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A Brief Sketch of San Diego’s Military Presence: 1542-1945

Iris H. W. Engstrand

A military presence has been a major focal point of San Diego’s development since the earliest European ship sailed into the nation’s most southwesterly port. With the arrival of Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo sailing for Spain in 1542, the port—then named San Miguel—took on life as a strategic location for shelter and defense. Surveyed and mapped by Sebastián Vizcaíno in 1602, and given the permanent name of San Diego de Alcalá, the port’s virtues were once again noted. Lacking any apparent mineral wealth, the local Kumeyaay natives remained little disturbed until 1769, when Spanish military detachments arrived by sea and land. They accompanied missionaries under Father Junípero Serra for the purpose of founding Mission San Diego de Alcalá, first in Upper California.

San Diego remained sparsely occupied during the Spanish period, constructing in 1774 a Presidio—fortress with soldiers and families—on the hill overlooking San Diego Bay. They built Fort San Joaquin (Guijarros) in 1797 on today’s Ballast Point, guarding the entrance to the harbor. A very few battles took place—most against British and American smugglers—well into the Mexican period (1821-1846). The US-Mexican War brought an all-out attack by the American Pacific Squadron with troops marching south under John Fremont and those attacking from the east under Stephen Watts Kearny at the Battle of San Pasqual. The outnumbered Californios were forced to surrender on December 6, 1846. The American military, including army, navy and marines; Mormon Battalion volunteers; and multi-

Iris Engstrand, co-editor of The Journal of San Diego History and professor of history at the University of San Diego, has written extensively on the general history of San Diego. Her recent publications include a book chapter for the forthcoming Arctic Ambitions: Captain Cook and the Northwest Passage (University of Washington Press, 2014).
ethnic residents of the Pueblo of San Diego, always peaceful, lived under a fairly amicable truce until the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo was signed on February 2, 1848, giving the area to the United States. Some barracks were built and the harbor modified, but the major activities in the port included fishing, the arrival of visitors, and, with the discovery of gold near Sacramento, a stream of ships stopping for provisions on their way north to San Francisco.

The early American period—1850 to World War I—saw some token military efforts during the Civil War and a shore detail kept a constant lookout. With the arrival of Alonzo Horton in 1868, San Diego’s focus shifted from Old Town to a new development flanking today’s Broadway and referred to as Horton’s Addition or New Town. The completion of the transcontinental railroad and subsequent lines to Southern California and San Diego set off an economic boom of the 1880s soon followed by the national depression labeled as the Panic of 1893.

Although far removed on the West Coast, San Diego felt repercussions of the Cuban Revolution of 1897. The city revived some long-forgotten plans to fortify the entrance to San Diego Harbor while the monitor Monadnock guarded the harbors of San Diego and San Pedro. A torpedo placement was planned for the seaward side of Ballast Point for firing wire-controlled torpedoes and a remote-controlled system of detonated mines. In the meantime, San Diego decided to hold a mid-winter carnival on February 22, 1897, with a fancy dress ball and Rear Admiral Charles Beardsley, Retiring Commander U.S. Navy, Pacific Squadron as guest of honor along with a large portion of the Pacific Fleet.

In 1898, when war was actually declared against Spain, concerned citizens held a parade honoring the resolution and burned a Spanish flag in front of the San Diego Union office. Five hundred men volunteered to defend the city in case of attack and held a celebration when Admiral Dewey captured Manila. By 1898 Company D, Third U.S. Artillery had arrived to occupy the new fortifications on Ballast Point. Troops were moved from the San Diego Barracks to the new Army installation on Point Loma in 1903. It was named Fort Rosecrans after Civil War hero General William S. Rosecrans.

William Kettner, later Congressman Kettner, arrived in San Diego in 1907. Theodore Roosevelt sent the Great White Fleet of sixteen front-line battleships to pay a visit in 1908; Kettner became an immediate promoter of the US Navy as an economic benefit to San Diego. Soon after a Naval Quarantine Station and a Coal Station were built to serve the navy in the harbor. Plans were begun as early as 1909 to host an exposition honoring completion of the Panama Canal proposed to open in 1914. City Park—renamed Balboa Park—was the chosen site. It proceeded according to plan, but not without controversy. Considering the attendance in 1915 of both Theodore and Franklin Roosevelt, promoters of
San Diego’s Military Presence 1542-1945

San Diego as a prominent naval base, the fair was an economic boon to the port. Plans were interrupted slightly by the outbreak of the Mexican Revolution in 1910 with some military and civilian exchanges during the Battle of Tijuana in 1911.

When the Panama-California Exposition opened in 1915, not only was completion of the canal celebrated, the fair became a popular stopping place for those in the military and those wanting to join the service. Marine Corps Colonel Joseph H. Pendleton became an enthusiastic supporter of San Diego during the Exposition. San Diego’s role became even more important with the outbreak of World War I and the founding of a Naval Training Station and Naval Hospital in Balboa Park. Tent encampments were necessary until more permanent Navy facilities could be built following the war. The US Army established Camp Kearny on the mesa north of Mission Valley in 1917. It was completed in August and occupied until 1920. The navy also secured permanent facilities on Point Loma and in Balboa Park as San Diego congressmen and city officials favored these moves. In 1922, San Diego was designated as headquarters for the Eleventh Naval District.

Franklin D. Roosevelt, long a promoter of San Diego as a naval base, became president in 1932 as the national economy reached an all-time low. By 1934, the Depression reached its full effect in San Diego, but a number of government measures encouraged recovery. Prohibition of liquor—the eighteenth amendment—was repealed in 1933 and a second exposition was planned for Balboa Park in 1935. The Navy spent $1.4 million and the Army $1.8 million on construction projects. Major Rueben H. Fleet of Consolidated Aircraft Corporation of Buffalo, New York, made a far-reaching decision when he moved his plant with 800 employees and $9 million in orders to San Diego. After examining several locations, Fleet found San Diego to have everything he needed—a good airport, a publicly-owned waterfront, an excellent harbor, a city large enough to furnish labor and materials, and a proper climate for test flying and materials. Consolidated Aircraft began operating in San Diego in October 1935.

The federal census of 1940 showed that San Diego’s population was nearing 300,000. With the outbreak of World War II, the rate of San Diego’s growth increased tremendously. Local aircraft plants attracted workers from other states while all military establishments were expanded and new facilities acquired. San Diego’s climate was ideal for the year-round training of US Army, Navy, and Marine Corps recruits. The Navy represented more that $2.5 million in monthly payrolls and expenditures. Linda Vista, known in its early stages as Defense Housing Project No. 4002, was a $14 million project covering an area of 1,459 acres overlooking Mission Valley. Sponsored by the National Housing Authority, ground was broken on October 31, 1941, and 3,000 houses were constructed in 200 days. In May, 1,846 more units were built on large lots with paved streets and
four schools were located in the immediate vicinity. Camp Callan for US Army artillerymen occupied a five-mile stretch of land along Torrey Pines Mesa. An amphibious base was developed by the Navy on Coronado Strand along with Brown Field on Otay Mesa; Ream Field, in Imperial Beach; and Miramar Naval Air Station. The Marines acquired more than 123,000 acres of historic Rancho Santa Margarita near Oceanside to build Camp Pendleton—the world’s largest military base. The Marines also set up Camp Elliott on Kearny Mesa.

With defense precautions in San Diego dictating that thousands of street lamps be blacked out, headlights be partially covered with black hoods, camouflage installed on defense installations, and “victory gardens” planted to supplement scarce vegetables, the city stood at alert. Consumers did without new cars and new appliances while simple needs such as sugar, butter, meat, coffee and nylon stockings were rationed. Local Japanese residents were removed to internment camps and restrictions were imposed on travel. San Diego remained in a state of readiness until the end of the war in August 1945 and has continued as one of the nation’s strongest military cities until the present time. With San Diego’s population in 2014 at an all time high of over 1.3 million, dependence upon the military as its major employer will continue well into the future.

*Sketch created by Douglas Sharp of the 1542 San Salvador.*
United States Government Barracks, c. 1870. ©SDHC #10547.

U.S. Army - Soldiers, 1892. ©SDHC #16473-4.

William Kettner in 1900, promoter of San Diego military as Congressman (1913-1921). ©SDHC #81:10362.
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Battleship USS Kansas, part of the Great White Fleet, 1908. ©SDHC #229.

Shoreboats land from the Great White Fleet, 1908 ©SDHC #215.
Cannon on Market Street, 1899. ©SDHC #1026.

Curtiss School of Aviation, 1911. ©SDHC #87:16425.

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Camp Kearny contractors with cars, ca. 1917. ©SDHC #81:9444.

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Officers at Camp Kearny, 1919. ©SDHC #83:14670-1.

Official Staff Uniform, 1919. ©SDHC #83:14670-6.

Rear Admiral Roger Welles, San Diego’s first “Navy Mayor,” ca. 1921. ©SDHC #79:839.


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Commerce and Industry Building (today’s Casa de Balboa), US Navy, ca. 1918. ©SDHC #81:12739.

First plane refueling in flight, 1923. ©SDHC #6051.

Submarines, S-4 and S-9, San Diego Harbor, 1926. ©SDHC #UT8241-1174.

Naval Training Camp, Balboa Park, 1928. ©SDHC #82:13553.
Swimming, Naval Training Camp, Balboa Park, WWI. ©SDHC #86:16029.

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Camp Callan—Abandon ship drill, 1942. ©SDHC #OP 15764.
Barrage balloon, 1942. ©SDHC #UT 8240-5.

Elementary school students collecting newspapers for the war effort, ca. 1942. ©SDHC #UT 8243-56.
Consolidated Vultee (Convair)—camouflage over buildings and material, 1943. ©SDHC #84:15213-5.

City bus during wartime San Diego, 1943. ©SDHC #86:15781.
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Ryan Flightline, ca. 1942. ©SDHC #79:SDHS-630.

Ad in The San Diego Union, September 1, 1943. ©SDHC #93:18936.

Convair B-24 Liberator Bomber. ©SDHC #6043.

USS San Diego (CL-53) entering San Diego Harbor, October 27, 1945. ©SDHC #P16028.
Note:

The above photographs from the San Diego History Center Photographic Archives will appear in the forthcoming book by Scott McGaugh and Rudy Shappee entitled *Presidio to Pacific Powerhouse: How the Military Shaped San Diego* (Arcadia Publishing). The exhibit featuring these and additional photographs covering all branches of the military will appear in the exhibit of the same name at the History Center opening April 19, 2014.
Remembering the Forgotten Village of San Onofre: An Untold Story of Race Relations

Ryan Jordan

From roughly 1925-1960, travelers driving north from San Diego would have been familiar with the small village of San Onofre, the northernmost settlement in San Diego County. Today, little evidence remains of the settlement except for a dormant nuclear power plant, a Marine Corps housing development, and a state beach famous for surfing. San Onofre has received scant attention in published sources, but the area’s history typifies many of the varied economic, racial, and political changes that have transformed Southern California over the last 170 years.

The first reference to San Onofre appears in a map of Rancho de San Onofrio from the 1840s, later filed with the US District Court California, Southern District. The former Mexican-era governor of Alta California, Pío Pico, presented this map to the US. government (probably in the 1870s) as part of a battle with his son-in-law John Forster over title to the ranch. Rancho de San Onofrio was

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Ryan Jordan received a Ph.D in History from Princeton in 2004 and teaches U.S. and California history at the University of San Diego and National University. He is currently at work on a larger study of the Capistrano Valley from the era of colonization to the present.
likely the original title of Pico’s holdings, even as the property would later be known as Rancho Santa Margarita y las Flores. This rancho, whose holdings Pico added to over the course of the 1840s, included the Las Flores asistencia, roughly 10 miles to the south of what became the village of San Onofre.

Over the next hundred years, three separate owners controlled Rancho Santa Margarita until the arrival of the Marines in 1942. As part of Rancho Santa Margarita, San Onofrio (changed to San Onofre at some point in the early American period) referred to the Arroyo and nearby point jutting out into the ocean, as well as to a small vaquero camp east of the Pacific Ocean that appears to have existed from the time of Pico’s original map of Rancho de San Onofrio.

### Spanish and Mexican Period

To geographers, the Arroyo San Onofre forms the southern border of the much larger San Mateo watershed. During the Spanish and Mexican periods (1769-1848), the section of the watershed by the coast lay on El Camino Real between Mission San Luis Rey de Francia and Mission San Juan Capistrano. For centuries, the San Mateo watershed had been home to the native village of Panhe, the largest settlement of Juaneño Indians at the time of Mission San Juan Capistrano’s founding in 1776. Several hundred natives lived in this village, and with the establishment of the mission, the Franciscans renamed the Juaneño village San Mateo. San Mateo functioned as a mission ranchería for San Juan Capistrano at least until the 1820s.

It is unclear, however, how many natives stayed in the area of San Mateo or San Onofre in the Mexican era. Many Juaneños moved southeast to Pala and Warner Springs after the secularization of Mission San Juan Capistrano and the creation of the new pueblo of San Juan in 1838. The unpopularity of the pueblo’s Mexican alcalde, Santiago Argüello, caused many of the natives to flee San Juan Capistrano and San Mateo for friendlier places in the foothills such as Pala, where natives could live with less white intrusion.

During Pío Pico’s tenure as owner of Rancho Santa Margarita, Pico took...
advantage of the fresh water provided by the San Mateo watershed to support herds of cattle. San Onofrio possessed a vaquero camp and it is possible that some of the vaqueros who worked on Rancho Santa Margarita included natives who had lived in the area for centuries. With the takeover of California by the Americans in 1848, along with the resulting gold rush, cattle became an even more important financial asset to men like Pío Pico. For a time the cattle boom greatly increased Pico’s fortune. Yet, even the windfall from cattle ranching could not prevent Pico from falling on hard times in the 1860s, and eventually losing his ranch to his son-in-law John Forster. Forster had actually assumed the deed to Rancho Santa Margarita in 1864 under questionable circumstances, but his ownership of the ranch was later upheld in court.

**Early American Era**

Yet the financial troubles that had beset Pico did not spare Forster, and by the 1870s, Forster was looking at ways to turn a profit on Rancho Santa Margarita through real estate development. Seeking to emulate the success of Los Angeles ranchers such as Abel Stearns, Forster began a plan to sell off ranch land and create housing subdivisions. Out of this plan came the first town in San Onofre, known as Forster City, built on a bluff overlooking the ocean just to the north of the Arroyo San Onofre. In April 1879 San Diego County made Forster City an official voting district, and up until 1882 thirty-five eligible males cast votes.

The 1880 Census for San Diego County included Forster City in the San Luis Rey Township (named for the mission), even though the territory had belonged to Mission San Juan Capistrano. The Census enumerated 165 people in Forster City, but some of these likely lived inland from the coastal settlement. Under the category of occupation, the highest number at 50 consisted of those engaged in farming, followed by 29 people who were sheep raisers or sheep shearers, in addition to 5 others involved in stock raising.

One individual, Samuel Neil, was a stage driver, indicating that Forster City was on the stagecoach line from San Diego to Los Angeles. Pablo Soto owned a general store; there was a stage depot, blacksmith shop, livery stable, and a hotel. A one-room school was also established, with a post office. But the community...
was smaller than San Juan Capistrano and for various reasons could not survive when Forster died in 1882. It is likely that the people who lived in and around Forster City either returned to the San Juan area or continued working the land for later owners of the Rancho Santa Margarita. Some of the buildings from Forster City were removed to San Juan Capistrano, and a couple of them are still in the Los Rios district today. Currently, a marker just to the north of Arroyo San Onofre is the only evidence of Forster City’s existence.11

After Forster’s death, James Flood and his manager Richard O’Neill took over Rancho Santa Margarita, along with the cattle roundup at San Onofre. The O’Neill family actually lived in the old ranch house at Las Flores, and by 1923 the family came to possess the land comprising San Onofre in their own right, even as the Floods held title to other parts of the larger ranch. The newly laid train tracks of the Santa Fe railroad included a San Onofre depot built in 1888 to facilitate the transport of cattle and other livestock or crops to market.12

At some point in the first two decades of the 1900s, according to Norm Haven, the O’Neill family constructed a bean processing center and cattle pen at the San Onofre train stop. Jerome Baumgartner, whose mother was a member of the O’Neill family living at Las Flores, recalled some tenant farmers living in the Arroyo San Mateo in the 1910s, although he did not give specifics besides the home of one ranch hand named Rodriguez who possessed the area’s first phone to communicate with the main house at Las Flores.13 Norm Haven indicated that part of the land to the east of San Onofre Point was leased to Charles Pilgrim around 1912 for the production of lima beans.14

That same year, the San Onofre train depot entered the history books for its tangential involvement in the San Diego Free Speech Controversy. According to several different sources, many of the unpopular leaders of the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) were taken by train to San Onofre, kicked off the train, and threatened with violence if they returned to San Diego. No other information exists concerning how these labor organizers fared in this remote area of Rancho Santa Margarita.15

Jerome Baumgartner, looking back to his childhood on the Rancho Santa Margarita, recalled particularly fond memories of the annual cattle roundups and rodeos at San Onofre—
entertaining events that attracted hundreds of cattle buyers from all over the Southwest. Baumgartner also remembered playing around the bunkhouses built for the cowboys a couple of miles from the train station. In 1916, Baumgartner’s uncle, Jerome O’Neill, allowed a film crew to use the San Onofre corral for the making of an unnamed film, and a photograph with O’Neill and the film crew is probably the oldest known photograph of the area.16

Between 1882 and the arrival of Archibald Blaine Haven in 1925, it is difficult to ascertain the exact population of the area around the San Onofre train depot, but it could not have totaled more than 100. After the 1880 census for Forster City, no mention is made of the area north of Oceanside until the 1910 census (the 1890 federal census was destroyed for San Diego County, as well as most parts of the United States). In 1910, the census taker enumerated roughly 120 people on the entire Rancho Santa Margarita, including 90 people with Hispanic last names, 27 Anglos, and 3 Chinese cooks for the O’Neill family.17 Nevertheless, no specific identification of the San Onofre vaquero camps or tenant farmers were made in that census. In the 1920 census, again no specific mention is made of San Onofre, but instead the entire area was referred to as part of the Las Flores precinct. The Pilgrim family, known to be living at San Onofre, is enumerated in 1920 along with 10 Japanese laborers. The entire Las Flores area from Oceanside to San Mateo point on the Orange County line consisted of 225 people. Besides the ten Japanese laborers, ninety of these residents possessed Hispanic surnames, and the remainder were Anglos.18

The Arrival of the Haven Family

It was not until 1930 that census takers used the designation Haven’s Ranch or San Onofre to identify the San Onofre inhabitants on Rancho Santa Margarita—also continuing to be known as Las Flores. In the 1930 census, the population of San Onofre rose to 135, even as the entire population north of Oceanside held steady at 250. At this time, the number of Hispanics and Japanese Americans likewise remained relatively constant at 80 and 10, respectively.19 By the 1930s,
several developments increased settlement in the San Onofre area, the most important one being the growth in the production of fruit and winter crops in Southern California. According to Fred Oyama, many families in the San Onofre area grew celery, lettuce, cantaloupe, tomatoes, sugar beets, and lima beans.\textsuperscript{20} According to Norm Haven, other tenants in the San Onofre area specialized in the production of flowers, including the poinsettia, which would later become a huge industry further south in and around Carlsbad. In the first three decades of the twentieth century, advancing refrigeration technology, along with decreasing transportation times, buoyed the prospects for California farmers seeking to supply winter produce to other, colder parts of North America.\textsuperscript{21}

The man most responsible for increasing the visibility of San Onofre to drivers going to and from San Diego was Archibald Haven, who arrived in the area in 1925. Haven was the proprietor of the Haven Seed Company, founded by his father in Michigan in 1875. The company removed to Tustin in 1910 and later had a large facility in Santa Ana. Haven Seed produced over 70 different varieties of tomato seeds for sale throughout the world.\textsuperscript{22} The success of the Haven family in Santa Ana enabled them to put money to work in the San Onofre area, and speaks to the economic expansion in agriculture in Southern California during the period of time roughly from 1915 to 1945 that was difficult financially for many other parts of the United States, as well as the world.
Archibald Haven leased roughly 1400 acres around the San Onofre train stop from the Santa Margarita Ranch. Haven took over the lease from Charles Pilgrim, mentioned earlier, who farmed lima beans and had already constructed some buildings near the Arroyo San Onofre. According to his son, Archibald Haven greatly remodeled or removed these structures. Norm Haven remembered that his father also helped remodel the shacks inhabited by several Mexican laborers who had worked in the area during Charles Pilgrim’s lease. Besides expanding their tomato production from Orange County, the Havens at San Onofre grew lettuce, cabbage, lima beans and owned cattle and chickens. Haven dug deep wells in the area to help create an irrigation system for parts of the San Onofre valley, which represented an extension of existing irrigation systems already present throughout the larger San Mateo watershed.23

Further enabling settlement in the area was the completion of a paved highway in 1929. Road building projects coincided with the development of three small communities just to the north of San Mateo Canyon: San Clemente, Dana Point, and Capistrano Beach, all of which were established during the real estate boom of the mid-1920s, even though these communities fell upon hard times in the Depression of the 1930s. The Havens and other residents of San Onofre would vote at Las Flores. The children initially had to go to Oceanside High School in the 1920s, even though Capistrano High in Orange County was closer. By the 1930s, most San Onofre children attended high school at Capistrano. For many years, the largest number of graduates at Capistrano High School actually hailed from San Onofre.24

By the 1940 census, the entire area of Rancho Santa Margarita saw a relatively sharp increase in population from 250 in 1930 to 680. Because San Onofre or Haven’s Ranch were not listed specifically in the census, it is not possible to know the exact population of the Arroyo San Mateo watershed region, but anecdotally there is little doubt that the area saw an increase in residents—perhaps having more than doubled from the 125 who lived at San Onofre in 1930. The Japanese-American population grew the most by far between 1930 and 1940 on Rancho Santa Margarita, from a population of 10 to 208. The Hispanic population for the entire area remained at 85, roughly where it was in 1930. When counting those of Hispanic heritage as a separate ethnic group, which included those who possessed Spanish surnames but who were counted as white not Mexican, there were nearly as many Japanese Americans as Anglo-Americans working the land between Oceanside and San Clemente in the 1940 census.25 The increase in Japanese-American farmers during this decade testified to their achievements in Southern California agriculture between 1900 and 1940, even as Japanese immigration to the US was banned in 1924.
The Japanese-American success in California agriculture, however, was not appreciated by many Anglo-Californians. Californians passed the Alien Land Law in 1913 to prohibit Japanese immigrants from owning land. An even stronger Alien Land Law received overwhelming approval as a ballot proposition in 1920. This law attempted to curtail leases to Japanese immigrants in addition to forbidding land ownership by Japanese Americans. The 1920 Alien Land Law, however, like the one passed in 1913, saw inconsistent implementation in several parts of California, including the area around San Onofre. For example, at least one Japanese-American family in San Juan Capistrano, headed by P.K. Kotoski and his wife Sakaye, owned land in the 1940 census. According to Fred Oyama, other Japanese Americans possessed leases to farm in and around the area from San Onofre to San Juan Capistrano, even as the 1920 land law tried to restrict leases to people of Japanese descent.

With the arrival of the paved highway in 1929, Haven helped construct a café, service station, and post office not far from the San Onofre train station, along the route travelled by car traffic between San Clemente and Oceanside. Frank Ulrich—who held the lease to the small beach that would become famous with surfers—ran the San Onofre Café and service station, while Haven helped run the post office. With Haven’s aid, a grade school was remodeled around 1930 to help students avoid having to cross the railroad tracks. Edna Rosnar, a
widow from Escondido, taught at this grade school. She would spend the week at a small teacher’s quarters near the beach. Rosnar was well respected and admired by the students at San Onofre.

Local fisherman, who lived along the coast near the site of the present nuclear power plant, opened a fish market at some point in the 1930s and it may have survived until 1950. The area was also referred to as a fishing club, with members fishing along some of the beaches later made famous by surfers. During the 1930s and 1940s, Norm Haven remembers the growing popularity of the beaches at San Onofre for surfing. He relates that his father confronted surfers who stole food from the farm, but with time the relationship between the surfers and Haven grew friendlier.

Archibald Haven later constructed restrooms near San Onofre point for the visitors, which only led to an increase in surfers who began to build huts down by the beach. As the owner of the beach’s lease, Frank Ulrich attempted to collect a small fee—most say it was 25 cents—from surfers turning off the highway to go to the ocean. During these years, San Onofre attracted the attention of many future legends in surfing, such as Lorin “Whitey” Harrison, Pete Peterson, and Bob Simmons. Norm Haven remembers that James Arness was a frequent beach guest at San Onofre in the 1940s and 1950s. Bing Crosby’s car broke down at the Haven ranch on his way to Del Mar and the family helped him out. The Haven children did not realize who he was since they knew of Crosby only through the radio.28

Angie Cruz, the daughter of Haven’s Mexican-born ranch foreman, Stephen Cruz, remembered a good life at San Onofre—one where her father and mother raised ten children. The Cruz family did not want for much, but at the same time, many of the children could not finish high school because their labor was needed on the ranch. Cruz noted that those Mexicans employed in the Bracero program were generally treated well by the Havens, even though as the daughter of the ranch foreman, she did not have too much
contact with the families of the other Mexican laborers. Many of the Mexican families in San Onofre attended a small Catholic church constructed at San Onofre at some point in the late 1930s, likely the only church in the village. The family of Cruz’s mother included very old mestizo families from San Juan Capistrano, such as the Rios and Alipaz families. Angie Cruz remembered the enduring connection between Capistrano mestizo families and Luiseño Indian families in Warner Springs and Pala.29

World War II and Japanese Evacuation

The near-idyllic life of farming along the ocean remembered by Cruz would be disrupted forever by World War II. Cruz recalled the climate of near-paranoia concerning foreign raids after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor in 1941, and she reported that the families at San Onofre were concerned about suspicious looking boats seen off the coast. For her part, Cruz reported seeing more than one strange vessel off the coast of San Onofre and San Clemente in the late 1930s and
early 1940s, which perhaps speaks more to the era’s climate of fear than anything else. In the lead up to Pearl Harbor, Angie Cruz related that many in northern San Diego County claimed that Japanese Americans told them that Japan was going to take over the United States, implying that these Japanese immigrants approved of this plan. Such widespread suspicion of Japanese Americans played a role in the decision to “evacuate” all persons of Japanese descent away from the coast.30

The first mention of the coming evacuation of Japanese Americans in the San Onofre area came in a March 6, 1942, article in San Juan Capistrano’s Coastline Dispatch.31 Other articles also mentioned the need for a blackout along the coast and warned readers to remain vigilant for any suspicious signs of foreign ships on the water. On April 3, the Coastline Dispatch reported that Domenico Lisanti was arrested in San Clemente for not registering with authorities as an alien Italian.32 Tomi Iwata, wife of San Onofre resident Norio Iwata, stated that the Japanese Americans in San Mateo and San Onofre were told to evacuate because
of concerns that they could be used for spy networks as they were too close to the coast. On May 22, 1942 the Coastline Dispatch mentioned how some Japanese-American families evacuated on their own, and how the “last of the Japanese families in this part of the county left here early Sunday morning by army motor convoy on their way to the government concentration camp near Parker Dam, Arizona.” It is instructive how the editors referred to all of the evacuees as Japanese, even as many of them were born in the United States and were therefore American citizens.

For the entire region from San Juan’s border with El Toro in the North to Oceanside in the South, the Japanese-American population in the 1940 census rested at just under 300 people, out of roughly 5,000 total. As mentioned above, the vast majority of these people resided between Oceanside and San Clemente around places like Las Flores and San Onofre. To the north in Orange County, San Clemente had 17 Japanese Americans in the 1940 Census, an increase from 3 in 1930, and 55 Japanese Americans lived in San Juan Capistrano, which was an increase from 16 in 1930. No Japanese Americans lived in the communities of Dana Point and Capistrano Beach between San Juan and San Clemente.

It is unclear how many of these Japanese-American families ended up at Parker Dam—the destination cited by the Coastline Dispatch—and how many went elsewhere. Many of the Japanese Americans in San Onofre and San Mateo, however, were able to evacuate voluntarily to the area around St. George, Utah. According to Fred Oyama, the Iwatas, Wataris and roughly five or six other families whose names he had forgotten, evacuated with the aid of a Mormon seed salesman named Ezekiel (whose last name has also since been forgotten). This man helped remove these Japanese-American families to the community of Little Pinto, west of Cedar City, Utah. Oyama never forgot the kindness of the Mormons on whose land families like the Oyamas worked. He also mentioned, however, that as a Japanese American, one learned quickly where to go and where not to go. Outside Little Pinto, for example, Oyama and other Japanese Americans helped with the sugar beet crop but were told not to come back, especially after sundown. Fred remembered eating very well in Utah and recalled giving away food stamps because the farm they worked on in Little Pinto produced so many hogs and chickens in addition to other crops.

But the injustice of the Japanese internment still impacted the Oyamas. Fred remembered how his father shook hands with a Mr. Brown who took over the lease at the San Mateo Canyon farm, but that Brown refused to honor the handshake when the Oyamas returned to San Mateo in 1946. According to Oyama, Brown had made so much money shipping produce east during the war he later retired a wealthy man in Laguna Beach. This experience of having to lose out on prime
farmland was one example of the problems facing Japanese Americans returning from the evacuation.

After his forced evacuation and loss of the San Mateo lease, Fred’s father Kajiro Oyama fought back against other injustices done to Japanese Americans arising from the Alien Land Law. During his years at San Onofre, Japanese-born Kajiro owned land in Chula Vista, originally purchased in the name of his American-born son Fred to evade the Alien Land Law. When Kajiro returned from Utah, he faced a challenge from the state of California over ownership of his Chula Vista acreage. The resulting legal battle ended up in the United States Supreme Court and the Oyamas became quasi celebrities when the court’s ruling in *Oyama v. State of California*, 332 U.S. 633 (1948) upheld Kajiro’s right to place title to land in the name of his son Fred. While the Supreme Court’s decision in the Oyama case did not immediately overturn the Alien Land Law, it represented a step toward greater acceptance of Asian-American property rights on the West Coast.³⁸

The nature of race relations in the area stretching from south Orange County into San Onofre can be explained with a mixture of positive and negative stories, depending upon circumstance. Obviously, varying degrees of xenophobia toward the Japanese existed before and after Pearl Harbor, and draconian wartime measures meant the loss of significant wealth—or worse—for many Japanese Americans. Moreover, the newly established towns of San Clemente, Capistrano Beach, and Dana Point all enforced housing covenants aimed at preventing non-Anglos from owning homes.³⁹ Yet this does not tell the whole story concerning race relations in the San Onofre area. At Capistrano High School on the eve of World War II, Fred Oyama reported amicable relations with white students and did not encounter any overt hostility to Japanese Americans.⁴₀ And the fact that a white Mormon helped many Japanese Americans find refuge during the internment also speaks to the goodwill of whites in the area toward their non-white neighbors.

A later Japanese-American emigrant to San Juan Capistrano, Shig Kinoshita likewise reported a welcoming climate in the Capistrano area, largely because Anglos were in the minority as late as 1960. In San Juan Capistrano, housing covenants did not exist because so many of the residents were of Mexican or of partial Mexican descent.⁴¹ When the Iwatas came back to southern Orange County after their evacuation, the Rancho Mission Viejo owners remembered them and were willing to lease the family land around what is now Saddleback College. But Tomi Iwata recalls that whites did not like to sell land to the Japanese Americans and she recounted difficulties becoming a grade school teacher in the El Toro/Irvine area in the 1960s.⁴² Even though many of the Japanese American families came back and were able to lease again in a similar manner as before the war, it
took quite a while before they would be allowed to own land outright, partly in deference to still existing housing covenants, which were not ruled illegal until 1968. Norio Iwata later owned land in Dana Point, starting roughly 20 years after the war’s end. When realtors stopped enforcing housing covenants in San Clemente, Dana Point, or Capistrano Beach is still a point of discussion.

World War II marked the beginning of the end for the village of San Onofre. While both the Army and the Marines had contemplated using Rancho Santa Margarita for military exercises in the years before December 1941, the attack on Pearl Harbor added a sense of emergency to military efforts to grab land for the war effort. In 1942, Major General Joseph Fegan informed the O’Neill and Flood families that the government possessed powers under the Second War Powers Act to take Rancho Santa Margarita for a military base, later named after Major General Joseph Henry Pendleton. The military compensated the two families a combined total of 4.5 million dollars for roughly 123,000 acres of land, including nearly 20 miles of beach front property. Some families, like the Havens, were able to maintain individual leases from the government until the 1960s. But slowly, many of the other tenant farmers began to move away from the San Mateo watershed.

With the arrival of the Marines, the government decided to build a road,
later named for Gunnery Sergeant John Basilone, along the ridge between the Arroyo San Onofre and the San Mateo watershed. Military housing also was needed in the area to house troops. The military housing at San Onofre initially comprised quanset huts, but by the 1960s construction began on more accommodating housing, which can still be seen today on the hills to the east of I-5. This construction later expanded into some of the inland valleys at San Mateo, as well as just south of San Mateo Point in San Clemente.\textsuperscript{45} By the 1960s, according to Norm Haven, the last of the private leases made with individual farmers lapsed, including the one made with Norm’s father, Archibald. Frank Ulrich lost his control over the beach at San Onofre with the transfer to the Marines in 1942. With construction of the I-5 freeway in the early 1960s, the remaining buildings along the old route 101 were demolished, as they stood in the way of the freeway.\textsuperscript{46} This ended any evidence of the old San Onofre village.

Post World War II Era

Although the Marines officially frowned upon surfing at San Onofre during the war years, many surfers still made it to the beach. In 1950, surfer Andre Jahan and Barney Wilkes came to an arrangement with Marine leaders that if a San Onofre Surf Club were established to regulate foot traffic and clean up after the visitors, then civilian access would no longer be impeded by the military. Surfing at San Onofre was regulated by the San Onofre Surf Club until the creation of the San Onofre State Beach in 1971.\textsuperscript{47}

Meanwhile, the Atomic Energy Commission and California Utility companies sought a coastal site for a nuclear power plant that
could be easily cooled by water from the ocean. In the early 1960s, San Diego Gas and Electric and the Southern California Edison Company asked for a ninety acre site to build this nuclear plant. Marine leaders at Camp Pendleton resisted any effort to take land away from the military, but Congress voted for and President Johnson approved legislation mandating the armed forces lease land to utility companies for the construction of power plants. In 1964, the utilities and Marines worked out an arrangement whereby the power companies received a sixty-year lease on 84 acres on San Onofre point. Construction of the first reactors began in 1967. Two more reactors were constructed in 1983 and 1984.48 In 1970, Camp Pendleton again agreed to give up roughly three miles of coastal property both north and south of the San Onofre power plant to the state of California for the creation of San Onofre State Beach. At this time, President Nixon had already purchased the Western White House, at Cotton’s Point on the northern end of the Arroyo San Mateo in San Clemente. Many felt Nixon had been personally involved in getting the Marines to relinquish additional coastal property for the creation of the state beach.49

In 2008 an effort to extend a tollroad through San Onofre State Beach to the I-5 generated significant opposition and was rejected by both the California Coastal Commission and the U.S Department of Commerce. In the aftermath of the Fukushima Nuclear disaster, state officials decided to decommission the San Onofre Nuclear Generating Station. As of 2013, the process of winding down the station by Southern California Edison continues.50 The only permanent residents of the areas once farmed between San Onofre and San Mateo points are the approximately 5,000 Marines and their families who live in the San Onofre
and San Mateo housing facilities. The rest of the area is preserved as part of a unique open space that has managed to avoid the trends of large scale real estate development seen in other parts of San Diego and Orange Counties. In this way San Onofre—more than most areas along the Southern California coast—still bears at least some resemblance to the country that Pío Pico once used for his cattle 170 years ago.51

NOTES

1. Saint Onufrius, a 4th century saint in the Roman Catholic Church, is called San Onofre in Spanish and San Onofrio in Italian.
2. United States District Court (California: Southern District). Land case. 367, Rancho de San Onofrio, University of California Berkeley, Bancroft Library.
6. Haas, Conquests and Historical Identities, 41.
7. Baumgartner, Rancho Santa Margarita Remembered, 122-123.
10. 1880 Census San Diego County, California, Enumeration District (ED) 72, San Luis Rey Township, Forster City, 8-11.
20. Phone Interview with Fred Oyama by Ryan Jordan, July 2, 2013.
22. Samuel Armor, History of Orange County, California (Los Angeles: JR Finnell 1921), 843-44.
23. Phone Interview with Norm Haven by Ryan Jordan, July 2, 2013.
25. 1940 United States Federal Census, San Diego County, Oceanside Township, E.D. 37-74 pp. 1A-9B.
27. 1940 United States Federal Census, Orange County, San Juan Capistrano E.D.30-72, pp.62B.
29. Phone Interview with Angie Cruz by Ryan Jordan, August 26, 2013.
30. Ibid.
31. “All Aliens to be Eventually Excluded from West Coast,” Coastline Dispatch, March 6, 1942.
33. Phone Interview with Norio Iwata by Ryan Jordan, July 1, 2013.
35. Population tallies for Orange County taken from 1940 US Federal Census, San Juan Capistrano, E.D. 30-72 and 30-74, respectively.
36. Phone Interview with Fred Oyama by Ryan Jordan, July 2, 2013.
37. Ibid.
39. Titles containing the covenants are on file with Equity Title Company, Santa Ana, CA and several are in possession of the author. One example of a housing covenant in San Clemente can be found on the first page of the “Grant Deed Bank of America National Trust and Savings Corporation,” Trust Number, 578 N.S., Tract 852, on file with Equity Title Company.
40. Phone Interview with Fred Oyama by Ryan Jordan, July 2, 2013.
41. Phone Interview with Shig Kinoshita by Ryan Jordan, July 1, 2013.
42. Phone Interview with Norio Iwata by Ryan Jordan, July 1, 2013.
44. Baumgartner, Rancho Santa Margarita Remembered, 159-161. The value of this ranch in 2014 would easily be in the multiple billions of dollars.
47. Oral histories concerning the early days of surfing at San Onofre can be found at the webpage of the San Onofre Foundation: http://www.sanofoundation.org/site/heritage/surfing-history, accessed November 12, 2013.
49. Witty and Morgan, Marines of the Margarita, 186.
Pioneers, Warriors, Advocates: San Diego’s Black Legal Community, 1890-2013

Robert Fikes, Jr.

The Pioneers

Initially, it must have seemed like a rare opportunity to establish a thriving legal practice in an underdeveloped city in faraway Southern California. After all, rail connections had been completed to the east and north, and San Diego appeared to be on the verge of a population boom when Joseph Henry Stuart (1849-1910) arrived in 1890 via Kansas City, having earned his law degree at the University of South Carolina fifteen years before. The San Diego Union, a newspaper that routinely allowed biased racial terminology referring to African Americans in its headlines and articles, took notice when the ambitious 31-year-old registered with the bar announcing under the headline “A Colored Attorney Admitted:"

San Diego yesterday had a colored attorney admitted to her bar membership in the admission of J. H. Stewart [sic] of South Carolina. Mr. Stewart [sic] has been in San Diego several months and was admitted on credentials from the supreme court of South Carolina.¹

¹

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But despite some positive regional economic indicators and the presence of some determined and accomplished ex-slaves and their descendants, Stuart’s year-long stay ended because a legal career could not prosper serving a “colored” population of only 289, representing fewer than one percent of the city’s residents.² And it was particularly difficult for a black attorney to launch a successful practice in this era of egregious racial segregation when he had to prove his competence even to his own people, working solo without the advantage of professional consultation, and probably forced to do more pro bono work than he would have preferred. So Stuart, a social activist with a taste for politics, packed his bags and moved to Denver, Colorado, then with ten times the black population of San Diego, where eventually he was elected to the Colorado State Assembly and, in 1900, was privileged to sit at the table of honor with Booker T. Washington and Paul Laurence Dunbar when these celebrities visited the Mile-High City.³

Well into the new century, San Diego’s black community stood almost mute in the shadow of that urban behemoth called Los Angeles and the sophisticated metropolis of San Francisco farther north. The nation’s black press seemed oblivious to newsworthy events in San Diego, ignoring the precedent setting court case of Edward Anderson v. John C. Fisher in 1897 that resulted when a black couple was denied their prepaid seats at a play in the Fisher Opera House.⁴ The press also ignored Booker T. Washington’s 1903 escorted tour of the beachfront and downtown with the city’s more progressive white leaders that had local blacks brimming with pride.⁵

San Diego’s relatively small black population and generally less tolerant white citizenry discouraged black professionals who might otherwise have settled here. But during his visits W.E.B. Du Bois was not only struck by the area’s natural beauty, he also extolled the city’s black leaders as “pushing.”⁶ He was undoubtedly aware of their churches, social and fraternal organizations, political clubs, and he gladly accepted their invitation to return in 1917 to help launch a chapter of the NAACP. Surprisingly, the founding of an enthusiastic San Diego chapter of the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA), Marcus Garvey’s back-to-Africa organization that rivaled Du Bois’ NAACP, preceded the formation of a chapter of UNIA in Los Angeles.⁷

The next reference to an African American attorney in San Diego is in August 1927 regarding “A. W. Hammond,” according to legal historian J. Clay Smith Jr., in an article titled “Race Lawyer Achieves” in San Bernardino’s The Guardian.⁸ “Hammond” was reputed to have a multi-ethnic clientele owing in part to his command of several languages. After cross checking various lists and directories it was ascertained that, as was the case with “J. H. Steward” in the San Diego Union, the man’s name had been mangled. In fact, his real name was Albert W.
Holland, a black attorney from Philadelphia who had fought in the Philippines in 1899, married a woman in Northern California in 1924, practiced law in San Diego for two years, then left for parts unknown having had minimal influence in the city’s black community.

By 1930 there were a mere 34 African American attorneys in California. Two years later, former real estate agent and Kansas City native John Edgar Roundtree (1880-1961), age 52, a former president of the Terre Haute, Indiana NAACP, arrived in San Diego from Cleveland, Ohio, after a brief stay in Los Angeles where he was president of the Crispus Attucks Republican Club. Oddly enough, this Howard University alumnus decided to sink roots. The only black attorney anyone could recall until the late 1940s, Roundtree kept a low profile, first working in private practice, followed by an 18-year stint in the District Attorney’s Office heading a unit investigating and prosecuting numerous men who failed to support their families. The best known of the deadbeat dads Roundtree brought to court was World Light-Heavyweight Boxing Champion Archie Moore who enjoyed reenacting his pugilistic triumphs to Roundtree’s staff.

Roundtree, a Kappa Alpha Psi member and an honorary trustee of Bethel Baptist Church, returned to private practice in 1954. One might assume that his lengthy tenure and managerial position in the DA’s Office—an extremely rare position for a black man in an upscale white collar profession in the 1940s and early 1950s when there were no black elected officials in the county—would have brought Roundtree some notoriety, but this always impeccably attired, dignified and honorable man remained virtually invisible. Perhaps the chief reason was that as an employee of the government he could ill-afford to posture himself as a black community spokesman. Also, he may not have been completely on board with Du Bois’ notion of the “Talented Tenth” that said educated “exceptional men” like him were obliged to help “save the race;” and he may not have fully accepted what the revered legal activist Charles Hamilton Houston, Dean of the Howard University School of Law, drilled into his students: “A lawyer’s either a social engineer or he’s a parasite on society.” Roundtree, it seems, was most comfortable quietly performing his job as an attorney as competently as he could. Married but with no surviving offspring, he died at age 81.

Du Bois, between 1936 and 1940, repeatedly lamented the paucity of black
attorneys in America who could provide adequate counsel for those who were indigent and often innocent. Attributing the shortage to a perceived disparity in pay received by black and white attorneys, which he believed discouraged blacks from entering the legal profession, he once complained that black attorneys were forced to “eke out a living by methods which do not appeal to self-respecting men.” Attributing the shortage to a perceived disparity in pay received by black and white attorneys, which he believed discouraged blacks from entering the legal profession, he once complained that black attorneys were forced to “eke out a living by methods which do not appeal to self-respecting men.”

What had been infrequent instances of San Diego blacks challenging racial discrimination became an almost regular occurrence in the 1940s. In the midst of World War II three black men sued the owners of a café on National Avenue for $650 in damages when they were refused service.

Circa 1948, the San Diego NAACP, led by dentist Jack Kimbrough, with the assistance of black and white college students, devised an ingenious scheme to document racial discrimination in the city’s restaurants and consistently prevailed in the cases it brought to court. The 1947 case of United States v. Ingalls that focused national attention on San Diego exposed how Dora L. Jones, a black female, was kept as a slave for thirty years by a white couple who had recently moved to Coronado from Boston. For hundreds of blacks who flocked downtown hoping to claim a courtroom seat, this was the trial of the century that resulted in a conviction. All of the above cases were handled by white attorneys, but in the late 1940s the impact of black attorneys would start to be felt in the fight for civil rights.

The ideal of the legal activist-leader as conceived by Du Bois and Houston was realized in the person of the late Sherman W. Smith Sr. (1922-2003), another Howard man who discerned the advantages of joining forces with another new resident, Alpha L. Montgomery (1919-2004), and the state’s most effective mentor to aspiring black attorneys, John W. Bussey (1904-1969). These three gentlemen had come to respect each other’s abilities when earlier their paths had crossed in San Francisco. Together they formed the city’s first African American law firm in 1949: Bussey, Montgomery & Smith, with offices on Imperial Avenue and Pacific Highway.

Smith quickly became a national board member of the NAACP and was a co-founder of the city’s Urban League. He ventured into the community to address various groups, including a speech at San Diego State College in 1952 that was publicized in the campus newspaper, The Aztec. Relocating to Los Angeles in 1954, Smith was recognized for his outstanding work and, in 1966, was appointed Superior Court judge by Governor Pat Brown. As judge he made headlines when he freed avant-garde comedian Lenny Bruce. He also heard many cases related to the 1965 Watts Riot. More significantly, he was the first
California judge to rule that constitutional rights of blacks and other minorities of color had been abridged because of the use of voter registration rolls to pick jurors. This method reduced their representation on juries, a decision which led to the use of DMV records to facilitate the selection process. Smith’s son, Sherman W. Smith Jr., followed in his footsteps and was appointed to the Los Angeles Superior Court in 1989, and his grandson, Sherman W. Smith III, is today an attorney in a prestigious Philadelphia firm.

Indeed, Montgomery and Bussey also exemplified the ideal of the legal activist-leader. Not content to enrich themselves and strut their professional status, they responded to the call to be “race leaders” by involving themselves in efforts of racial uplift, educating the public, and defending the weak and exploited. Long before lending his name to the city’s first African American law firm, Bussey had fashioned an unassailable reputation as one of the best legal minds in the Bay Area and was the most sought after person by black law students cramming to pass the bar exam. Harvard-educated Bussey was a legendary mentor and educator and in 1958 was made a San Francisco Municipal Court judge and later elevated to the Superior Court.

In the wake of the 1948 Supreme Court decision that outlawed restrictive covenants in property deeds, blacks seeking redress for housing discrimination retained experienced trial attorney Alpha Montgomery, a graduate of Fisk and Howard, who, along with his partner Sherman Smith, was a reliable legal resource for the San Diego NAACP. The writer of Montgomery’s obituary in the San Diego Union called him a “crusader for civil rights” and recounted: “One of his successes, in the early 1950s, was in Valencia Park. Later, he provided the legal impetus that forced the U.S. Grant, San Diego, and El Cortez hotels to rent rooms to blacks for meetings and social functions.” A co-founder of the San Diego Urban League in 1951, and a Republican, he was enlisted by Presidents Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Johnson to confer with experts making recommendations on civil rights and equal employment opportunity. His luxurious home in Emerald Hills and highflying lifestyle was the topic of a feature article in Ebony magazine. In 1979 Montgomery was appointed to the Superior Court and dealt mainly with probate matters. He retired from the bench in 1995 and died from complications from Alzheimer’s disease nine years later.
In 1953 Yale Law School graduate Charles L. Fielding (1926-1984) passed the California bar exam. A year later Robert A. Ward, an associate of Smith and Montgomery, did likewise. Fielding, a war veteran, worked as both an insurance agent and an attorney with his office at 1560 Republic Street. Born in Chicago, he resided in Encanto. Ward and his socially prominent wife lived in La Jolla.

Notwithstanding the dramatic rise in the city’s black population in the post-war years (4,143 blacks in 1940 to 14,904 in 1950), there appeared to be little change in the perception of outsiders that San Diego was some sort of backwater, second cousin of Los Angeles. As proof, what had happened in the 1920s with the nationally distributed *Who's Who in Colored America* happened again in 1948 with the publication *Negro Who's Who in California*: not a single black in San Diego was profiled in these books. And, with regard to African Americans in the legal profession, a largely negative image persisted. In condemning the “Amos ‘n Andy” television sitcom in 1951 the NAACP charged: “Negro lawyers are shown as slippery cowards, ignorant of their profession and without ethics.” But as the decade closed, in stepped a towering figure who would leave a striking milestone on the legal landscape of Southern California.

Earl Ben Gilliam (1931-2001), born in New Mexico but raised in Southeast San Diego, is remembered as much for his warm, expansive personality and gregariousness as for his matchless accumulation of professional and civic awards. With a bachelor’s degree from San Diego State, a law degree from Hastings College of Law, he was admitted to the bar in 1957 and began work in the San Diego District Attorney’s Office. From 1961 to 1963 Gilliam was in private practice operating from a “storefront” and volunteering a considerable amount of pro bono legal assistance. At age 38, and at a time when there were only five black attorneys in town, he was appointed in 1963 to the Municipal Court, thereby becoming the first African American judge in the city and county of San Diego. In two more firsts for a black man in San Diego, in 1975 Governor Jerry Brown placed Gilliam on the Superior Court bench and six years later President Jimmy Carter appointed him to the U.S. District Court for the Southern District of California with jurisdiction over San Diego and Imperial counties.

As judge, Gilliam’s most widely publicized cases were those involving Del Mar Mayor Nancy Hoover, a close associate of notorious Ponzi schemer J. David Dominelli in the early 1980s; and in 1992 the settlement of a lawsuit against National Health Laboratories for $111 million—the result of an improper billing practice dubbed “automated chemistry.” While making judicial history, Gilliam
found time to serve on the boards of the Boys and Girls Club, YMCA, Salvation Army, UC-San Diego, and a host of others; and among his many honors were those from the San Diego County Bar Association, the California Association of Black Lawyers, the San Diego Trial Lawyers Association, and the National Bar Association. In 2003 the Earl B. Gilliam Bar Association (EBGBA), a group previously called the Association of Black Attorneys of San Diego County but renamed in his honor, memorialized Gilliam with a plaque in the San Diego Hall of Justice. In 2001, the Honorable Judge Earl B. Gilliam Luncheon and Golf Tournament was christened as an annual event. At the Thomas Jefferson School of Law, where Gilliam taught as an adjunct professor, The Honorable Earl B. Gilliam Moot Courtroom is used to hone the skills of future trial attorneys. In attendance at its dedication in 2011 was Dennis W. Archer, the first African American president of the American Bar Association.23 An act of Congress in 2004 designated a new facility in Encanto the Earl B. Gilliam Post Office. The Criminal Justice Memorial Internet site of the San Diego County Bar Association eulogized the judge thusly:

As a sentencing judge, he was known for his compassion, his dedication to trying to understand the individual in front of him, and his leniency for first-time offenders. He was respected for his ability to explain the sentence imposed to defendants and their families in a manner that kept them from feeling bitter toward the criminal justice system. Judge Judith Keep related that Judge Gilliam “made everyone who appeared before him feel the warmth of his soul and the breadth of his humanity.” (San Diego Lawyer, June 2001).24

The 1960s: A Quiet Time

Young black attorneys were not often attracted to San Diego in the 1960s. Nonetheless, there were some benchmark accomplishments during the decade. Although they remained a small subset of the city’s black professionals, when a magazine-sponsored survey in 1965 of 153 black residents across the city asked, “Who has the most political power in the Negro community?” the response revealed the high regard with which Judges Gilliam and Montgomery were held, ranked fourth and ninth respectively on the list of influential leaders.25 Absent from the list was Montgomery’s partner, former police sergeant and homicide detective William Bert Ritchey
(1908-1995) whose grandfather lived on acreage in La Jolla he later sold to The Bishop’s School. Ritchey had been a football star at USC and had long dreamed of a second career as an attorney. In 1964, after sixteen years of sporadic study he was admitted to the bar and paired up with Montgomery. Years later he told a newspaper reporter: “I decided to practice in a black district where I have lived and worked most of my life...where I could be helpful to people who most need help.” A past president of the Urban League and chairman of the San Diego Stadium Authority, Ritchey died of pneumonia at his home in El Cajon in 1995.

Taking a break from civil rights battles on behalf of the NAACP and the Urban League in Los Angeles, Edward C. Maddox (1918-1975) spent most of the decade in San Diego before returning to the City of Angels. In the 1950s he was part of the triumphant team of mostly black attorneys who forced Los Angeles to integrate its fire department and, ultimately, precipitated the removal of the fire chief. By 1960 Maddox was the NAACP’s counsel for Southern California and began handling criminal cases with Alpha Montgomery. He spoke to the local ACLU in March 1961 concerning housing discrimination saying: “Mankind in modern times has arbitrarily seized upon color as a badge of inferiority.... In the United States a Negro must always be prepared to expect racial prejudice all his life and in all phases of his life.” Also while in San Diego, in 1964 he was picked to head the state’s Commission on Equal Opportunities in Education. Maddox left the city in 1969 to serve as acting director of Los Angeles Neighborhood Legal Services.

Fresh from battling to integrate schools and desegregate public transportation in Little Rock, Arkansas, former Little Rock NAACP president Thaddeus D. Williams (1923-1967) arrived in San Diego in 1961 and was quite active in civic affairs until his untimely death in 1967 at age 43. His partner in the short-lived firm of Williams and Goodwin was Luther A. Goodwin (1920-1982), a former Tuskegee Airman and jet pilot who, with his activist wife, Joye, was involved in the civil rights movement in San Francisco before moving to the city in 1965.

In 1966 James D. Floyd distinguished himself as the first black graduate of the University of San Diego School of Law. He made history again in 1976 as the city’s first black administrative law judge. Floyd also served on the City Planning Commission and the board of the Legal Aid Society. The decade of the 1960s
ended with the arrival of the first black female attorney, Jacqueline S. Walker, forty years after Annie Coker became the first black female admitted to the bar in California. Walker, who earned her law degree at Wayne State University and passed the California bar exam in 1969 at age 43, began work directing the office at the San Diego ACLU. She next practiced criminal law and later worked for the California Unemployment Appeals Board.

The addition of Ritchey, Maddox, Floyd, Williams, Goodwin, and Walker to the pitifully short list of trained attorneys was not nearly enough to give any comfort to those blacks aggrieved and in desperate need of legal advice. In 1967 the leaders of the San Diego Black Conference, Citizens of Concern, and the Southeast San Diego Citizens Patrol met to discuss police-community relations—specifically allegations of disrespectful and unnecessarily violent treatment accorded African American suspects. After hearing complaints from the audience, the conveners solicited donations to set up a legal defense fund. Said one of the militants: “We would establish a fund so that any black person, no matter who he is or what he did or is charged with doing, won’t have to depend on court appointed attorneys.”

The 1970s: A Flood of New Talent

In a complete turnaround from the 1960s, black attorneys were attracted to San Diego in the 1970s in greater numbers than at any time before or since. At least forty new faces were seen in the halls of justice during the decade—more than enough to give birth to an organization that would advance their professional interests, take a stance on legal matters affecting the African American community, and recognize and reward the good work of local black attorneys, judges, law professors and their students. In her book, Leading the Race, Jacqueline Moore observed how as the century progressed, black attorneys came to prominence and had a decided impact on the lives of black people.

They used the organizational skills they received in the fraternal orders to organize civil rights campaigns. They also demonstrated the
importance of knowledge of the law…. As younger lawyers moved into racial uplift efforts, the law profession gained increasing prestige in the black community.32

The founding of the Association of Black Attorneys of San Diego County (ABASDC) in 1976 announced a new major player among those groups speaking to, and for blacks, and with expertise in a critical area. Of those attorneys who arrived or passed the bar in the 1970s, nine would eventually be appointed or elected judges. In 1971 Delroy M. Richardson (1938-1984) was made corporate general counsel and secretary at San Diego Gas & Electric Company.

In 1977 Napoleon A. Jones Jr. was elected Judge of the San Diego Municipal Court. In 1979 Elizabeth A. Riggs stepped into the limelight as Municipal Court Judge in El Cajon—the first black female to serve on a county trial court—and later rose to presiding judge. That same year Joe O. Littlejohn was elected to the board of the San Diego Unified School District.

The 1980s: The Importance of Organization

The formation of the Association of Black Attorneys was crucial in setting a course of advocacy both in terms of enhancing the career aspirations of its members and in confronting a legal system that often did not work to the benefit of the city’s blacks. The 1980s opened with a victory for ABADSC, which had sued the director of the government’s Defender Services to persuade it to “modify certain criteria used to select attorney groups to represent indigent defendants.”33 Speaking for the group and the plaintiffs, Lloyd E. Tooks, an activist attorney with a reputation for taking on civil rights cases, and ABASDC president Dennis W. Dawson summarized the details of a settlement to the press. They explained that the new plan meant a “fairer chance” for minority attorneys seeking to land indigent defense contracts. The ongoing conflict with the DA’s Office over its lackluster record of hiring minority race attorneys remained a sore spot, but as one black insider, later a jurist, reminded: “…it is difficult finding qualified applicants who want to work in San Diego for a government agency when they can get hired at a firm in another city like Los Angeles, which has a bigger black population, at a much higher pay.”34
In 1982, ABASDC changed its name to the Earl B. Gilliam Bar Association (EBGBA) and increasingly found itself protesting acts of police brutality and harassment. Most notably, EBGBA officers and members spoke out in the 1985 case of Sagon Penn who, in fear for his life, fought with policemen and killed one of them. In August 1987 EBGBA brought together twelve community groups at the Neighborhood House to coordinate a response to perceived failures of the Police Review Board.

Also in the 1980s, EBGBA president Daniel Weber (1937-2002) helped lead the successful fight against city-wide elections that diluted black voting strength; forged stronger, collaborative relations with other black organizations; and continued his tireless crusade to get more blacks appointed to the bench. “That was his legacy,” former EBGBA president Douglas Oden later recalled. In 1987 Thomas Gayton and Wes Pratt, representing the EBGBA, and Marva Mohr-Davis on behalf of the National Conference of Black Lawyers, investigated a complaint of racial discrimination in employment at San Diego’s U.S. District Court and uncovered “a systematic pattern of discrimination” in the clerk’s office which prompted denials by court officials.

By 1989 there were 85 black attorneys in San Diego, 52 male and 33 female. Judgeships conferred in that decade were: Administrative Law Judges Ernestine D. Littlejohn in 1982, Kathy M. Gilmore, Veroneca Burgess in 1986, and Harold V. Rucker in 1987; Municipal Court Judges Joseph K. Davis in 1980 and Joe O. Littlejohn in 1981; and Superior Court Judges Napoleon A. Jones Jr. (1940-2009) in 1982 and Raymond Edwards Jr. in 1989. In 1987 Wes Pratt, running in the heavily minority District 4, was elected to the San Diego City Council. The black community was shocked and saddened to hear in 1984 of the tragic accidental death overseas of Judge Jones’ teenage son, Napoleon A. Jones III, but were later glad to learn that in his son’s memory, the judge established a sizable college scholarship fund for inner city kids that continues to assist promising students.

Despite aggressive advocacy by EBGBA and some additional judges, the decade closed with a sobering newspaper article disclosing that few blacks were applying for work in the city’s major law firms, and that only one percent of the area’s lawyers were African American compared to the national average of three
percent.\textsuperscript{38} A future EBGBA president, Vickie E. Turner, then one of only three black partners in a major firm at the time, commented:

I don’t believe San Diego is a racist city overall, but the perception that it is still exists. Law firms here need to step up efforts to recruit black applicants.... If reality were as bad as perception, I wouldn’t be a partner today.\textsuperscript{39}

But Daniel Weber had a more sinister slant and was quoted as saying: “This is a very conservative, reactionary city. If you look at major law firms and government agencies across the board, there is a conspiracy to keep blacks out. The city’s judicial system is permeated with racism.”\textsuperscript{40} The newspaper article confirmed that of 156 attorneys in the DA’s Office only five were black; of 120 attorneys in the state office of the Attorney General only two were black; only four of 75 attorneys in the U.S. Attorney’s Office were black; and that there were no black attorneys on the staffs of the San Diego Court of Appeal and the San Diego Superior Court’s research department.

The 1990s: A Matured Legal Community

The 1990s witnessed some modest improvements. The decade got off to a good start with the inception of the Neighborhood Law School, an ingenious idea made real in 1990 by EBGBA president Randy K. Jones who, in 1997, was elected president of the now 18,000-member strong National Bar Association. Jones envisioned a community-based institution that offered classes at minimal cost taught by volunteer attorneys and judges as a public service. Classes would inform people of their legal rights and responsibilities. Jones used his church in Emerald Hills as the venue for the school. Word spread, and soon several schools of this type sprang up in large cities across the nation.

As in decades past, when events of compelling significance to blacks arose, the EBGBA reacted by holding timely forums that allowed people to air their grievances; invited political candidates to debate the issues; and publicly questioned, prodded, and demanded reforms from those entrusted to protect the welfare and rights of citizens. The most serious case of suspected...
Pioneers, Warriors, Advocates

Police misconduct occurred in July 1999 when, during a confrontation with two white policemen, unarmed former pro football player Demetrius DuBose, age 28, was shot twelve times, with five bullets hitting him in the back. At a press conference, EBGBA president H. J. Sims accused the police of overreacting and urged the police chief to dismiss the officers involved. “It should not have escalated to the point where (DuBose) was killed,” echoed then NAACP president and prior EBGBA head Randa Trapp. Sims contended: “If Mr. DuBose was guilty of anything, he was a proud African American who was guilty only of standing up for his constitutional rights, and who did not want to be stereotyped.”

The sensitive issue of police brutality refused to fade into the background as the new century approached but it did not overshadow some solid achievements by those in the city’s black legal community. People stood up and cheered in 1994 when Stanford graduate Regina A. Petty, then a partner in the city’s largest law firm, Gray Cary Ames & Frye, was elected the first African American president of the 6,200-member San Diego County Bar Association. In 1993 Dave Carothers became the first black male since the 1980s to be voted to partnership in one of the top law firms, McInnis Fitzgerald Rees Sharkey & McIntyre. EBGBA president and Harvard Law cum laude graduate Daniel E. Eaton, like his classmate Barack Obama, proved to be unusually gifted—an expert in employment law and a shareholder in the firm of Seltzer Caplan McMahon Vitek whose résumé showed impressive accomplishments in the 1990s. In 1993 Eaton became chairman of the city’s Ethics Advisory Board; in 1995 he was President of the San Diego Civil Service Commission; and, a well-published scholar. He also taught law courses at universities and began appearing on local television stations as legal analyst. Keith G. Burt was named both California Prosecutor of the Year in 1994 and County Prosecutor of the Year in 1991 and in 1995. Promotions and gains on the bench were made by Administrative Law Judges Vallera Johnson in 1990 and Daniel Weber in 1992; Superior Court Judges Joe O. Littlejohn in 1994 and Leo Valentine Jr. in 1999; and U.S. District Court Judge Napoleon Jones Jr. in 1994.
A New Century: Confidently Striving

Never far from center stage, the recurring hot button issue of police use of lethal force was brought into focus when in May 2000, FBI statistics revealed that among major metropolitan areas San Diego ranked fourth in fatal police shootings (0.61 per 100,000 residents), a rate surpassing that of Los Angeles, Philadelphia, Chicago, and New York City. Outraged and acting in unison, the EBGBA, NAACP, ACLU, and the La Raza Lawyers Association, fired off a letter to the mayor, the police chief, and the city manager demanding to know why these disturbing FBI statistics were at variance with data presented by the city to the public earlier in the year. In October 2000 the EBGBA, NAACP, and the Urban League jointly filed a lawsuit against the city and the City Council over the composition of a commission charged to redraw City Council district boundaries, possibly to the detriment of the largely minority race populations of District 4. Representing the three groups, twice-elected EBGBA president Doc Anthony Anderson argued that the court should intercede and issue an injunction, calling the selection process for commission members an abuse of discretion. A year prior to this Anderson had excoriated the city for having done an abysmal job in hiring minorities and women, with almost no change in some job classifications over the past forty years.

The new millennium may have had an inauspicious beginning, but there were some promising developments on the horizon. Among them was the inauguration of the junior mock-trial program and high school shadow program supervised by EBGBA president Rod Shelton; and EBGBA sponsored community forums examining topics ranging from hate crimes to reauthorization of the Voting Rights Act. Association members frolicked in Juneteenth beach parties, marched in the MLK Day Parades, and attended a memorial to Judge Gilliam whose long ordeal with paralysis and kidney failure ended in 2001. Every president of the NAACP in this new century has also been a former president of the EBGBA (Hon. Randa M. Trapp, Petrina M. Branch, Douglas A. Oden, and Lei-Chala I. Wilson). In addition to handling routine
criminal cases and pro bono work, Brian E. Watkins acquired a reputation for representing high profile sports and entertainment figures like pro football’s Reggie Bush and rap music star Snoop Dogg. Beatrice L. Kemp was tapped general counsel at the San Diego Convention Center Corporation.

In 2007 the *San Diego Daily Transcript* named Desa L. Burton, complex business litigation specialist in the firm of Fish & Richardson P.C., one of the “Top 30 Young Attorneys.” Recognized as “Super Lawyers” in 2007 by *Super Lawyers* magazine for their outstanding practice in employment law were Janice P. Brown who owns the seven-lawyer firm Brown Law Group, and Daniel E. Eaton who served as chairman of the Board of Overseers of the University of California at San Diego. The fall 2010 election that ousted a highly controversial City Attorney ushered in opposition supporter Andrew Jones who was made the new Executive Assistant City Attorney in January 2011.

On the shortlist of the area’s most respected attorneys are two African American women valued as much for their extensive community involvement as they are heralded for their professional achievements. The Internet site of Vickie E. Turner, another past president of EBGBA and Lawyers Club of San Diego, and a partner at Wilson Petty Kosmo & Turner, reads, in part:

> Ms. Turner has successfully defended manufacturers, distributors and retailers in complex product liability claims throughout California, and in 12 other western states. She was defense counsel for Ford Motor Company in a product liability case that was named one of the Top 20 Defense Counsel Verdicts of 2003. Among her many commendations are her selection as one of the state’s Top Women Litigators in 2005 by the *Los Angeles Daily Journal*; picked multiple times as one of San Diego’s top 5 product liability defense attorneys by *Super Lawyers* magazine; and being designated as one of the Top 25 Outstanding Lawyers by *California Law Business*.

It would be hard to find an attorney anywhere with a
comparable record of community service and activity in legal organizations as that of Lei-Chala I. Wilson, a public defender who has completed more than 100 jury trials. Among her many recognitions are 2002 Outstanding Attorney Volunteer from Volunteers in Parole Inc., 2001 Diversity Award from the San Diego County Bar Association (SDCBA), and the 2000 Living Legacy Award and 2008 Bethune Woman of the Year Award from the National Council of Negro Women Inc.

In 2006 a survey showed that although only 54.7% of the county’s residents were white, 110 or roughly 86% of local Superior Court judges were white, 7 or 5.5% were Latino (27.5% of residents), 5 or 3.9% Asian/Pacific Islander (9.7% of residents), and 6 or 4.7% were black (5% of residents).\(^45\) Adding to the tally of black judges here: Superior Court Judges Desiree Bruce-Lyle in 2001, Browder A. Willis III in 2001, Randa M. Trapp in 2003, Roderick W. Shelton in 2006, Dwayne K. Moring in 2008, and Michael D. Washington in 2013; U.S. Judge Magistrate William McCurine, a Rhodes Scholar out of Dartmouth, in 2004; and U.S. District Court Judge John A. Houston in 2003.

A rather hopeful development happened in February 2008 when Gov. Arnold Schwarzenegger appointed Sharon Majors-Lewis, a black deputy chief in the county DA’s Office, as his judicial appointment secretary to help streamline the judicial appointment process. In 2009 Henry C. Coker was picked to head the County Public Defender’s Office. Between 2009 and 2013 three attorneys served on the board of directors of the SDCBA: U.S. prosecutor Christopher Alexander, Stacie L. Patterson, and Marvin E. Mizell, a native San Diegan deputy attorney general in the California Attorney General’s Office, who in December 2011 began his year-long term as SDCBA’s second African American president. In 2013 Vickie Turner and Jonathan D. Andrews, co-founder of Andrews Lagasse Branch & Bell, were voted among the 50 best attorneys in town by Super Lawyers ratings service. Meanwhile, in the corporate world, in 2012 Marcea Bland Lloyd, a senior Vice president and General Counsel at Amylin Pharmaceuticals, received the Athena San Diego Pinnacle Award for mentoring and promoting women in the city’s business community.\(^46\)

Full-time law professors are a vital segment of the area’s black legal community. Many practicing attorneys have taught part-time as adjunct professors but others not only “love the law” but have chosen to do teaching and research on a full-
time basis. The most senior of the group of full-time professors is Roy L. Brooks, the Warren Distinguished Professor of Law at the University of San Diego, who since his arrival at USD in 1979 has written more than 20 books and hundreds of articles and papers. One of the most formidable legal minds in the country in the fields of civil procedure, civil rights and critical theory, the Yale alumnus reflected when shown a list of other black law professors in the area: “It (academe) is a very hard business in which to succeed if you are black. Having a mentor early in one’s professional life is key.

I have been blessed with many, both black and white.”

Brooks’ black colleague in USD’s law school is Mary Jo Wiggins, a full professor and associate dean, an expert in bankruptcy and insolvency. She has written journal articles and has contributed to *Collier on Bankruptcy*, the reputed “leading scholarly treatise” in her specialty.

In the early 1980s Charles B. Sheppard taught business law at the San Diego campus of the Western State University College of Law, then moved to the school’s Orange County campus where he presently teaches. At California Western School of Law Andrea L. Johnson, a Howard and Harvard graduate, is Professor of Law and Director of the Telecommunications and Intellectual Property Law Center. She was on President Bill Clinton’s Transition Team for Science, Space, and Technology. Her predecessor at Cal Western was Winkfield F. Twyman Jr., also a Harvard graduate, who in 1997 established the Lourine W. Twyman Endowment through which the law school awards scholarships to deserving students from under-represented groups. There have been four relatively young tenured professors at the Thomas Jefferson School of Law: Kevin J. Greene (J.D., Yale), Maurice R. Dyson (J.D., Columbia), Eniola Akindemowo (Ph.D., University of London), and Richard Winchester (J.D., Yale). All have published several scholarly articles and three have authored books.

In writing this essay a list of 208 African Americans with law degrees who had worked in San Diego since 1890 was compiled consisting of 105 males and 103 females. Of the 160 persons who passed the bar 72 (or 35%) did so in the 1970s and 1980s. The highest number of law degrees
were obtained at Western State U/Thomas Jefferson (32) followed by the University of San Diego (30), California Western (19), UC-Hastings (10), UCLA (9), Howard University (8), Harvard University (6), Yale University (6), and Georgetown University (6). Interestingly, 24 attorneys attended predominantly black colleges and universities such as Morehouse, Hampton, Fisk, and Bethune-Cookman. Nearly half received their undergraduate degrees from schools in California. Today, of more than a hundred practicing attorneys (i.e., excluding judges, professors, and inactive or non-members of the bar) at least 38 are solo practitioners, 39 work in partnered firms, and 43 are employed by the government.

In the spring of 2006 members of the EBGBA, including a number of past presidents, judges, professors, and law students, convened a summit to review their history, assess their actions over three decades, and plot the course for an effective future. They devised a long-term plan to attract new members, encourage mentoring and training sessions for attorneys and a legal education program in the African American community, and recommitted themselves to maintaining a close alliance with progressive organizations like the NAACP, the Urban League, and the ACLU. Those attending the summit, like Lei-Chala Wilson and Vickie Turner, seemed barely able to contain their enthusiasm and displayed the kind of energy, optimism, and fearless determination that must have ignited EBGBA founders thirty years ago and sustained the organization through some difficult times. Guided by a unique perspective rooted in the African American experience, their spirit endures and their inheritors have every intention to build upon what the association has accomplished so that it remains a dynamic force to be reckoned with in “America’s Finest City.”
NOTES

9. Ibid., 631.
17. Thurber, B-14.
28. Ibid.
37. Reno, D-1.
38. Ibid.
39. Ibid.
40. Ibid.
46. Another small, yet consequential, segment of the legal community is comprised of those who earned the law degree but do not practice law in the traditional sense, though they have found ways to take advantage of their legal training. For example, AIDS activist Boyd E. Graves; the late Adrienne Baker, who was assistant dean of academic achievement at California Western School of Law; Harvard-educated former EBGBA and NAACP president Petrina M. Branch; and Vickie Butcher, founder of Water for Children Africa. Others, like former City Council staffer Lea Fields-Bernard and Del Mar businesswoman Marina P. Grant, have either taken pause from lawyering or switched careers altogether.
47. Roy L. Brooks (Warren Distinguished Professor of Law, University of San Diego), e-mail message to author, May 27, 2009.
The Sikes of Bernardo: A Case Study of Pioneer Farmers and Agricultural Community Development in Late Nineteenth-Century Southern California

Stephen R. Van Wormer and Susan D. Walter

Introduction

One of the more remarkable historic sites in San Diego County is the Sikes Farmstead, located on the southern edge of the City of Escondido. It has recently been restored and is presently maintained by the San Dieguito River Park as an historic house museum. This unassuming white frame house is testimony to the efforts of pioneer farming families to settle in San Diego County during the closing years of the nineteenth century.

The success of agricultural development in north county depended on foreign markets, agricultural machinery, and relationships with merchants in San Diego and the village of Bernardo. Changing cycles of family development and economic conditions led to the conversion of the Sikes enterprise from a wheat to a dairy farm in the early 1890s, and finally the loss of the property to creditors in 1899. Overall, a case study of the Sikes farmstead reflects the little-known experiences of pioneer farmers who were responsible for the founding of commercial agriculture in San Diego County in the 1870s and its development during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Stephen R. Van Wormer, an archaeologist and historian in Southern California for 34 years, has worked for the past 25 years with his wife and co-author, Susan D. Walter, through the independent consulting firm Walter Enterprises. He has published articles in several scholarly journals including The Journal of San Diego History, and together they have made possible the restoration of several historic buildings and museums.
Rancho San Bernardo

The Sikes Farmhouse lies within the boundaries of Rancho San Bernardo, a Mexican era land grant of approximately 17,763 acres. As early as 1800, Mission San Diego de Alcalá used the rancho for grazing lands. Many Native Americans lived in the area before that time. During an 1837 uprising in San Diego County, a group of Indians attacked a ranch house in San Bernardo and killed three men there.²

Five years after this attack, California Governor Juan Bautista de Alvarado granted two square leagues of land known as San Bernardo to Joseph Francis Snook, an Englishman who came to San Diego in 1830 as captain of the brig Ayacucho. Snook changed his name to José Francisco Snook and married Maria Antonia, the daughter of another Juan Bautista Alvarado who owned the nearby Rancho Rincón del Diablo. In 1845, Governor Pío Pico granted Snook two additional leagues of land, increasing the size of Rancho San Bernardo to a total of 17,763.07 acres, according to the final patent issued to Maria Antonia on November 11, 1874.³

After 1848, many Mexican period land grants, including Rancho San Bernardo, were broken up into smaller family run farms. Since land cases could take as long as thirty years to confirm title, it became customary to sell undivided interest in Mexican land grants, rather than describe a specific parcel on a deed while ownership to the property remained unconfirmed. In the late 1860s Rancho San Bernardo came under the ownership of various individuals who purchased undivided interests.⁴ In March 1869 the owners of the rancho entered into a mutual agreement to partition the grant according to their respective interests. Tracts were surveyed and a map drawn. Each owner then issued a deed to the other claimants for their respective tracts. Several purchasers, including Zenas Sikes, obtained portions of Rancho San Bernardo during this period. His 2402.5 acre parcel became known as the Sikes Tract.⁵

The Community of Bernardo

By 1872 Zenas had moved his family to the property and built a small one room adobe house.⁶ Sparsely settled, the land was for all practical purposes an undeveloped frontier wilderness that had been used only as grazing land for horses and cattle.⁷ Zenas (b. 1830) and his wife Eliza (b. 1834) had been married in Santa Clara County California in 1853.⁸ By the early 1870s they had six children
The Sikes of Bernardo

including Harry, Ida, Eva, and Kate, who were adults, and Charlotte (Lottie) and Edward who were still in school.  

The Sikes and their neighbors became founders of a community of pioneer farmers living in the San Bernardo Valley. Known as Bernardo, it included about 400 individuals living on separate farmsteads tied together through geographical boundaries, social institutions, and a village with a store, post office, and blacksmith. Rural settlements like Bernardo were the most common type of community in San Diego County from 1870 through the mid-1930s. At their peak between 1900 and 1910 approximately 112 rural farmstead communities existed within the county’s present-day boundaries.

A pioneer farmer has been defined as an agricultural producer who established in any unsettled region and began farming on any scale. Zenas Sikes was among the first wave of these farmers who came to San Diego County in the late 1860s and early 1870s as a result of real estate promotion of the City of San Diego by Alonzo E. Horton. In 1867 Horton had purchased a tract of 960 acres that included present-day downtown San Diego and Hillcrest. He immediately had the parcel surveyed, laying out streets, blocks, and lots on the scrub-covered hills and flats. In 1869 people began pouring into San Diego to buy lots. By March 24 of that year, 124 dwellings had been erected and by 1870, the city had 2,300 inhabitants.

The real estate promotion of the 1870s did not result exclusively in urban growth. Farmers moved into coastal and foothill valleys that constituted the hinterland of the growing city. Prospective farmers found virgin agricultural land on which they could establish farming communities in Mission, Otay, Tijuana, Sweetwater, San Dieguito, San Pasqual, El Cajon, Jamacha, San Bernardo, and other foothill and coastal valleys. Settlement of the agricultural backcountry became critical. The infant city of San Diego desperately needed farmers to feed the expanding urban population and provide markets for local business.

Zenas Sikes was one of the founding fathers of Bernardo. He served as the first postmaster when the community’s post office was founded on December 3, 1872. He also organized the Bernardo chapter of the National Grange of the Patrons of Husbandry in November 1874. This fraternal organization had been established in 1867 for the purpose of providing farmers a national political and economic voice, and to ease the loneliness of farm life through cooperative social gatherings put on by local branches.
The San Diego Union noted in April 1875 that the “Bernardo grange will give a grand basket picnic and May Day ball Saturday May 1st; the picnic will be in the live oak grove one mile west of their new hall; the ball in the evening will be in the new hall. Tickets to the ball including supper, $2.50.” 19 Grange members held elections in January 1876 and installed new officers. The next month they sponsored a Valentine’s Day Dance at the hall. 20 In April 1876 the paper described Bernardo as a “…prosperous and thrifty farming community, the grange there is a thriving institution; Z. Sikes, who came to San Diego yesterday reports the harvest outlook fine.” 21

Patrick Graham’s general store became the center of the community. Born in Ireland, Patrick came to this country in 1867 and farmed in San Luis Rey Valley until 1874 when he opened the mercantile establishment at Bernardo. He located the store on the eastern portion of Sikes’ land, where the San Diego Road crossed the San Bernardo (San Dieguito) River. 22

The general store at Bernardo became a landmark in the region for the next forty years. Although passing through a series of different owners, the store served as the main commercial outlet for the Valley Center, Rincon Del Diablo (present-day Escondido), San Pasqual, Bernardo, and Poway areas until the establishment of Escondido in the late 1880s. It continued to do business until the construction of Lake Hodges Reservoir flooded the area in the early 1920s. 23
During the 1880s the *San Diego Union* noted several of Patrick Graham’s activities. In 1883 the paper reported that “P.A. Graham is building an addition to his store at Bernardo; this indicates increased business.”

To keep his mercantile stocked, the Bernardo entrepreneur made almost bimonthly trips to San Diego where he ordered goods to restock the store from the wholesale firm of Klauber & Levi. Two- and six-horse teams pulled the heavy freight wagons to Bernardo with his purchases. On August 1, 1886 the *San Diego Union* reported that Graham had formed a partnership with Sig Steiner. They built one of the first stores in the newly established city of Escondido. In 1888 Graham sold the general store at Bernardo to Emil Schellenberg and moved to Escondido.

The name Bernardo actually referred to two related but distinct entities. Bernardo village was a small cluster of shops that grew up around Graham’s store. The larger community of Bernardo included the village and surrounding farmsteads in the area. While the population of the village consisted of only a few families, the county directory estimated the population of the entire community in 1886 at 400.

As other merchants set up business around Graham’s general store, the village of Bernardo was formed. Other essential services included a doctor, blacksmith, wheelwright, and wagon shop. In 1883 the county directory listed Samuel Marshall as the physician at Bernardo, W.C. Hinman as wagon maker and wheelwright, and William Ober as blacksmith. The next year Hinman’s name did not appear and Ober was listed as blacksmith with a wagon shop.

The 1886 San Diego County Directory described Bernardo as:

[A] small but prosperous little place about 28 miles north from San Diego, and is the center of a large fertile tract of county devoted principally to stock raising, fruit culture, farming and honey producing. Population about 400. The place is provided with post office, store, shops, and school house. Lands are held from $7.50 to $50 per acre.

Services included: Ulysses Doret, cooper; P.A. Graham, postmaster and merchant; Graham’s new partner B.F. Libby; S.W. Hackett, mail contractor; W.O. Hinman, who had returned as wheelwright; Samuel Marshall, physician; D.B. McLever, druggist; and G.L. Smart, blacksmith.

Farmers in the region prospered largely as a result of grain cultivation. Grains could be planted quickly with little initial investment and offer a quick cash return at the end of the season. Although grown in the state since the arrival of the Spanish, wheat was first planted on a large scale in the Central Valley.
during the late 1860s. It became the largest and most profitable crop in California between 1860 and 1893. Central Valley farmers revolutionized the agricultural industry in the West by developing and using machines to cultivate thousands of acres planted in grain. The five-share Stockton gang plow replaced the single share walking plow. Other innovations included gigantic “combined harvesters” (combines), drawn by teams of 36 horses, and steam-powered threshers. These machines mechanized harvesting. In the late 1860s Liverpool, England, became the market for California’s wheat crop. From then until the turn of the century, shipments between San Francisco and Liverpool formed a commerce distinct from the rest of the U.S. wheat trade. While this assured a ready market, California’s wheat industry functioned as a neo-colony of England.30

In the early 1870s, pioneer farmers in San Diego County began to raise wheat on a large scale. By the middle of the decade, farmers in the foothills valleys of the Bernardo area extensively cultivated the prolific cereal that grew with little effort. By November 1871, Omar Oaks had almost completed enclosing nearly 800 acres with a board fence, requiring 60,000 feet of lumber. A year later the newspaper reported that wheat would be “the chief crop” at Bernardo. “Mr. Oaks will put in 800 acres; Mr. Sake [Sikes] 500 acres.” In 1877 Zenas Sikes averaged 12 bushels of wheat per acre on 900 acres of land. On August 12, 1880 thirteen teams laden with 50 tons of wheat left the Sikes ranch for San Diego. “Mr. Sikes is sending in his 3,000 sack crop as fast as he can get the teams to haul it.” During July 1881, the Sikes ranch at Bernardo harvested the first of the season’s wheat, which wagons delivered to W.W. Stewart’s warehouse in San Diego on the eighth. Four years later, in 1885, the production of Bernardo farms remained noteworthy when Omar Oaks shipped 10 tons of wheat from San Diego to his farm in Santa Clara.31

By the early 1880s, farmers discovered that moderate slopes and hills were better for cultivation of vines and fruits than valley bottom lands. They introduced these methods to San Diego County in 1882 and marked the beginning of commercial fruit cultivation. Fruit production quickly spread and by the end of the decade had become a major product.32 Southern California’s conversion to diversified farming had a dramatic effect on San Diego County with fields of wheat, oats, barley, and corn in the lowlands and mesa tops, and groves of fruit trees on the hillsides.33 The San Diego Union of October 27, 1881, published an article by Bernardo farmer W.J. Whitney extolling the region for fruit and grape cultivation. In June 1885 the paper noted that W.F. Thompson had set out 30 acres in grape vines.34 The Escondido Times reported in 1893:

Bernardo, lying about 20 miles north of San Diego and from ten to twelve miles back from the ocean, was also a Spanish grant, and
covered over 17,000 acres of mostly mesa lands. Bernardo village and post-office is in the center of the tract. The country is destined to become a great fruit section. Some of the finest peaches and apricots in the section are raised in the vicinity of Bernardo. Bernardo creek furnishes a limited supply of water for irrigation, though most of the orchards are watered from wells.

J.A. Larkin is a new settler. He has seventy acres about three miles from Bernardo post office. He has just furnished a comfortable dwelling of seven rooms and has set about fifteen acres to fruit trees. J.A. Donovan, H.A. Sikes, Antonio Soto and many others have large ranches in this vicinity. G.W. Wolfe, Jr., has a fine place of about forty acres, most of which is set out to fruit and vines. His vineyard is one of the finest thereabouts. Adjoining this Assemblyman Nestor A. Young has a large vineyard of about twenty acres in bearing. The vines are loaded with grapes, and many of the heavily loaded peach trees have to be propped. The country is beautiful and is rapidly becoming prosperous and populous.35

Bernardo continued to exist as a community until the construction of Lake Hodges Dam in 1919. In 1901 it included 17 households, with Emil Schellenberg as store keeper and postmaster. Carder S. Smith took over the store and post office in 1908. The county directory listed the post office for the last time in 1918. By that time the city of Escondido had become the dominant market town in northern San Diego County and the site of the store and post office had been purchased as part of the Lake Hodges Reservoir.36

History of the Sikes Household

When the Sikes first settled on the property, all eight family members, including six adults, lived in a small rectangular one-room adobe dwelling with a dirt floor. Shortly thereafter wood-framed, shed-roofed additions were added to the east side. As the house continued to be enlarged over time the original adobe section became the kitchen.37 In adopting these housing styles the Sikes adapted traditional folk architectural forms to solve their housing needs. Their original one-room house built of locally available material was a common type utilized

throughout the West during the nineteenth century to provide quick cheap housing on the frontier. These were often augmented with a lean-to or shed roofed rear appendage. This rectangular house with a shed roofed rear addition was based on a classic folk form known as a Hall and Parlor house.

Physical evidence suggests that the family next built the southernmost wing of the house or brought it in from another location where it had originally been constructed, leaving a patio or breezeway between this building and the original house where the parlor is now located. Sometime prior to 1881 they enclosed this area as a dining room. The house seems to have achieved its present exterior form by the time Zenas Sikes died in April 1881. With money from insurance and bank payments Eliza Sikes extensively remodeled the interior.

Within a few years after their arrival, the composition of the Sikes’ household began to change. Before the end of the decade all three of the adult children had married and established their own homes. By 1874 Ida had married Thomas Duncan. On October 10, 1876, Eva married James E. Casaday. Reverend Hobart Chetwood performed the wedding in the small adobe farmhouse at Bernardo. The following January another ceremony took place at the Sikes home when Kate wed Augustus Cravath. Reverend David Cronyn performed the ceremony. The next year (1878) in February, Harry married Tillie Bevington.

The breakup of the household into smaller nuclear families resulted in redistribution of land. Zenas Sikes’ original purchase consisted of 2,402.5 acres. In September 1874, Zenas gave 160 acres located in the extreme northeast corner of his parcel to Ida. She deeded the land back to Zenas in June 1876. On March 5, 1878 Zenas conveyed the same 160 acres to Eva (Mrs. Richard Cassidy), and an additional 160 acres to Harry Sikes also located on the eastern portion of the tract. Although the exact locations of their farmsteads are not known, the 1880 Federal Census indicates most of Zenas’ and Eliza’s married children had established homes near their parents and Bernardo village.

The original Sikes household became an extended clan of four nuclear families that probably worked the farm together. In the span of 8 years Zenas and Eliza Sikes had achieved a fair degree of success. They purchased unimproved land, built a home, helped found the pioneer community of Bernardo, developed a
successful farm, helped their adult children establish their own households, and worked the farm with the aid of their grown children and their spouses while enjoying the birth and growth of their grandchildren.

Tragedy struck the family in the early 1880s. Nineteenth-century farm work was dangerous. It required dealing with various kinds of machinery and managing numbers of large animals. Horses or mules powered almost all the equipment. While returning from San Diego in late November 1879, Zenas and Eliza stopped at the Cravath’s place for lunch. While hitching the team to the wagon a “vicious horse” kicked Zenas and broke his leg below the knee. This injury left him incapacitated and unable to work for over a year.\(^4^9\) Recovery was slow. The family took Zenas back to San Diego where he remained under medical care at the home of Dr. Peter C. Remondino, one of San Diego’s two leading physicians. The *San Diego Union* noted, “[W]hile the break in his leg was a simple one, Mr. Sikes’ age makes any accident a serious one.”\(^5^0\) At this time Zenas Sikes was barely 50 years old. By April he could walk with crutches. Although the limb continued to improve he still needed the crutches in June. By the end of the year, Zenas regained use of his leg and returned to work. Then on January 13, 1881, while tending to duties on the farm, a team of horses went wild, and threw him violently to the ground, where he was again kicked, and then stepped on, reinjuring the same leg. Reduced once more to an invalid state, he became the patient of San Diego’s other leading physician, Dr. Thomas Stockton.\(^5^1\) His partner Dr. Remondino, however, soon took over the case. Over the next few months Zenas remained in bed and underwent a lengthy medical treatment.\(^5^2\)
Zenas Sikes did not recover from the second injury. The wound would not heal. The bone shaft probably became infected with osteomyelitis. He suffered through late March when it became apparent that his condition was fatal. He stated that “as a possible chance of saving his life,” he wanted the leg to be amputated. Although advised “that the probabilities were altogether against his surviving the operation; but, as there was one remote chance, he preferred to take it.”

Having settled his business affairs, and taken farewell of his family, he submitted himself calmly to the operation. The amputation was performed by Dr. Remondino, assisted by Dr. Powers. Although he suffered no loss of blood, the result was as feared; he sank rapidly from exhaustion, and died in about half an hour.

Following Zenas Sikes’ passing the family summoned undertaker John A. Young who washed and dressed the body. A hearse conveyed the remains, placed in a walnut casket, from Bernardo to San Diego the following day. San Diego Lodge No. 153 of the International Order of Odd Fellows conducted the funeral. Zenas had been a member of the society for many years, belonging to Santa Clara Lodge No. 52 before moving to San Diego County. During his final “long and painful sickness” the San Diego Lodge assumed responsibility for his medical expenses. On April 4, 1881, at two o’clock in the afternoon:

The relatives and friends assembled at Odd Fellow’s Hall where the impressive funeral services of the Order were held. The Brothers of the Lodge and Encampment then formed in procession, preceded by the Harmony Brass Band, and escorted the remains to the grave, where the final ceremony took place, conducted by the Noble Grand of the Lodge, Edmund Wescott, and the Chaplain, Bro. Geo. M. Dannals. The effect of the music was very touching. No more impressive funeral solemnity has ever been observed in this city; nor have we ever seen a larger gathering of the Odd Fellows on a similar occasion.

In June 1882, the grave was fenced and a stone erected that read simply: “Zenas Sikes, Died April 2, 1881, Aged 51 Years.”

In the months following Zenas’ death, Eliza Sikes adjusted to life as a widow. His passing left the family with a $6,000 insurance policy so that, fortunately, financial matters did not become a problem. She corresponded regularly with her friend Martha Oaks in San José, writing in October 1881, “It is so lonesome to sit here alone evenings.” The following month on November 27, she wrote to
The Sikes of Bernardo

Martha, “Rest assured your letters are always welcome, being very lonesome. Thought a chat with a friend even on paper might help drive the blues away.”

The life insurance money allowed Eliza to live beyond the means of an average farm income. She remodeled the house extensively in the fall of 1881. Between September of that year and July 1882, she purchased several pieces of new furniture that included a commode and washstand, dressing case, bureau, table, bedroom set, cashmere lounge, and marble top center table. These changes did not make up for her need for companionship, however. She wrote to Martha in October 1881:

How I do wish you and Miss Ida could step in and see how we look, in our new surroundings. We miss you oh so much. Edward often speaks of you girls and especially of David and wishes he would come back soon to go deer hunting. Saw five together when after the cows, but had no gun at the time. He does not like to go hunting deer alone. He shoots a good many quail with his shotgun, and traps some. Geese are coming in a little, a good indication for rain. All of your folks have called, and your mother sent me a box of Maxcy’s grapes. How Edith has grown, since your mother had her down while living in the old Adobe...Have had no rains, but the frosts have already made its appearance. The evenings cool enough to keep a little fire. Think you must be weary by this time. Edward wishes to be remembered and says tell David the deer will soon be gone. To hurry home.

When you have time to write we shall be so glad to hear from you and Ida. Give my love and good night.

The absence of her youngest daughter, Lottie, made Eliza’s loneliness following her husband’s death even more intense. She spent a lot of her time on handiwork, enjoying these activities with her other daughters and neighbors. Her letters to Martha often contained references to her many projects that included crocheting, sewing, knitting, and shell and bead work:

Do you have time to crochet? How are you pleased with the Fair? No, only made the three pieces of shell work. Edward varnished them a few days ago. Yours was the best formed stand. The last I made used only the white shells. Am rather partial to white. Mrs. Emma Sikes sent me six pampas plumes. Am perfectly delighted with them.
Tell Ida if she had only waited and made a pincushion like mine that Lottie learned to make while at Benicia. ‘Tis far prettier than the caterpillar…. Eva has learned to make some new paper air castles. They are lovely…. Your Mother and Mary were over Thanksgiving afternoon. At last have learned to knit that pattern without the aid of the paper. Have knitted 5 yds. and began another…. Have you seen any collars and cuffs yet, made with black lace and beads? They are just beginning to wear them in San Diego. Eva is making a set for me….”

In November 1882 Eliza Sikes and Lottie moved back to San José, leasing the farm to G.E. Gabrielson. Mother and daughter remained in Northern California only a few months. While there, Eliza remarried and became Mrs. Harry M. Magnes, returning to Bernardo in March 1884. Eliza divorced Harry in February 1885. The following month Lottie married G.E. Gabrielson. This was the third wedding to take place in the Sikes home. The couple set up a household in San Diego where Gabrielson pursued the livery and feed business with John Clark and John B. Rhodes.

During the late 1880s, Eliza Sikes left the farm and lived with her children who then resided in San Diego and Escondido. In 1882 Harry had sold his 160 acre tract in Bernardo to Mary A. Higby. He may have continued to manage his mother’s farm since he is listed as residing in Bernardo in the 1889 County directory. By this time the pioneer phase of settlement had ended in the Bernardo area. Farmsteads were well developed, and the city of Escondido had been established just a few miles to the north. Bernardo was no longer the isolated community in an unsettled region as when the Sikes arrived in the early 1870s.

Eliza Sikes died in July 1913 at the age of 79. She lived in Escondido at the time with Edward. Although inaccurate in some details, especially the claim that she and Zenas had honeymooned in a prairie schooner, her obituary in the San Diego Union paid tribute to one of the county’s earliest farming pioneers:

Mrs. Eliza M. Sikes, aged 79, a member of the Pioneer Society of San Diego, died yesterday morning at the home of her son, Edward A. Sikes, after a protracted illness. Mrs. Sikes had been a resident of San Diego County since 1881 and with Captain Sikes came to California in 1853. Born in Mobile, Ohio, in 1834, she grew to young womanhood there and in 1853 was married to Captain Sikes. Their
The Sikes of Bernardo

Eva Rosalind Sikes. Sikes Adobe Historic Farmhouse Collection.

honeymoon was passed in a prairie schooner bound for California. Mr. & Mrs. Sikes’ first home in this state was at San Jose, where they resided until 1872, when they moved to Bernardo and established the Sikes’ ranch, which afterward became well known. In 1881 Captain Sikes died and Mrs. Sikes went to Los Angeles, but shortly returned to Escondido and has [lived] with her children there and at San Diego since. Three daughters and two sons survive her - Mrs. Kate Cravath, Santa Ana; Mrs. G.E. Gabrielson, San Diego; Mrs. Eva Thompson, San Diego; Harry A. Sikes and Edward C. Sikes of Escondido. The members of the Pioneer Society will attend the services in a body. The funeral will be held from the chapel of Johnson, Connell, and Saum at 10:30 o’clock Saturday morning. The body will be interred beside that of her husband in Mount Hope Cemetery - Lot 2 sp. 6 & sp. 5 - Odd Fellows Blk 10.

Operation of the Sikes Farm

At the time of his death Zenas Sikes and his family had developed their land into a productive grain farm. Hard work, combined with favorable economic and climatic conditions, resulted in a prosperous operation in less than a decade. Their success exemplifies the ability of pioneer farmers to settle undeveloped land, cultivate wheat, and achieve a level of economic success in just a few years. This success, however, was not measured in large bank accounts. Farming required substantial cash flow to meet expenses. Equipment and livestock had to be purchased and maintained; the farmstead physical plant, consisting of the house, barns, stables, corrals, and other outbuildings, needed to be constructed and kept up; and land had to be acquired and paid for.

Despite the increased mechanization of farm work and the participation of farmers in a market economy after the Civil War, agrarian household values and consumption habits remained wedded to their eighteenth-century roots. Although important to farm households, the personal comforts and benefits of immediate economic gain did not dictate most families’ spending choices. Two other goals, yearly subsistence and the long-term financial security of the family unit, dominated economic priorities so that maximization of profit became less important than meeting household needs and the maintenance of established social relationships. Elements that increased productivity such as machinery,
livestock, adequate and well-maintained outbuildings, and the acquisition of more land were farm family priorities. To comply with these long term goals, farmers followed a way of life characterized by minimal consumption of purchased items and a heavy emphasis on recycling. Expenditures on what seemed to be purely luxury items were looked down upon as extravagant and wasteful. Farm families measured success by the acquisition and upkeep of the livestock, equipment, and physical plant while paying off creditors, rather than substantial funds in a bank account.

Records from the Sikes farmstead during the 1880s provide documentation that confirms the above scenario. In spite of Zenas Sikes having left a will, his estate came under control of the probate courts. The exact reason for this is not understood. The probate records provided a wealth of detailed information on the operation of the farm and the family’s income. Within a few months of his passing the court inventoried and appraised the estate. In Table 1 the results of the appraisal have been organized into specific property types showing their relative value of the total estate. Almost 75 percent of the estate value is invested in real estate, the largest portion being 1,920 acres of the San Bernardo ranch valued at $31,500.00, which constitutes 63.75 percent of the total estate value. It should be remembered that just thirteen years before, in 1868, Zenas paid only $2,500.00 for over 2,000 acres of land. This exemplifies the economic benefit that pioneer farmers achieved through increased land values following expanded settlement. The next highest valued item is a $6,000.00 life insurance policy (listed under Other).

Table 2 summarizes these values with real estate and the life insurance policy removed so that the relative value of the other property types could be more easily determined. Now Household and Personal Property (mostly furniture and cash) have the highest relative value at almost 36 percent. The next highest valued property is Farmstead at almost 28 percent, which included the house and out buildings. Livestock follows at 23 percent. Finally, Implements and Tools made up almost 9 percent of the estate’s value. The majority of the farm’s value, therefore, was in land, which at over 60 percent dominates the relative values of the other types of property. If the value of Real Estate and the $6,000 insurance policy are eliminated almost 60 percent of the remaining value is in livestock, farmstead items, and implements, followed by household and personal property at around 36 percent. The appraisal reflects a farm where, after real estate, a significant portion of the investment was in machinery, working livestock, and the physical plant. The emphasis was on crop production, not livestock breeding or products.

As with all other grain farms during the late nineteenth century, the Sikes operation depended on horse-powered machinery and implements. This reflected a revolution in farm production that had occurred during the previous eighty
years. At the dawn of the nineteenth century the tools farmers used remained little changed from those used by agriculturists in the days of the Roman Empire, and consisted of the hoe, spade, and plow for tillage, the sickle, scythe, and hand rake for harvesting and mowing, and the flail and winnowing basket for threshing. The Industrial Revolution and conversion of vast areas of wilderness to agricultural lands on the North American continent resulted in complete replacement of these hand-operated tools over the next eighty years.

By the 1870s the entire process of wheat cultivation from breaking the soil through final threshing and transport had become absolutely dependent on horse-drawn and powered machinery, implements, and vehicles. Multi-shared sulky or gang plows broke the ground, harrows then pulverized larger clods, grain drills planted the seed, cultivators weeded the fields, mowers, headers, and binders harvested the crop, and threshing machines or combines separated the grain from the chaff and deposited it into grain sacks, which were then carried in horse drawn wagons to be sold.

Following the death of Zenas Sikes the family began to augment their fleet of farm implements. Indeed, those listed on the probate appraisal are not enough to maintain a working wheat farm and require the consideration that some equipment may have been sold just prior to Zenas’ death. The first addition of equipment occurred in 1882 with the purchase of two plows and a hay rake.

By the spring of 1884, equipment included a Buckeye mower, one five gang plow, a harrow, a John Green sulky plow, a Benicia header, a one-horse cultivator, a single plow (probably for the garden), a six-horse cultivator, and a sulky hay
rake. Livestock included one calf, two cows, 8 unbroken colts, 8 work horses and mares, a yearling bull, and 46 hogs and pigs. Other items consisted of a riding saddle and bridles, the hay in the stacks and barn, small tools, a grindstone, and a fanning mill. Even more so than on the estate appraisal this inventory reflects the operations of a grain farm dependent on horse-powered machinery and implements. The family continued to purchase equipment. By 1886 they had acquired another gang plow, a Randolph harrow, a combination cultivator, a seeder, an Oliver plow, and a Granger plow.

Crop production, however, was not the main source of the family income. A gross income statement for the Sikes farm from April 1881 through May 1886, compiled from probate records, is shown in Table 3. The attempt to derive accurate income amounts from the probate records is problematical due to the large number and variety of documents and the confusing manner in which many are written. Over 70 percent of the gross family income came from non-farming activities. Gross income from farming amounted to slightly over 20 percent of total income. Table 4 summarizes this data with bank and insurance payments removed so that relative value of other income producing activities could be understood. Farming now constitutes slightly over 60 percent of gross income. Of this, grain production, which includes both wheat and barley, make up over 70 percent.

These figures reflect gross income and do not reveal the actual true net gain earned from farming. Table 5 lists farming expenses compiled from probate records for the same period. When these expenses are subtracted from gross farm income the net earnings are $1062.20. Obviously, the percentage that farm production contributes to total family income is dramatically decreased. Total net
revenues from farm production constitute 30 percent of total income if insurance and bank payments are not taken into account. This still includes other non-farming proceeds such as interest on mortgages, land sales, and rents. If all income sources are considered, farming makes up only 7 percent of the family’s income.

When divided evenly over the five year period from 1881 to 1886, the net farming income for the Sikes family is $212.40 per year. This compares to a total average annual income of $397.00 per California household in 1880. The Sikes net agricultural earnings are slightly less than half (46%) of this figure. On the other hand, the family’s total net income of $15,005.56 divided evenly over the five-year period results in an annual average income of $3001.11. This is well over seven times greater than the average income in the state.

Several conclusions can be drawn from this analysis. Like most farms, the major investment at the Sikes farmstead was in land, followed by work animals, implements and equipment, and the physical plant. The family reinvested most earnings into the operation and maintenance of the farm. Success was not measured in large sums of money in the bank at the end of the year. Yearly substance and the long-term security of the family were economic priorities. Although net earnings were well below the average annual household income for the state, the Sikes agricultural cash flow provided sufficient economic security to meet these goals.

In addition, unlike most other farmsteads, insurance and other bank payments substantially augmented the household income, resulting in an average annual income several times greater than that for the state as a whole. This permitted Eliza Sikes to live beyond the means of most of her agriculturist neighbors, and allowed her to significantly remodel the house and buy quantities of new furniture after Zenas’ death.

Relationship of the Farm and Household to Bernardo Merchants

An integral part of the Sikes’ success relied on the family’s relationship with merchants. The operation absolutely depended on their ability to procure goods and services for both the farm and household. A variety of businesses located at Bernardo and San Diego were patronized. For daily needs and services the merchants at Bernardo were crucial. These included Patrick Graham’s general store and the blacksmiths William Ober and later George Smart. Storekeeper Graham may have been the most important single individual in the Bernardo community. If his relationship with the Sikes typified his dealings with other farmers in the area, he not only sold an incredibly wide variety of merchandise but also served as local banker, labor contractor, express agent and postmaster.
A summary of the Sikes purchases from Graham for 1883 as well as cash he paid out on their accounts is listed on Table 8. The variety of different items sold by Graham is remarkable. The machinery items purchased consisted exclusively of cans of axle grease. The other activity groups, on the other hand, represent a much wider variety of goods. Munitions included caps, shot, powder and gun wads, probably used for a muzzle-loading percussion cap shot gun. A comb, hair pins, harmonica and “harp” made up the personal items. Farmstead materials included 517 grain sacks, sack needles and thread, boiled oil, twine, and plow parts. Groceries is the activity category with the most variety and consisted of spices, bacon, butter, fish, sugar, cheese, chocolate, corn meal, eggs, jelly, lard, salt, potatoes, rice, tea, tomatoes, and crackers. A cream pitcher, 2 platters, and a stoneware jar constituted the kitchen items purchased. Building materials and hardware included over 45 pounds of nails, hinges, bolts, rivets, rope, and tacks. Household items consisted of a wide variety of merchandise such as bed ticking, a broom, calico, flannel, linen thread, writing paper, envelopes, postage stamps, candles, and soap.

What is even more interesting is that 77 percent of the $946 bill was not for items purchased but for cash paid out for the Sikes to other individuals and merchants for goods and services. Patrick Graham not only served the community as store keeper and postmaster but as a local banker. Regular payments in cash against the Sikes account were made to many different people and the reason seldom recorded. These included Mr. Broadbelt, Mr. Hacket, Akerman, Ned Downs, McConnel, Mr. Chapin for hauling trees, a “China boy,” wood chopping, a wash woman’s order, Mexican labor, and a bee man.

The Sikes paid Graham largely in trade with produce from their own farm. At the end of 1882 their account showed a total of $1,054.73 credit against what they owed, which put them slightly over $100 ahead on their bill. Only $385 of this amount had been paid to Graham in cash. The rest consisted of credit against the bill received for a variety of items including barley, hay, wheat, butter, and pork produced on the farm, pasturage rental, and additional credits for items returned.

Another essential merchant relationship for the success of the Sikes farm was with the Bernardo blacksmiths. Transactions with William Ober for 1883 are listed on Table 9. The total bill of $146 is considerably less than the amount of business conducted with Graham. Yet, the majority of this work consisted of repairs and maintenance on the farm implements and machinery so crucial for grain production. Ober repaired seat springs, sharpened plowshares, mended mower sickles and harnesses, fixed grain drills and gang plows, and reframed a butcher wagon. Without his services close at hand and readily available the constant maintenance of implements and machinery required would have been extremely difficult for the Sikes.
The Sikes household also depended on large mercantile establishments in San Diego. In 1882 groceries were purchased from San Diego businesses including Blochmann \& Smith, Francisco Silliman and Company, Hamilton and Company, and Steiner, Klauber and Company. The total grocery bill for goods purchased from the San Diego companies totaled $137. This amount combined with the $86 from Graham’s store in Bernardo brings the total Sikes household grocery bill for 1882 to $223. Thirty-eight percent was purchased from Graham while 42 percent was purchased from San Diego firms. Many of these same firms were sources for building materials, hardware, farm implements, and other required items.

**Loss of Property**

During the late 1880s and early 1890s the Sikes’ farmstead underwent a transition from a grain ranch to a dairy farm. This reflected general changes in agriculture occurring throughout the county and state. As the nineteenth century progressed, the wheat boom began to taper off. New grain fields in the Mississippi River Valley and Russia provided competition and reduced prices. In addition, with constant planting of the same crops every year yields per acre began to decrease as the soil became exhausted.

Climatic instability also discouraged a continued dependence on grain dry farming. Southern California’s weather had manifested an abnormally wet cycle during the 1870s through the 1880s, fostering the belief that most crops, especially grains, could be successfully grown without irrigation. Many so-called authorities stated that by repeated plowing following the rains to work moisture into the soil, combined with thorough cultivation to keep fields free from weeds, dry farming could be depended upon. The wet years, however, were deceiving. In 1890 local papers reported the belief that anything could be grown profitably in San Diego County by dry farming was a myth.

As these factors combined to discourage grain cultivation, demographic and technological developments created opportunities for other types of agricultural pursuits. During the late 1880s Southern California experienced an unprecedented population boom that established many new communities, including the city of Escondido in 1886. The introduction of the hand-operated cream separator at this time made small dairy operations profitable. With the availability of both the technology to process milk and a local market many small farms in San Diego County turned to dairying as a source of additional income.

During the 1890s financial circumstances for the Sikes family seemed to have changed. A series of mortgages were taken out on the Bernardo farm land and the family embarked on a scenario of debt management that ultimately failed,
resulting in the loss of the property. The economic climate of the 1890s probably contributed. By the late 1880s wheat no longer commanded the high prices it had a decade earlier and a significant seasonal cash return each year could no longer be guaranteed. In addition, the Southern California real-estate boom of the late 1880s collapsed suddenly in 1888 leaving San Diego’s economy at a much slower, but not stagnated, pace than it had been during the previous 20 years. In 1893 a severe financial national depression hit the country and lasted for four years. Under these circumstances it undoubtedly became increasingly difficult to meet mortgage payments compared to ten years earlier, a time when bountiful wheat crops and the money from Zenas’ life insurance policy could be counted on.

In the spring of 1889 the family petitioned the court to close the probate case for the Estate of Zenas Sikes. The judge ordered the sale of property to pay the estate’s outstanding debts. The remaining property, consisting of about 1,840 acres, was divided among the family on July 21, 1890. The children of Zenas and Eliza Sikes received two parcels: one containing 271.8 acres and another consisting of 669.09 acres; both located on the east side of the Escondido to San Diego road. Eliza M. Sikes received a 900-acre parcel located on the west side of the county road that included the house and farm buildings.
In the meantime, actions had been taken that jeopardized Eliza’s ability to keep the farmstead. In June 1889 she mortgaged the Sikes farm to Elden Lowell for $2,000, payable in two years with no interest. This obligation was released on April 25, 1891. On that same day she again mortgaged the property to Augustus Barnett of Ramona for $4,000 payable in four years with interest at 10 percent per annum. A release date was never recorded for this document. The situation became somewhat complex in November 1892 when Eliza sold the farm to her son-in-law A.K. Cravath for 1,000 dollars. Two years later on October 24, 1894, Cravath mortgaged the property to the San Diego Savings Bank, of which Augustus Barnett was an officer, for $3,550 payable in one year at 10 percent per annum.

With mounting debts against the land the family could not keep the farmstead. On March 11, 1897, Eliza Sikes conveyed her 900 acres of the Sikes Tract that included the farm house and outbuildings to Augustus Barnett for ten dollars. It is assumed that this transaction occurred as an out-of-court settlement to pay off the April 1891 mortgage to Barnett that had never been satisfied. On October 23, 1899, San Diego Savings Bank brought action in Superior Court to foreclose on the mortgage to A.K. Cravath. The property was ordered sold at auction, and on November 27, 1899, was purchased by San Diego Savings Bank and ultimately conveyed it to Augustus Barnett.

Later History and Restoration

In 1925 the City of San Diego Water Department purchased the former Sikes farmstead. The San Dieguito River Park Joint Powers Authority became caretaker for the historic site in the early 1990s. In 2002, the River Park Joint Powers Authority undertook an extensive program to restore the building to its appearance when the Sikes family had occupied it over a hundred years earlier. After extensive historical, architectural, and archaeological studies restoration began in March 2003, and was finished by the end the year. An opening celebration was held in January 2004.

In October 2007 disaster struck, when the devastating Witch Creek Fire swept through the San Dieguito River Valley, destroying the Sikes Adobe Historic Farmhouse. Only the adobe walls of the kitchen were left standing. The San Dieguito River Park rebuilt the Sikes Adobe Historic Farmstead, using a combination of insurance and FEMA money. The thorough documentation of the house during the original restoration process allowed an accurate reconstruction of the building. A Grand Re-Opening Celebration was held on June 26, 2010.
Conclusion

The Sikes’ story provides a detailed look at the life of a farm family, and a case study of the experiences of pioneer farmers in San Diego County during the last half of the nineteenth century. First occupying the land in the early 1870s when most of San Diego County was unsettled wilderness, the Sikes and their neighbors developed the region into productive agricultural lands that supported a rural society. Changing cycles of family development and economic conditions led to the conversion of the enterprise from a wheat to a dairy farm in the early 1890s, and the ultimate loss of the property to creditors in 1899. Overall, the history of the Sikes farmstead reflects the experiences of pioneer farmers that were responsible for establishment of commercial agriculture in San Diego County in the 1870s and its development during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.
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<th>TYPE OF PROPERTY</th>
<th>ITEM</th>
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<th>PERCENT OF ESTATE VALUE</th>
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<td>one wagon, agricultural implements etc.</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>money belonging to deceased</td>
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<td>additional furniture</td>
<td>$300.00</td>
<td>0.60</td>
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<td></td>
<td>money received for 15 mares, horses, &amp; colts</td>
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<td>$300.00</td>
<td>0.60</td>
<td>0.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>one [illegible]</td>
<td>$20.00</td>
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### Table 2

Probate Case # 26

Inventory and Appraisal of Estate with Real Estate Values Removed

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<tr>
<th>TYPE OF PROPERTY</th>
<th>ITEM</th>
<th>VALUE</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>LIVESTOCK</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>four work horses</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>two cows</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>two calves</td>
<td>$20.00</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4 horses died, value at death</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>12 head mares, horses, &amp; colts (purchased since death)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>two cows &amp; one calf</td>
<td>$100.00</td>
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<td></td>
<td><strong>TOTAL LIVESTOCK VALUE</strong></td>
<td><strong>$1,475.00</strong></td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>IMPLEMENTMENTS &amp; TOOLS</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>wagon</td>
<td>$75.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>harness</td>
<td>$15.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>fan mil</td>
<td>$5.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>one spring wagon</td>
<td>$25.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>one mower</td>
<td>$40.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>one single &amp; one double harness</td>
<td>$65.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>one buggy</td>
<td>$100.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>one wagon, agricultural implements etc.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td><strong>TOTAL IMPLEMENTS &amp; TOOLS VALUE</strong></td>
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<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>OTHER FARMSTEAD</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>one tank</td>
<td>$20.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>one tank frame &amp; labor on the same (purchased since death)</td>
<td>$132.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>100 ft garden hose (purchased since death)</td>
<td>$25.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>improvements on ranch ($800 since death)</td>
<td>$1,600.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 windmill included in above improvements</td>
<td>$198.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>TOTAL OTHER FARMSTEAD</strong></td>
<td><strong>$1,777.00</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>HOUSEHOLD PERSONAL</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>one watch</td>
<td>$100.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>furniture on hand</td>
<td>$50.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>money belonging to deceased</td>
<td>$1,253.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>additional furniture</td>
<td>$300.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>money received for 15 mares, horses, &amp; colts.</td>
<td>$580.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>TOTAL HOUSEHOLD PERSONAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>$2,283.00</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>OTHER</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>one lot bus &amp; bu [sic.] material sold for</td>
<td>$300.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>one [illegible]</td>
<td>$20.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>TOTAL OTHER</strong></td>
<td><strong>$320.00</strong></td>
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<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>TOTAL VALUE</strong></td>
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### Table 3
#### Gross Income

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INCOME TYPE</th>
<th>TYPE</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
<th>PERCENT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Item</strong></td>
<td><strong>Item</strong></td>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>Percent</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
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<td><strong>22.19</strong></td>
</tr>
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<td><strong>FARMING</strong></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>barley</td>
<td>1548.07</td>
<td>38.94</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>butter</td>
<td>82.00</td>
<td>2.06</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eggs</td>
<td>17.47</td>
<td>0.44</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fruit</td>
<td>4.50</td>
<td>0.11</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grain supplies</td>
<td>30.90</td>
<td>0.78</td>
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<tr>
<td>hay</td>
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<td>4.62</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>honey</td>
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<td>9.01</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>implement</td>
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<td>2.62</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<tr>
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<td>pasturage</td>
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<td>1.69</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pork</td>
<td>7.62</td>
<td>0.19</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wheat</td>
<td>1263.34</td>
<td>31.78</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>rent total</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>OTHER - UNIDENTIFIED</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>chapin total</td>
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<td>0.18</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>fit total</td>
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<td>rfd</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>swains</td>
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<td>7.04</td>
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</tr>
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<td>tobacco</td>
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<td>tools</td>
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<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
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Table 4
Gross income without insurance and bank payments

<table>
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<th>INCOME TYPE</th>
<th>TYPE</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
<th>PERCENT</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Item Item Item</td>
<td>Total</td>
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<td><strong>FARMING</strong></td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>barley</td>
<td>1548.07</td>
<td>38.94</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>butter</td>
<td>82.00</td>
<td>2.06</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>eggs</td>
<td>17.47</td>
<td>0.44</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>fruit</td>
<td>4.50</td>
<td>0.11</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grain supplies</td>
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<td>0.78</td>
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<tr>
<td>hay</td>
<td>183.65</td>
<td>4.62</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>honey</td>
<td>358.23</td>
<td>9.01</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>implements</td>
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<td>2.62</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>livery</td>
<td>14.00</td>
<td>0.35</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>livestock</td>
<td>295.00</td>
<td>7.42</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pasturage</td>
<td>67.00</td>
<td>1.69</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pork</td>
<td>7.62</td>
<td>0.19</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wheat</td>
<td>1263.34</td>
<td>31.78</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>NON FARMING</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>interest total</td>
<td>674.92</td>
<td>4.89</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>land total</td>
<td>1200.00</td>
<td>8.69</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rent total</td>
<td>412.47</td>
<td>2.99</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>OTHER- UNIDENTIFIED</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chapin total</td>
<td>0.25</td>
<td>0.18</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fit total</td>
<td>29.16</td>
<td>20.54</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>illegible</td>
<td>80.00</td>
<td>56.35</td>
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<td>rtd</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>swains</td>
<td>10.00</td>
<td>7.04</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tobacco</td>
<td>6.02</td>
<td>4.24</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
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Table 5
Farming Expenses

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<th>PERCENT</th>
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<td>Farmstead</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmstead buildings</td>
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<td>7.01</td>
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<tr>
<td>Implements &amp; machines</td>
<td>575.44</td>
<td>19.75</td>
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<tr>
<td>Farmstead livestock</td>
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<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
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### Table 6
Net income without insurance and bank payments

<table>
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<th>INCOME TYPE</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
<th>PERCENT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Farming</td>
<td>1062.20</td>
<td>30.42</td>
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<tr>
<td>Non-Farming</td>
<td>2287.39</td>
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<td>Other-Unidentified</td>
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<td>4.07</td>
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<tr>
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</table>

### Table 7
Net income with insurance and bank payments

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INCOME TYPE</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
<th>PERCENT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Farming</td>
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<tr>
<td>Non-Farming</td>
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<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
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### Table 8
Sikes purchases and cash transactions with P.H. Graham 1882

<table>
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<th>ACTIVITY</th>
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<th>PERCENT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Building materials</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cash</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>On Drill &amp; 1 Nut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>12</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>12</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>12</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1 T... &amp; Link</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2 New Plow Shares</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>Lay &amp; Point 1 Share &amp; Sharp 2 Shares</td>
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<td>12</td>
<td>Lay &amp; Point 1 Share Point &amp; Sharp 1 Band On Drill</td>
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<tr>
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<td>12</td>
<td>Mend 1 Brace On Gang Plow Masher Straiten Axle (sic)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>Mend 1 Brace On Gang Plow Masher Straiten Axle (sic)</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>Lay Mower Shue (sic) 1 Bolt &amp; 1 _</td>
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<td>0</td>
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</tr>
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<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Repares (sic) On Sickles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Rivet 1 Sickle Head</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
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NOTES

1. The authors would like to thank the San Dieguito Valley Regional Open Space Park Joint Powers Authority and IS Architecture for supporting the research and report on which this article is based. Stephen R. Van Wormer and Susan D. Walter, “Appendix A: Historic Report” in Sikes Adobe Farmhouse and Landscape Historic Structures Report, by Ione R. Steigler, IS Architecture (2002), submitted to San Dieguito River Park Joint Powers Authority, San Diego, CA, 92002. We would also like to thank Historian Leland E. Bibb for providing Copies of Eliza Sikes’ Letters, and Sikes Adobe Farmhouse Museum Manager Anne Cooper for updated biographical information on the Sikes Family.


3. Snook’s Ranch became famous during the American conquest of Northern Mexico in 1846 as the stopping point for the United States Army under General Stephen Watts Kearny as they advanced from the Battle of San Pasqual. The men watered their horses and fed their wounded there before moving on to the “entrenchment” at Mule Hill, a mile to the south. The Sikes Adobe is located about 2,000 feet to the west of Mule Hill. Carter, Sikes Adobe Application; Rush, Some Old Ranchos, 43. See Robert G. Cowan, Ranchos of California: A List of Spanish Concessions, 1775-1822, and Mexican Grants, 1822-1846 (Los Angeles: Historical Society of Southern California, 1977), 422.

4. Francisco Snook died in 1848 and his widow married Henry Clayton. In March 1868 Thomas Fox purchased the rancho. He sold it to James McCoy the following September, Deed Book 3, San Diego County Recorder’s Office (1868), 53, 192, 262. James McCoy conveyed undivided portions to several individuals, including Charles Wetmore who purchased a 1/4 interest in Rancho San Bernardo on December 5, 1868, Deed Book 4, San Diego County Recorder’s Office (1868), 46. Four days later, on December 8, Wetmore sold 2,402.5 acres as an undivided 1/8 interest of Rancho San Bernardo to Zenas Sikes for 2,500 dollars, Deed Book 5, San Diego County Recorder’s Office (1868), 165. Carter, Sikes Adobe Application.

5. Sikes was among several purchasers residing in Santa Clara County who obtained portions of Rancho Bernardo during this period. Others included Omar Oaks, who bought an undivided 1/4 interest, and Sylvester Lyman, who purchased an undivided 1/2 interest. Both purchases occurred on December 5, 1868 from James McCoy, Deed Book 4, San Diego County Recorder’s Office (1868), 43, 44. On March 30, 1869, Charles Wetmore, Omar Oaks, Isaac Lankershim, James Hill, and Sylvester Lyman conveyed 2402.5 acres located on the north side of the San Dieguito River to Zenas Sikes, Deed Book 5, San Diego County Recorder’s Office (1868), 261. In the past, portions of the San Dieguito River have been designated by various other local place names. It was known as the Santa Ysabel in the mountains north east of Ramona. It became the San Pasqual River where it flowed through that valley and the San Bernardo River where it crossed the Rancho south of Zenas Sikes’ land. Rush, Some Old Ranchos and Adobes, 44.

6. Old (Road) Survey No. 9: From Smith Valley through San Bernardo to Paguey (1872), Mapping Department, San Diego County Operations Center.


8. Zenas Sikes had been born in 1830. In 1853 he lived in Santa Clara County California where he married Eliza, in July of that year. She had been born in Mobile, Ohio, in 1834, and had come to California by ship the previous year with her stepmother Clarissa Wright Burrell. Reginald R. Stuart and Clarissa Wright Burrell, “The Burrell Letters,” California Historical Society Quarterly 28, no. 4 (December 1949): 297-322.


10. San Diego County Directory 1886, San Diego History Center Research Archives (hereafter SDHC).


16. Hateh, Memories (no date), Escondido City Library Pioneer Room.

17. One of the first social institutions in the community, the Bernardo Grange was organized on November 28, 1874, with Zenas Sikes as Master and T. Duncan as Secretary. The Patrons of Husbandry on the Pacific Coast (San Francisco: A.L. Bancroft and Company, 1875), 217.


19. San Diego Union, April 8, 1875, 2-3.

20. San Diego Union, January 7, 1876, 3; San Diego Union, February 2, 1876, 4.

21. San Diego Union, April 2, 1876, 3.

22. Deed Book 29, San Diego County Recorder’s Office (1876), 238. On January 1876 Graham purchased 2 acres that included the store site from Zenas Sikes for $25. It is not known what arrangement Patrick and the Sikes had prior to that time. The store property may have been rented or leased. The same month Graham sold his ranch in San Luis Rey to Jonathan Kolb and acquired J.L. Nugent as a partner in the Bernardo store in May. Wallace W. Elliott, History of San Bernardino and San Diego Counties, (San Francisco: Wallace W. Elliott and Company, 1883); San Diego Union, January 24, 1875, 3; San Diego Union, May 27, 1875, 2.

23. Despite a thriving business, Graham and Nugent dissolved their partnership in April 1883. Graham bought Nugent out for $1000. The deed included all of J.S. Nugent’s title and interest in the original 2-acre parcel purchased from Sikes in 1875 and an additional half acre located directly north of and adjacent to the original 2 acre parcel. This lot would eventually be purchased by blacksmith William Ober. Deed Book 43, San Diego County Recorder’s Office (1883), 492.


25. San Diego Union, February 28, 1884, 3; February 29, 1884, 3; March 5, 1884, 3; March 22, 1884, 3; April 19, 1884, 3; May 19, 1884, 3; May 9, 1884, 3.

26. San Diego Union, August 1, 1886, 3.

27. San Diego County Directories 1886-1890.

28. San Diego County Directory 1886; Elliott, History of San Bernardino and San Diego Counties.

29. San Diego County Directories 1883-1885. Born in 1847 in Somerset County, Pennsylvania, where he learned the blacksmith business, William Ober served in the Ninety-Third Regiment, Company G, of the Pennsylvania Volunteers during the Civil War. After the war he journeyed overland from Bates County, Missouri, to California. William lived in Sonoma County in the summer of 1871, then came to Bernardo where, in addition to his blacksmithing business, he also had “a nice farm.” For more information see, San Diego Union, October 1, 1880, 4; January
The Sikes of Bernardo

12, 1882, 3; October 11, 1882, 31, May 31, 1883, 3, April 16, 1884, 3; Elliott, History of San Bernardino and San Diego Counties.


31. San Diego Union, November 14, 1871, 4; November 27, 1872, 3; June 26, 1877, 1; August 13, 1880, 4; July 9, 1881, 4; October 17, 1885, 3.

32. In 1888, fruit trees in the county included 58,208 lemon, 51,571 olive, 102,013 orange, in addition to peach, quince, fig, plum, cherry, and apricot. By 1891 fruit trees in San Diego County totaled 1,062,711. Theodore S. Van Dyke, The City and County of San Diego (San Diego: Leberthon and Taylor, 1888), 60.

33. San Diego Union, November 14, 1871, 4; November 27, 1872, 3; June 26, 1877, 1; August 13, 1880, 4; July 9, 1881, 4; October 17, 1885, 3.

34. Escondido Times, January 5, 1893.


41. Deed Book 28, San Diego County Recorder’s Office (1874), 259. In this transaction Ida is referred to as Ida Adelphine Duncan. Her husband, Thomas Duncan, was secretary of the Bernardo Grange. Carr, Patrons of Husbandry, p. 217.

42. San Diego Union, October 10, 1876, 3.

43. San Diego Union, January 23, 1877, 1, 4.


45. Tax Assessment List, 1869, San Bernardo Ranch, Zenas Sikes, 2219 acres, valued at 1331.40, SDHC.


47. Deed Book 32, San Diego County Recorder’s Office (1878), 313, 331. In this deed Eva is referred to as Mrs. Richard Cassidy even though the newspaper announcement of her wedding in 1876 listed the groom’s name as James E. Cassidy. San Diego Union, October 10, 1876, 3.

48. 1880 Federal Census Manuscript Returns, Schedule 1, Population, SDHC.

49. San Diego Union, November 30, 1879, 4; April 5, 1881, 4.

50. San Diego Union, December 3, 1879, 4. Dr. P.C. Remondino was probably the most respected physician in San Diego during the late nineteenth century. He arrived in the city in 1874. While living in San Diego he held the chairs of History of Medicine and Medical Bibliography at the University of California. He owned the largest medical library in the state and was the author of several books and monographs on medicine. Samuel T. Black, San Diego California: A Record of Settlement, Organization, Progress, and Achievement, 2 vols. (Chicago: The J.S. Clark Co., 1913), 2:32.
The Journal of San Diego History

51. San Diego Union, January 14, 1881, 4. Dr. T.C. Stockton, a native of New Brunswick, Canada, arrived in San Diego in 1869 where he became a leading member of the city’s medical profession. Dr. Stockton was appointed coroner and public administrator between 1880 and 1885. Throughout this period he often held the position of city health officer. He also operated a small hospital and sanitarium with Dr. Remondino and was a founder of the San Diego Medical Society in 1870. William E. Smyth, History of San Diego 1542-1908 (San Diego: The History Company, 1907), 603.

52. For a detailed account of Zenas Sikes’ Medical Treatment see Walter, “Appendix B: A Case Study of the Medical Care of Zenas Sikes,” in Sikes Adobe Farmhouse and Landscape Historic Structures Report.

53. The probable identification of Zenas’ condition was provided by Dr. G. David Gibson of La Mesa, California, after reviewing a record of the symptoms and medical expenses.

54. San Diego Union, April 5, 1881, 4.

55. Ibid.


57. San Diego Union, April 5, 1881, 14.

58. Probate Case # 26, 1882. For a table of itemized funeral and grave expenses in the probate record see Van Wormer and Walter, Historic Report, 30-31.

59. Probate Case # 26, inventory and appraisal.

60. Eliza Sikes, Bernardo, CA, written correspondence to Martha Oaks, October 16 and November 27, 1881. These letters were acquired by San Diego County historian Leland E. Bibb from a descendent of Martha Oaks. Copies are located at the offices of the San Diegueito River Park.

61. Edward Z. Sikes was Eliza’s 15 year old son. Information courtesy of Lee Bibb.

62. David J. Oaks, 22 year old brother of Martha, was the oldest son of Omar Oaks. At the age of 16 he was managing the Bernardo farm for his family. In 1880 he returned to the Santa Clara ranch and managed it while his father was at Bernardo. In 1882 he went to Vancouver, Washington and purchased land there, staying two years. Thereafter he bought the easterly portion to the Oaks ranch at Bernardo from his father. He remained on this land until 1905 when he sold out and moved to Escondido, where he entered business. He married Sadie Parr in March, 1890 and they had three children, Elmer, Earnest, and Ethel. Information courtesy of Lee Bibb.

63. A.E. Maxcy had a large farm about 6 miles northeast of San Pasqual. Much of his land was planted in grapes and he established a winery there. Information courtesy of Lee Bibb.

64. Edith Oaks was Martha’s 5 year old sister. Information courtesy of Lee Bibb.

65. This “Old Adobe” was located in a canyon that runs north toward Escondido parallel to Auralie Drive. That canyon was referred to as “the spring canyon” in a letter from Oliver Oaks to his father in 1906. Wheeler’s map of San Diego County, dated 1872, shows the Oaks house at that location. The implication of this is that the Oaks Adobe, long considered the original ranch house of Rancho San Bernardo, was built sometime between 1871 and 1880 and could not, then, have been the house at which General Kearny passed following the Battle of San Pasqual in December 1846. Information courtesy of Lee Bibb.

66. Sikes to Oaks, October 16, 1881. Improvements to the house included moving the front door from the east to the south side of the house, converting the dining room to a parlor, and adding more bedrooms.

67. During the spring or summer, Lottie had been in Benicia, California. In October she had gone to the “mountains” to stay with Eliza’s sister. By the end of November she was in San Diego to
spend the winter and take music lessons. “She has a Steinway and is perfectly happy over it, 7-1/3 octave. I have not seen it yet…. She writes me that she is now practicing 4 hours per day. Besides the time she devotes to her vocal exercises, if that plan is carried out, for 1 year, she ought to improve vastly.” Sikes to Oaks, October 16 and November 27, 1881.

68. Sikes to Oaks, October 16, 1881.
69. Sikes to Oaks, November 27, 1881.
70. San Diego Union, November 1, 1883, 3.
71. San Diego Union, February 13, 1885, 3.
72. San Diego Union, March 12, 1885, 3.
73. The San Diego Union has the following references to G.E. Gabrielson: “Born in San Diego, December 4th, 1885, to the wife of G.E. Gabrielson, a son” (12-5-1885 3:3). On Tuesday, August 26, a daughter was born to Mr. and Mrs. G.E. Gabrielson” (8-27-1890 5:4). Obit. “Gabrielson, Gabriel E., Modesto, Nov. 24; came to San Diego from Wisconsin 1881, moved to Modesto, 1922; during his residence in San Diego he was in the contracting business; survived by wife, Lottie; 3 sons, William, Leo and Harold; daughter, Mrs. Hazel Vance; services, Nov. 28, Cypress View mausoleum; entombment follows” (11-27-41 6:3).
74. San Diego Union, July 25, 1913.
75. San Diego Union, March 19, 1882, 3.
76. San Diego County Directory, 1889.
81. Probate Case # 26, Will of Zenas Sikes, 1881.
82. Probate Case # 26, Inventory and appraisal.
85. Ibid.
86. Probate Case # 26, Invoices.
87. Probate Case # 26, Invoices. The transfer of ownership document drawn up at this time between G.E. Gabrielson and Mrs. H.M. Magnes gives a more complete inventory of farm implements than the estate appraisal of 1881.
88. Table 3 is based on data taken from records which were part of Probate Case #26. A table of the complete data can be found in Van Wormer and Walter, Historic Report, 33-38.
89. Table 5 is based on data taken from records which were part of Probate Case #26. A table of the complete data can be found in Van Wormer and Walter, Historic Report, pp. 38-45.
91. Table 8 is based on data taken from entries in the Graham Account book for 1883 which was part of the records in Probate Case # 26. A table of the complete data can be found in Van


93. Probate Case # 26, Bills from William Ober, 1883.

94. Probate Case # 26, Bills & Invoices 1882.

95. Evidence for the dairy operation at the Sikes farmstead comes from an 1894 Court Case in which Eliza Sikes attempted to evict Eva and William Thompson who had leased the farm in 1892. The documents give a detailed description of livestock and equipment already on the farm in October 1892 when the lease commenced. Superior Court of the County of San Diego, State of California 1892, District Case # 7206, Eliza M. Sikes - Plaintiff vs. Wm. and Eva R. Thompson - Defendants. San Diego History Center Research Archives.


101. The property sold on June 28, 1889 for a total of 4,930 dollars. Probate Case #26, Order of the Court Confirming Executors Sale of Real Estate.

102. Probate Case #26, Petition for the Allowance for Distribution of Estate & Order of the Court Confirming Executors Sale of Real Estate.


105. Deed Book 205, San Diego County Recorder’s Office (1892), 397.

106. Mortgage Book 87, San Diego County Recorder’s Office (1897), 163.


108. Superior Court Case 10947; Certificates of Sale 5:56; Deed Book 292, San Diego County Recorder’s Office (1900), 28; Probate Case # 3223.

A Tribute to Ann Kantor as Administrator of the Villa Montezuma, 1973-1983

Jim Moss

When members of the Board of Directors of the San Diego Historical Society provided funding for the purchase of the Villa Montezuma, subsequently giving it to the City of San Diego, the Historical Society then assumed responsibility for developing the Victorian structure as a historic house museum and cultural center for the Sherman Heights/Golden Hill area of San Diego. A member of the Society’s administrative staff, Ann Kantor, was named deputy administrator.

Kantor began immediately to organize a volunteer docent group composed mainly of members of the Junior League of San Diego, many of whom had for several years been active with the Historical Society giving tours of the Serra Museum and the Presidio excavation site in Presidio Park for fifth grade students in the San Diego Unified School District. She expanded the volunteer group to include residents of the Sherman Heights/Golden Hill area and invited Lane Valentine, wife of Federal District Court judge Napoleon Jones, to join the Villa staff as community liaison. Kantor also enlisted the assistance of Clare Crane as a volunteer staff member to enhance the educational program and provide curatorial duties for the Villa.

In addition to developing a strong volunteer program, Kantor worked to provide financial support for the Villa operation and its programs. She coordinated the efforts of the Historical Society in cooperation with the American Association of Interior Designers to produce an annual “Designers Showcase” to raise funds for the benefit of the Villa. She brought together volunteers of the Historical Society and members of the Association of Interior Designers in a collaboration that for seven years successfully raised funds for the Villa’s programs and for its physical preservation and interpretation as a historical site.

Kantor’s talent and leadership, along with her energy, vitality, dedication, and persuasiveness, gave to the Villa Montezuma and Historical Society in general great success in increasing awareness and appreciation of the residents of the Sherman Heights/Golden Hill community for the value of the Villa as an historical and cultural resource for all of San Diego.

Jim Moss
Former Executive Director
San Diego Historical Society
BOOK REVIEWS


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

Combining the topics of post-Civil War Reconstruction, California in the Gilded Age, and federal Indian polices of the late-nineteenth century may seem incongruous, yet Joshua Paddison in American Heathens connects these topics in a way that compels one to reconsider the meaning and boundaries of Reconstruction. Paddison argues two main points. First, development of racial hierarchies and defining citizenship were closely tied to religion in the West during the post-Civil War period. Second, Reconstruction was “multiracial and multiregional” and ended in the 1880s (p. 5). Defining citizenship was a process, and American Heathens details how attempts to define citizenship broadly in the late 1860s and early 1870s shifted to an almost universal call for exclusionary policies. With California’s diverse population, the state’s role was critical in the debate, and religion was central to the struggle. Paddison writes, “Christianity provided the language with which competing groups defined and contested race” (p. 37).

Initially, many Protestant missionaries in California supported unrestricted Chinese immigration and President Grant’s Peace Policy, which placed denominations in charge of Indian reservations. Missionaries also argued in favor of expanding the franchise, but only for all male Christians. As one mission agency wrote, the Chinese “cannot be safely entrusted with the rights of citizenships . . . unless they are brought out of the darkness of their natural state and the bondage of their pagan religion into the light and liberty of the gospel” (p. 44). The same, according to missionaries, was true for Native Americans. Paddison’s study of Indian-white relations focuses on Round Valley Indian Reservation (north of San Francisco)—the location of the largest Indian Christian revival during the Peace Policy era. One Methodist minister visiting Round Valley was convinced of God’s work there and predicted that if the revival continued, the Indians would become “useful, orderly and industrious citizens” (p. 67).

California missionaries were fighting an uphill battle. One San Francisco paper
attacked missionaries for ignoring white children while “teaching filthy and abominable heathens Christianity” (p. 49). State and local governments mandated segregated schools, and when the state supreme court upheld these laws, the San Francisco Examiner applauded the decision that kept white children, “whom God has made in His own image,” separate from other groups (p. 47). In the early 1870s, African Americans often opposed anti-Chinese rhetoric, arguing that all people were created by God, but just a few years later with the 1873 economic depression, African American newspapers criticized Chinese immigration while community leaders worked with Republicans to desegregate California school districts but only for black youth.

Protestant missionaries believed converted Indians and Chinese could become good citizens, but they weren’t so sure about Catholics, whose loyalty to the nation they questioned. In response, “Irish Catholics increasingly staked their claim to Christian whiteness on their opposition to Chinese immigration . . . portraying themselves as potential allies to white Protestants . . . against debasing pagan outsiders” (p. 78). Mexican Catholics, along with opposing Chinese immigration, also staked a claim to whiteness by distancing themselves from “barbarous heathen” Indians (p. 96).

Christian Chinese and Indians both used religious language to defend themselves from attack. Episcopalian Fong Doon supported continued Chinese immigration, saying God “has brought us over here to learn to worship Him” (p. 55). Round Valley reservation leaders during a dispute spoke of their desire to “live in peace like educated white people” and to remain with “our Agent and pray for him” (p. 75).

For a time, white Protestant missionaries were able to influence public policy, but their power began dissipating in the late 1870s from repeated attacks by anti-Chinese Democrats and Republicans, Catholic leaders, and Workingmen’s Party supporters. Even white Protestant congregants began criticizing missionary outreach. As anti-Chinese rhetoric increased, missionary resolve weakened to the point of supporting immigration restrictions. By 1880, a San Francisco priest could write, “There is no distinction of religion, race or politics in this matter. The unanimous voice of the whole state is against the Chinese” (p. 144). Criticism of church-managed reservations also escalated. Soon the Department of the Interior took control of Indian reservations. Pushing for assimilation, now white Protestants often supported Indian boarding schools and the breakup of reservations. Paddison concludes that Reconstruction ended not with the removal of troops from the South in 1877 but here—with the Chinese Exclusion Act and the Dawes Severalty Act: “Indians and the Chinese joined African Americans on the margins of a new kind of Christian nation” (p. 173).
Paddison analyzes the complex connections of religion, race and class and the fluid nature of alliances among groups debating eligibility for American citizenship in mid-nineteenth-century California. *American Heathens* should be on the reading list of anyone interested in the American West or Reconstruction. With fewer than one hundred and ninety pages of text and an engaging topic, it’s a suitable assigned reading for an undergraduate California history course that is sure to spark lively class discussions.


Reviewed by Cherstin M. Lyon, Associate Professor, Department of History, California State University, San Bernardino.

Nayan Shah’s book, *Stranger Intimacy*, offers a rare look into the public and private lives of South Asian immigrants in the North American West after the turn of the twentieth century. Shah demonstrates how the law as written by legislators, enforced by police, and interpreted in court created boundaries of exclusion and marginality based not only on race and gender, but also on sexuality, family structure, and definitions of morality and respectability.

South Asian men constituted a small minority of immigrants and were not included in early Asian exclusion laws until campaigns targeted them between 1907 and 1913. Once romanticized as exotic, South Asian men became marginalized as sexually dangerous and morally suspect. Labor leaders warned that South Asian men’s sexual habits posed a risk not only to white women, but also to fellow male laborers. In Canada, South Asian men drew special attention due to the claims they might make as British Imperial subjects. If South Asian men could not be completely excluded from entry, inclusion could be limited in other ways.

Shah shows that rural life blended the public and private in intimate ways. Shah refers to these spaces as the border intimacies, which thrived in small-scale agricultural settings and included sexual relations, marriage, and economic partnerships. Increased surveillance through policing transformed migrant men’s living quarters into semi-public spaces. Court records reveal codes of erotic sociability that men developed and the ways courts interpreted evidence based on understandings of respectable manhood and sexuality. Using legal records, Shah details the ways in which strangers developed homosocial communities based on “verbal and gestural cues, ethical codes, and cultural frames that transient men exchanged” (p. 55).
South Asian migrants struggled to create and maintain marriages in the face of demographic imbalances and the scrutiny of the state. Interracial marriage became a strategy for evading alien land laws and could offer one alternative to family reunification which was otherwise practically impossible, given strict restrictions against the immigration of wives and children of South Asian immigrant men. Marriage, however, became the key grounds for state intervention in family formation and the transfer of property and citizenship. Prepubescent brides and arranged marriages provided the justification to dismiss the legitimacy of South Asian marriages. Interpretations of marriage and family based on Western norms together with the operation of alien land laws limited permanence to “white” families while creating inequitable distributions of land and racialized pools of labor. These struggles over marriage highlighted the disconnect between legal barriers to family reunification through immigration and the nation-state’s promotion of domestic communities.

In determining matters of consent and predation, the courts drew heavily upon the credibility, respectability, race, and nationality of adult men and the gender of underage children. Homosocial relations between white middle-class men and male children and sexual relations with underage girls were normalized, while underage boys were deemed unable to give consent in homosexual encounters even in cases where boys made no attempt to resist. Shah reveals that it was not just the presumptions of the sexual nature of girls that created such variations in legal definitions of consent and predatory sexual relations, but also the class, the respectability, and the race of the adult man. As a result, transient and non-white men became targets of both vagrancy and sodomy prosecutions. Policing and judicial reasoning converted social dangers into criminal categories of delinquency, vagrancy, and exaggerated assumptions of “racialized sexualities” and “national masculinity” (p. 152).

Critically, Shah regards sexuality as one of the subjective ways immigrants were deemed likely to become a charge and were thus barred from entry. One example Shah cites was a man who gained entry by demonstrating his strong financial standing and respectability, but then had his visa revoked after being charged with sodomy. Furthermore, despite remittances supporting transnational families, South Asian men became suspected of immorality due to their seeming lack of attachment to family.

Stranger Intimacy’s inclusion of sources and case studies from both the U.S. and Canada highlights the need for more research on transnational immigration to Western North America, especially at a time when Canada was gaining independence from British imperial rule and the U.S. was expanding its own imperial reach into the Pacific. More importantly, Shah adds important depth to
our understanding of how not just race, but also sexuality, manhood, and legal barriers to the privacy of middle-class family formation pushed Asian immigrants, and especially South Asian immigrant men, to the legal margins and spatial borderlands of Western North America.


Reviewed by Caroline Luce, Ph.D., Department of History, University of California Los Angeles.

Not since Richard and Louis Perry published their seminal study in 1963 has any scholar attempted to write a comprehensive portrait of the history of the labor movement in Los Angeles. In _Sunshine Was Never Enough_, historian John Laslett has done so with the elegance and dexterity of a true master of his craft. Not only does he significantly expand the time period of his study beyond that of the Perrys – digging far more deeply into the roots of discontent among the city’s workers before the infamous bombing of the _Los Angeles Times_ in 1911 and adding an entire section about the postwar decline of the labor movement and its rebirth in Los Angeles in the last two decades – Laslett also expands the geographical focus of his study to encompass a “sixty-mile circle” around the city proper, including the citrus farms of the San Gabriel Valley, the oil fields of the San Joaquin Valley, and the industrial parks of the aerospace industry that stretch south to San Diego. Laslett also approaches his investigation with far greater sensitivity to the diversity of the workers he writes about, in terms of race and ethnicity as well as in terms of gender, and delicately intertwines his account of the struggles they faced in the workplace with the interrelated struggles for immigrants’ rights, civil rights, fair housing, and women’s equality. His book offers a sweeping portrait of Los Angeles’s political, economic, and social development over the course of its 150 year history that will be enjoyable reading for scholars and non-academics alike.

Laslett, who published his first study of the American labor movement in 1968, helped to expand the field of labor history by illuminating the relationships between trade unionists and the radical left through incisive literary and rhetorical analysis, and by showing that workers developed a class-conscious political culture that extended far beyond the shop floor. In this book, he layers that sharp analysis of primary sources into a tight synthesis of an extensive set of works written by a younger generation of historians over the past three decades,
including Becky Nicolaides, Vicki Ruiz, Devra Weber, Mark Wild, Bruce Nelson, Matt Garcia, and Edward J. Escobar. He constructs a narrative that will be familiar to many students of Los Angeles history while also placing new emphasis on the dynamics of class consciousness and the institutions that served as engines of working-class community mobilization, including trade unions and radical political parties. He has done so, he explains, because of the tendency he observes among historians of Los Angeles to foreground race relations and racial conflicts (and in some cases gender) over labor relations and class struggle. This tendency, he postulates, has been the unfortunate historiographical consequence of the weakness of the labor movement and the “absence of major class conflict” in early twentieth century Los Angeles relative to the urban capitals of the East and Midwest. By exploring the class dimensions of the major social and political conflicts in Los Angeles’s history, *Sunshine Was Never Enough* aims to redeem the experiences of Los Angeles’ workers and their influence on the political economy of the city.

It is odd then that after devoting some three hundred pages to highlighting the activism of the city’s workers, Laslett concludes his study by expounding on the “historic weakness” of the labor movement in Los Angeles as compared to other cities. He rejects the primary explanation offered since the nineteenth century—the exceptional power of the city’s anti-union forces—and instead points to the late arrival of “smokestack” industries, the fragmented character of the city’s cultural and physical geography, and the unique ethno-racial character of its workforce, particularly during the “crucial phase” of the labor movement between the 1890s and the 1930s. These factors certainly made Los Angeles different from the cities of the East and Midwest, but they are also the very reasons why historians have for generations overlooked Los Angeles’s labor movement in their accounts: too often they have viewed urban development, class formation, and labor unrest through analytical lenses premised on industrial metropolises like New York and Chicago. Laslett might instead have explored how the factors he identifies favored workers’ organizing efforts, connected the current labor resurgence in Los Angeles to its historical roots (as Ruth Milkman did in *L.A. Story*), or built a new paradigm for exploring labor history based on Los Angeles’s unique model. Rather than offer his own insights about the particular character of the labor movement in Los Angeles, he simply identifies the features of the labor movement elsewhere that Los Angeles lacked. Hopefully, this book will serve as a valuable resource for scholars to engage those issues in the future and develop alternative approaches to labor and working-class history based on the Los Angeles case.

Reviewed by Tomás Alberto Madrigal, Ph.D. candidate, University of California at Santa Barbara, School of Social Sciences, Department of Chicana and Chicano Studies.

Fresh Fruit, Broken Bodies is a refreshing and systematic ethnographic study of the experiences of Mexican-origin agricultural workers who migrate to the United States. Seth Holmes delivers an ethnographic account of Triqui migrant farmworker families from Oaxaca, Mexico to Washington state’s Skagit Valley, a detailed description of the transnational organization of agricultural production on a vertically integrated farm, and a detailed analysis of health care services accessed by Triqui migrant farmworkers along the North American Pacific Rim.

Holmes opens his monograph with a compelling vignette of his experience attempting to cross the U.S.-Mexican border via the Arizona desert with a group of Triqui migrant farmworkers. He uses this experience to introduce his subjectivity within the text, his relationship to the Triqui farmworkers and the growers they work for, as well as to describe his initial encounter with this community in Oaxaca, Mexico. Holmes uses the first chapter to narrate the Triqui migration from northern Mexico to his primary research site in Washington’s Skagit Valley. His second chapter digs deeper into the topic of subjectivity and establishes the purpose of his book project to “denaturalize ethnic and citizenship inequalities in agricultural labor, health disparities in the clinic, and biologized and racialized inequalities in society at large” (p. 185).

Holmes’s most compelling contribution both to the field of anthropology and to the farmworkers themselves is his third chapter that systematically documents the organization of production in a vertically integrated berry farm in the Skagit Valley. Holmes demonstrates the way that structural oppression based upon ethnicity, citizenship, and language is recreated on the scale of an industrial farm.

In chapter four, Holmes personalizes the experience of Triqui farmworkers on the segregated farm by introducing three vignettes regarding injuries. Through the stories of these three Triqui men, Holmes attempts to undo their dehumanization produced by advanced capitalism. This dehumanization is evident in the low-intensity warfare in Mexico due to the U.S.-sponsored drug war in the context of the North American Free Trade Agreement, the militarization of the U.S./Mexico border, and the segregation of farmworkers into the bottom rung of a vertically-
integrated mode of production in agriculture that produces “broken bodies” which are then (mis)treated at U.S. and Mexican clinical health institutions based upon the prejudices of the medical staff. Holmes cautions, “the progressive move to include behavioral health in medical education without the correlate inclusion of social context may be exactly what leads clinicians to blame, even criminalize, the victims of social sufferings” (p. 154). Holmes alludes to the discontent of Triqui farmworkers in their conclusion that “los médicos no saben nada” (ibid).

Holmes’s sixth chapter begins with a theoretical discussion of the way that structural and symbolic violence are the modalities through which oppression based upon race, ethnicity, language, and citizenship are physically harmful to Triqui migrant workers. He argues that the Triqui experience of violence produces difference on the level of the body, and that these embodied differences negate belonging regardless of where the workers may be geographically. Thus “Triqui people are understood to deserve their location in the social hierarchy because of what are perceived to be their natural, ethnic, bodily characteristics.” Holmes continues, “this naturalization of oppression and racism is particularly efficient and unquestioned because it is invisibly effected on the level of the body” (p. 181).

Holmes concludes the book by emphasizing that the segregated labor hierarchies in agricultural production are socially constructed and malleable and that once his audience understands this they will be in a better position to engage in pragmatic solidarity on both a local and a global scale. While the workers Holmes studied were not the intended audience of the book, they have used the author’s work in recent labor struggles. As this reviewer noted in Labor Notes (September 2013), these farmworkers employed Holmes’s ethnographic data in their fight against the dehumanization Holmes describes.

The weakness in Holmes’s book lies directly with his subjectivity, his position of privilege amongst Triqui farmworkers, and how this position slanted his perception and interpretation of the desire, will, and strength of the Triqui farmworkers. Because of his bias, he was not able to understand that they were not entirely victims in need of “pragmatic” solidarity and the good will of their oppressors. Missing from Holmes’s narrative is the diverse household composition of the Triqui community that includes many women and children as well as Mixteco farmworkers. Holmes had the opportunity to include in his vignettes more examples of the experiences of women and children yet failed, for example, to expand upon and explain the systematic use of household units of production on the farm that subsidized for the grower the ability for “Abelino” to stay home with a hurt knee. Furthermore, “Crecencio’s” domestic violence is explained away, yet there was an opportunity here to demonstrate how this interpersonal violence worked in the service of the discipline regime in the segregated hierarchy.
Fresh Fruit, Broken Bodies is an important and welcome contribution to the current scholarship on advanced capitalism, the militarization of Mexico and the border, (im)migration, agricultural labor, and public health. Holmes’s ability to present the complex and multiple experiences of Triqui farmworkers on a global scale in a concise and straightforward manner makes this book an excellent tool for introducing the topic in the classroom as well as shaping the approach of future human services, migrant health workers, and labor organizers.

EXHIBIT REVIEW


Reviewed by Kristi Rutz-Robbins, Ph.D., Adjunct Lecturer, History Department, University of San Diego.

Women, War and Industry, a special exhibit created by Dr. Amy Galpin, currently running at the San Diego Museum of Art until February 18, examines the multiplicity of ways women have participated in or experienced war, the way women have depicted industry and war themselves as artists, and the way women in industry or experiencing war, have been depicted by artists. The collection is diverse in presentation and focus and includes a wide range of posters, photography, modern art, oral stories, and video footage which is both history and art.

The exhibit opens with a 1917 poster of a Red Cross nurse clad in white appearing as a protective angel in front of a background of soldiers. In the next room a poster of an oversized Red Cross nurse holds a wounded soldier on a stretcher, just as the Madonna holds the dead Jesus in Michelangelo’s Pieta. In a 1942 poster by Valentino Sara, a black and white photo of a woman with hauntingly sad eyes holding a baby and being hugged by a little girl states, “I gave a man. Will you give at least 10% of your pay in war bonds?” These posters put forward an image of women’s centrality in supporting the war efforts of a nation.

The next room focuses on photography by women and how women documented war and industry through the lens of their cameras. The images include Florence Kemmler’s, Ship Lines, which focus on the ropes holding cruisers at dock and U-Boats, both from 1929. Margaret Bourne-White’s black and white gelatin silver print from 1939, titled Silk Factory, features rows of silk bobbins and a woman in overalls with glossy waved hair tending to them. Another black and white
by Alfred Eisenstaedt from 1942 shows a frame filled entirely with hundreds of young women in exercise dress doing full push-ups as part of an ROTC class at the University of New Hampshire. One of the last images as the viewer moves into the next room is a Margaret Bourke-White photograph of a group of survivors from the Buchenwald prison. She had traveled with General Patton when his force entered the Buchenwald concentration camp in Germany. Many of her photos appeared in Life magazine in 1945 and brought the realities of World War II to the home front. The theme of women as artists of war and women as participants both in front and behind the camera tie the collection together.

The end of the exhibit features modern art depicting women in war and women’s interpretations of war through the arts. Of particular note is a striking series of canvases destroyed and discolored by acid and burns with the holes carefully stitched and delicately reconnected by spider web-like threads that represent the efforts humans make to mend their societies in the aftermath of war. The end of the exhibit features a fascinating piece of modern art, “Tears of Vietnam.” A mobile transitions from red to multicolored paper leafs dropping from the ceiling on red threads, raining down like tears. A hauntingly sad photo by Stephanie Sinclair taken in 2005 of a women entirely entombed in a blue burka huddled in a ball on a tomb with a very young boy standing by sadly looking at the camera brings the collection to the current wars in Afghanistan and Iraq.

Interspersed throughout the exhibit hall are sound recordings and oral histories. “The Boogie Woogie Bugle Boy” by the Andrews Sisters plays in the opening room, followed by Dolly Parton’s 1970 “Daddy Won’t Be Home Anymore” in the next room. A video room presentation of women’s memories of American occupation in the Philippines tells the story in their own words of “pick up girls” and how registered and unregistered prostitutes catered to the military presence, as aspect of war often untold. The final room hosts a series of oral interviews depicting women’s memory and perspective on war and military service. For example, Petty Officer First Class Johnson tells the listener the military opened her eyes to the world and gave her a greater understanding of the world beyond the headlines. On the walls are history facts in text. One set tells the viewer that women were first admitted to U.S. Military Academies in 1976 and that as of 2012, 205,000 women have served on active duty, making up 15% of the military. The final room is an artful blend of history, art, abstraction, and reality.

The exhibit is a must-see for war history buffs, people interested in women’s history, as well as those strictly interested in visual arts. The eclectic blend of exquisitely beautiful propaganda posters, raw photographic images of grief, and dramatic and disturbing modern art tells the complex story of women’s engagement in war and industry and keeps the focus squarely on women.
BOOK NOTES


years after the civil unrest that followed the Rodney King verdict. Addressing issues ranging from community gardening and retail investment to employment prospects and gang prevention programs, the authors point to significant signs of progress.

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