 was the 9th President of the United States.

13. Harriet Beecher Stowe was author of the celebrated antislavery novel *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, published in 1852.

science of mineralogy before coming West. He found the knowledge he possessed of minerals materially aided him in his investments in mines. Out of the many investments he made in mines, scarcely one turned out a failure, while many of them are of world-wide reputation and historical importance. Among them are the Old Globe Mine of Arizona, which has yielded from \$600,000 to \$1,000,000 per year for the past six years, and the Clifton Copper mines of Clifton Arizona. From his mining investments, Mr. Sisson realized the handsome fortune of 1,500,000. While in the mining business, he had conferred upon him the degree of Mining Engineer by the University of Tenn.

The large fortune Mr. Sisson accumulated in the mines was used as a foundation of the great colonization enterprise. On a trip to northern Mexico in 1881, Mr. Sisson was so struck with the fertility of the soil and the great opportunity to secure land at reasonable figures that he at once conceived the idea of purchasing a large tract and establishing a colony upon it. About this time he became acquainted with Luis Huller of Sonora,¹⁴ Mexico, whom he recognized as a man of great genius and natural ability. To him Mr. Sisson proposed the colonization enterprise; Mr. Sisson to furnish the capital, if Mr. Huller would use his influence with the Mexicans and Mexican Government. Their first idea was to only buy private grants of which they soon purchased 750,000 acres in the state of Sonora, Mexico. Soon after this purchase they located and began the operation of several gold and silver mines on the purchased territory, Mr. Huller assuming the management of the same, in which he is still in charge. At Mr. Huller's suggestion they approached the Mexican Government for the purpose of obtaining a concession to a large portion of the lands of Yaqui River Valley which was granted. Soon after this they petitioned the Government to right to acquire the entire valley by the right of survey and colonization, under the revised law of Mexico of 1883. During the negotiation, their knowledge of the right to acquire land under the Mexican law increased and the final result was that they were granted the right to acquire under the colonial law by purchase and survey, much more territory than for which they had first asked. The Yaqui valley only comprised 4,000,000 acres, but they obtained the right (and

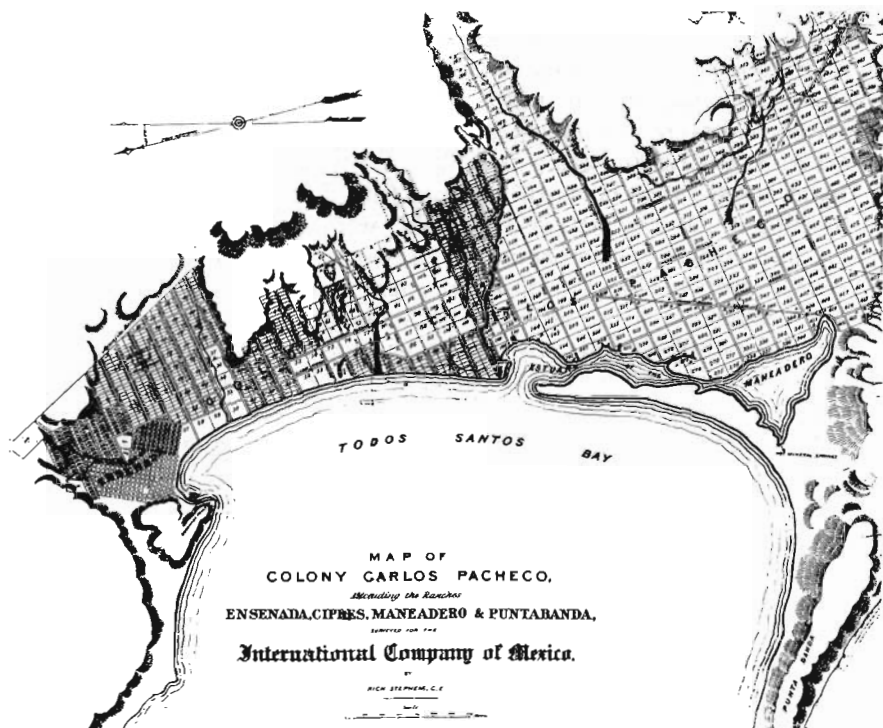
14. Luis Huller, a German, was a naturalized Mexican and thus could legally own land in Mexico.



George Hamilton Sisson, Director General of the International Company of Mexico, 1889 (Courtesy of Mandeville Department of Special Collections, University of California, San Diego)

availed themselves of that right,) to purchase two-thirds of all the public lands, in seven of the nine districts of Sonora, amounting to about 12,000,000 acres. Other concessions followed and these two enterprising gentlemen soon succeeded in acquiring through similar means and by purchasing concessions that had been granted to others, some 18,000,000 acres of land in northern Lower California, 9,000,000 acres in Sinaloa and 12,000,000 acres in Chiapas. The cost of the land purchased from the Government and of private individuals varied in price from a few cents to \$1.25 per acre. The enterprise now began to assume so gigantic proportions, it was thought best to incorporate its franchises and for this purpose, in Oct. 1884, Mr. Sisson went to New York City and called together a body of friends and unfolded, to their great surprise, the extent of their purchases, the richness of the soil, the healthfulness of the climate and the wonderful undeveloped resources of the purchased territory. These men at once saw the possibilities of a sure return at a good per cent for all money invested in this great enterprise and articles of incorporation were drawn up and in March 1885, the Legislature of Connecticut granted a special charter to the Company incorporating it as "The International Company of Mexico" with a capital stock of \$1,000,000.00. By another special act of the Legislature, the stock has been increased to \$20,000,000.00 where it still remains. Mr. Sisson and Mr. Huller now deeded over all lands acquired to said Company. The Company since its organization have acquired various other concessions and franchises the most prominent of which are as follows:

A concession to build the Chiapas Railway, which is to be an inter-oceanic line connecting the Pacific with the Atlantic. This route will shorten the distance 1250 miles between San Francisco and New York, as compared with the Panama route. The length of the railroad will be 180 miles; The concession to build the Peninsula Railway of Lower California having two northern termini one at San Diego, the other at Yuma, touching at Ensenada, the southern terminus to be at San Quintin. The length of this road to be 350 miles. The Mexican government voted a subsidy for \$12,000 a mile for each of these roads; A subsidy and franchise for a steamship line from San Diego Cal., to San Jose de Guatemala, the subsidy from the Mexican Government is \$8,000. for cash round trip, in addition to which the Government is to pay the company \$60 per capita for colonists brought into the Mexican borders on the Pacific slope for the first five years; A franchise to build,



Map of Colony Carlos Pacheco, Including the Ranchos Ensenada, Ciprés, Maneadero & Puntabanda, Surveyed for the International Company of Mexico by Rich. Stephens, C.E. (Colección Orozco y Berra)

own and operate iron piers for ware houses in twenty two Mexican ports; All the guano within Mexican territories on the Pacific coast, the islands of the Pacific and the Gulf of Mexico. The Company is already shipping 25,000 tons per annum of this to Hamburg, Germany alone. A steamship line between San Diego and Ensenada; Salt mines at San Quintin; Salt deposits and coal fields of the Yaqui valley and sole right to canalize the Yaqui river for irrigation purposes. The Company has also purchased Coronado Islands, Guadalupe Island, Cedros Island and Socorro Island. The last three named being of an average area of 100,000 acres each and adapted to grazing etc., Socorro Island, however, being specially adapted to Coffee growing. A large extent of

the Company's southern land is covered with precious woods such as mahogany [*sic*], rose wood, ebony, the most valuable variety of rubber tree, spanish cedar, and various gums and dye woods. Some of the rose wood and ebony trees are worth \$600 each, and many of such to the acre. To illustrate the little value that the natives place upon this wood, needs only to be stated that a party of the Company's surveyors, while surveying through a dense forest of this valuable wood, came upon some native charcoal burners, cutting the ebony timber and burning it into charcoal. There are also a great many thousand acres of pine and live oak timber in the Company's possession. One belt of pine timber extending 150 miles in length and several miles in width. The remainder of the lands are divided into fruit, grain, grazing, mineral and fiber producing lands, the production of the latter being specially adapted to the manufacture of all hemp and manilla products. The fruit and grain land will comprise about one-third the entire territory; the remaining two thirds are for the most part, available to grazing.

The climate of Lower California is the most equitable on the Pacific coast if not in the known world. Observations taken in June, July and August, by the Treasury Department of the United States for special purposes, along the Pacific coast of Lower California showed an average temperature for those three months of 76 degrees F., and observations taken through the winter gave an average of 55 degrees. Garden vegetables are sown and gathered every month in the year.

The President of "The International Company of Mexico" is Edgar T. Welles, of Hartford, Conn.; Vice President and General Manager, Major Geo. H. Sisson¹⁵ of Ensenada, Mexico;; Assistant General Manager, Col. Thomas G. Welles of Hartford, Conn.; Treasurer, Hon. R. A. Elmer of New York.; Secretary, Lyman R. Ingraham of Hartford Conn.; General Land Commissioner W. E. Webb of New York.; Assistant Land Commissioner, Charles B. Turrill of San Francisco.; European Representative, Capt. Francis Pavy of London. Solicitor & General Counsel for the Co. Hon. Wm. Hamersley of Hartford. The Company's legal headquarters are at Hartford Conn., Financial

15. The title of "Major" that Sisson used, he received for his participation in an action to subdue a group of rebels in the state of Indiana during the Civil War.

department and Treasury, office at 160 Broadway, New York; European offices at No 4 Bank Buildings, London England., and at Hamburg, Germany.; It also has offices at the City of Mexico, San Francisco Cal., San Diego Cal.; San Quintin, Ensenada, La Paz, Guaymas, Mazatlan, San Benito, San Jose de Guatamala [*sic*], Frontera, Yucitan [*sic*], Tampico and Vera Cruz [*sic*], Mexico. Surveyors have been making a general survey of the Company's possessions for the past three years and there still remains two years more work for them in the general surveying.

The company first began to receive colonists on January 1st 1887, since which time 1500 bona fide colonists have made purchases and have permanently settled upon the land. Owing to the vast amount of preliminaries still remaining to be done, the Company are not yet urging immigration to its possessions in any vast number. There are already 7000 foreigners engaged to come to the colony as soon as the company is prepared to receive them.¹⁶ In the next twenty years, the Company intends to colonize 500,000 people on the Pacific slope which undertaking is not any greater in proportion than what the Company has already done. For the next twenty years all colonists of this Company are exempt from taxation with the exception of stamped duties on legal documents and municipal taxes, and are permitted to import free of duty, all tools necessary to carry on any trade and all machinery for manufacturing or agricultural purposes and all the necessaries of life.

16. The number of colonists never reached such a high number; the real number was much less.

Autobiographical Dictation of George H. Sisson¹⁷

...During the time in which I had sole control there were built about 600 houses, including churches, school houses, large hotels, ware houses, dwellings, etc. There were laid out over 200 miles of streets and road-ways, many thousand shade trees planted, nurseries and experimental farms started, a large water supply for domestic use and irrigation purposes developed, two newspapers with complete plant for each established, one in Spanish and one in English,¹⁸ a survey of a vast portion of one territory and 3 states nearly completed, a fleet of steamers running, wharfage facilities completed and some 4,000 people settled upon the lands. All of which was accomplished by my own effort personally given and without aid, save such as was extended by subordinates. I myself being constantly in the field and with a thought and purpose solely directed and concentrated upon the work incident to the field and the development and realizing of the purposes of these concessions, and the retaining in our favor of the public sentiment of Mexico, both from her citizens and her government, much of the detail as directed from the home office did not come under my knowledge.

In furtherance of the plans of the various corporations, all of which I had formulated from [*sic*] the beginning, and which plans were complete to the most minute detail and covered for their fulfillment a series of years in advance, it became necessary to raise large sums of money over and above what I had personally advanced to the enterprise, and which, for two years or more, I had carried on with personal resources alone. Of course, when the enterprises were initiated, they had a value more clearly speculative than actual. Take

17. George Hamilton Sisson [C-D 925], The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

18. This deals with the newspaper *La Voz de la Frontera de la Baja California*, bilingual Spanish and English, that was published from 1886 to 1889, and *The Lower Californian* that was exclusively in English and had a longer life, from 1886-1898. Both were published in Ensenada.

the lands for an example: These, during the first period of survey and segregation from the public domain, were vainly offered by my agents at 10 cents to 45 cents per acre both in the American and European markets. In two years from that time by unremitting effort—such as has been indicated to you—I was able to sell these same lands at prices varying from \$2. per acre to as high as \$100. per acre, and during the third year of our progress these sales aggregated some seven millions of dollars. Meanwhile, however, I had placed these securities to which I had given this great value entirely in the hands of associates for the purpose of meeting the financial wants of the corporations. During a brief visit to the home office in New York I unexpectedly became aware of the fact that my associates, seemingly unable to realize the magnitude of the enterprises and their great intrinsic worth, had, in negotiating for the various sums of money required in these operations, not only pledged the securities therefor [*sic*], but had, in addition, operations, not only pledged the securities therefor, but had, in addition, permitted the control of affairs to pass out of their hands to that of the parties who had purchased our bonds. When this fact became known, realizing at once that it meant an entire change of programme—since the putting of these vast enterprises into the hands of persons entirely ignorant of every question which entered into the proper development of these enterprises and who were utterly ignorant of the very inception of the undertakings, and who could realize neither the difficulties which had been overcome nor those which were yet to be met, as well as the mode of development and the manner of meeting them—I at once determined to separate myself entirely from the business. I resigned all formal connection with the matter and went at once about my own private business.¹⁹

A few months later I sold my entire interest to the English people, into whose hands the control had thus been inconsiderately permitted to pass, and I am no longer interested in any wise in these gigantic enterprises. You yourself know how different appeared the business the day before my separation from it and the day after. It seems to be generally conceded that day and night are not more marked than was

19. This is one of the few references to the reasons that Sisson left the International Company of Mexico. It is especially valuable because it includes Sisson's version of an important matter for which there is very little information.

the development and activity prior to, and succeeding, the date of my giving up all personal relations. I offer no other criticism than this, that the results seem to have grown out of the sheer inability of associates to rise to the occasion and to appreciate the true proportions of these enterprises, and they frittered away a good part of the results of an undertaking which was not second in magnitude and importance to anything seen during the last three centuries, nor did they seem to possess a single one of the faculties for finance so continuously and imperatively required in affairs of such proportion.

What the English may do I cannot tell. I imagine, however, they will meet a certain form of success to a measureable [*sic*] degree, but they seem to do with mailed hand and iron heel what I was rapidly accomplishing by reasonable tact, a fair amount of concession to the prejudices of others, and the kindling of an enthusiastic spirit on both sides the governmental line, which might be said to equal a crusade of the better type.

Since taking up my affairs, I have organized the "Northwestern Colonization and Improvement Company of Chihuahua," and deeded to it several million acres of lands in Chihuahua, and these we are now improving and colonizing. I have also organized The "Sonora Sinaloa and Chihuahua Railway Company," and under this organization we are carrying out certain concessions received from the Mexican Government and are building a railway from Deming N.M., southward 350 miles through that magnificent series of agricultural valleys that flank the Sierra Madre Mountains on the east, thence across the Sierra Madre not far from Batopilas, striking the Pacific waters at Topolobampo harbor. From this point we proceed coast-wise northerly to the port of Guaymas. From Guaymas we tap the anthracite coal fields of Sonora. I have organized also the "Chihuahua and Sierra Madre Railway Company," and under it am building a railway from the Sierra Madre Mountains commencing at a point called Guerrero, where we meet the "Sonora Sinaloa and Chihuahua Railway" in its southward course, and from Guerrero it will run eastwardly to the city of Chihuahua and onward to the Rio Grande, where we meet eastern connections with Galveston, New Orleans and the Atlantic seaboard. I have organized also the "Deming Sierra Madre and Pacific Railway Company," which, beginning at the town of Deming, runs southward to the U.S. boundary line and will ultimately,

cross the mountains through a low pass, and, running southwesterly, strike the northern edge of the Sonora anthracite coal belt for the purpose of distributing coal along the United States boundary. We are rapidly pushing these lines at three points, from Deming southward, from Chihuahua westward, and from Guaymas southerly down the coast. Grading and tracklaying is proceeding from these three points to a common center...

...Incidentally I mention that I am the President of the three railway corporations and own the majority of the stock. I also control the majority interests in our landed operations. One of these tracts alone has an area of 4,000 square miles.²⁰

I am dictating to you with the freedom of a conversation. You must shape this loose matter to suit yourself...

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Geo. H. Sisson". The signature is written in black ink on a white background. The letters are fluid and connected, with a prominent loop at the end of the name.

*Signature of George Hamilton Sisson (Instituto de Investigaciones
Históricas, Universidad Autónoma de Baja California)*

20. It should be noted that even after the economic problems that Sisson encountered in Lower California, he retained extensive capital and land holdings.

Biographical Sketch of Edgar T. Welles²¹

Edgar T. Welles was born in Hartford, Connecticut August 29th. 1843. He is the son of the Hon. Gideon Welles, Secretary of the Navy during the administration of President Lincoln and President Johnson. He was assistant to his father during his administration and became in that way very prominently identified with the Government. Mr Welles studied law and was admitted to the bar but never practiced. He is now devoting his entire time to the affairs of the International Company of Mexico and the subsidiary organizations. He is also Treasurer of the Gatling Gun Company of Hartford, Vice President of the Wabash Railway Company, President of the Granby Mining and Smelting Company of St. Louis, one of the largest lead and zinc companies in the country.

Mr. Welles was married in 1870 to the daughter of Charles H. Brainard, Esq., a prominent banker of Hartford Connecticut. Mr. Welles has always kept his legal residence in Hartford, although much of his business life has been spent in New York. He is of old Puritan New England stock, his residence in Hartford being on land that was purchased from the Indians in the settlement of the Colony, and the old homestead near Hartford has come down by direct descent, no deed ever having been passed.

21. International Company of Mexico, Biographical Notes, Biographical sketches of Edgar T. Welles [M-M 367], The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

Biographical Sketch of Captain George C. Cheape of Wellfield Strathmiglo, Fife, Scotland²²

Late Captain 11th Prince Albert's Own Hussars; now commands troop of Fifeshire Light Horse; is a Justice of the Peace and Deputy Lieutenant County of Fife. Served at home and abroad 13 years in Regular Army—since then in Reserve forces 14 years; now leading the troop that was commanded by his Grandfather 60 years ago.

Captain Cheape sailed to India round the Cape and served with the Eleventh Hussars in India for some years, during which time he gained much knowledge of the productiveness of that country made excursions through Cashmere to Thibet, and throughout Himalaya Mountains, where he enjoyed much sport in pursuit of Bears, Markoor and Ibex. In the plains of India too he had the best of Tiger shooting and Wild Boar hunting. Returning to England by Red Sea and Isthmus of Suez, before the Canal was made. Since then has travelled much in the Continent of Europe, and has studied the agriculture of its countries. At his own home he has large farm in which he takes much interest.

Captain Cheape has made three trips to America, throughout the length and breadth of which he has travelled, extending his journey to Canada in the North and Mexico in the South. In 1886 he visited Mexican Lower California, with which country he was so pleased that he has done his best to promote the interests of the International Company of Mexico, whose properties embrace lands of unsurpassed fertility, and a climate the most enjoyable in the world, being of such equal temperature.

Captain Cheape has interests in Texas, Colorado, Arizona and the garden lands of California, but looks to Baja California as a Mother

22. International Company of Mexico, Biographical sketch of Captain George C. Cheape, HHB [M-M 367], The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

would on a favorite child, which she hopes to live to see grow into a credit to all concerned.

Captain Cheape is Master of the Linlithgou and Stirlingshire Foxhounds, which he hunts during the winter months; he has been Master of an adjoining pack since 1879—Whilst showing good sport and encouraging a love of the chase succeeds in encouraging the breeding of good horses in his country, and in promoting the best forms and interests of agriculture.

Captain Cheape has three sons, who it is hoped will follow in his footsteps and bear as great an affection for friends on the Pacific slope as their father.

News Regarding Gabriel S. Erb²³

Lower California Boom. It is Assuming Proportions Undreamed of a Short Time Ago. Punta Banda City and Its Big Hotel.

When the International Company of Mexico launched its enterprise in this city, it was regarded with indifference by many, doubts by some, and with positive disfavor by a few. The gentlemen connected with it, however, pursued the even tenor of their way, without noise or ostentation, diligently developing their scheme, gradually gaining in public confidence and favor as one forward step after another confirmed the sincerity of their intentions as well as the merits of their work, and to-day there is no enterprise in progress about San Diego that gives certain promise of larger and more beneficial results than that of the International Company of Mexico. The progress of development at Ensenada has from time to time been referred to in these columns. Also the intentions of the company with regard to increasing facilities for travel and transportation between this point and Ensenada. Another enterprise took definite shape yesterday, whose description will excite great interest. A number of capitalists, comprising Major G. S. Erb, of Salt Lake; Dr. G. W. Snyder, John C. Amendt, of Chicago, and others, have bought three thousand acres on the shores of Todos Santos Bay, ten or fifteen miles south of Ensenada.

This tract lies adjacent to the promontory of Punta Banda, a bold headland that pushes out three or four miles into the sea, forming the southern boundary of Todos Santos Bay. It is a beautiful locality, admirably adapted for just what it is proposed to make out of it, namely, one of the finest resorts in the world. The land is fertile and well watered, there being numerous springs of both hot and cold water upon it. The hot springs will be utilized for sanitary purposes, and the cold ones for irrigating and domestic uses. One thousand acres will be set apart for a hotel park, the other two thousand will be sold to settlers. The park will be beautified with every possible form of plant life, and

23. *San Diego Daily Union*, May 9, 1887.

will be placed in the hands of the most skillful landscape gardeners obtainable for the purpose. Upon the park will be built at once a three-story hotel, containing 400 sleeping-rooms, besides parlors, dining-rooms, offices, etc. This hotel will have all the appointments known to modern first-class hotel equipment. It will be managed by Major Erb, who has demonstrated his capacity in that direction by accumulating a fortune of more than half a million in the hotel business. The hotel will be surrounded by verandas at the level of each floor, and surmounted by an observatory. It will be so located that pure water under pressure will flow into every part. At the hot springs, bathhouses will be built, costing \$8,000 to \$10,000, containing some sixty bath-rooms, and facilities will also be provided for sea bathing.²⁴ As an indication of what may be expected for this hotel, in the way of patronage, it may be stated that seventy families have already engaged rooms in it for the next winter. When this hotel is finished, a boat will ply each way daily between Punta Banda City and San Diego. Several other large purchases have been made in the vicinity of Punta Banda, whose mention will emphasize the importance of movements in that locality. A Chicago syndicate has purchased six or eight thousand acres adjoining, which they will colonize. Walker Brothers, wealthy capitalists of Salt Lake, will visit the same locality soon, for the purpose of buying. A New York and Boston syndicate have bought a large and fertile valley from the International Company. This is also to be colonized. Still another syndicate is taking hold of mining properties which have been examined by experts and pronounced superior to anything above the line. These mines are in the southern part of the company's lands. Connected with the mining project is a proposition to build a railroad lengthwise of the peninsula of Lower California, with a branch to Ensenada and Punta Banda, and machine shops at San Diego.

A prominent medical gentleman took samples of the Punta Banda Hot Springs water to New York for analysis, and is so well satisfied as to its virtues that he is now here proposing to erect an extensive sanitarium at the new city.

24. In the Seaver Center for Western History Research, Los Angeles, California, there is a drawing of the facade of the project and one can appreciate that it was going to be a hotel of grand proportions, with an elegant Victorian line, in accord with the architectural styles of the epoch.

These are not mere visionary schemes. Those of them that are not fixed facts will probably become so within a short time.

Many of the men connected with these enterprises are very wealthy. Over fifty lots were sold in the new city yesterday.

Biographical Dictation of George Fuller²⁵

Mr. Fuller was born in New York City in the year of 1850. He attended the public schools of that City and had a small amount of private tutorage besides. He studied law in an office in New York and at the age of twenty one was admitted to the bar there immediately after which he went to Wisconsin. Until this time he had never been out of the City of New York. In July 1871 he formed a partnership with Col. John C. Spooner, who is now U. S. Senator, and remained with him for two years. He then returned to New York at the request of his mother and practiced law there two years after which he moved to Providence and joined Thurston, Ripley & Coe, a prominent law firm there. He was connected with them for six years, when he returned to New York, remaining one year and in 1882, went to Tacoma, Washington Terr. practicing here for six years and being quite a prominent citizen of that place.

He was one of the active members of the committee in expelling the Chinese from that place in 1886. In 1885 he was City Attorney of Tacoma, whose population including the Chinese was about 7000. He made the acquaintance of Mr. Fitch in Tacoma in 1885. He was there looking after some mining interests and while waiting occupied Mr. Fuller's office and in this way they became intimately acquainted. When he went to Cal. he offered Mr. Fuller a partnership in San Diego. He let the decision rest on the fate of an appointment of Attorney General that it looked probable he would get, but which he failed to do through some non-resident coming into the field. The letters and credentials which he received at this time were exceedingly gratifying.

The firm of Fitch and Fuller, formed in March 1886, still exists although not in active practice. Mr. Fitch is engaged heavily in Real estate while Mr. Fuller is the resident attorney at Ensenada for the International Co. of Mexico. He thinks the title of all their lands is perfect without a doubt for they are really the colonization agents of the Mexican Government. He also thinks that the Burton is all an idle dream.

25. Dictation of George Fuller [C-D 41], The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

His impressions of Lower Cal. are that it is all good as fine as Southern Cal. with all the variety of soil and such advantages of climate as result from distance from the Ocean and altitude.

Mr. Fuller was one of the active members in originating the Chamber of Commerce in Tacoma which owns its building.

Will send in an article on the Chinese Question of Tacoma prepared by himself.

Biographical Dictation of Charles Scofield²⁶

Mr. Scofield is a native of Hamilton County, Ohio, born in December, 1856. His father being a Methodist Minister his boyhood days was spent in different parts of Indiana and Illinois. Up to the age of 17 years he enjoyed the privileges of a common school education, but at that age he went to Chicago and entered Douglass University, where he remained for three years. At the end of that time, being then 20 years of age, he went to Missouri and engaged in copper and lead mining and remained there two years. At the end of that time he took a position with a large lumber and milling company as head clerk and continued in that capacity for about two years, or until 1881. He then removed to Arizona in connection with the Old Globe Copper mine, and was the first one to take charge of it. The mine was developed extensively under his management. The mine in question was located by Ben. Regan, who also discovered and located the Silver King mine of Arizona. After the death of Regan the claim was purchased from his heirs by Major Sisson, who went east and organized the Old Globe Copper Company under the laws of Connecticut. Operations were first commenced on the mine, under Mr. Scofield's supervision, in December, 1881. He remained at the mine in charge until July of 1881, when the mine was put in the charge of an expert mining engineer, and Mr. Scofield took charge of the reduction works and furnaces and remained in that capacity until April, 1884, when he went east for a visit. Before his return to the west, or in September, 1885, he was married to Miss Ella Losee, of Dekalb Co., Ill. He returned to California and in February, 1886, went to Guaymas, Mexico, where he joined Major Sisson. Major Sisson and Mr. Scofield then took a two months tour of the guano deposits in the Gulf of California, and upon their return to Guaymas, Mr. Scofield took charge of the loading and shipment of the guano in the Gulf of California. He hired all the men and attended to all the details of the work. Mr. Scofield has been the confidential advisor of Major Sisson in all his vast work from the time he commenced. He remained in charge of the guano industry until July, 1886, when he came to San Diego to take charge of the surveys

26. Charles Scofield [C-D 810:391], The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

that were being made in Lower California. The surveys lasted from July to February, Mr. Scofield being on the ground all the time with the exception of making monthly trips to San Diego for the purpose of supplies. After the surveys were completed, Mr. Scofield was given full charge of the San Diego office of the International Co. of Mexico. He has the handling of all the finances of the Company.

Biographical Dictation of Chester Seeber²⁷

Chester Seeber was born in Central in 1850, N. Y. His father was a well to do farmer. He remained on his father's farm until his 20th year and received a good common school education. In 1870 he went to Iowa and remained until 1872, when he returned to NY state and began the study of law which he continued for nearly three years. He then excepted [*sic*] a position in the freight department of the N. Y.-Hudson River R. R., where he remained until 1887 when he came to SF Cal [San Francisco, California]. He was soon admitted to the bar and began the practice of law in SF, and continued the practice of law in said city until 1884 in the meantime making several trips along the coast as far South as Panama and as far north as W.T. [Washington Territory].

In 1884 Mr. Seeber was appointed Commissioner of Alaska by the Pres. Arthur wither he went in September of same year and established his office at Uonalaska on one of the Aleutian. Here he remained successfully and satisfactorily performing the duties of said office until the spring of 1886, in the meantime, however, making several trips along the coast and in the northern seas. In the spring of 1886 left Alaska and went to Washington, D. C. to resign his position and make a report of his labors. Mr. S. spent the summer in the east during which time his "Western Alaska, its Geography Resources and Inhabitants, with Suggestions for Future Legislation" appeared. This pamphlet contains many valuable suggestions and much useful information concerning Alaska.

In the fall of 1886, Mr. Seeber came to San Diego, Cal. and in Dec. he took a trip to Ensenada, Mexico, in company with several of the official of the International Comp. of Mexico. On his return to S.D. he wrote an excellent description of the company's possessions and a description of the country. In Mar. 1887, the company appointed him as "Resident Land Agent" at Ensenada, where he came in the same month and entered upon his duties and still remains in that official capacity.

27. Dictation of Chester Seeber [M-M 376], The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

Mr. Seeber is familiar with the coast from Panama to Cape Prince of Whales, and he pronounces the climate of Northern Lower Cal. as superior to any along the coast and the soil equally as good.

In Mar. of this year there were but 3 frame houses in Ensenada, now there are about 50. Then lots were selling at \$50 each that are now selling at \$500; the land that found few buyers at \$30 per acre, now finds ready sale at \$100. In Mar. there were not to exceed 5000 acres of land sold out of 70000 acres adjacent to Ensenada. Now about 40000 acres are sold.

It is the policy of the company to deal liberally with everybody. All vested rights are fully recognized and legal owners are not disturbed in their possessions. The projected improvements at Ensenada are the constructing of an International Avenue 15 mi. in length and the grading of all the streets; the planting of shade and ornamental trees along both sides of avenue and streets; the erection of a hotel of about 100 rooms, overlooking the bay; the construction of a \$10,000 wharf; putting in electric lights and water works; and a boat to ply between Ensenada and hot springs.

Appendix Two

The Men of the English Company

Preliminary Note

The profile of the members of the *Compañía Inglesa* was very different from that of the Americans whose place they took in the colonization of Baja California. The documents included in this appendix are on some of its most important managers and shareholders and provide a clear picture of the Englishmen. Two of the four persons covered in the appendix received the title of "Sir" from the English crown, while another was a member of Parliament.

Both Sir Buchanan Scott and Sir Edward Jenkinson received their titles for their military service as well as for their work as government officials for the British empire in India. Cuthbert Quilter had a long career in the British Parliament and the world of high finance. John H. Packard's background was more modest; he became the company's general manager at a time when it already had problems and the shareholder's interest in Baja California had diminished.¹

Although Captain Buchanan Scott was in Ensenada for a short two-year span, his actions were of great import to the region. He arrived in 1888 after having worked as a railroad engineer for the British government in India. He was young, 38, recently married, and accustomed to working in a foreign country while holding managerial positions.

1. See Registers of the Mexican Land and Colonization Company, in existence at Sherman Library in Corona del Mar, California.

An article in the December 2, 1888, issue of *The San Diego Union* manifested that his arrival in Ensenada was an evident change in operations at the *Compañía Inglesa*. It was oriented much more towards promoting the integral development of the region rather than towards the sale of urban land lots and did not have the high level of publicity of its predecessor.

Of particular note was the special attention given by Scott to the Ensenada–San Diego railroad project. He personally participated in the surveying work trying to determine the best route. Here he was able to bring to bear the ample experience he had while in India. Unfortunately, the company decided against the project.

The company's situation in Baja California can be appreciated in the letter included in this appendix that Scott sent to Quilter, one of the principal shareholders.² The letter reveals Scott's personal opinions on a number of fundamental issues. Of particular note was the contempt with which he refers to the assumed venality of the Mexican judges and the dishonesty of the Americans, whom he would later call "Yankees."

Likewise, he was worried about the objections made by some people against certain property titles of the company, for they considered themselves the legal owners. Of those, the most pronounced were the cases of Mrs. Burton³ and the person who demanded the return of Punta Banda from Gabriel Erb.⁴ Scott's uncertainty on whether he would keep working for the company in Ensenada, or return to India

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2. The transcription of the manuscript was made by James E. Yaeger, with whom I shared experiences and materials on these subjects. I greatly appreciate his authorization to include it in this work.
 3. Mrs. Amparo Ruiz Burton considered herself owner of the property on which Ensenada was founded. Her claim was based on being the inheritor of the first owner, José Manuel Ruiz. The company won the case, but in the meantime, there was confusion and distrust among prospective buyers of urban land lots. She was married to General Henry Stanton Burton, one of the American soldiers who took over the Baja California peninsula in the War of 1848.
 4. This was one of the major problems that prevented Erb from constructing the hotel he had planned at Punta Banda.

after his leave from the British government expired, was also evident in his letter. But probably the most important revelation the letter makes is that deep within, Scott harbored hope that Baja California would become part of the United States, which would mean millions in profits for the company. This came up when he mentioned the conversation he had with Babcock, who was one of the wealthiest and most ambitious men in San Diego, California.⁵

This particular letter is dated in January of 1890. It helps to understand the involvement attributed to Scott in the filibuster movement that had been planned for August of that year but failed because a few California newspapers denounced the scheme in May. The *San Francisco Chronicle* article of June 1890, that is also included in this appendix, gives the affair another angle by proclaiming that the purpose of the movement was the establishment of a British protectorate in Baja California. Either way, both movements attacked the sovereignty of Mexico. As a result, once this information became widely known, the Mexican government insisted that Scott be removed from the company. In accordance with this, he and his wife left Ensenada on May 10, 1890, and returned to India.⁶

Scott's obituary indicates that he had a long career of 34 years in India, at the service of the British Empire, and his stay in Baja California, although a brief moment in his life, had an impact on the region.

Sir Edward Jenkinson was the original mediator in the purchase of the *Compañía Americana* by the *Compañía Inglesa*. Apparently, he was one of the principal shareholders of the latter as well. He lived in London and made visits to Baja California. He is referred to in the newspaper article, "Mines and Miners," included in this appendix. The mining activities described are the result of the 1889 gold rush in El Alamo, located southeast of Ensenada. This boom attracted a great number of gold miners, up to 5,000 and most were Americans. But as so often happens in these situations, the boom disappeared as quickly

5. Kearny, "American Colonization Ventures," p. 141

6. *Lower Californian*, September 30, 1892.

as it had come.⁷ In any case, the article underscores the attention given to the mining business by Jenkinson and the rest of the *Compañía Inglesa*.

In 1892, Jenkinson decided to withdraw from the company, apparently due to disagreements with the conduct of some members, the filibuster movement included.⁸ His obituary, published in *The London Times*, indicates that he died on March 1, 1919, at the age of 82. Noteworthy are the services he gave the British Crown in Benares, Jhansi, and other cities of India. Furthermore, he was a member of the government of William Ewart Gladstone, celebrated Prime Minister of the Victorian era.

Cuthbert Quilter was one of the company's strongest shareholders. The interview by the Ensenada newspaper, *The Lower Californian*, describes him as a man of intense activity. He came to Mexico on vacation, to relax from his parliamentary duties. On his way through the nation's capital, he had a meeting with the president, General Porfirio Díaz, and three of the ministers of his cabinet.

For obtaining the confidence of foreign investors, Quilter refers with praise to the Díaz regime. Likewise, it is worth noting the measured tone with which he refers to the company's projects so as not to "hold out hopes that might not be realized." By that time in 1894, the company had various problems that would be difficult to solve. One was that the government continued to view the company with suspicion, for it was said that there were members of the Company that continued with filibuster intentions.⁹

7. Richard E. Lingerfelter, *The Rush of '89*, Baja California Travels Series (Los Angeles: Dawson's Book Shop, 1967).

8. *Lower Californian*, September, 30, 1892.

9. This is observed in the documents of the time. There are complaints from the company because the authorities did not pay the necessary attention to their claims against squatters on their lands, as well as the tax charges. See, among others, vol. 2, 1983, exp. 16, in the Archivo General de la Nación, México, Gobernación.

Finally, John A. Packard was the Company's general manager in Ensenada from 1898 to 1905. The text included in this appendix is taken from *Baja California ilustrada*, a work published in 1899 by J.R. Southworth with the purpose "to attract the attention of intelligent capitalists" in the region where he praises Packard and the company's activities.¹⁰ Southworth was English. He published this type of bilingual (Spanish-English) promotional works with economic support from the state governments and the companies.¹¹

The English Company and Packard were confronting difficult situations in Ensenada. There were demonstrations in Ensenada in which the company was accused of discriminating against Mexicans in the access to land being colonized. In fact, a petition with 600 signatures for the removal of Packard as manager was filed.¹² At the same time, the Hotel Iturbide, once a prosperous business for the company, was operating at a loss of 300 to 400 pesos a month.¹³ This, in addition to other circumstances, drove Packard to resign as general manager in 1905. These were all symptoms that the company's influence in the region was decreasing and were signs pointing to the end of this grand colonization and urbanization project.

10. Southworth, *Baja California ilustrada*, p. 2.

11. Before the work on Baja California, he published those corresponding to Sonora and Sinaloa.

12. Packard to Charles Cheston, Director of the Company in London, May 9, 1903, Sherman Library.

13. Packard to F.H. Ireson, Secretary of the Company in London, April 6, 1904, Sherman Library.

Documents Regarding Sir Buchanan Scott

Baja California. New Era in the International Company's Affairs¹⁴

The advent of Captain E. Scott, R.E., as the representative of the English syndicate of capitalists, and General Manager of the International Company of Mexico, has marked the beginning of a new epoch in the history of the northern half of peninsular California, and brought reassurance to hundreds who until recently, had lost confidence in the success of the great scheme of colonization. A hurried trip through the country, a passing comparison of men and things as they were found six months ago with what they now are, and a brief conversation with the colonists as well as with others, who can have no possible interest in misrepresentation, is enough to show that a great revolution in the administration of affairs, has taken place.

Speaking of the change which is almost everywhere apparent, a colonist who is now visiting Ensenada from San Vicente remarked that "Captain Scott's long service in the different provinces of India has placed him in a position to enter into his new work under singularly advantageous conditions. His perception is keen, it is not among the misfortunes of his life to blunder, and he possesses a great faculty for saying 'No,' always at the proper time and often. Thus it is that all have abiding faith in his administration."

The most important work at present being carried on is the preliminary surveys of the proposed railroad between Ensenada and San Diego, and the construction of colonization roads throughout the company's grant. Besides this, many points along the coast are being settled, and new colonies located upon promising sites with natural bays or inlets. At Ensenada there is little or no change apparent. The company's offices are daily the scene of much activity, and the Hotel Iturbide, under the management of H.H. McCollister, formerly of the Hotel del Coronado, is very nearly filled with guests. The country from

14. *San Diego Union*, December 2, 1888.

Carman creek to Punta Banda, which is about thirty miles in extent, and completely closed in by the horseshoe range of hills which follow the natural bay line some four miles to the westward, contains some 120,000 acres of arable land. Of this, 25,000 acres are sold, and more than 6,000 acres are now under cultivation. In December last less than 1,000 acres had been cultivated.

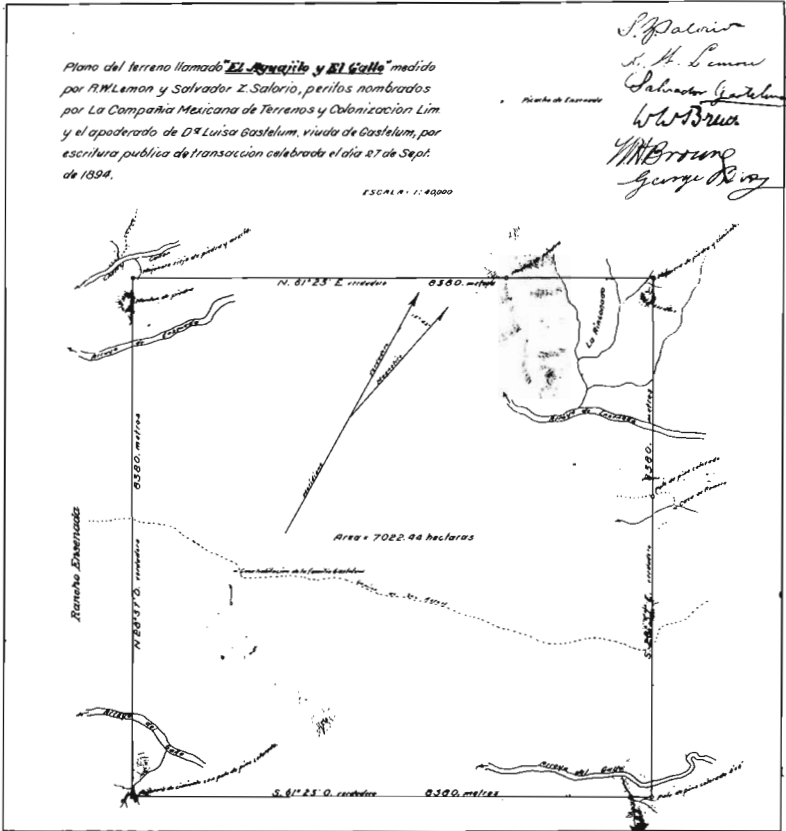
At Punta Banda the hot springs, of which there are eleven, attract many visitors. The new well is completed, and by way of experiment it was shown that an egg could be boiled hard in the water in less than five minutes. The new wharf at Punta Banda, which, starting out with a width of 20 feet and terminates 1,900 feet from the shore, with a width of 50 feet, has just been completed, and is substantial in every way. The estuary of the Maneadero, which is located on the southeast bend of the horseshoe, is some eight miles in length and has an average width of about a mile. The banks of this inlet are famous hunting grounds, game being abundant and the waters being alive with fish and turtles. Three miles east of Ensenada the famous Aquajito Ranch, owned by Petro Gallestum¹⁵ is situated. Upon the 200 acres under cultivation the owner has every conceivable description of fruit and flowers, which appears to have been thrown there without thought or care—all growing together—suggestive of a rich soil and perfect climate.

The water which supplies this stretch of country, known as the Carlos Pacheco colony, is found at depths varying from five to forty feet, while the entire town of Ensenada obtains water from one well which is but seven feet in depth.

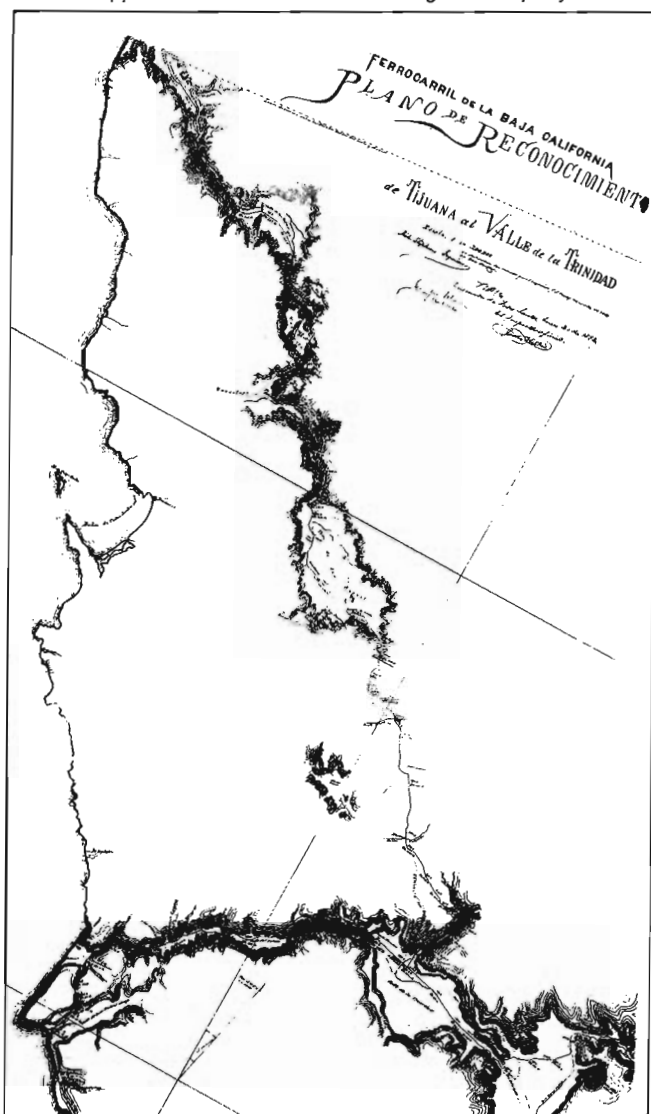
RAILROAD SURVEYS

There are three surveying parties on the road. One, known as Perry's corps, started from Ensenada about a month ago, and follows the coast northward. Tia Juana was reached on Friday, and it is said that an excellent route has been located. The second experimental line is being run by Stevens' corps, which has now been out about two months.

15. The owner was not "Petro Gallestum," but Pedro Gastelum, a member of one of the oldest families of the region. In fact, from the beginnings of Ensenada, one of the principal streets carried the surname of the family.



Map of the Property Named El Aguajito y El Gallo, Sold by the Widow Da. Luisa Gastelum to the English Company on September 27, 1894 (Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, Universidad Autónoma de Baja California)



Survey Map of the Baja California Railroad, from Tijuana to Valle de la Trinidad, Made by the English Company, 1892. Ensenada is in the middle part of the map; San Quintín is at the lower left portion of the map. This railroad was never built. (Colección Orozco y Berra)

They have been doing much experimental work among the valleys and canyons in the interior of the peninsula, and have reached a point about thirty miles from Ensenada. If adopted this will, of course, be a much longer route than that known as the coast route, but will have the advantage of a more central location, and of opening up to settlement and cultivation some fertile valleys.

Green's surveying party is moving south from headquarters, and, like Stevens, is keeping inland. They have been on the road about three weeks, and are meeting with much encouragement. The Captain himself has been on an extended trip south, overland, and is taking general observations as to the agricultural nature or possibilities of the country, and the best points at which the proposed line should touch.¹⁶

There is at present in Ensenada a representative of a large Mennonite colony which will soon arrive from Marian and McPherson counties, Kansas. He is settling upon a location, and expresses himself as highly satisfied with the prospect before him.

The company has been busy during the week in sending a variety of vegetables seeds to the various places in order that no time may be lost in sowing. Altogether the outlook for the success of the efforts of the company are brighter than they ever were.

16. The Ensenada-San Diego railroad was never more than a project and even today it has not been carried out.

Letter from Buchanan Scott to Cuthbert Quilter¹⁷

[Mr. Cuthbert Quilter
The Mexican Land and Colonization Company
London, England]

Ensenada
Jan. 8, 1890

Dear Mr. Quilter,

I haven't been able to write you for some time owing to press of work, but I suppose Sir Edward Jenkinson has told you how things are progressing here. I am very sorry to say our cases pending in the Law Courts have not progressed much since last year, they are all now in the City of Mexico having been transferred from the Federal Courts to the Supreme Court. This is a good thing for the Company if we could only get them pushed through with dispatch. In the Courts here, if a person gave the Judge \$1,000 he got the case decided in his favour no matter what the evidence was against him, it is merely a question of dollars.

Mrs. Burton's case is still dragging its slow weight along, but all the time it is impossible to bring in a single American Colonist, or sell an acre of land, the only thing to do is to get these large cases decided before any attempt should be made to bring in Colonists.

San Carlos & Punta Banda as far as Erb is concerned is on a fair way to settlement, but there the case of (Santiago? S ____), who claims Punta Banda & of which you saw how matters are worked in Mexico, is still in high litigation. We have no got San Quintin properly clear, but if we intend to irrigate S. Quintin, the only reservoir site is in the Santa Domingo Ranch, up the River from the San Ramon Ranch where

17. Loose letter filed in front of letter press book. James E. Yaeger's complete transcription of the Buchanan Scott Collection is held in the personal archives of Yaeger, San Diego, California.

we spent the night of one day down to San Quintin, you remember we encamped beside a stream.

The Santa Domingo Ranch does not belong to the Company, and is a Ranch the Company ought to have if they ever intend to carry out irrigation schemes for the northern portion of S. Quintin. The Mines are looking fairly well, the "Princessa" is first class & is down 110 ft. The extension of the "Princessa" is owned by Mexicans, and we should try to obtain the Mine, it is named the "Aurora". Our next best mine is the "Telemaco," but the ore is base i.e. the gold is mixed with sulphides of iron, lead, & arsenic, the vein of the "Princessa" shows base ore at 110 ft, & to treat this ore, new machinery will be required, but it is absolutely necessary to have an honest man out from England to superintend the mines, as you cannot trust an American. The man I had, named "Sutherland," was a fraud, & did not know his business, he is now in Company with George Grey at San Francisco. If Sutherland goes to London, have nothing to do with him, he got round George Grey & George thinks him perfect.

I regret exceedingly being absent at the Mines when Mr. Cameron, M.P., called to see me, he was offered a wagon & team to come out to Alamo & see the Mines, as he said you had asked him to visit the Mines, he would have seen for himself how the Mines looked. It requires a great deal of work to be done before a person can decide whether a mine is worth working or not, moreover the Mexican law requires that six men are employed 26 weeks in each year to enable a person to hold a mine, this means a considerable amount of money, so it requires a person to be pretty certain what he is doing or he may spend all this work for nothing.

I am anxious to hear from Sir Edward Jenkinson what the Company intends to do out here, to make the enterprise a success it will require more time to get all the cases in Court disposed of, before any attempt can be made of a forward movement. Babcock gave me his opinion of things, & said "Get your titles completed as inside two years the country may be annexed", if such should occur then the Company will make millions, but under Mexican rule, you may be able to get back your money with interest if carefully managed.

To get your titles perfected, you will have to spend a great deal of money in mailing unless a little more energy is displayed in the City of Mexico than has been done heretofore.

Senor Velasco is undoubtedly [*sic*] a good man, but has I believe too much to do, having a vast amount of other work besides the Company's.

I am going South on the 25th inst. to take possession of the zone between the parallels 29° & 30°, to get the judge to do so, I have to pay them \$1,200, a Judge, Federal Attorney, & two Engineers, besides the use of one steamer for ten days, & transport from the coast inland 40 miles & back. I have almost settled from 30° to 31° some, if not all, want money for settlement, as they are all poor and do not want land, and it is very difficult to get them to settle in land, which I have been doing all along, by going to see & speak to each one at his own House, & I have been fairly successful.

I have almost completed from 32° to the United States boundary line, there are some very stubborn inhabitants in that portion of the territory, but you had better consider all that territory as not belonging to the Company, as all the good valleys are taken up by squatters, who have certain rights to the land they cultivate.

This is a matter of importance to consider that if the land is sold at the present market rates as I have above stated you may recover your money spent and interest, but if Railways are started, and also irrigation works, much larger sums may be recovered.

I have written Sir Edward Jenkinson that I shall be obliged to leave here toward the end of May in order to arrive in Bombay by the 1st August which is the date of expiration of my leave, and have proposed to him that I would remain for another year, and try to get your titles perfected, and if at the end of that time we were mutually satisfied, I would resign my commission and throw in my lot with the Co. for a fixed number of years, but if he is not satisfied with my efforts he is at liberty to send out someone to relieve me about the first of May, so that I could put him in all that is going on. I should have to apply for an extension of leave from India, which as you are aware takes time. I hope my efforts have been appreciated by the Board, more might have been accomplished if a little more freedom of action had been given

me that last six months, you know what centralization means, and it is utterly impossible for people in London to comprehend the situation in the same manner as a person on the spot, no matter how clearly I represented facts, & you must place more reliance on the Manager you send out here, & not refer every little thing to London. Often events occur when, if the Manager had power to decide at the moment & more advantageous settlement could be made. Bear in mind it is impossible to look for returns until the cases in court, especially Mrs. Burton's are satisfactorily disposed of, & not until then will it be possible to sell any great tracts of land, of course some people have paid up in part for lands in dispute, & refuse to make further payments until judgment is given.

The thing to do is keep down expenditure, & fight out these cases & perfect titles, then & not until then is it_____ to make much progress.

If we began a Railway there are dozens of Yankees who would purchase land through which the Railway would pass and make you pay smartly for the right of way.

Will you kindly give this letter to Mr. Henderson to read, as I should like him to know my views of the situation.

The additional concessions recently received from the Govt are very valuable, if we could get the Customs on a better footing, it would be a boon. I enclose an extract from the San Diego Union which is a pointer for the San Diego Water Works.

Is there any chance of you or your brother coming out this year, we should be so pleased to see you. With kindest regards in which Mrs. Scott joins me wishing you a Happy New Year.

Yrs. Very sincerely

Buchanan Scott

Was England in it? Serious Allegations Connecting the Colonization Company with the Filibusters¹⁸

San Diego, June 4 [1890]—Today's result of the investigation made into the proposed filibustering expedition against Lower California revealed startling facts and put another new phase upon the whole conspiracy. From the information furnished by trusted agents of the Mexican Land and Colonization Company it now appears beyond reasonable doubt that Edward Jenkinson, president of the English company, and his colleagues had in view a plan to annex the Peninsula to the British empire by pursuing the same policy that was followed by the East India Company when Great Britain acquired vast possessions in Asia.

Major Buchanan Scott about two years ago was dispatched from England to Ensenada as manager of the then International Company of Mexico and which afterward was merged into and became the Mexican Land and Colonization Company. Major Scott was given complete charge and control of the affairs of the company.

It was designed by these Englishmen to colonize Lower California and to secure concessions from the Mexican Government. Their idea was to provoke strife and dissension. English capital and interests would then be jeopardized and the intervention of the mother country was to be invoked. The proof of these statements of the trusted agents of the English company, substantiated by documentary evidence, has been secured. Major Scott assured the filibusters Smith, Merrill, Worthing and Hill, that two English men-of-war would be in the vicinity of Ensenada skirting off the coast when the new republic was declared. As soon as a declaration of independence of the new government had been proclaimed these war vessels were to enter the harbor and recognize the new nation.

Major Scott supposed that after the republic had been established the United States Government would join with the Mexican Government

18. *Lower Californian* (Ensenada), June 12, 1890. This article was originally published in the *San Francisco Chronicle*, June 5, 1890, and then reprinted in the *Lower Californian* a week later.

in suppressing the invaders. Then Great Britain would be appealed to, and to protect the interests of her subjects would establish a protectorate over the peninsula. This, up to present developments, is as far as Major Scott is implicated in the affair. This much may be proved by correspondence over his own signature.

It all goes to show that Major Scott was only using the American conspirators Smith, Merrill, Worthing and others to give the plot the appearance of being an American movement, in order to trample the Monroe doctrine in the dust.

Obituary. Sir Buchanan Scott. Indian Frontier Railways¹⁹

Colonel Sir Buchanan Scott, K.C.I.E., died at his home at Wimbledon on Tuesday after two days' illness at the age of 87. He was an officer of the Royal Engineers who made his career in India, where he was concerned particularly with the development of railway communications on the North-West Frontier. He was a fine type of the Scotsmen serving the British Raj in India, and had a wide circle of friends.

He was born on January 14, 1850, and from the Royal Military Academy was gazetted lieutenant in August, 1871. Two years later he was posted to the Indian establishment, arriving in India in November. After a year's service he was transferred to the Civil Department, and was soon employed in the Railway Branch of the Public Works Department as Assistant Engineer, Punjab Northern State Railway.

From 1874 to 1887—thus including the period of the Second Afghan War—his work consisted in the survey and construction of frontier railways, and he was then made Deputy Consulting Engineer for Railways to the Public Works Department. In 1888 he was made a C.I.E., and for nearly two years he was lent by the Government of India to administer a large property in Mexico. On his return to India in 1890 he was placed in charge of the railway survey of the Quetta-Dera Ismail Khan region, including the Zhob and Gomal districts.

He had been promoted captain in August, 1883, and obtained his majority in September, 1889. In 1892 he was appointed Mint Master at Bombay, and he reached the rank of lieutenant-colonel in December, 1896, when he was transferred to Calcutta as Senior Mint Master. He took keen delight in this part of his career, and was happy in showing special visitors round the Mint. At the end of 1900 he was promoted colonel and reverted to the half-pay list a year later, but continued in his appointment until he retired on an Indian pension at the beginning of 1905. He was promoted to K.C.I.E. for his services, having received the thanks of the Government of India on three occasions.

19. *Times* (London), June 10, 1937.

Sir Buchanan Scott married Ethel Theophila, daughter of Mr. Charles Theophilus Metcalfe, C.S.I., in 1888, and had a son and a daughter.

The funeral service will be at Emmanuel Church, Wimbledon, to-morrow at 11 o'clock, and the interment will be in Putney Vale Cemetery.

News Regarding Sir Edward Jenkinson

Mines and Miners.

Among the Rocks and Hills of Lower California.

The Princessa Gold Mining Company—L. B. Howard's Iron Mine—Cedros Island Matters—New Companies.²⁰

[Notes and correspondence about mines, mining properties and miners will be received for this column till 9 p.m. on Sunday. Address Mining Editor, UNION.]

The Princessa Gold Mining Company, Limited, says the *Lower Californian*, has been registered in London with a capital of £125,000, in £1 shares. The object is to acquire from the Mexican Land and Colonization Company certain claims in the Alamo gold region, Lower California, and generally, to acquire mines and mining property. Sir Edward Jenkinson, K. C. B., the chairman of the former company, is among the subscribers to the latter. The new company is now in possession and started up Monday with a force of thirty men under Supt. Rodda.

It is expected that greater facility and accuracy can be secured through this sub-company than if the mines were managed by the Colonization Company.

Near San Isidro the promising iron mine owned by L. B. Howard, W. E. Webb and others, is being opened up. A large force will be put at work immediately. This indicates that there is some truth in the report that a smelter would be built on Coronado Beach, to be supplied with ore from this peninsula.

The goats which have held high carnival at Cedros Island from time immemorial are getting scared. Gold was discovered in their domain several months ago, and the prospector is now in the field. The Cedros

20. *San Diego Union*, March 17, 1890.

Island Mining Company already have a paying mine opened and are building a fine road to the landing, besides opening up other prospects. On Monday the schooners Ethel and San Diego arrived from San Diego, the latter having made the run in ten hours.

On board the schooner were Messrs. H. A. Howard, W. J. Lyons, Captain Davis, Captain Hamilton, J. A. Bloomer, Colonel Roberts, Henry Ryan, Engineer Van Hook, Captain Hayward, Mr. Rodriguez, and Captain Edward Friend. They left Tuesday afternoon for that island, after enjoying the liquid hospitality of more than one Ensenadan. The Ethel, which takes down supplies, left the same day. It is expected that capital will become interested in the really promising mines on the island, and other companies formed. All ores extracted will be taken as now, by schooner to the National City Reduction Works.

Other minerals than gold have been discovered on the island, and strong indications of coal are reported. If the recently opened mines hold out it is probable that the adjacent mainland will also be explored. Cedros Island is comprised in the grant from the Government to the Mexican Colonization Company, which therefore, controls all lands, timber, etc. The territory of course is open to prospectors, who may secure absolute possession of any mines discovered by them.

The San Telmo Mining Company has been organized in San Diego by J. M. Robinson, J. C. Amendt and E. Chamberlin. They have contracted with F. Osborne to open up the San Telmo silver and copper mine, and other new prospects.

C. E. Sanger, inventor of a new and valuable steam pan for working placer gold, was in Ensenada Tuesday, on his way home from Valladares and Socorro, where he and George Neale of San Diego, are at work developing a placer field. They are working under the Valladares, Juarez and Socorro concession, which promises a mint of money to experienced operators. Plenty of water is reported at each of the districts, and it is thought good results will be obtained by the new invention.

Over the line in San Diego County the mining prospects are equally flattering. At Pine Valley a new stamp mill has just been put in, and

placer gold is found in paying quantities at Pine Valley and at Deer Park camp. Julian is also expecting a boom through late transfers of rich mines to capitalists.

Parties are now at work in the old copper mines at San Vicente, inspecting them for foreign capitalists. Their report will doubtless be favorable so far as the quantity and quality of ore is concerned. Money is the one thing needful there as elsewhere.

Movements are on foot in San Diego to organize a company to work the gold and silver mines near San Borja, 300 miles below Ensenada.

An extensive bed of pure Mexican onyx has been discovered in Arizona. It is claimed that the same stone has been found in various parts of Lower California.

Sir Edward Jenkinson²¹

Obituary

The ranks of the few remaining Haileyburian survivors of the Mutiny have been further thinned by the death on March 1, at the age of 82, of Sir Edward George Jenkinson, K.C.B.

From Harrow School he went to the East India Company's seminary at Haileybury, and went out as a civilian to the North West (now United) Provinces in 1856. He was one of the members of the I.C.S. there to serve through the Mutiny and to be awarded the medal. He was joint magistrate and deputy collector of Benares, and afterwards of Farukabad. He rose to be divisional commissioner of Jhansi and afterwards in Oudh. Retiring in 1880, in 1882, he was selected by the late Lord Spencer, on the formation of the Gladstone Government to be his private secretary at Dublin Castle. He filled this position in very difficult times with credit, and until 1885 was additional Under-Secretary for Ireland for police and crime. He was decorated with the C.B. in 1883, and was advanced to the Knighthood of the Order in 1888. His wife, who died in 1915, was a daughter of Captain T. Monk Mason, R.N.

21. *Times* (London), March 4, 1919.

News Regarding Cuthbert Quilter

An Interview with Mr. Cuthbert Quilter, M. P., of London.²²

We had a long talk this week with Mr. Quilter, who arrived from London on Tuesday last (accompanied by his son Mr. E. Quilter), on a holiday trip to recuperate from his duties in the British parliament.

He came through the City of Mexico, where he says he had particularly pleasant and interesting interviews with President Diaz, and was very much impressed with the straightforwardness of character and ability of General Diaz, and thought him fit to rank amongst the greatest men of our time.

Mr. Quilter also spoke in very high terms of the secretary of the treasury, Señor Jose Ives Limantour; of the secretary of communications, Gen. Andres Cosio, and of the minister of public works, Señor Fernandez Leal, with all of whom he had very pleasant interviews and by all of whom he was very courteously received.

Mr. Quilter was very much struck with the signs of internal progress in Mexico, in spite of the financial crisis she was passing through.

He thought that the gallant struggles Mexico was making to keep up her credit and pay her public debts in gold, in spite of the fearful depreciation of her silver currency (through no fault of hers) entitled her to every consideration from her creditors, and reflected the greatest credit on the government and people generally.

Mr. Quilter paid a visit to Orizaba, where the utilization of its magnificent water power, for manufacturing purposes, is being effected on a grand scale of engineering, and visited some of the coffee plantations in the vicinity. He said that the coffee planters were making fortunes, and that there could be no better investment for a

22. *Lower Californian* (Ensenada), March 17, 1894.

man with sufficient capital who had a liking for that sort of life—the cost of production being from \$7 to \$9, per cental, and the selling price \$29 to \$32 Mexican currency.

Mr. Quilter said that the company had coffee lands in Chiapas, which they intended opening up, and that he expected before very long there would be a flourishing colony of coffee planters established there.

He thought very highly of Mexican railroads and their management, and said that through them Minatitlan and Coatzacoalcos, on the Atlantic coast, were now emerging from their isolation and becoming rapidly places of commercial activity.

With regard to the silver question he thought that there was every probability of a reopening of the Brussels conference and an international attempt made to put silver on some firm basis—though himself he did not have much confidence in the possibility of settling such a difficult financial question satisfactorily by any legislation.

He went on to say that though of course the merchants in Mexico were suffering from the fluctuations in the price of silver, and it was very necessary if possible to arrive at some settled value for it, yet he really thought that the depreciation of the Mexican dollar would prove a blessing in disguise, as it would oblige the country to produce and manufacture all it could instead of importing from abroad; and offered a fine opportunity to gold miners, coffee planters, etc., with capital to establish themselves. Mexico's efforts to meet her obligations, and the peaceful and conservative government of President Diaz, had done much to re-establish her credit abroad but he was afraid this next year would be a very trying year for Mexico, but that if she could pull through, as he thought and hoped she would, that her credit abroad would then be established on a firm basis, and that the following years would be one's of enormous progress and prosperity for the country, provided that the reins of government remained in the hands of President Diaz and his able cabinet of ministers.

Mr. Quilter has been a public man for many years in England; he has, therefore been thrown in contact with prominent men of every country; he has also been largely interested in, and managed financial affairs on a big scale, to say nothing of having traveled a good deal,



*Victorian Style House Constructed by the English Company on the Outskirts of Ensenada, c. 1895
(Courtesy of Mandeville Department of Special Collections, University of California, San Diego)*

his opinion on the subjects above mentioned should therefore have considerable weight as coming from a man of varied experiences and wide views.

We omitted to mention before that Mr. Quilter is a large original shareholder in the International Company, since transformed into the present Mexican Land & Colonization Company; also in the L. C. D. Co. and Princessa Mining Company, and is therefore in every way interested in the progress of Mexico, and of this peninsula in particular.

In answer to a leading question of ours regarding to future developments in Lower California, Mr. Quilter would not commit himself to anything definite. He said he did not wish to hold out hopes that might not be realized. All we could gather was that the policy of the company would be a conservative one, that they would not be led to put in money, as they had done before, in wildcat propositions, but if they could see their way to get a fair return for money invested on a business proposition, in a business way, that they were prepared to entertain it; in fact they were ready to do their part in the development of the country if they could be brought to see that there was a fair prospect of a profitable return for any money they might invest.

Mr. Quilter wound up by saying that the company had never been on such a good footing as it was at present with the Mexican government, which fully appreciated the efforts the company was making and the difficulties it had encountered.

We ourselves think the country has got down to bedrock and is now on the turn, and that when the present financial crisis is over in London, and people have more confidence and it is possible to get money for any reasonable object, something will be done in the way of irrigation and other necessary works.

John H. Packard²³

...The Lower California Development Company is composed of men who stand high in the financial world, and their names are the strongest guarantee of the able and upright methods that govern the doings of the company. Mr. J. H. Packard is the Resident Manager at Ensenada, and to his efforts much of the success of the company is due.

The company maintains a banking house at Ensenada and conducts a general banking business. Drafts and letters of credit are issued on its correspondents in the City of Mexico, Mazatlan, London, etc., loans negotiated and bills of exchange collected.

The company also operates the Peninsular Railway and Telegraph Company, Ltd. They have already established telegraphic communication between San Quintin, Tiajuana and Ensenada and all parts of the world. Before long many other towns of Lower California will be supplied. The A. I. and A. B. C. codes are used.

...Everybody knows that under President Diaz, Mexico has become the most law-abiding of countries, and nowhere is life or property safer. The excellent colonization laws enable settlers to import for personal use, free of duty, household and personal effects, farming implements, building material, machinery for manufacturing purposes, etc. The cost of living is very moderate, and the prices of provisions very low. Especially is this true in the northern district, where the Lower California Development Company has established stores for the purpose of assisting the poorer classes of colonists. Good schools are provided by the federal government, and thus the children of settlers have equal advantages with those of more populous regions.

23. Excerpt from J.R. Southworth, *Baja California ilustrada*, p. 24.

Appendix Three

The Americans Versus the English

Preliminary Note

It was not surprising that the Americans were not happy to have an English colonization company near the southern border of the United States. They considered it an invasion of their area of influence. Their reaction was soon evident.

Some basic aspects of the international economic context of the 1880s provide the framework for a better understanding of this situation. The United States had recently made the transition from a predominantly rural to a new urban and industrial society. The country's east to west process of expansion was followed by its economic expansion into Mexico, especially in the border region. Thus, American capitalists were able to undermine the English capital supremacy of that period, becoming the leaders of foreign investment in Mexico. Nevertheless, England maintained its worldwide economic hegemony.

This context helps to better understand the importance of the documents of this appendix. The annoyance felt by one sector of the United States toward the English Company's presence in the border of Baja California was evident in Representative Vandever's bill introduced into the United States Congress. It also revealed that the Congressman and his supporters had considered the possibility of buying the Baja California peninsula as a way of ending the English intervention. Matías Romero, Mexico's Ambassador in the United States and a diplomat experienced in handling the relations between the two countries, strongly opposed Vandever's proposition.

When the English celebrated Queen Victoria's birthday anniversary in Ensenada, the state of Baja California became a sort of British colony similar to those in Asia and Africa. General Luis E. Torres, Political Chief of the region, following President Díaz's guidelines and always careful of maintaining the equilibrium between the English and the Americans, chose not to participate in the celebration.

The article, "The English Colony," emphasizes the response given to an Englishman who intended to hoist his country's flag in Ensenada. It also reports on the public censure following the discharge by the colonization company of American workers in favor of English workers.

Finally, in the article titled "In a Bad Pickle," the journalistic comments became stronger with open complaints attributing to the company's English officers the systematic policy of bulldozing the American settlers established in Baja California. To defend themselves, the American settlers formed an association trying to urge the Mexican government to revoke the English colonization company's concession.

Although the attempt by the American settlers failed, it is interesting to observe this particular conflict between the Americans and the English in the Mexico-United States border region. The English colonization activities made the neighboring Americans nervous, and the American response was predictable.

To Buy The Peninsula. Representative Vandever Introduces the Bill¹

The House.

In the House Mr. Vandever of California, introduced a resolution authorizing the President of the United States to open negotiations with Mexico for a cession to the United States of the Peninsula of Lower California upon terms that are just and honorable to both countries.

1. *San Diego Weekly Sun*, January 24, 1889.

Mexican Minister's Views²

Washington, January 17.—The resolution to be introduced by Representative Vandever to acquire the Peninsula of Lower California by purchase from Mexico, it seems, will not meet with much encouragement from the people of that republic here. Senor Romero, the Mexican Minister, said he would not like to speculate about the uncertainty of future events, but that in his opinion the proposal to buy Lower California when no portion of Mexican territory is for sale, would have in Mexico exactly the same effect that a proposal by Mexico to buy upper California would have in the United States.

2. *Lower Californian* (Ensenada), January 24, 1889.

The Queen's Birthday. Representatives of Three Nations Unite in Celebrating the Happy Event³

The seventy-third anniversary of Queen Victoria's birthday was celebrated with all possible pomp and splendor by our English colony, as well as many of the inhabitants of Ensenada not subjects of Her Britannic Majesty.⁴ The day was pretty generally observed as a holiday. Captain and Mrs. Scott gave a garden party in the afternoon, utilizing the Plaza as festal ground. A tent was erected in a most favorable spot, from which were dispensed hospitalities appealing to the inner man; and "all went merry as a marriage bell." The afternoon closed by the "breaking in" of the new court, and the spectators witnessed a most interesting game of lawn tennis.

In the evening the scene of festivity was transferred to the hill, on which the Hotel Iturbide shone forth a veritable blaze of glory. The halls, corridors and porches were transformed into a mystic Eden by the prolific use of evergreen and Chinese lanterns, and the ball room was decorated with garlands, flags, and the numerous insignia of Her Majesty's office, bewildering almost past description. Facing the main entrance, and covering half the wall, was a immense shield bearing the arms of England, Scotland and Ireland, surmounted by the historical "lion and unicorn fighting for the crown" under a huge golden V. R., while on either side gracefully draped an American and a Mexican flag, and beneath all were the words "Dieu et Mon Droit."

Manager Harrington and his efficient corps of helpers deserve much credit, not only for the decorations and excellent music, but for the splendid repast served at midnight. Everything was gracefully and decorously managed and everybody has a thoroughly enjoyable time, and responded heartily to the toast, "God save the Queen."

3. *Lower Californian* (Ensenada), May 30, 1889.

4. It was not the seventy-third anniversary of Queen Victoria's birth. It was only the seventieth, for she was born in 1819.



*Hotel Iturbide with Ensenada in the Background, 1902
(Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, Universidad
Autónoma de Baja California)*

A complete list of those present is impossible to give, for our scribe loves the rhythmic tripping of the "light fantastic" too fondly to be able to sacrifice such music even in so good a cause as that of describing fair ladies toilettes.

Mrs. Captain B. Scott wore black lace, décolleté, with corsage of pink ostrich feathers; coiffure and throat adorned with ropes of pearl. Miss Ella Shephard, pale blue crepe with silver ornaments; corsage of flowers. Mrs. C. A. Shephard, ash-hued costume; corsage of white roses. Mrs. Anthony Godbe appeared in a pretty gown of white crepe over which fell an interlacing of black crescents; heart-shaped corsage adorned with roses; hair done in Psyche knot; cameo ornaments. Mrs. E. C. Chambers, heliotrope soft wool with velvet trimmings; corsage of buttercups and amber jewelry. Mrs. H. L. Edwards, apple green silk with panels of garnet plush and gold embroidery. Mme. Degouy, black silk. Miss Degouy, pale grey street costume. Miss Maria Riveroll, a combination of pink and grey with slippers to match, and many flowers. Miss Sara Cota looked handsome, as usual, in a costume of

white embroidery over red silk. The Misses Obando both appeared in violet wool. Miss Crosthwaite, black silk with jet ornaments. Miss Minnie Pratt, mahogany wool, with belted corsage. Mrs. Blanche Curtis, cream and gray empire gown, with flower corsage. Miss Nellie Maupin wore a combination of black and pink. Miss Maude Keck, white India mull with many flowers. Mrs. H. H. Douglas, black lace over low-cut bodice of silk; diamond ornaments. Miss Josefa Fernandez, ashes of roses silk, with flowers in hair and corsage. Miss Lupe Posa, pink swiss trimmed in dainty lace. Mrs. Jas. Clark, black brocaded satin, ornaments of diamonds. Mrs. Jas. Haffey, dark blue street costume. Mrs. C. W. Clarke, black satin. Miss Hernandez, pink silk with draperies of crepe lisse. Miss Piña, green and white striped mull. Miss Chas. Shephard, black silk. Mrs. S. B. Lidy, dark green silk embroidered in gold. Mrs. Gonzalez, brown moire antique with dead gold ornaments. Miss Carlota Lopez, white mull with black velvet bodice. Miss Ella Fellam, tan colored satin, flowers. Miss Peck, crushed strawberry soft wool. Mrs. W. F. Mitchell bronze street costume. Miss Julia Pratt, hazel serge. Mrs. Dr. Keck, dark blue India cashmere with underskirt in stripe. Mrs. A. M. Pratt, toilet of crossed China wool goods in shades of gray. Mrs. Henry wore a decolette [*sic*] gown sriped [*sic*] blue and pink with drapings of black lace, no sleeves, long black mitts. Mrs. F. Pratt, nut-colored cloth trimmed with nut-colored braid, and ornaments of passementerie to match. Miss Carrie Garcia, white alpaca with black velvet trimmings.

Among the gentlemen, some of whom appeared in full evening attire, we noticed Rev. Isaac White, Captain B. Scott, G. Gray, Dr. McHatton, D. D. Dare and L. B. Howard of San Diego, L. Heise and G. W. Bryant of San Bernardino, F. Pratt, A. M. Pratt, M. Mateos Alarcon, M. Miramon, M. Garcia, Capt. Giron, L. Mendelson, A. Godbe, Seymour Jackson, T. W. Berry, T. W. Spencer, H. R. Narraway, Frederic Bennett, Percy Douglas, H. H. Douglas, C. A. Shephard, George Box, F. L. Orpin, S. White, C. Teagle, E. Guyette, G. Barreto, P. Barre, M. Martinez, F. Ibarra, M. Bruce, D. Duncan, J. M. Nicochea, G. Crosthwaite, S. Calvo, G. Artigas, F. Espinosa, J. M. Cadena, A. Cisneros, F. Andonaegui, Col. L. P. Crane, W. Leopold, J. Hecht, W.F. Mitchell, Charles Shephard, F. Cota, G. Montafila, James Haffey, Jos. Haffey, F. Crosthwaite, and many others.

The English Colony. The Extent of Its Plans and Operations⁵

The English capitalists who own and control the colonization company of Lower California have not confined their operations simply to the land development and occupation in and around Ensenada. There have been organized in rapid succession the Peninsular Railway Company, the Mexican Guano Company, the Chiapas Railway Company, the Mexican Pier and Warehouse Company, the Mexican International and Gulf of California Steamship Company, the Camalu Colony Company and many others, including the pearl fisheries and the beef raising industries of La Paz. Offices of some of these companies have long been established in London and Liverpool.

Only a few months ago Sir Edward Jenkinson and Hon. W. C. Quilter, member of Parliament of England, both stockholders in the colony company, paid a visit to Ensenada, inspecting the property of the company.

Dr. R. F. Newland of this city, who recently returned from Lower California, made the following statement to a CHRONICLE reporter: "Not long ago at Ensenada an Englishman wanted to hoist the British flag. He asked a Mexican official for authority. The Mexican replied, 'We have no objections, but there are some fellows at San Diego, sixty-five miles from here, who will give you the devil if you do.' The Englishman remembered the Monroe doctrine and the close proximity of the Americans and refrained from hoisting the flag of Great Britain. After the general offices of the International Company were removed from San Diego to Ensenada, Captain Scott of the Royal Engineers discharged the American clerks and other employes [*sic*], and gave their positions to Englishmen. All supplies for the colonists, as far as possible, have been brought from England.⁶ The English control the

5. *San Francisco Chronicle*, June 13, 1890.

6. A free zone was in effect along the entire northern border of Mexico from 1885 to 1905. As a result, American products and other foreign products entered this

only telegraph line in Lower California, the wires running from Ensenada to San Diego via Tia Juana. George Box of London is the general superintendent."

In a Bad Pickle. The Colonization Company on the Defensive⁷

ENSENADA, June 12.—Affairs on the peninsula of Lower California in the northern district, presided over by Governor Luis E. Torres, are in a rather complicated state. In fact, a correspondent of the CHRONICLE has found, after a week's close investigation, that something must be done, and that at once, to straighten out existing complications, as serious trouble is liable to occur at any time. This condition is not due to anything Governor Torres has done or failed to do. On the other hand, Governor Torres has done everything in his power to aid and encourage the American colonist in the pioneer work of developing the peninsula. The cause of all the trouble and dissatisfaction can be traced to one source, and that is the Mexican Land and Colonization Company.

For months now the English officers stationed at Ensenada have adopted and carried out a systematic policy of insulting, brow-beating, bulldozing and intimidating American settlers in every way they could. The meanest and lowest kind of sharp practice has been indulged in by Britishers to degrade Americans and to make their burdens as heavy as possible. Under the concession the Mexican Colonization Company holds the company's officers are given certain authority and powers. As long as the American company had things in charge everything ran along smoothly, and there was no complaint of discrimination in favor of one settler or class of settlers as against another. The American company realized a great deal of money from the sale of lands, but the sums thus obtained were invested in improvements, and then the concession was turned over to the English stockholders, and for about two years now they have been managing affairs.

A lot of English dudes were imported from Great Britain and dispatched to Ensenada to lord it over Americans and to insult and humiliate them. The settlers have silently put up with all this until

7. *San Francisco Chronicle*, June 13, 1890.

patience has ceased to be a virtue. They do not intend to longer remain quiet and see their interests jeopardized and their manhood sacrificed. The result has been the organization of a colonists' protective association to resent further infringement on their rights by the English puppets of the Mexican Land and Colonization Company. The association is powerful, and will in future prove to be quite a factor in affairs here. Its officers are men of energy and brains. They will not tamely submit to its members being imposed upon by Englishmen. This association is now actively moving to secure the revocation by the Mexican Government of the English company's concession.

The exposure of the filibustering scheme by the *CHRONICLE* has naturally aided the cause of the settlers, and for this great service they express their gratitude in the highest terms. When the Englishmen began to manage affairs at Ensenada there were 1100 names on the roll of colonists. Now there are only about 800 names remaining upon this roll. About 800 names have been stricken from the list at the dictation of the company, thus forcing the payment of duties by the proscribed colonists and cutting them off from all privileges under the colonizations laws of Mexico. Whenever the Englishmen have found that a Mexican official stood in their way they have promptly either bribed the objectionable officer or secured his transfer to some other portion of the republic, through influential men at their command in the City of Mexico.

The officers of the company have all along expressed their utmost contempt for the United States Government. Just before leaving Ensenada for England Lear, the present manager, said he did not care a fig for the United States or its Government. It is a notorious fact that Major B. Scott publicly expressed similar opinions in language more emphatic than elegant. Every resident of Lower California—and fully fifty of the more prominent men have been seen by the *CHRONICLE* correspondent—expressed without reservation the opinion that the English company was the great curse of the peninsula. In proceeding against this corporation the Mexican government must move slowly. It will not act nastily, as the interests involved are worth \$10,000,000. It is believed that the object of Francisco Espinosa's visit, as Government attorney for the Northern district of Lower California to the City of Mexico at this time, is to inform President Diaz fully as to the exact situation and furnish him the facts in the case. Upon this

information the President will act. Papers in the City of Mexico for several days past have contained long-drawn-out letters from the attorneys of the Mexican Land and Colonization Company denying the complicity of the corporation in the scheme to overturn Mexican authority. These letters are of no great consequence, stating as they do only glittering generalities. As compared with the proof to the contrary they are as nothing. The letters are written to deceive the Mexican public, but they will fail of their purpose⁸. The English Company now realizes the fact that it is in a dangerous position and is exerting itself to get out of the unfortunate predicament.

How to get out of the whole thing is now the great question. The managers of the company do not know what evidence the United States Government has of their connection with this filibustering scheme. Thus in working in the dark they are greatly at a disadvantage. Two detectives in the employ of the English Company are now at work in San Diego trying to find out exactly what evidence United States Marshal Gard and Special Agent Foster have obtained and what it will be necessary to do to counteract the effect thereof.

8. One of those letters appeared in the Mexico City newspaper *El Monitor*, signed by Emilio Velasco, Company Lawyer. The June 7, 1890, issue of the *Lower Californian* (Ensenada) referred to this case.

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The city of Ensenada, Baja California, is a distinctive case in the urban history of Mexico's northern border region in the late 19th century. The presence in Ensenada of an American colonization and development company and then its English successor shaped the city and the region during its formative years. Foreign capital financed development activities in Ensenada, including design of the urban area and construction of basic infrastructure, and provided the initial impetus for development of Ensenada as an important city of the border region.

Author **David Piñera** brings new material from American, Mexican, and English archives and repositories to tell the notable story of *American and English Influence on the Early History of Ensenada, Baja California, Mexico*.

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