

# The Sikes of Bernardo: A Case Study of Pioneer Farmers and Agricultural Community Development in Late Nineteenth-Century Southern California

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## 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.<sup>1</sup>

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.

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## Rancho San Bernardo

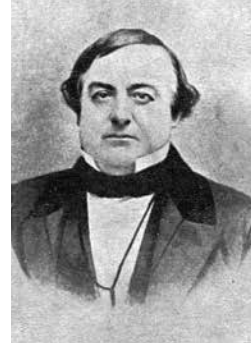
The Sikes Farmhouse lies within the boundaries of Rancho San Bernardo, a Mexican era land grant of approximately 17,763 acres. As early as 1800, Mission San Diego de Alcalá used the rancho for grazing lands. Many Native Americans lived in the area before that time. During an 1837 uprising in San Diego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

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.<sup>3</sup>

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.<sup>4</sup> 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.<sup>5</sup>

## The Community of Bernardo

By 1872 Zenas had moved his family to the property and built a small one room adobe house.<sup>6</sup> 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.<sup>7</sup> Zenas (b. 1830) and his wife Eliza (b. 1834) had been married in Santa Clara County California in 1853.<sup>8</sup> By the early 1870s they had six children



Governor Juan Bautista de Alvarado (1809-1882).

including Harry, Ida, Eva, and Kate, who were adults, and Charlotte (Lottie) and Edward who were still in school.<sup>9</sup>

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.<sup>10</sup> Rural settlements like Bernardo were the most common type of community in San Diego County from 1870 through the mid-1930s.<sup>11</sup> At their peak between 1900 and 1910 approximately 112 rural farmstead communities existed within the county's present-day boundaries.<sup>12</sup>

A pioneer farmer has been defined as an agricultural producer who established in any unsettled region and began farming on any scale.<sup>13</sup>

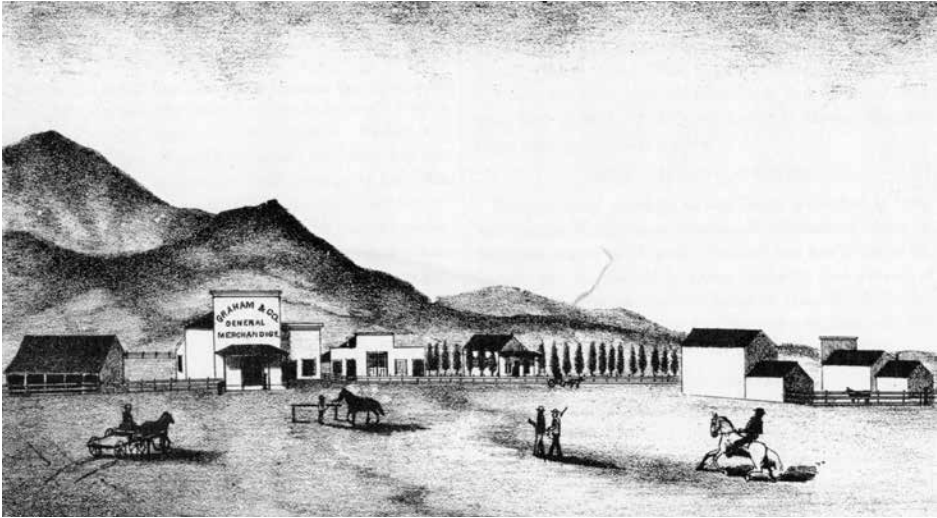
Zenas Sikes was among the first wave of these farmers who came to San Diego County in the late 1860s and early 1870s as a result of real estate promotion of the City of San Diego by Alonzo E. Horton. In 1867 Horton had purchased a tract of 960 acres that included present-day downtown San Diego and Hillcrest. 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.<sup>14</sup>



*Alonzo Horton, ca. 1867.*  
©SDHC #3517.

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.<sup>15</sup>

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.<sup>16</sup> He also organized the Bernardo chapter of the National Grange of the Patrons of Husbandry in November 1874.<sup>17</sup> 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.<sup>18</sup>



*Town of Bernardo 1880 showing Graham store. (Thompson and West, History of San Diego County, 1880).*

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.”<sup>19</sup> Grange members held elections in January 1876 and installed new officers. The next month they sponsored a Valentine’s Day Dance at the hall.<sup>20</sup> 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.”<sup>21</sup>

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.<sup>22</sup>

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.<sup>23</sup>



*Patrons of Husbandry Logo.*

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."<sup>24</sup> 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.<sup>25</sup> 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.<sup>26</sup> In 1888 Graham sold the general store at Bernardo to Emil Schellenberg and moved to Escondido.<sup>27</sup>

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.<sup>28</sup>

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.<sup>29</sup>

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.<sup>30</sup>

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 foothill 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.<sup>31</sup>

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.<sup>32</sup> 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.<sup>33</sup> 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.<sup>34</sup> 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.<sup>35</sup>

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.<sup>36</sup>

## **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.<sup>37</sup> 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



*Ida Adelphine Sikes, who married Thomas Duncan. Sikes Adobe Historic Farmhouse Collection.*

throughout the West during the nineteenth century to provide quick cheap housing on the frontier.<sup>38</sup> 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.<sup>39</sup>

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.<sup>40</sup> 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.<sup>41</sup> On October 10, 1876, Eva married James E. Casaday. Reverend Hobart Chetwood performed the wedding in the small adobe farmhouse at Bernardo.<sup>42</sup>



*Eliza Sikes, 1860. Sikes Adobe Historic Farmhouse Collection.*

The following January another ceremony took place at the Sikes home when Kate wed Augustus Cravath. Reverend David Cronyn performed the ceremony.<sup>43</sup> The next year (1878) in February, Harry married Tillie Bevington.<sup>44</sup>

The breakup of the household into smaller nuclear families resulted in redistribution of land. Zenas Sikes' original purchase consisted of 2,402.5 acres.<sup>45</sup> 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.<sup>46</sup> 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.<sup>47</sup> 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.<sup>48</sup>

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



*Augustus K. Cravath. Sikes Adobe Historic Farmhouse Collection.*





*Horses at San Pasqual, 1880s. Editors collection.*

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.<sup>49</sup> 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."<sup>50</sup> 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.<sup>51</sup> 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.<sup>52</sup>

Zenas Sikes did not recover from the second injury. The wound would not heal. The bone shaft probably became infected with osteomyelitis.<sup>53</sup> 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."<sup>54</sup>

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.<sup>55</sup>

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.<sup>56</sup> 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.<sup>57</sup>

In June 1882, the grave was fenced and a stone erected that read simply:<sup>58</sup>  
"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.<sup>59</sup> 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

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."<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>61</sup> often speaks of you girls and especially of David<sup>62</sup> 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.<sup>63</sup> How Edith<sup>64</sup> has grown, since your mother had her down while living in the old Adobe<sup>65</sup>...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.<sup>66</sup>

The absence of her youngest daughter, Lottie, made Eliza's loneliness following her husband's death even more intense.<sup>67</sup> 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.<sup>68</sup>

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....<sup>69</sup>



Kate Isabella Sikes. Sikes Adobe Historic Farmhouse Collection.

In November 1882 Eliza Sikes and Lottie moved back to San José, leasing the farm to G.E. Gabrielson.<sup>70</sup> 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.<sup>71</sup> The following month Lottie married G.E. Gabrielson. This was the third wedding to take place in the Sikes home.<sup>72</sup> The couple set up a household in San Diego where Gabrielson pursued the livery and feed business with John Clark and John B. Rhodes.<sup>73</sup>

During the late 1880s, Eliza Sikes left the farm and lived with her children who then resided in San Diego and Escondido.<sup>74</sup> In 1882 Harry had sold his 160 acre tract in Bernardo to Mary A. Higby.<sup>75</sup> He may have continued to manage his mother's farm since he is listed as residing in Bernardo in the 1889 County directory.<sup>76</sup> 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

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.<sup>77</sup>



*Eva Rosalind Sikes. Sikes Adobe Historic Farmhouse Collection.*

## **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



*Eliza and Lottie in front of the farm house ca. 1885. Sikes Adobe Historic Farmhouse Collection.*

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



*Family at San Pasqual, 1920s. Sikes Adobe Historic Farmhouse Collection.*

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.<sup>91</sup> 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.<sup>92</sup>

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.<sup>93</sup> 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.<sup>94</sup> 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.<sup>95</sup> 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.<sup>96</sup>

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.<sup>97</sup>

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.<sup>98</sup> The introduction of the hand-operated cream separator at this time made small dairy operations profitable.<sup>99</sup> 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,



*Morning after the Witch Creek fire. Authors collection.*

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.<sup>100</sup> 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.<sup>101</sup> 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.<sup>102</sup>

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.<sup>103</sup> 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.<sup>104</sup> 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.<sup>105</sup> 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.<sup>106</sup>

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.<sup>107</sup> 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.<sup>108</sup>

## **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.<sup>109</sup>



*Restored Sikes Farmstead. Authors collection.*

## **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.

Table 1  
 Probate Case # 26  
 Inventory and Appraisal of Estate of Zenas Sikes Deceased

TYPE OF PROPERTY	ITEM	VALUE	TOTAL PROPERTY TYPE VALUE	PERCENT OF ESTATE VALUE
REAL ESTATE	1920 acres on the San Bernardo Ranch	\$31,500.00		
	Lots A,B,C,D, & E in Block 148 of Horton's Addition of San Diego	\$5,500.00		
	TOTAL REAL ESTATE VALUE		\$37,000.00	74.88
LIVESTOCK	four work horses	\$400.00		
	two cows	\$80.00		
	two calves	\$20.00		
	4 horses died, value at death	\$50.00		
	12 head mares, horses, & colts (purchased since death)	\$825.00		
	two cows & one calf	\$100.00		
	TOTAL LIVESTOCK VALUE		\$1,475.00	2.99
IMPLEMENTS & TOOLS	wagon	\$75.00		
	harness	\$15.00		
	fan mill	\$5.00		
	one spring wagon	\$25.00		
	one mower	\$40.00		
	one single & one double harness	\$65.00		
	one buggy	\$100.00		
	one wagon, agricultural implements etc.	\$230.00		
	TOTAL IMPLEMENTS & TOOLS VALUE		\$555.00	1.12
OTHER FARM-STEAD	one tank	\$20.00		
	one tank frame & labor on the same (purchased since death)	\$132.00		
	100 ft garden hose (purchased since death)	\$25.00		
	improvements on ranch (\$800 since death)	\$1,600.00		
	1 windmill included in above improvements \$198.00			
	TOTAL OTHER FARMSTEAD		\$1,777.00	3.60
HOUSEHOLD-PERSONAL	one watch	\$100.00		
	furniture on hand	\$50.00		
	money belonging to deceased	\$1,253.00		
	additional furniture	\$300.00		
	money received for 15 mares, horses, & colts	\$580.00		
	TOTAL HOUSEHOLD PERSONAL		\$2,283.00	4.62
OTHER	one lot bus & bu [sic.] material sold for	\$300.00		
	one [illegible]	\$20.00		
	life insurance policy	\$6,000.00		
	TOTAL OTHER		\$6,320.00	12.79
	TOTAL VALUE OF ESTATE	\$49,410.00	\$49,410.00	100.00

THE JOURNAL OF SAN DIEGO HISTORY

Table 2  
 Probate Case # 26  
 Inventory and Appraisal of Estate with Real Estate Values Removed

TYPE OF PROPERTY	ITEM	VALUE	TOTAL PROPERTY TYPE VALUE	PERCENT OF ESTATE VALUE
LIVESTOCK	four work horses	\$400.00		
	two cows	\$80.00		
	two calves	\$20.00		
	4 horses died, value at death	\$50.00		
	12 head mares, horses, & colts (purchased since death)	\$825.00		
	two cows & one calf	\$100.00		
	TOTAL LIVESTOCK VALUE		\$1,475.00	23.01
IMPLEMENTS & TOOLS	wagon	\$75.00		
	harness	\$15.00		
	fan mill	\$5.00		
	one spring wagon	\$25.00		
	one mower	\$40.00		
	one single & one double harness	\$65.00		
	one buggy	\$100.00		
	one wagon, agricultural implements etc.	\$230.00		
	TOTAL IMPLEMENTS & TOOLS VALUE		\$555.00	8.66
OTHER FARMSTEAD	one tank	\$20.00		
	one tank frame & labor on the same (purchased since death)	\$132.00		
	100 ft garden hose (purchased since death)	\$25.00		
	improvements on ranch (\$800 since death)	\$1,600.00		
	1 windmill included in above improvements \$198.00			
	TOTAL OTHER FARMSTEAD		\$1,777.00	27.72
HOUSEHOLD-PERSONAL	one watch	\$100.00		
	furniture on hand	\$50.00		
	money belonging to deceased	\$1,253.00		
	additional furniture	\$300.00		
	money received for 15 mares, horses, & colts.	\$580.00		
	TOTAL HOUSEHOLD PERSONAL		\$2,283.00	35.62
OTHER	one lot bus & bu [sic.] material sold for	\$300.00		
	one [illegible]	\$20.00		
	TOTAL OTHER		\$320.00	4.99
	TOTAL VALUE	\$6,410.00	\$6,410.00	100.00



Table 3  
Gross Income

INCOME				TYPE	TYPE
TYPE				TOTAL	PERCENT
	Item	Item	Item		
		Total	Percent		
<b>FARMING</b>				3975.78	22.19
	barley	1548.07	38.94		
	butter	82.00	2.06		
	eggs	17.47	0.44		
	fruit	4.50	0.11		
	grain supplies	30.90	0.78		
	hay	183.65	4.62		
	honey	358.23	9.01		
	implement	104.00	2.62		
	livery	14.00	0.35		
	livestock	295.00	7.42		
	pasturage	67.00	1.69		
	pork	7.62	0.19		
	wheat	1263.34	31.78		
<b>NON FARMING</b>				13801.39	77.02
	bank	2203.00	15.96		
	funeral	111.00	0.80		
	insurance	9200.00	66.66		
	interest total	674.92	4.89		
	land total	1200.00	8.69		
	rent total	412.47	2.99		
<b>OTHER - UNIDENTIFIED</b>				141.97	0.79
	chapin total	0.25	0.18		
	fit total	29.16	20.54		
	illegible	80.00	56.35		
	rtd	11.54	8.13		
	swains	10.00	7.04		
	tobacco	6.02	4.24		
	tools	5.00	3.52		
<b>TOTAL</b>		17919.14		17919.14	100.00

Table 4  
Gross income without insurance and bank payments

INCOME				TYPE	TYPE
TYPE				TOTAL	PERCENT
	Item	Item	Item		
		Total	Percent		
<b>FARMING</b>				3975.78	62.07
	barley	1548.07	38.94		
	butter	82.00	2.06		
	eggs	17.47	0.44		
	fruit	4.50	0.11		
	grain supplies	30.90	0.78		
	hay	183.65	4.62		
	honey	358.23	9.01		
	implements	104.00	2.62		
	livery	14.00	0.35		
	livestock	295.00	7.42		
	pasturage	67.00	1.69		
	pork	7.62	0.19		
	wheat	1263.34	31.78		
<b>NON FARMING</b>				2287.39	35.71
	interest total	674.92	4.89		
	land total	1200.00	8.69		
	rent total	412.47	2.99		
<b>OTHER- UNIDENTIFIED</b>				141.97	2.22
	chapin total	0.25	0.18		
	fit total	29.16	20.54		
	illegible	80.00	56.35		
	rtd	11.54	8.13		
	swains	10.00	7.04		
	tobacco	6.02	4.24		
	tools	5.00	3.52		
<b>TOTAL</b>		6405.14		6405.14	100.00

Table 5  
Farming Expenses

ACTIVITY	AMOUNT	PERCENT
Labor	810.64	27.82
Livery	836.20	28.70
Farmstead	327.06	11.23
Farmstead buildings	204.24	7.01
Implements & machines	575.44	19.75
Farmstead livestock	160.00	5.49
<b>TOTAL</b>	2913.58	100.00

Table 6  
Net income without insurance and bank payments

INCOME TYPE	TOTAL	PERCENT
Farming	1062.20	30.42
Non-Farming	2287.39	65.51
Other-Unidentified	141.97	4.07
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>3491.56</b>	<b>100.00</b>

Table 7  
Net income with insurance and bank payments

INCOME TYPE	TOTAL	PERCENT
Farming	1062.20	7.08
Non-Farming	13801.39	91.98
Other-Unidentified	141.97	0.95
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>15005.56</b>	<b>100.00</b>

Table 8  
Sikes purchases and cash transactions with P.H. Graham 1882

ACTIVITY	AMOUNT	PERCENT
Building materials	4.15	0.44
Cash	728.52	77.00
Farmstead	61.82	6.54
Garment	9.80	1.04
Groceries	86.68	9.16
Hardware	3.63	0.38
Household	22.32	2.36
Kitchen	1.45	0.15
Machinery	1.95	0.21
Medical	7.35	0.78
Munitions	4.45	0.47
Personal	1.45	0.15
Tools	4.50	0.48
Other	7.90	0.84
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>945.97</b>	<b>100</b>

# THE JOURNAL OF SAN DIEGO HISTORY

MONTH	DAY	ITEM	COST	NOTES
3	12	... On Drill & 1 Nut	1.75	On Account Date May 24
3	12	1 Clevis	0.50	On Account Date June 15
3	12	1 Clevis Pin 1 Doubletree Clip 1 Masher	0.75	On Account Date May 23
3	12	1 Seat Spring	0.50	On Account Date June 5
3	12	1 T... & Link	0.25	On Account Date June 8
3	12	2 New Plow Shares	7.00	On Account Date June 16
3	12	Lay & Point 1 Share & Sharp 2 Shares	3.50	On Account Date June 7
3	12	Lay & Point 1 Share Point & Sharp 1 Band On Drill	3.00	On Account Date June 14
3	12	Mend 1 Brace On Gang Plow Masher Straiten Axle (Sic)	2.00	On Account Date June 12
3	12	Mend 1 Brace On Gang Plow Masher Straiten Axle (Sic)	2.00	On Account Date June 6
3	12	Mend 1 Plow Brace 1 Whiffletree Staple	1.00	On Account Date Jan. 9
3	12	Mend 1 Plow Rod	0.50	On Account Date Feb. 21
3	12	New End Side On Plow	2.00	On Account Date Jan. 15
3	12	Point & Sharp 1 Share & Sharp 2 Shares	2.00	On Account Date Feb. 18
3	12	Point & Sharp 2 Shares	2.00	On Account Date Feb. 19
3	12	Point & Sharp 2 Shares	2.00	On Account Date Feb. 20
3	12	Point & Sharp 2 Shares	2.00	On Account Date Feb. 27
3	12	Point 1 Share & Sharp 1 Share	1.50	On Account Date Jan. 10
3	12	Point 2 Shares Mend Plow Spring Point & Sharp 1 Share	1.50	On Account Date Jan. 25
3	12	Point 1 Share & Sharp 1 Share	1.50	On Account Date Jan. 11
3	12	Repares (Sic) On Drill & 1 Nut	1.75	On Account Date Jan. 17
3	12	Repares (Sic) On Gang Plow 1 Bolt	0.75	On Account Date Jan. 20
3	12	Replace Lead Bars	0.25	On Account Date Feb. 11
3	12	Sharp 1 Share	0.50	On Account Date Feb. 25
8	0	See Notes	0.00	Note At Bottom Of Bill: "Please Make Me Out That Deed For I Have Waited A Long Time"
8	0	New Trail Tongue	3.00	On Account: Date Aug. 18
8	0	Old Harness	0.00	"For Value Received": "Located On What Is Known As The Sikes Ranch"
8	0	Old Shoe	0.25	On Account: Date Oct. 1
8	0	Pole	7.00	On Account: Date Mar. 23
8	0	Reframing Butcher Wagon	52.50	On Account: Date May 18; Notation At Bottom On Bill= "Deduct Butcher Wagon"
8	0	Repares (Sic) On Wagon	24.00	On Account: Date Nov. 18
8	0	Repares (Sic) On Plow 3 Bolts	1.00	-
8	0	Repares (Sic) On Plow 3 Bolts	1.00	On Account: Date Jan. 25
8	0	1 Large Washer & 1 Mashine (Sic) Bolt	0.50	On Account Date June 1
8	0	Illegible	0.25	On Account Date June 2
8	0	Lay Mower Shue (Sic) 1 Bolt & 1 ...	1.00	On Account Date June 10
8	0	Mend 1 Sickle	1.00	On Account Date Feb. 6
8	0	Mend 1 Sickle	1.00	On Account Date Feb. 24
8	0	Mend 1 Sickle & 20 Section Rivet	0.75	On Account Date Feb. 1
8	0	Mend 2 Sickles & Mend ...	1.75	On Account Date Feb. 6
8	0	Repares (Sic) On Mower	3.00	On Account Date Jan. 23
8	0	Repares (Sic) On Mower	1.00	On Account Date Jan. 24
8	0	Repares (Sic) On Mower	0.75	On Account Date Jan. 9
8	0	Repares (Sic) On Mower Shue (Sic) Mend 2 Sickles	3.00	On Account Date Jan. 24
8	0	Repares (Sic) On Sickles	0.50	On Account Date Jan. 9
8	0	Rivet 1 Sickle Head	0.25	On Account Date Feb. 28
		Total	146.00	

## 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.
2. Susan A. Carter, *Sikes Adobe Application for Point of Historical Interest*, San Dieguito Valley Regional Open Space Park Joint Powers Authority, San Diego, 1992, revised April 14, 1993; Philip S. Rush, *Some Old Ranchos and Adobes* (San Diego: Neyenesch Printers, Inc., 1965), 43.
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 (1869), 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.
7. Harry Sikes, interview (1922), Vertical files, Pioneer Room, Escondido Library; Nelson Olds interview (1922), Vertical files, Pioneer Room, Escondido Library.
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.
9. *San Diego Union*, April 5, 1881, 4.
10. San Diego County Directory 1886, San Diego History Center Research Archives (hereafter SDHC).

## THE JOURNAL OF SAN DIEGO HISTORY

11. Stephen R. Van Wormer, "A History of Jamacha Valley: Agricultural and Community Development in Southern California," master's thesis, Department of History, San Diego State University (1986), 34-46, 58-64; "Beeves and Bees: A History of the Settlement of Pamo Valley, San Diego County," *Southern California Quarterly* 68, no. 1 (Spring 1986): 37-64.
12. Records and Correspondence, San Diego County Superintendent of Schools (1905), SDHC; Van Wormer, "A History of Jamacha Valley"; Van Wormer, "Beeves and Bees"; Alexander Hubbon, Official Map of San Diego County, SDHC.
13. Gilbert C. Fite, "The Pioneer Farmer: A View Over Three Centuries," *Agricultural History* 50 (January 1976): 275-89.
14. Elizabeth C. MacPhail, *The Story of New San Diego and Its Founder, Alonzo E. Horton*, rev. ed. (San Diego: San Diego Historical Society, 1979).
15. Van Wormer, "A History of Jamacha Valley," 34-46, 58-64; Van Wormer, "Beeves and Bees."
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.
18. Ray Allen Billington, *Westward Expansion: A History of the American Frontier*, (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., 1974), 633.
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.
24. *San Diego Union*, October 24, 1883, 3.
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

- 12, 1882, 3; October 11, 1882, 31, May 31, 1883, 3, April 16, 1884, 3; Elliott, *History of San Bernardino and San Diego Counties*.
30. Paul W. Rodman, "The Beginnings of Agriculture in California: Innovation vs. Continuity," *California Historical Quarterly* 52 (1973): 16-27.
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: Leberthson 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. *San Diego Union*, October 27, 1881, 3; June 7, 1885, 3.
35. *Escondido Times*, January 5, 1893.
36. Miscellaneous Map # 20: San Dieguito Mutual Water Company, Showing 315 Contour of Lake Hodges Reservoir (1919). Mapping Department, San Diego County Operations Center.
37. Steigler, *Sikes Adobe Farmhouse and Landscape Historic Structures Report*; Stephen R. Van Wormer and Susan D. Walter, *Report of Archaeological Excavations Below the Kitchen Floor of the Sikes Adobe Farmhouse*. Walter Enterprises, Chula Vista, CA. Submitted to Susan Carter San Dieguito River Park Joint Powers Authority (2008).
38. Fred Kniffen, "Folk Housing: Key to Diffusion," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 55, no. 4 (December 1965): 549 - 577.
39. Virginia McAlester and Lee McAlester, *A Field Guide to American Houses* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1986).
40. Steigler, *Sikes Adobe Farmhouse and Landscape Historic Structures Report*.
41. Deed Book 28, San Diego County Recorder's Office (1874), 259. In this transaction Ida is referred to as Ida Adelpine 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.
44. Tamar Elizabeth Marshall Bevington, "As I Remember" (1926), unpublished manuscript, San Diego Public Library, 7.
45. Tax Assessment List, 1869, San Bernardo Ranch, Zenas Sikes, 2219 acres, valued at 1331.40, SDHC.
46. Deed Book 28, San Diego County Recorder's Office (1874), 259, (1876) 260.
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*.
56. *San Diego Union*, April 5, 1881, 4. Complete medical expenses for Zenas Sikes' final illness itemized in the probate records. Superior Court of the County of San Diego, State of California 1881 Probate Case # 26, In the Matter of the Estate of Zenas Sikes Deceased, Itemized Invoices. For a table listing the purchases see Van Wormer and Walter, *Historic Report*, 29-30.
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 Dieguito 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.
77. *San Diego Union*, July 25, 1913, 20.
78. Daniel Walker Howe, "American Victorians as a Culture," *American Quarterly* 27 (December 1975), 515; Jean Gordon and Jan McArthur, "American Women and Domestic Consumption, 1800-1920: Four Interpretive Themes," *Journal of American Culture* 8, no. 3 (Fall 1985): 35-46.
79. James A. Henretta, "Families and Farms: Mentalité in Pre-Industrial America," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd series, 35, no. 1 (January 1978): 4-32.
80. Gordon and McArthur, "American Women and Domestic Consumption," 38.
81. Probate Case # 26, Will of Zenas Sikes, 1881.
82. Probate Case # 26, Inventory and appraisal.
83. Graham Account books 1881-1883, Probate Case # 26.
84. Douglas R. Hurt, *American Farm Tools: From Hand-Power to Steam-Power* (Manhattan: Sunflower University Press, 1982).
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.
90. Alexander Klein, *New State-Level Estimates of Personal Income in the United States, 1880-1910*, Research in Economic History 29, pp. 191-255 (2013).
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

# THE JOURNAL OF SAN DIEGO HISTORY

- Wormer and Walter, *Historic Report*, 45-50.
92. Graham Account books 1881-1883, Probate Case # 26.
  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.
  96. Ralph J. Roske, *Everyman's Eden: A History of California* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1968), 395.
  97. *Otay Press*, December 19, 1889, 1.
  98. Glenn S. Dumke, *The Boom of the Eighties in Southern California* (San Marino, CA: Henry E. Huntington Library, 1944).
  99. The hand-operated cream separator was introduced in 1887 by the De Laval Company. It allowed the profitable production of both cream and butter on small family farms. Joan M. Jensen, "Dairying and Changing Patterns of Family Labor in Rural New Mexico," *New Mexico Historical Review* 75, no. 2 (April 2000):157-194.
  100. Raymond G. Starr, *San Diego A Pictorial History* (Norfolk: Donning Company, 1986).
  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.
  103. Mortgage Book 55, San Diego County Recorder's Office (1889), 510.
  104. Mortgage Book 66, San Diego County Recorder's Office (1891), 186.
  105. Deed Book 205, San Diego County Recorder's Office (1892), 397.
  106. Mortgage Book 87, San Diego County Recorder's Office (1897), 163.
  107. Deed Book 160, San Diego County Recorder's Office (1897), 178.
  108. Superior Court Case 10947; Certificates of Sale 5:56; Deed Book 292, San Diego County Recorder's Office (1900), 28; Probate Case # 3223.
  109. Sikes Historic Farmhouse website at <http://www.sdrp.org/projects/sikes.htm> (accessed September 18, 2013).