

CITY OF PACIFIC GROVE
HISTORIC CONTEXT STATEMENT

PACIFIC GROVE, CALIFORNIA

Prepared for
CITY OF PACIFIC GROVE



31 OCTOBER 2011

FINAL

Cover Image:
Pacific Improvement Company Brochure, "Pacific Grove on Monterey Bay," 1915
(Located in Monterey County Public Library, California History Room)

CITY OF PACIFIC GROVE HISTORIC CONTEXT STATEMENT

**Final
31 October 2011**



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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This Historic Context Statement presents an overview of Pacific Grove’s history with a specific emphasis on describing the historic themes and patterns that contributed to the city’s development. It is intended to support the identification and evaluation of historic properties, as well as inform future preservation efforts. Below are some of the principal conclusions of this document.

The City of Pacific Grove features an outstanding collection of historic buildings located in a spectacular coastline setting. With its origins as a summer religious retreat, the primary organizing feature of its early development was the subdivision of land into small lots designed for seasonal use. As a result, many of Pacific Grove’s oldest surviving buildings are unique forms developed specifically to match the town’s small lot sizes and resort character.

As Pacific Grove developed, the town’s largest landowner, the Pacific Improvement Company, continued this small-lot subdivision pattern with five additions to the city grid. The firm also exerted considerable control in restricting commercial and industrial development, such that the “historic core” of the city—the original Retreat boundaries plus the first five additions—evolved as an overwhelmingly residential area, with commercial uses found only along Lighthouse Avenue. The city’s early development was also strongly influenced by the annual visits of the Chautauqua and other social improvement and/or religious organizations, which encouraged a number of significant civic improvements.

During the early twentieth century, Pacific Grove transitioned from religious retreat to a secular resort. This included the construction of some of the city’s most iconic commercial buildings, as well as redevelopment of the beach area at Lovers Point. The introduction of the automobile also had a dramatic impact on the city: in the first half of the twentieth century, Pacific Grove saw the construction of garage and service facilities, as well as the development of tourist auto camps. During this time, the city also began to assert greater control over its natural resources, including acquisition of the city’s coastline and the establishment of parks and nature reserves.

Following World War II, the city experienced the greatest period of growth in its history. This is most evident in the build-out of large subdivisions at the western and southern ends of the city. The layout of these new suburban-style developments broke from the original city grid and featured buildings that demonstrated clear orientation to the private automobile. A considerable amount of post-war development also occurred as infill within older areas of the city, resulting in a scattered pattern of older homes existing side-by-side with more recent construction.

This study finds that surviving examples of Pacific Grove’s nineteenth century development are historically significant for associations with the founding of Pacific Grove as both a religious retreat and its early development as an incorporated resort community. Many buildings developed during the early twentieth century may also be significant for their associations with a key transitional period in the city’s development. However, it is the opinion of this study that much of Pacific Grove’s post-World War II development is unlikely to be historically significant, save for those buildings that serve as outstanding examples of mid-century property types and/or architectural styles.

Using this document as a foundation, the City can continue its efforts to promote responsible stewardship of historic resources, and to engage and educate the community about historic preservation in Pacific Grove.

I. INTRODUCTION

A. Project Background & Purpose

The Pacific Grove Historic Context Statement was sponsored by the City of Pacific Grove Community Development Department, and will be used as a foundation for the continued development of the City's historic preservation program. Preparation of the context statement was undertaken in order to bring a greater level of consistency and clarity to the city's preservation planning efforts, which have been ongoing for more than forty years.

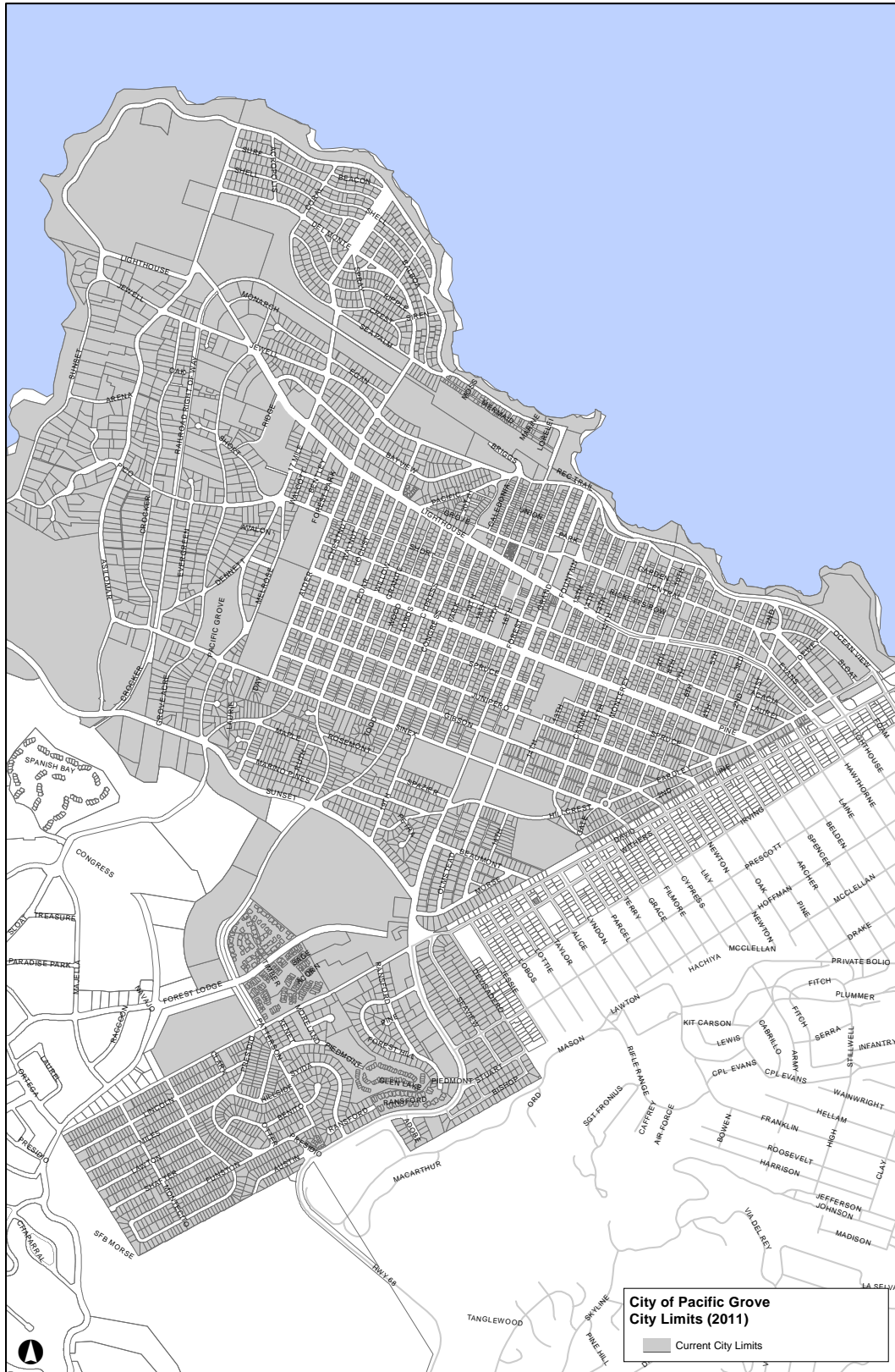
This document presents the history of Pacific Grove's built environment from pre-history to the present in order to support and guide identification and evaluation of historic properties throughout the city, as well as to inform future planning decisions. The document identifies important periods, events, themes, and patterns of development, and provides a framework for evaluating individual historic properties and neighborhoods for the National Register of Historical Resources, California Register of Historical Resources, and City of Pacific Grove Historic Resources Inventory (Municipal Code Chapter 23.76). Historic property types associated with these periods and themes are also identified and described in the historic context statement, and significance and integrity considerations are included for each.

It is important to note that while the context statement identifies key historical themes in Pacific Grove's development, it is not a comprehensive history of the city, nor is it a definitive listing of all the city's significant resources. Instead, it provides a general discussion of the overarching forces that shaped Pacific Grove's built environment, why properties associated with that development are important, and what characteristics they need to qualify as historic resources.

B. Definition of Geographical Area

The Pacific Grove Historic Context Statement addresses the geographical area within the current city limits. Pacific Grove is a coastal town located on the tip of the Monterey Peninsula, between Monterey and Pebble Beach in Monterey County, California. The Pacific Ocean marks the northern and western boundaries of the city, while Line Street bounds the city to the east. Sunset Drive forms much of the city’s southern boundary, although the city limits also run further south out Forest Avenue to include the Del Monte Park area. Among the principal roads, Lighthouse Avenue runs east-west through the city and serves as the traditional commercial corridor in downtown Pacific Grove. Another major local thoroughfare, Forest Avenue, runs north-south and connects the downtown area to the Holman Highway. The city also includes a portion of the famed 17 Mile Drive, which links scenic coastal areas with the Del Monte Forest.

The original city grid as laid out in the late nineteenth century included the area between Lighthouse Avenue and Monterey Bay; the oldest buildings are generally located in this tight-knit grid. The city then expanded outward through a series of additions, subdivisions, and annexations. Larger parcels with more recent construction are located in Pacific Grove Acres and in the hills near Forest Avenue. Notable Pacific Grove sites include the Point Pinos Lighthouse (1854), located at the northwest corner of the city; Lovers Point, a beach and park just north of the city center; the Monarch Butterfly Sanctuary near the city’s western edge; and the Julia Morgan-designed Asilomar complex at the southwest corner of the city. Monterey’s famous “Cannery Row” is just east of the Pacific Grove city limits.



Page & Turnbull, Inc. / 1 September 2011

Map of Pacific Grove, showing city limits, 2011.
(Page & Turnbull)

C. Methodology & Research

The Pacific Grove Historic Context Statement is organized chronologically, with sections that correspond to major periods in Pacific Grove’s history from pre-history to the present. The content and organization of the document follows the guidelines of National Register Bulletin No. 15 *How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation*; National Register Bulletin No. 16A *How to Complete the National Register Registration Form*; National Register Bulletin No. 16B *How to Complete the National Register Multiple Property Documentation Form*; and National Register Bulletin No. 24 *Guidelines for Local Surveys: A Basis for Preservation Planning*.¹ Resources and guidelines published by the California Office of Historic Preservation were also consulted, including the state’s official *Instructions for Recording Historical Resources*.² and a brief guide entitled “Writing Historic Context Statements.”³

Research for the Pacific Grove Historic Context Statement was gleaned from primary and secondary sources held at local, regional, and online repositories. Materials were primarily gathered at the Pacific Grove Heritage Society, Pacific Grove Public Library, Pacific Grove Museum of Natural History, Monterey Public Library (California Room), and California Historical Society.

Primary sources consulted included Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps, newspaper articles, city directories, census data, and historic photographs. Secondary sources included numerous books and publications (listed in the bibliography at the end of this document), GIS maps, previous historical reports and survey documentation (see Section II), and internet sources. Information and photographs gathered from the public during community workshops were also integrated into the context statement.

Throughout the report, maps are provided in order to illustrate which buildings developed within a particular time frame. These maps are based on data provided by the Monterey County Assessor. In some cases, there may be a discrepancy between the actual construction date of a property and the records of the Assessor. However, it was not within the scope of this report to find and correct these discrepancies.

The report also includes a number of current and historic images of Pacific Grove. Many of the historic images were gathered from secondary sources, which are cited in the image caption. The inclusion of these historic images is intended to be consistent with the “fair use” policies of the U.S. Copyright Office, which states that reproductions used for “criticism, comment, news reporting, teaching (including multiple copies for classroom use), scholarship, or research, is not an infringement of copyright.”⁴ It is also worth noting that unless specific measures have been taken to renew image copyrights, all published works made prior to 1923 are now in the public domain.⁵ This report has been prepared expressly as a scholarly research document, and the inclusion of these images was deemed vital for illustrating historic events and development patterns for which few, if any, alternative images are available.

Finally, because this historic context statement discusses hundreds of properties, the reader should assume that any individual building discussed remains extant today, unless specific mention is made otherwise. This is particularly true of buildings that are familiar landmarks in Pacific Grove, such as schools, churches and civic facilities. However, certain buildings, whether because of their size or relative obscurity, may still include a note emphasizing that they remain extant.

PROJECT TEAM

This historic context statement was prepared for the City of Pacific Grove by Page & Turnbull, a San Francisco-based architecture and planning firm that has been dedicated to historic preservation since 1973. Page & Turnbull staff responsible for this project includes Principal-in-Charge Ruth Todd, AIA, AICP, LEED AP, Project Manager/Cultural Resource Specialist Rebecca Fogel, and Historian Jonathan Lammers, all of whom meet the Secretary of the Interior's *Professional Qualifications Standards* in Historic Architecture, Architectural History, and/or History.

Coordination of the project was undertaken by Chief Planner Lynn Burgess, AICP, of the City of Pacific Grove Community Development Department. The Historic Context Statement (HCS) Subcommittee—an advisory group composed of members of the Planning Commission, Architectural Review Board, and Historic Resources Committee—was also instrumental in the preparation of this document. HCS Subcommittee members included William (Bill) Fredrickson, Ken Hinshaw, Steven MacDonald, James (Jim) McCord, Juan D. Rosas, and Claudia Sawyer.

D. How to Use This Document

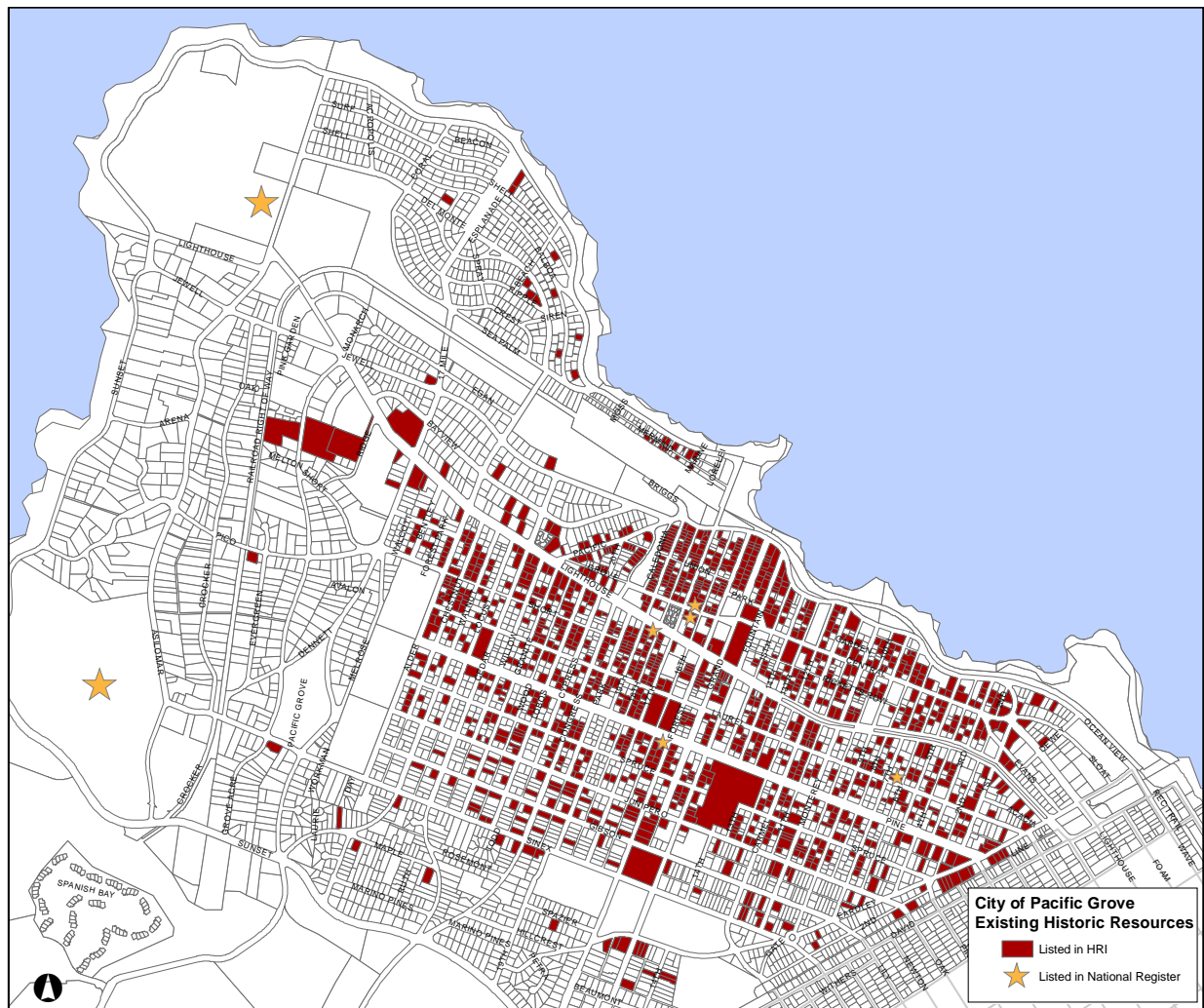
The Pacific Grove Historic Context Statement identifies development patterns and significant properties in the area. It is intended to be used as a tool by the Pacific Grove community to better understand and evaluate the city's historic resources. The document is organized as follows:

- Section **II. Previous Surveys, Studies and Reports** summarizes previous historic resource survey work in Pacific Grove.
- Section **III. Guidelines for Evaluation** provides an overview of the various national, state, and local registration requirements; a summary of significant themes; a definition of each of the major property types found in the city (residential, commercial, industrial, and civic/institutional); and guidelines for evaluating the significance and integrity of these properties. The guidelines in this section can be used by the City of Pacific Grove as the framework for future evaluations.
- Section **IV. Historic Context** includes a narrative of the area's developmental history. This history is broken into six periods that are defined by events, themes, and development trends. Property types associated with each of the six periods are identified and analyzed. The information in this section does not provide any determinations of eligibility, but rather can be used as a reference point when questions arise regarding a property's significance and integrity.

Under separate cover is a document entitled **“Pacific Grove Preservation Program Considerations,”** which includes a discussion of future research topics, survey efforts, designation priorities, and other preservation strategies that could be considered in the future. These recommendations are intended to help prioritize future historic preservation related efforts, and are suggested as “next steps” for the City to consider after the Historic Context Statement has been implemented and used.

II. PREVIOUS SURVEYS, STUDIES AND REPORTS

The City of Pacific Grove has been committed to preserving its architectural heritage since its first historic preservation ordinance was adopted by the City Council in 1994. The City's current General Plan and implementing regulations also place a strong emphasis on the preservation of historic resources (see General Plan Chapter 7: Historic and Archaeological Resources and the Historic Preservation Ordinance, Pacific Grove Municipal Code Chapter 23.76). The following section identifies prior historic resource surveys and studies on file with the City of Pacific Grove Community Development Department.



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Map of properties currently listed in the National Register & the Pacific Grove HRI
(Page & Turnbull, 2011)

A. Historic Resources Inventory (HRI) & PG Municipal Code §23.76

The Historic Resources Inventory (HRI) is the City of Pacific Grove’s official listing of locally-designated historic resources. The HRI is administered by the City’s Historic Preservation Ordinance (Chapter 23.76 of the Pacific Grove Municipal Code), and ministered by the Historic Resources Committee (HRC), which may add or delete properties.

This list of historic structures was initiated in 1978 through a matching grant from the State Office of Historic Preservation and adopted by the City of Pacific Grove. The list has since been updated by the Heritage Society and the City of Pacific Grove to include structures built prior to 1927.⁶ The inventory also includes other properties determined by the Historic Resources Committee to be of architectural and/or historical significance.⁷

Today, there are over 1,300 buildings listed on the City’s Historic Resources Inventory. Approximately fifteen of these buildings are also listed on the National Register of Historic Places and/or California Register of Historical Resources. There are many more buildings over fifty years of age that have yet to be surveyed. California Department of Parks and Recreation (DPR) 523 forms for nearly 600 of the 1,300 inventoried properties are on file with the Community Development Department.

B. Pacific Grove General Plan: Preservation Element

The City first adopted a historic preservation element as part of its General Plan in August 1987. The element was prepared following guidelines prepared by the State Office of Planning and Research in 1976. The current General Plan was adopted in 1994, with a chapter dedicated to Historic and Archaeological Resources. This chapter includes a brief history of Pacific Grove, a description of common architectural styles, and a list of historic preservation goals, policies, and programs.

The General Plan identifies a number of officially designated historic buildings in Pacific Grove. The following resources were listed on the National Register of Historic Places as of 1994:

- F. L. Buck House
- Oliver Smith Trimmer House
- Centrella Hotel
- Chautauqua Hall
- Gosby House
- Pt. Pinos Lighthouse
- Asilomar State Beach and Conference Grounds National Historic Landmark (contributors include Entrance Gates, Crocker Building, Dodge Memorial Chapel, Phoebe A. Hearst Social Hall, Merrill Hall, Scripps Hall, and Visitors Lodge)

Chautauqua Hall is also a California Registered Historical Landmark, and the Oliver Smith Trimmer House is a California Point of Historical Interest.⁸

C. Heritage Society Surveys

The Heritage Society of Pacific Grove is a non-profit organization incorporated in 1976 with the stated purpose of encouraging restoration and preservation of Pacific Grove’s historic buildings, educating present-day residents about local history and historic preservation, and maintaining the beauty and individuality of Pacific Grove.⁹

The Heritage Society was responsible for much of the early documentation of Pacific Grove’s historic buildings. Residents who would become members of the yet-to-be-organized Heritage Society worked with City staff beginning in 1975 to inventory for the first time historic homes in the Retreat district. In the next two years, 528 structures were identified and documented—378 single-family homes, 50 duplexes and 100 multiple dwellings. Beginning in 1977, funded by a State grant, members of the Heritage Society and City staff photographed and described 350 homes of historic significance. Heritage Society members next undertook to identify and evaluate all the homes built before 1926. (The date 1926 was chosen because the Sanborn Fire Insurance maps for that year could be used to document the existence of the buildings.) This effort led to the creation of the City’s current Historic Resources Inventory, a listing of pre-1926 buildings. In 2005, the Heritage Society funded a photographic inventory of the more than 1,300 structures on the Historic Resources Inventory. These records are available in the Community Development Department, and at the archives at the Heritage Society Barn.

The Society has also placed historic markers—the familiar green plaques—on, presently, 679 historic homes in Pacific Grove. These plaques indicate the year and name of the owner when the building was first assessed for tax purposes—not necessarily the year of construction. In addition, some 70 buildings have been recognized with bronze Heritage House medallions.

D. Other Studies & Resources

Some resources in Pacific Grove were individually documented through the Historic Resources Inventory, DPR 523 Forms, National Register Nominations, Property Tax Record Cards, or other reports. These documents were completed by a variety of consultants from the 1970s to the present, and can be found in the City of Pacific Grove Community Development archives, the Heritage Society Barn, or the State of California Office of Historic Preservation’s Northwest Information Center.

In addition to the abovementioned surveys and documentation, the City of Pacific Grove has a number of planning documents that relate to historic resources. Most notably the *City of Pacific Grove*

Architectural Review Guidelines for Single-Family Residences (1998) provides excellent guidance for identifying architectural styles and the appropriate treatments of historic homes; it is used by boards, commissions, and staff during the review and permit approvals process. In 2010, a set of Window Guidelines was added as an appendix to the residential design guidelines to provide additional clarity about proper treatment of windows. These documents are available at the Community Development Department offices in City Hall, or on the City of Pacific Grove’s website.

III. GUIDELINES FOR EVALUATION

The following section reviews themes significant to the developmental history of Pacific Grove and defines major property types that are representative of these themes. The section concludes with general guidelines for evaluating properties for the national, state, and local register.

A. Summary of Significant Themes

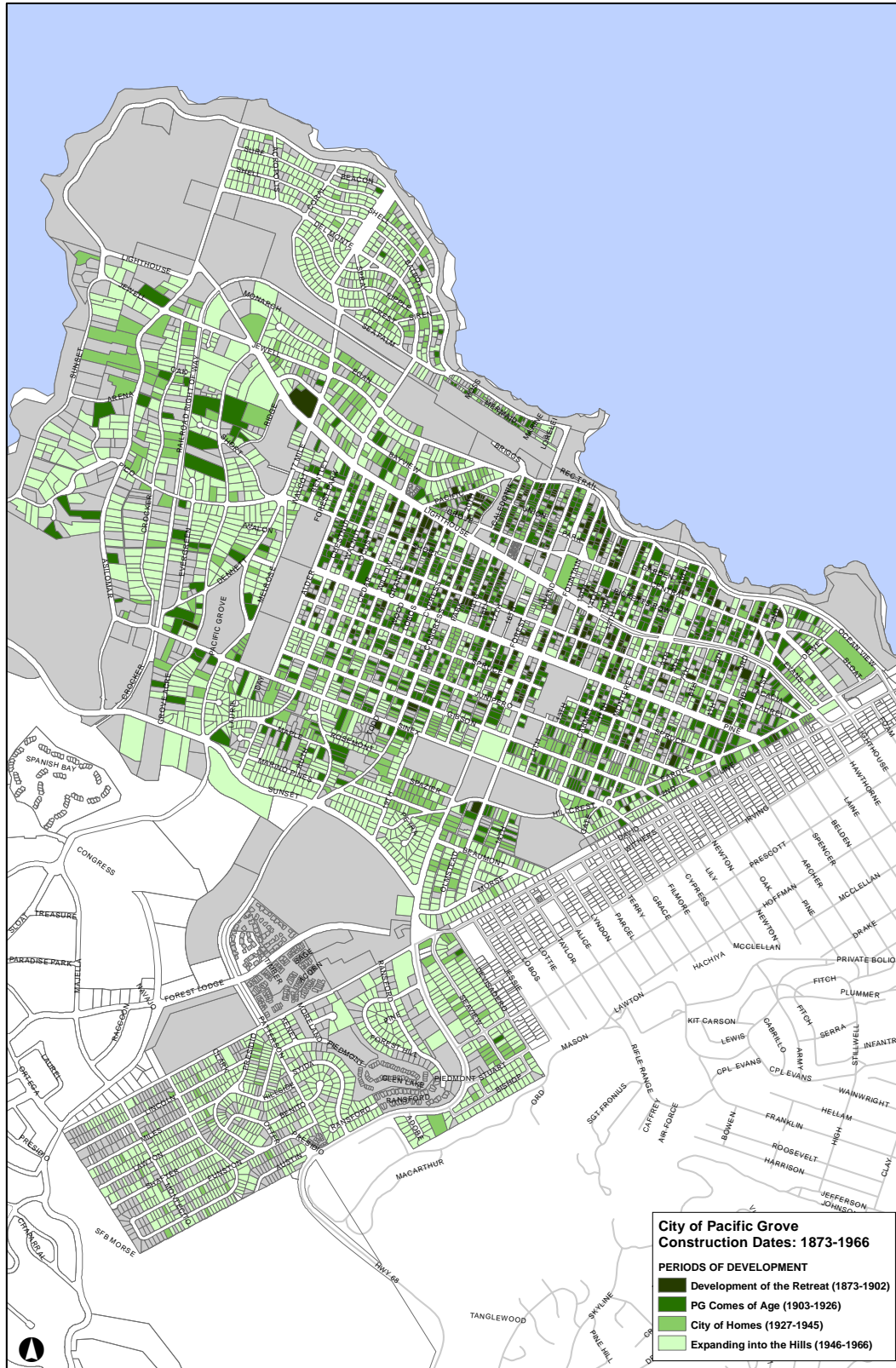
The Pacific Grove Historic Context Statement utilizes themes and periods of development as its primary organizing principle. “Themes” are ways to organize and understand information about events, activities, people, communities, and patterns of change that have influenced historic and cultural development of an area. The National Park Service revised its framework for historic themes in 1994, replacing a more chrono-centric approach with themes intended to capture “the full diversity of American history and prehistory.”¹⁰ This historic context statement discusses the following themes relative to the growth and evolution of the built environment in Pacific Grove:

Residential Development
Commercial Development
Civic Growth
Transportation & Infrastructure
Ethnic & Cultural Diversity
Social, Religious, or Cultural Institutions, Movements & Trends
Recreation, Leisure & Tourism
Development & Booster Organizations
Environmentalism

These themes contribute in varying degrees to the Pacific Grove Historic Context Statement, and are manifested in different ways throughout the city’s history. These themes are discussed more specifically as they relate to each of Pacific Grove’s six periods of development.

RELATING THEMES WITH PERIODS OF DEVELOPMENT

The periods of development in this context statement combine specific timeframes with themes that encompass related events, patterns of settlement and construction, activities of people important to the area, and the socioeconomic changes. Each of the periods of development is also associated with specific property types that originated within or characterize the period. The periods of development also represent the potential periods of significance for properties associated with the respective contexts. A period of significance is the time span during which a property (or property type) attained its historic significance.



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Map showing distribution of properties constructed during each period of development
 (Page & Turnbull)

The periods of development utilized for the Pacific Grove Historic Context Statement have been developed by Page & Turnbull in consultation with the Historic Context Statement Subcommittee, as well as staff from the City of Pacific Grove Community Development Department. These periods are as follows:

▪ **Native American & Mission Periods (to 1820)**

The dominant themes of this period are the pre-historic settlement of the Pacific Grove area; the Spanish colonization of the area and subsequent formation of the Monterey and Carmel missions; and the tensions that developed between the Native American and European cultures.

▪ **Mexican & Early American Periods (1821 - 1872)**

The primary themes of this period are the redistribution of land in Northern California and the subsequent decline of the mission at Carmel; the establishment of a Chinese fishing village at Point Alones; and land acquisition by entrepreneur David Jacks.

▪ **Early Development of Pacific Grove (1873 - 1902)**

The dominant themes of this period are the early development of the city as the Pacific Grove Retreat and the Retreat's subsequent transition from a summer encampment to a city (creation of water, sewage, and transportation infrastructure and emergence of residential, commercial, and civic development patterns). The impact that development companies such as the Pacific Grove Retreat Association and the Pacific Improvement Company had on the built environment was important during this period, as was the influence of the Chautauqua and other social and religious organizations on the culture and character of the city. Other themes that emerged during this period included the development of recreational facilities and promotion of the area as a tourist attraction and the contributions of the Chinese fishing village to local culture.

▪ **Pacific Grove Comes of Age (1903 - 1926)**

The primary theme of this period is the maturation of the city, as evidenced by construction of new civic facilities, the arrival of large-scale commercial development along Lighthouse Avenue, and the use of new architectural styles and building materials. Other notable developments included the redevelopment of the beach area at Lovers Point into a fully-developed tourist destination, the destruction of the Chinese fishing village and subsequent redevelopment of China Point, as well as the end of the Chautauqua gatherings. The creation of Del Monte Properties as a successor firm to the Pacific Improvement Company and its influence on the sale of lots and development of subdivisions would also become an important force during this era. Finally, the growing influence of the private automobile is a theme that can be seen in commercial, light industrial, and residential development patterns.

- **City of Homes (1927 - 1945)**

The dominant themes of this period are recreation and tourism, the Great Depression, and World War II. Specifically, this period saw new public ownership and management of the city's key recreational facilities, the rise of auto camps as a significant part of the city's tourist infrastructure, the protection of natural resources via acquisition of the city's coastline and the passing of the "butterfly ordinance," and the improvement of recreational facilities as part of Depression-era work programs. The influence of Monterey's Cannery Row operations on Pacific Grove would also prove to be a major factor.

- **Suburban Expansion (1946 - 1965)**

The preeminent theme of this period is the post-war growth of the city, reflecting the corresponding dominance of the automobile. This included expansion of civic infrastructure to accommodate population growth; construction of single-family residences in new subdivisions that departed from the original grid layout of streets; the build-out of older subdivisions where development had been sparse; construction of multi-family residences; infill and redevelopment of the central business district and Lovers Point; and the continued impact of automobiles, including clearance of older buildings for parking lots. The proliferation of hotels and motels also demonstrated changes in the city's tourist industry.

B. Summary of Property Types

Each period of development has one or more associated property types that help illustrate the period's significant themes. Property types that are discussed in this document are defined as follows:

- **Residential properties** include single-family dwellings, duplexes, flats, and apartments. Single-family dwellings are by far the most common property type in the city, while multi-unit buildings are comparatively rare. In Pacific Grove, single-family residences can be further classified into several sub-types: tent cottages, cottages, bungalows, grander residences, and tract houses. Boarding houses, hotels, motels, and auto courts are also considered to be a residential property type for the purposes of this study.
- **Commercial properties** are those with commercial spaces on all floors; buildings with retail space on the ground floor and office space above; or mixed use buildings that feature retail space on the ground floor and dwelling space above.
- **Industrial properties** include any building where things are made, stored or repaired. In addition to factories and warehouses (which have always been scarce in Pacific Grove), industrial properties may also include buildings such as stables, auto-repair shops and garages, water works and electric substations.

- **Institutional properties** may include libraries, courthouses, post offices, schools, churches, hospitals, social halls and union halls. Recreational facilities, such as youth centers and the complex at Asilomar would also fall into this category. These buildings are typically larger and more ornate than other property types, are associated with a particular group or organization, and were designed to serve a public or civic function.
- **Cultural landscapes** may include landscape elements or collections of landscape elements, because the physical history of a place like Pacific Grove can be told through more than just its buildings. A cultural landscape could be an entire designed landscape such as a park or cemetery, or could be composed of individual elements such as site features (e.g. fences, walls, etc.), public terraces, street furnishings (e.g., lights and benches), and circulation patterns.
- **Archeological resources**, if discovered, are likely to be significant, but analysis of these resources is outside the scope of this document.

Each section of this context statement identifies associated property types, provides a description of their character and distribution, and outlines the requirements for resource registration.

C. Evaluation Criteria

The following discussion of significance and integrity generally guides the property types analysis found in later chapters of this document, and should be used to support future evaluation of historic resources in Pacific Grove. It is important to note that each property is unique; therefore significance and integrity evaluation must be conducted on a case-by-case basis. These guidelines should be implemented as an overlay to the particular facts and circumstances of each individual resource.

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES & CALIFORNIA REGISTER OF HISTORICAL RESOURCES

The National Register of Historic Places is the nation's most comprehensive inventory of historic resources. The National Register is administered by the National Park Service and includes buildings, structures, sites, objects, and districts that possess historic, architectural, engineering, archaeological, or cultural significance at the national, state, or local level. According to *National Register Bulletin Number 15: How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation*, resources over fifty years of age are typically eligible for listing in the National Register if they meet any one of the four criteria of significance (A through D) and if they sufficiently retain historic integrity. However, resources under fifty years of age can be determined eligible if it can be demonstrated that they are of "exceptional importance," or if they are contributors to a potential historic district. These criteria are defined in depth in *National Register Bulletin Number 15*. The California Register of Historical

Resources follows nearly identical guidelines to those used by the National Register, but identifies the Criteria for Evaluation numerically.

The four basic criteria under which a structure, site, building, district, or object can be considered eligible for listing in the National or California registers are:

Criterion A/1 (Event): Properties associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history;

Criterion B/2 (Person): Properties associated with the lives of persons significant in our past;

Criterion C/3 (Design/Construction): Properties that embody the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction, or that represent the work of a master, or that possess high artistic values, or that represent a significant distinguishable entity whose components lack individual distinction; and

Criterion D/4 (Information Potential): Properties that have yielded, or may be likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history.¹¹

A resource can be considered significant to American history, architecture, archaeology, engineering, and culture on a national, state, or local level. Perhaps the most critical feature of applying the criteria for evaluation is establishing the relationship between a property and its historic context, which is defined as “those patterns or trends in history by which a specific occurrence, property, or site is understood and its meaning (and ultimately its significance) within history or prehistory is made clear.”¹²

CRTIERIA CONSIDERATIONS

Certain types of properties are usually not considered for listing in National Register. However, these properties *can* be eligible for listing if they meet special requirements, or Criteria Considerations. If working with one of these excluded property types, an evaluator must determine that a property meets the Criteria Considerations in addition to one of the four evaluation criteria described above in order to justify its inclusion in the National Register. These considerations are defined as follows:

Criteria Consideration A: Religious Properties: A religious property is eligible if it derives its primary significance from architectural or artistic distinction or historical importance.

Criteria Consideration B: Moved Properties: A property removed from its original or historically significant location can be eligible if it is significant primarily for

architectural value or it is the surviving property most importantly associated with a historic person or event.

Criteria Consideration C: Birthplaces & Graves: A birthplace or grave of a historical figure is eligible if the person is of outstanding importance and if there is no other appropriate site or building directly associated with his or her productive life.

Criteria Consideration D: Cemeteries: A cemetery is eligible if it derives its primary significance from graves of persons of transcendent importance, from age, from distinctive design features, or from association with historic events.

Criteria Consideration E: Reconstructed Properties: A reconstructed property is eligible when it is accurately executed in a suitable environment and presented in a dignified manner as part of a restoration master plan and when no other building or structure with the same associations has survived. All three of these requirements must be met.

Criteria Consideration F: Commemorative Properties: A property primarily commemorative in intent can be eligible if design, age, tradition, or symbolic value has invested it with its own historical significance.

Criteria Consideration G: Properties that Have Achieved Significance within the Past Fifty Years: A property achieving significance within the past fifty years is eligible if it is of exceptional importance.¹³

The California Register does not have the same strict Criteria Considerations as the National Register, and is more flexible about moved properties and properties less than fifty years of age.

HISTORIC RESOURCES INVENTORY (HRI)

The eligibility criteria for local listing in the City of Pacific Grove's Historic Resources Inventory (HRI) are similar to the National Register and California Register criteria described above. Specifically, as described in the City of Pacific Grove's Historic Preservation Ordinance (Municipal Code §23.76.025), the evaluation criteria for inclusion in the Historic Resources Inventory are as follows:

- a.** Whether the structure has significant character, interest or value as part of the development, heritage or cultural characteristics of the city of Pacific Grove, the state of California, or the United States;
- b.** Whether it is the site of a significant historic event;
- c.** Whether it is strongly identified with a person who, or an organization which, significantly contributed to the culture, history or development of the city of Pacific Grove;
- d.** Whether it is a particularly good example of a period or style;

- e. Whether it is one of the few remaining examples in the city of Pacific Grove possessing distinguishing characteristics of an architectural type or specimen;
- f. Whether it is a notable work of an architect or master builder whose individual work has significantly influenced the development of the city of Pacific Grove;
- g. Whether it embodies elements of architectural design, detail, materials or craftsmanship that represent a significant architectural innovation;
- h. Whether it has a unique location or singular physical characteristics representing an established and familiar visual feature of a neighborhood, community, or of the city of Pacific Grove;
- i. Whether it retains the integrity of the original design;
- j. Whether it contributes to the architectural aesthetics and continuity of the street;
- k. Whether it is located within a geographically definable area possessing a concentration of historic properties which visually contribute to each other and are unified aesthetically. [Ord. 01-25 § 1, 2001; Ord. 97-23 § 1, 1997].¹⁴

COMPARISON WITH NATIONAL & STATE CRITERIA

Although phrasing differs, the designation criteria established by City of Pacific Grove’s HRI for the Historic Resources Inventory are similar in spirit to the National Register and California Register criteria described above. In all cases, historic resources may be significant for their association with events, social and cultural trends, important people, architecture, and/or master architects. Thus, the evaluations presented throughout this document for eligibility in any of the three registers will use a consistent approach.

CALIFORNIA ASSEMBLY BILL 133

California Assembly Bill 133 (AB 133), passed in 1994, allows religious institutions to exempt themselves from local historic preservation laws.¹⁵ A religious institution may object to the application of a local ordinance to its property if the institution publicly claims that designation will suffer substantial economic hardship or will impede the use of the property in the furtherance of its religious mission.¹⁶ Evaluators should be aware of this exemption when considering religious properties for inclusion in the HRI. However, please note that AB 133 does not apply to state law, and therefore religious institutions may still be required to prepare Environmental Impact Reports under the California Environmental Quality Act (CEQA).

INTEGRITY

In addition to qualifying for listing under at least one of the National Register/California Register/local criteria, a property must be shown to have sufficient historic integrity. The concept of integrity is essential to identifying the important physical characteristics of historic resources and in evaluating adverse changes to them. Integrity is defined as “the authenticity of an historic resource’s physical identity evidenced by the survival of characteristics that existed during the resource’s period of significance.”¹⁷ The same seven variables or aspects that define integrity—location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling and association—are used to evaluate a resource’s eligibility

for listing in the National Register and/or the California Register. According to the *National Register Bulletin: How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation*, these seven characteristics are defined as follows:

- **Location** is the place where the historic property was constructed or the place where the historic event occurred. The original location of a property, complemented by its setting, is required to express the property's integrity of location.
- **Design** is the combination of elements that create the form, plans, space, structure and style of the property. Features which must be in place to express a property's integrity of design are its form, massing, construction method, architectural style, and architectural details (including fenestration pattern).
- **Setting** addresses the physical environment of the historic property inclusive of the landscape and spatial relationships of the building(s). Features which must be in place to express a property's integrity of setting are its location, relationship to the street, and intact surroundings (e.g., neighborhood or rural).
- **Materials** refer to the physical elements that were combined or deposited during a particular period of time and in a particular pattern of configuration to form the historic property. Features which must be in place to express a property's integrity of materials are its construction method and architectural details.
- **Workmanship** is the physical evidence of the crafts of a particular culture or people during any given period in history. Features which must be in place to express a property's integrity of workmanship are its construction method and architectural details.
- **Feeling** is the property's expression of the aesthetic or historic sense of a particular period of time. Features which must be in place to express a property's integrity of feeling are its overall design quality, which may include form, massing, architectural style, architectural details, and surroundings.
- **Association** is the direct link between an important historic event or person and a historic property. Features which must be in place to express a property's integrity of association are its use and its overall design quality.

The California Environmental Quality Act (CEQA) discusses another definition of integrity relative to proposed development projects, noting that projects that cause a substantial adverse change to the significance of a historical resource may have a significant effect on the environment. According to Section 15064.5(b)(1) of the Public Resources Code, "Substantial adverse change in the significance of an historical resource means physical demolition, destruction, relocation, or alteration of the resource or its immediate surroundings such that the significance of an historical resource

would be materially impaired.” In order to avoid significant adverse effects, evaluators should look closely to see whether a project “Demolishes or materially alters in an adverse manner those physical characteristics of an historical resource that convey its historical significance and that justify its inclusion in the California Register of Historical Resources, or...a local historical register.”

EVALUATING INTEGRITY IN PACIFIC GROVE

For evaluation purposes, a building ultimately either possesses integrity or does not. While it is understood that nearly all properties undergo change over time—and thus minor alterations or changes are not uncommon—a building must possess enough of its original features to demonstrate why it is significant. Evaluators of potential historic resources should look closely at characteristics such as massing, roof forms, fenestration patterns, cladding materials, and neighborhood surroundings when evaluating a property’s integrity.

In order to convey its historical significance, a property that has sufficient integrity for listing in the national, state, or local historical register will generally retain a majority of its character-defining features. However, the necessary aspects of integrity also depend on the reason the property is significant. High priority is typically placed on integrity of design, materials, and workmanship for properties significant under Criterion C/3, while for properties significant under Criterion A/1 or B/2, these aspects are only necessary to the extent that they help the property convey integrity of feeling and/or association. Similarly, integrity of location and setting are crucial for properties significant under Criterion A/1, but are typically less important for properties significant under Criterion B/2 or C/3. For properties significant under any of these criteria, it is possible for some materials to be replaced without drastically affecting integrity of design, as long as these alterations are subordinate to the overall character of the building. For example, minor alterations such as window replacement may be acceptable in residential districts, but not in an individual property designed by a master architect.

Evaluations of integrity should also include some basis of comparison. In other words, the evaluator should understand the relative levels of integrity associated with each property type. For instance, increased age and rarity of the property type may also lower the threshold required for sufficient integrity. Conversely, some properties may rate exceptionally highly in all aspects of integrity; such properties should be given high priority in preservation planning efforts, and are more likely to be eligible for listing in the National Register. Generally, a property with exceptional integrity will have undergone few or no alterations since its original construction, and will not have been moved from its original location.

Finally, it should be stressed that historic integrity and condition are not the same. Buildings with evident signs of deterioration can still retain eligibility for historic listing as long as it can be demonstrated that they retain enough character-defining features to convey their significance.

IV. HISTORIC CONTEXT

A. Native American and Spanish Periods (pre-1821)

The longest period of human settlement in Pacific Grove is the period we know least about. There are no written records, only archaeological clues and the writings of early European and American explorers and missionaries. From these sources we at least have some picture of Native American life prior to and immediately after contact with Western civilization. The primary historic themes that relate to this period include:

- Native American settlement of the area, including a discussion of known and potential archaeological sites in Pacific Grove.
- Spanish colonization of the Monterey area, including the founding of Monterey and the Carmel Mission, as well as the impact of colonization on Native American groups.

NATIVE AMERICAN PERIOD

The natural advantages of settling along the Monterey Peninsula were recognized by native peoples thousands of years before the City of Pacific Grove was founded. In particular, the upwelling of cold water off Monterey Bay encouraged one of the richest concentrations of sea life along the Pacific Coast.¹⁸ This included an abundant harvest of mussels, clams, abalones and other shellfish along the coastline, as well as teeming schools of fish in Monterey Bay. Marine mammals were also abundant, including sea lions, otters and migrating whales. At various times of the year, huge seasonal runs of salmon and steelhead would have been available in areas such as the Carmel River, while the estuaries and marshes along the bay would have hosted large flocks of migratory waterfowl. Inland, the hills and mountains could provide a harvest of acorns, buckeye and pine nuts, as well as wild roots, berries and seeds. Both the inland forests and coastal plain supported an abundance of animals including rabbits, deer, elk, antelope and bear.¹⁹

Little is known of the first people to arrive in the region, although research indicates that Native American populations were established in California at least 12,000 years ago. At that time, sea levels were lower, and Monterey Bay would not assume its current appearance until sea levels stabilized approximately 7,000 years ago. In the more recent pre-historic past, anthropological studies appear to indicate that the Monterey area represented a border area between two Native American linguistic groups. To the south were the Hokan-speaking Esselen people, inhabiting a forested mountain territory along the upper drainage of the Carmel River, as well as limited areas along the Big Sur coast. Nearer to Monterey were the Ohlone-speaking Rumsen people, whose territory included the present-day cities of Monterey, Carmel and Salinas.²⁰

While linguistic and cultural barriers may have separated these groups, it is believed they shared common subsistence patterns that took advantage of both coastal and inland resources. In particular, their lives likely revolved around seasonal movements focused on acorn gathering, salmon runs, hunting and harvesting shellfish.²¹ Their material culture was designed to match these

resources, and included stone (or bone) arrows and knives for hunting and butchering; winnowing baskets, mortars and pestles for preparing acorn flour; hemp cordage for snares; willow and rush baskets for transporting and storing goods; sea otter, duck and rabbit skins for blankets; shells and feathers for jewelry and decoration; and tule reeds for mats, shelters and rafts.²²



**"Inhabitants of California and their Respective Dresses," by Ludwig Choris, 1822
(Bancroft Library)**

Like many Native Americans throughout California, these tribal groups lived in semi-permanent villages and constructed conical or spherical shelters from willow poles woven with tule reeds and rushes. It has also been recorded that the Rumsen made conical houses of split redwood or redwood bark, and that their more permanent villages were always located inland from the ocean.²³ Similarly, the Esselen are known to have occupied inland rock shelters that often contain rock art. Sweat lodges were also constructed, as were dance enclosures made from a fence of woven brush.

In the selection of village sites, the presence of fresh water and easy access to food resources would have been paramount. Areas of relative high ground adjacent to streams or rivers were highly prized, as were areas that abounded in shellfish. In many coastal areas of California, the accumulation of piles of discarded shells known as middens, or shell mounds, are frequent markers for archaeological

sites. Similarly, evidence of Native occupation is also frequently noted by the presence of mortars or bedrock mortar sites used to crush acorns and other nuts.

Given its access to rich marine resources, it is not surprising that Pacific Grove’s coastline shows ample evidence of occupation by Native groups. Numerous small, likely seasonal archaeological sites composed of middens or mortar sites have been recorded along the shoreline in Pacific Grove. At least one site is known to have included a human burial, and evidence of prior digging or artifact collecting—known as “pothunting”—is known at several sites.²⁴

It should be acknowledged here that some of these sites may not necessarily be associated with Native Americans who lived in the immediate region. It is known that Native groups from areas far inland, including the Tulare Lake area in the southern San Joaquin Valley, crossed the mountains for regular visits to Monterey Bay in order to procure shellfish and other marine resources. These visits are recorded as having continued well into the nineteenth century.²⁵

SPANISH PERIOD

Early Exploration

It appears likely the first European to see Monterey Bay was Juan Rodrigues Cabrillo in 1542. Cabrillo was Portuguese by birth, but had joined with the Spanish conquistador Hernán Cortés in the conquest of Mexico between 1519 and 1521. Following the downfall of the Aztecs, Cabrillo joined other military expeditions to Central America and was rewarded by the Spanish crown with long-term leases for land in Guatemala. In 1540, the Governor of Guatemala granted Cabrillo a commission to build and provision three ships for the exploration of potential trade routes in the northern Pacific.²⁶

His fleet sailed north in June of 1542. By November, Cabrillo reached the waters of Northern California, passing the entrance to San Francisco Bay without sighting it. A series of storms and cold weather soon forced the expedition to return south, and in mid-November Cabrillo appears to have passed Monterey Bay, naming it Bahia de los Pinos, or “Bay of the Pines,” as well as sighting “Cabo de Pinos,” today’s Point Pinos.²⁷ Cabrillo was unable to anchor due to the stormy weather, and continued south to Santa Catalina Island. There he was injured and subsequently died on the island in January of 1543. In 1924, the Daughters of the American Revolution placed a plaque at Cabrillo Point (now China Point), located on the property of the Hopkins Marine Station. It erroneously states that “Cabrillo landed at this point 1542.”²⁸

Sixty years would pass before the next expedition to Monterey Bay. During the late sixteenth century Spain developed a lucrative trade route between Acapulco and the Philippines, trading Mexican silver for goods such as spices, ivory, porcelain and silk. During the return trip from Asia, the huge galleons took advantage of trade winds which delivered them off the coast of California. Crews often became sick during the long voyage, and so it was hoped that a suitable port could be

developed in California where the ships could refit and take on fresh provisions before the final voyage south to Acapulco.²⁹

In 1602, Sebastián Vizcaíno received a commission from the Spanish Viceroy in Mexico, the Comde de Monterrey, to investigate the California coast. His fleet of three ships set out in June, and four months later had reached the Monterey Bay area. During the voyage, Vizcaíno reported that he had trouble recognizing Cabrillo's landmarks and so renamed many locations.³⁰ Vizcaíno's party visited the Carmel River, and described it in relation to the Monterey Peninsula and Monterey Bay: "Two leagues beyond is a fine port, between which and the river there is a forest of pine trees more two leagues across. This land makes a point almost at the entrance of the port, which was named 'Punta de Pinos.'" ³¹

Vizcaíno's fleet entered the bay on December 16, naming it Monterey in honor of their benefactor.³² Members of his party marveled at the abundance of wildlife, as well as the "immense number of great pine trees, smooth and straight, suitable for the masts and yards of ships." The rich marine resources were also recorded, including "many good fish in the sea, and among the rocks there are many lapas [mollusks] and mussels, and at depth among the rocks are some very large shells of fine mother-of-pearl [abalone], very beautiful and of a very fine color." ³³

The men of Vizcaíno's party also discovered they were not alone. "The port is all surrounded by settlements of affable Indians of good disposition and well built, very willing to give what they have. They brought us some of the skins of bears, lions and deer. They use bows and arrows and have their form of government. They are naked. They would have much pleasure in seeing us make a settlement here." ³⁴ Other accounts mentioned that the native people had constructed "vessels of pine-wood very well made" which they used to take to sea with up to fourteen paddlers on a side.³⁵

Vizcaíno's glowing accounts of Monterey were viewed with suspicion in Acapulco, and he was criticized for disobeying orders not to explore inland or interact with natives. His mapmaker was also found guilty of a forgery charge and hanged, leading Spanish authorities to discredit Vizcaíno's recommendation that Monterey be used as a port for the Manila galleons.³⁶

Monterey and the Carmel Mission

The Monterey Bay area remained largely neglected by the Spanish over the next 140 years. Few ships ever anchored there, as the waters were shallow and worrisomely close to rocky coastline.³⁷ By the 1760s, however, Russian fur traders were becoming active in the northern Pacific, and the English were also suspected of having designs on the area. Thus Spanish authorities recommended the settlement of Monterey as a buffer colony against Russian and English encroachment.

In 1768 the Spanish Crown commenced a program of reconnaissance and colonization of upper, or "Alta" California, commanded by Captain Gaspar de Portolá. His expedition was comprised of soldiers, sailors, settlers and a party of Franciscan missionaries that included Father Junipero Serra. Two of the expeditions would travel overland from Baja California while a naval contingent would

rendezvous with them along the route. After establishing a mission in San Diego, Portolá headed north but failed to locate Monterey Bay. He instead accidentally encountered San Francisco Bay, and after making a brief reconnaissance, headed back to San Diego.

In April 1770 Portolá again commissioned a joint overland/naval expedition to locate Monterey. After six weeks of travel his land party arrived at Monterey Bay in late May, but soon relocated to the Carmel River area, passing through Point Pinos along the way. There his party “reported many pines which the Indians had felled by fire rings at their bases.”³⁸ They also met with Native Americans who offered them baskets of pine nuts and feather-tipped rods, for which the Spanish made gifts of beads and ribbons.³⁹ A week later the ship, San Antonio, carrying Father Serra arrived off Point Pinos, and on June 3, the parties reunited at Monterey. A mission was founded, and soldiers under Lieutenant Pedro Fages began construction of a military outpost, known as El Presidio Real de San Carlos de Monterey (The Royal Presidio of Saint Charles of Monterey).⁴⁰

The Mission, officially known as San Carlos Borroméo, was relocated to the Carmel River area the following year by Father Serra. This was both to distance the mission from the soldiers at the Presidio, as well as take advantage of the fresh water and fertile lands of the Carmel River Valley. That same year, Mission Nuestra Senora de la Soledad was founded on the Salinas River southeast of Monterey, while Mission Santa Cruz was established to the north. The original mission site in Monterey is known today as the Royal Presidio Chapel.

As at most missions, various native groups were intermingled at Carmel, eventually resulting in the dissolution of distinct tribal entities. Natives were not only introduced to European religious practices, but European ways of living and working. The Ohlone, Esselen and other native groups of the region soon found at the mission that their daily lives were structured around the schedule of Catholic masses, as well as disciplined conformity to religious doctrine. In place of their traditional hunting and gathering practices, Native American converts (known as neophytes) were taught to grow crops and raise stock animals as a means of subsistence. Others were trained as carpenters and blacksmiths. In a similar manner, women’s skills were turned to wool production, spinning, and the production of cloth, rather than basketry.

Not all native ways were extinguished, however. For a time the natives at the California missions were enlisted in a Spanish venture to trade California sea otter pelts for goods in China. Their success at obtaining pelts would in time lead to a vast reduction of the sea otter population, which in turn allowed abalone—a regular part of the sea otter’s diet—to flourish in the region.⁴¹

In 1788 the Carmel Mission was visited by Frenchman Jean Francois de la Perouse, who wrote that the men “retained their skill at harpooning otters and salmon,” and that the natives appeared friendly to him.⁴² The men were now clothed in breech cloth, while the women wore cloth shirts. While La Perouse judged the monks in charge as pious and charitable men, he also felt that “the mission resembled nothing so much as a slave plantation of Santo Domingo.”⁴³ A great deal of

Native American labor centered on the Carmel Mission's ranching operations, which grew to include thousands of sheep and cattle pastured throughout the Monterey Peninsula.

Non-mission Native Americans, referred to as "gentiles" by the Spanish, also continued to inhabit the area, and sometimes providing refuge for natives who wished to leave the disciplined life of the mission. Those who left were often recaptured with the aid of soldiers from the Presidio and subject to whipping. Far more deadly than the Spanish soldiers, however, was the spread of European diseases for which the Native Americans had no immunity. In 1795 the population living at the Carmel Mission reached a peak of approximately 900 persons, but over the coming decades that number would fall to less than 400.⁴⁴



**View of the Presidio of Monterey, circa 1792, by Jose Cardero.
(Bancroft Library)**

Although Monterey had been declared the capital of Alta California in 1775, the small settlement remained a fairly isolated outpost of adobe buildings that included a few houses, as well as the Presidio and a fortification known as the Castillo. The military contingent was small, and the Presidio was frequently manned by only a few dozen soldiers.⁴⁵ Starting in 1810, Spain began to grapple with wars for independence in Mexico and South America, and its possessions in California were frequently neglected. The garrison at Monterey received few provisions and frequently was not paid. The weak defenses of the area proved tempting for Argentine privateer Hippolyte Bouchard, who along with 400 men attacked Monterey in November 1818, sacking the town and spiking the guns of the fortress.⁴⁶ It has been reported that part of Bouchard's party landed near Point Pinos and then marched overland to attack the Presidio from the rear.⁴⁷

It appears that by the time of Bouchard’s landing a small auxiliary battery had been established at Point Pinos.⁴⁸ Little is known about the battery, other than a description provided by French traveler Eugene Duflot de Mofras in 1842 who stated, “The Spaniards were wise enough to establish a small battery near Point Pinos, but few traces of this now remain.”⁴⁹ A map produced by Mofras shows the battery as a crescent located near what is today Cypress Park in Pacific Grove. That map also shows a “ferme” or farmhouse that would be constructed during the Mexican period.



Plan du Port et de La Baie de Monte-Rey (Map of Monterey Bay) by Eugene Duflot de Mofras, 1844.
Note that the “batterie” fortification is shown as a crescent near what is today Cypress Park.
(David Rumsey Map Collection)

The weak position of the Spanish in Alta California finally crumbled in 1821 when Mexico successfully concluded its bid for independence and California came under the jurisdiction of Mexico. This heralded a rapid decline for the mission system and the redistribution of church lands to powerful Mexican landowners who would dominate the region’s economy for the next several decades.

ASSOCIATED PROPERTY TYPES & REGISTRATION REQUIREMENTS

The dominant themes of this period are the pre-historic settlement of the Pacific Grove area; the Spanish colonization of the area and subsequent formation of the Monterey and Carmel missions; and the tensions that developed between the Native American and European cultures. However, few, if any, property types reflecting these themes are extant in Pacific Grove today.

Native American Resources

The numerous archaeological sites recorded in Pacific Grove clearly indicate an extended period of Native American occupation. Nevertheless, the Native American period in Pacific Grove is not represented by any extant built resources. The dwellings, sweat-lodges and other structures constructed by native peoples have disappeared over the two centuries of Euro-American presence in the area. Likewise, several sites are known to have been partially excavated or disturbed by pothunting.

However, it is probable that additional archaeological resources, such as the sub-surface remains of shell middens, campsite deposits, and burials, are present in Pacific Grove. These would most likely be encountered during excavation activities in areas near the shoreline or in proximity to sources of water. Indications of such deposits include concentrations of shells and/or bones, as well as objects including stone tools or flakes, mortars and other stone-grinding implements, and shell beads. There is also a possibility that such remains exist as submerged cultural resources located adjacent to the shoreline. If such remains are encountered, it is recommended that a qualified archaeologist be contacted to further assess the site. Any artifacts dating to the Native American period may have the potential to yield information important to prehistory and thus make the site significant under National Register of Historic Places (NR) Criterion D/ California Register of Historical Resources (CR) Criterion 4.

Spanish Period Resources

The accounts of the Vizcaíno and Portolá expeditions clearly indicate the Monterey Bay area remained occupied by Native groups throughout the Spanish period. Although many Native Americans subsequently went to live at the Carmel Mission, historical records also make it clear that independent settlements of Native peoples remained in the region throughout the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. None of these, however, appear to have been located in Pacific Grove. It is likely, though, that Native Americans continued to visit the area, either sporadically as part of traditional practices, or in support of mission activities. Archaeological remains of Spanish period Native American occupation might include the presence of glass and ceramic trade beads, metal implements, and other European materials intermixed with traditional Native American artifacts. If such resources are discovered, the site may be significant under Criterion D/4 for its potential to yield information important to history.

The operations of the Carmel Mission would have included agricultural support facilities scattered throughout the Monterey Peninsula—mostly in support of ranching operations—although no direct references to facilities in Pacific Grove have been located. Likewise, even if such an operation were

known to have existed, it is extremely unlikely that any built resources, such as simple wood or adobe structures used for shelter or storage, would remain standing. However, indications of interactions between Native Americans and the Mission might include subsurface remains, such as European implements and possibly religious icons intermixed with traditional Native American artifacts. Mass burials associated with epidemics related to European diseases are also possible. If such resources are discovered, the site may be significant under Criterion D/4 for its potential to yield information important to history.

The only formally documented activity in Pacific Grove during the Spanish period was the construction of a small auxiliary fortification at Point Pinos. However, this battery was already in ruin by the 1840s, and its exact location is not known. The possibility does exist, however, that indications of the fortification's construction may persist as subsurface remains. These might include artifacts related to military operations, such as musket balls, buckles, buttons or other implements. If such resources are discovered, the site may be significant under Criterion D/4 for its potential to yield information important to history.

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B. Mexican and Early American Periods (1821-1872)

The period 1821 to 1872 includes the earliest European settlement of Pacific Grove, which would lay the foundation for the area's later development. The primary historic themes and events of this period include the following:

- The impact of the Mexican Revolution, including the redistribution of church lands and the decline of the mission at Carmel.
- The impact of the Mexican-American war and California statehood, including the relationship between the established Californios and the newly-arrived Americans.
- The establishment of a Chinese fishing village at Point Alones.
- Land acquisitions by David Jacks.

Besides the Point Pinos Lighthouse (1854), there are no known physical remnants from the Mexican and Early American Periods in Pacific Grove. However, the themes from this era set the stage for the city's later developments.

MEXICAN PERIOD (1821 – 1846)

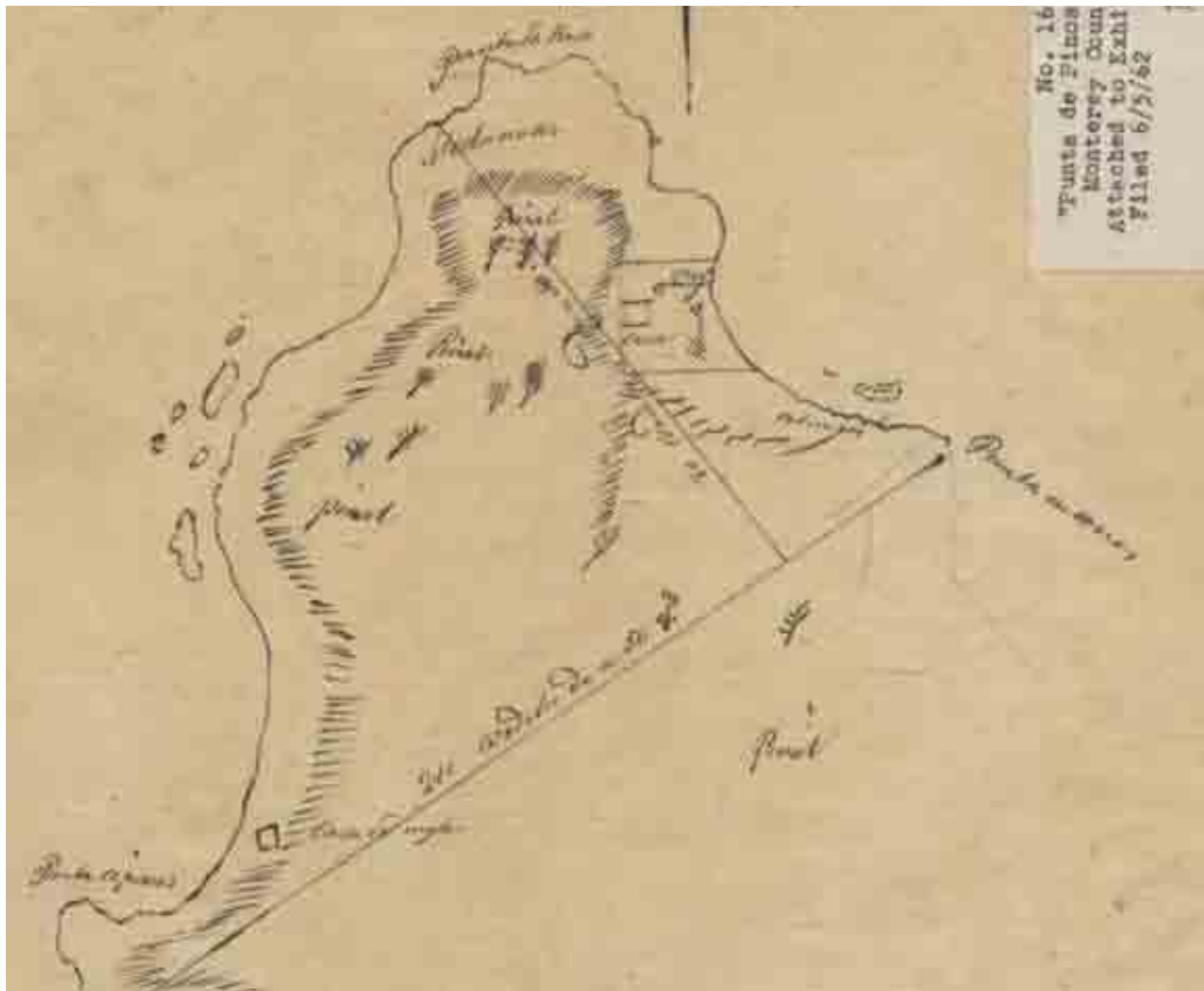
Following a decade-long conflict, Mexico gained independence from Spain in 1821. Under the terms of the treaty, all former Spanish territory in California was placed under Mexican jurisdiction. Monterey was established as the capital of the new Mexican "Alta California" territory. The Mexican Congress subsequently tried to encourage further settlement of California, as well as reduce the influence of the mission system. This was accomplished through a series of legislative decrees which culminated in *An Act for the Secularization of the Missions of California* in 1833. Intended to encourage colonization and make land more accessible to the average "Californio" (as Mexican citizens in California were called), the process of secularization involved the redistribution of the Church's enormous land holdings through sales to private interests. It also allowed for the distribution of mission property to the Native American neophytes and released them from servitude. However, rampant corruption often led to the dispersal of the Church's holdings in the form of large land grants, or "ranchos," given to powerful local families or to men that had won favor during Mexico's bid for independence.

These ranchos supported horses, sheep and basic farm crops, but were primarily cattle ranches that served the growing hide and tallow trade. This business, where cattle hides and tallow (fat used to manufacture candles) were exchanged for imported goods, emerged as the basis of California's economy under Mexican rule. With few owners controlling most of the land, a stratified society emerged, where the average Californio, as well as the newly independent Native Americans, were typically forced to settle for work as rancho laborers. In fact, the large Californio ranching operations of this period were so dependent on native labor that Native Americans were often leased—or illegally sold—between ranch owners.⁵⁰

The secularization of the Carmel mission took place in 1835. Its considerable holdings represented a rich prize. In 1825 it was reported to have more than 87,000 cattle, 1,800 horses, several hundred oxen and nine sheep farms believed to hold over 50,000 sheep.⁵¹ Even before that time, however, the lands around Monterey were already being parceled out to private interests.

Rancho Punta de los Pinos

In 1833, Jose Maria Armenta, a soldier at the Monterey Presidio, was granted Rancho Punta de los Pinos by Mexican governor Jose Figueroa. The Rancho consisted of a 2,667 acre parcel that encompassed a sizeable portion of the Monterey Peninsula. The boundaries of the grant extended in a line from Point Aulones or “Abalone Point” (later known as Point Loeb, site of today’s Monterey Bay Aquarium) to Cypress Point near Pebble Beach, including virtually all of the present-day boundaries of Pacific Grove. (Of interest, the word abalone is identified by the Merriam-Webster Dictionary as having a Spanish-American origin from the Rumsen Ohlone word “aulon.”)



Map of Rancho Punta de Pinos, presented to the United States Land Commission in 1862.
Note the Armenta adobe at upper right, as well as the nearby spring shown as a circle with a line.
(Bancroft Library)

Armenta constructed an adobe dwelling on his property, believed to have been located northeast of the present-day intersection of Jewell Avenue and Del Monte Boulevard in the Pacific Grove Golf Links.⁵² A natural spring was located north of the rancho, almost certainly the reason the building was placed where it was.⁵³ Jose Armenta died in 1834, and Rancho Punta de los Pinos would subsequently be the subject of numerous deed transfers and land claims that took decades to resolve—largely because the land grants were rarely based on strict surveying methods.⁵⁴ Few records of Armenta’s adobe have been located, although the rancho adobe does appear labeled as a “casa” on a land claim map filed for the Rancho in 1862.

Adjacent to Rancho Punta del los Pinos was Rancho El Pescadero, or “The Fisherman,” granted to Fabian Barretto, a Mexican resident of Monterey, in March, 1836. Its 4,426 acres included portions of the Del Monte Forest located south and east of the Point Pinos Rancho, as well as Cypress Point and what is today Pebble Beach.⁵⁵ At both ranchos, the primary economic activity would have been comprised of cattle and sheep grazing, with Native Americans supplying most of the labor.

The products of these ranchos went to market in Monterey, which had been designated as the only official port of entry in California. A Custom House was erected in 1827, with most of the trade concluded with English and American merchants. The small settlement at Monterey also attracted foreign entrepreneurs, including the American Thomas Oliver Larkin, who arrived in Monterey during the 1830s. Larkin prospered as a merchant and financier, building the first wharf in Monterey and earning the respect of local officials. His stature was such that in 1843 the American government appointed Larkin as the first (and only) American Consul to Alta California.

By this time the United States’ westward ambitions were increasingly focused on California. Despite the territory’s immense natural wealth and commercial advantages, it remained thinly settled, and the Mexican government’s authority appeared quite weak. Notably, steady immigration during the preceding decades meant that by 1845, more foreigners—including a sizeable number of Americans—lived in California than Mexicans.⁵⁶ Tensions between the Mexican and American governments were also reaching a crescendo following the U.S. annexation of Texas, which Mexico considered part of its territory.

EARLY AMERICAN PERIOD (1846 – 1872)

In 1846, war broke out between the United States and Mexico, and on July 7 naval forces of the Pacific Squadron commanded by Commodore John Sloat occupied Monterey and raised the American flag. Other forces occupied San Francisco, Los Angeles, and San Diego. The takeover at Monterey was concluded peacefully, with the Mexicans offering no resistance. Sloat left a small garrison of Marines who began improving defenses to better protect the town and the harbor. The new defenses were named Fort Mervine in honor of Captain William Mervine, who commanded one of the ships in Sloat’s squadron.⁵⁷

In February 1848, the Mexican-American War ended with the signing of the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, which required Mexico to cede California to the United States. Around the same time, news of the discovery of gold at Sutter's Mill in the Sierra Nevada reached Monterey. For the remainder of the year, most of the people working in the gold fields were Californians. But 1849 opened with gold seekers from all over the world surging into the territory. Anxious to consolidate its new territory, the U.S. government quickly embarked on a program to bring about California statehood.

In September of 1849 a constitutional convention was held in Monterey at Colton Hall. The delegates ratified the California Constitution in October, and the following year California was granted statehood. Although Monterey had for a time been a whirlwind of activity, it was soon eclipsed by San Francisco as the most important settlement in northern California. San Francisco not only offered a superior harbor, it also offered easier passage to the gold fields. Towns along the route to the gold fields also prospered, including Sacramento, which became the state capital.⁵⁸

1852 Coast Survey Map

With ships pouring into the new state for the Gold Rush there was an immediate need for accurate maps of the California coastline, as well as the development of navigational aids such as lighthouses. In 1852 the U.S. Coast Survey produced an extremely detailed map of the Monterey harbor and adjacent shoreline, including Point Pinos and much of the land that would become Pacific Grove. By overlaying the 1852 Coast Survey map onto current satellite views, we are able to pinpoint several interesting features of Pacific Grove's geography at this time.

Of particular interest, the map indicates that a road following substantially the same route as Central Avenue from Monterey to the present-day Pacific Grove border had already been developed by that time. From that point the road followed a route north of present-day Central Avenue, eventually running along what is today the northern border of the Pacific Grove Golf Links. Almost certainly, this road had been developed to serve the rancho building (likely the Jose Armenta house), which is shown as being located northeast of the intersection of Jewell Avenue and Del Monte Boulevard. The road then continued out to the northwest near the present-day intersection of Companion Way and Del Monte Boulevard. There it became a path that circled Point Pinos before continuing south, in places roughly following the alignment of Asilomar Boulevard. This may have been the remnant of an old path to the Carmel Mission.



Excerpt from the 1852 U.S. Coast Survey map of Monterey Harbor and vicinity. Note that what would become Lovers Point is labeled as Point Aulon, while Point Alones (now China Point) is called Point Almeja, or Mussel Point. (David Rumsey Map Collection)

Crespi Pond appears on the map, as well as several other—likely seasonal—ponds or wet areas. These include a seasonal pond near the rancho building at the intersection of Del Monte Boulevard and Egan Avenue; another south of the intersection of 17 Mile Drive and Ripple Avenue; and another pond centered on what is today the intersection of Pacific and Caledonia avenues. This fed a small stream or erosional wash that ran northeast, breaking through the coastal rocks and creating the cove at what is today Lovers Point. The original extent of the creek that can be seen today in Greenwood Park is also shown. The map also identifies Lovers Point in Pacific Grove as Point Aulone, while today’s China Point is called out as Point Almeja, or Mussel Point.

Point Pinos Lighthouse

The 1852 Coast Survey map was produced primarily for coastal navigation, and included sailing directions at bottom. These state that “the harbor is safe in all seasons, but that “in entering the Bay give the South Shore good berth in order to avoid Point Pinos (the only Pt. where the Pines reach the Sea.)” Given the danger of ships running aground at Point Pinos, a lighthouse was constructed at the Point shortly after the map was produced. The Point Pinos Lighthouse Station was constructed in 1854 on a U.S. government reservation of 92 acres.

The building featured wood-frame construction with a side-gable roof wrapping around a brick masonry tower. The light, activated in February of 1855, was originally fueled by whale oil forced up

from a tank by a gravity-operated piston. The light from the lamp was concentrated by a Fresnel lens made in France, and a falling weight forced a shutter to move around the light, causing it to “flash” once every 30 seconds. Charles Layton was the station’s first keeper, but he was killed in 1856 while serving as a member of a sheriff’s party. His widow, Charlotte, then took over as the station keeper until 1860. At that time she married her assistant keeper, George Harris, and subsequently stepped down to become an assistant keeper once again.⁵⁹ Today the lighthouse is both the oldest structure in Pacific Grove and the oldest active navigational aid on the West Coast. It was listed in the National Register of Historic Places in 1977.



**Point Pinos Lighthouse, 1859
(National Archives, #26-LG-56-96)**



**Early view of Point Pinos Lighthouse and dunes
(Bancroft Library)**

The whale oil for the Point Pinos Lighthouse was quite likely processed in Monterey. In 1854, Captain John Pope Davenport—who had noted how closely gray and humpback whales passed to the coastline—began organizing all-Portuguese “shore whaling” crews which would row out to harpoon the whales during their annual migrations. The whales were then towed ashore to several beaches along Monterey Bay, including at McAbee Beach in Monterey, which would one day develop into Cannery Row. There the whale blubber was cut away and rendered into oil for lamps—including the lamp at the Point Pinos Lighthouse.⁶⁰

Despite the development of the Point Pinos Lighthouse, within the first few years of the Gold Rush, Monterey—which had never been a large settlement to begin with—lost its position as the capital and main port of Alta California and became little more than a quiet hamlet. While this was largely a factor of geography, development in Monterey was also stifled by the presence of complicated Mexican land grants and an established Mexican character. However, there were a few enterprising Americans who would use this fact to their advantage.⁶¹

David Jacks

Among those who had arrived in California during the Gold Rush was a budding entrepreneur named David Jacks. Born in Scotland in 1822, Jacks had immigrated to New York in 1841 before moving on to California. Before leaving, Jacks had prudently invested his savings in revolvers which he sold at considerable profit in San Francisco. In 1850 Jacks visited Monterey and decided to settle there. During the early 1850s Jacks worked as an assistant to several Monterey merchants, becoming familiar with the vagaries of local business.

Among the issues then facing Monterey was the legitimization of the town's claims to some 30,000 acres of Pueblo Lands surrounding the settlement, which had originally been granted by the Spanish Crown. Delos Rodeyn Ashley was retained as the city attorney, and after successfully defending Monterey's claim before the United States Land Commission, Ashley presented the city with a bill for \$991.50. Lacking funds, the town passed a resolution to auction the Pueblo Lands in order to pay the fee. The sale was held in February of 1859, with the sole bidders comprised of Ashley and David Jacks, who paid slightly more than \$1,000 for the entire 30,000 acres. The sale was harshly criticized, and years later it became the subject of legal challenges. The case eventually came before the U.S. Supreme Court in 1903, which ruled in favor of Jacks—who had long since acquired Ashley's interest in the land.⁶²



David Jacks, 1882
(Monterey Public Library, California History Room, reproduced in *Images of America: Pacific Grove*
by Kent Seavey and the Heritage Society of Pacific Grove, p. 12)

An astute businessman, Jacks realized that many of the area’s prominent citizens—often Mexican ranch owners—were land rich, but cash poor. Jacks soon used this to his advantage, loaning money to clients with strained finances and then foreclosing on their land which had been used as collateral.⁶³ In 1864, Jacks acquired most of the Punta de los Pinos Rancho from Darrell Stokes Gregory, and purchased another interest in the Rancho lands four years later.⁶⁴ Eventually, it is estimated that Jacks controlled approximately 100,000 acres of Monterey County land—including all of what would become the city of Pacific Grove.⁶⁵ For the most part, these vast landholdings were used for ranching operations, functioning much as they had during the Mexican era. In 1860, it was estimated that Monterey County included some 100,000 cattle, and raised more sheep than any other county in the United States.⁶⁶

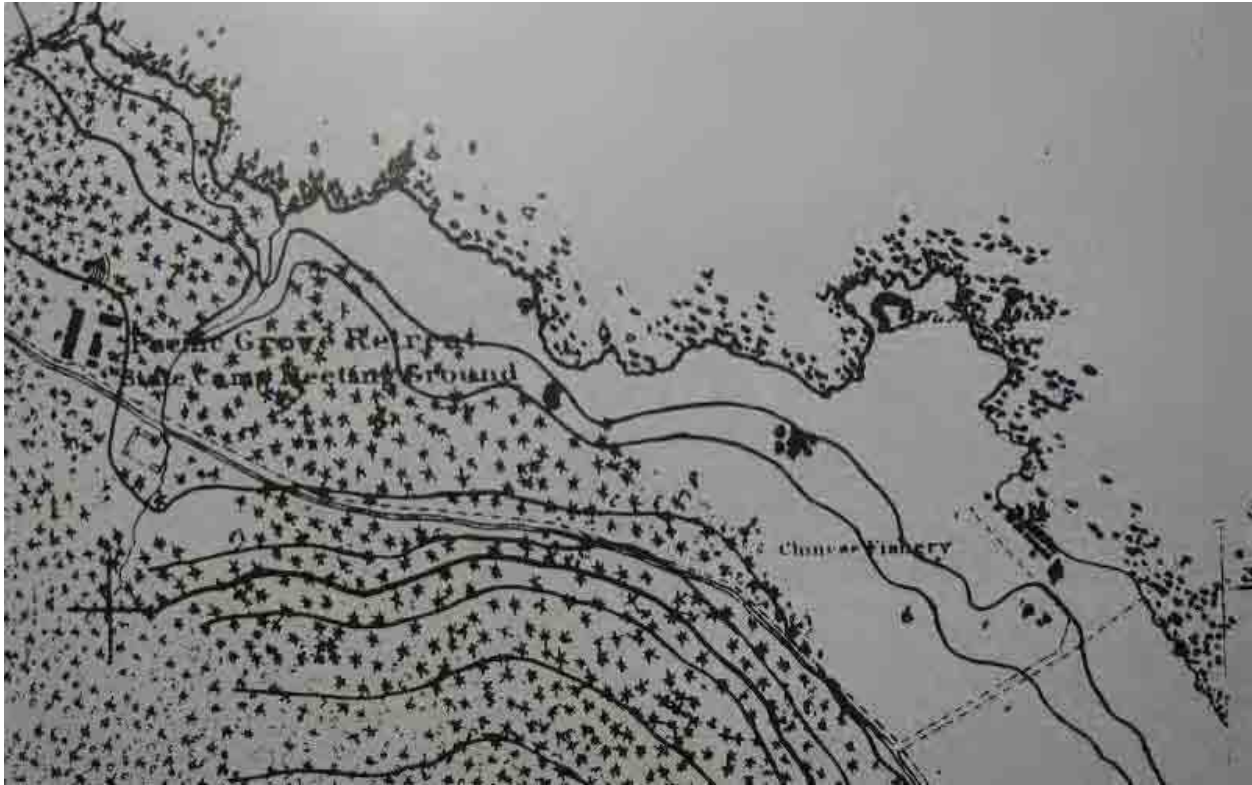
The Chinese Fishing Village

David Jacks was not the only immigrant to see potential in the Monterey area. In the early 1850s the Monterey area was settled by Chinese immigrants who had come not for gold, but for abalone. As mentioned in the previous chapter, during the Spanish period a lucrative trade in sea otter pelts had decimated the sea otter population, which allowed abalone to thrive along the Monterey Bay coastline. The area was so rich in shellfish that an “abalone rush” developed about 1853, with over 500 Chinese—many from Kwangtung Province—engaged in drying and packing abalone meat for shipment back to China. Some of the Chinese built small cabins along the shore, spreading abalone on the railings to dry. Although the Chinese fishing village would subsequently become known as the Point Alones village, it was actually located along a sheltered curve of beach at the southeastern edge of what is today the Hopkins Marine Laboratory property at China Point, labeled as “Mussel Point” on late-19th century maps. It was the largest such village in the Monterey Bay area, prospering in part because of its protection from rough seas by the tip of the point, as well as its relative isolation from Monterey.⁶⁷ Around this time it appears that the Chinese leased the land from Henry De Graw, part owner of Rancho Punta de los Pinos, who constructed a small wharf to provide shipping facilities for the Rancho.⁶⁸

Prior to the arrival of the Chinese, some abalone had been harvested for their shells, which were then shipped for manufacture into buttons and jewelry. But the Chinese operations were much more concentrated, and by 1856, it was observed that the Chinese had removed nearly all the abalone from the waters around Point Pinos. The Chinese then moved south, harvesting areas around Point Lobos and in the Big Sur area.⁶⁹ After the abalone rush ended, some fishermen stayed on in the area. A document from 1860 shows 15 Chinese living at Point Alones, and those numbers would grow in the coming years.⁷⁰

During the 1860s, the Chinese expanded their catch to include a much wider variety of fish, including rock fish, sharks, cod, halibut, mackerel and flounder. Because of the lack of refrigeration, almost all of the catch had to be prepared for shipment. Smaller fish were dried on the ground or on racks, while larger fish might be salted and hung to dry on poles. The operations grew steadily, and in 1867 the Chinese shipped some 300 tons of dried fish by steamer from Monterey.⁷¹ Around this

time the market for abalone shells also improved, and so the Chinese reworked the huge piles of discarded shells from earlier harvests and prepared them for sale to vendors in the United States, Europe and China.⁷² Altogether, the Chinese at Point Alones developed the first true commercial fishery on Monterey Bay, and in some ways were responsible for the most focused commercial activity in the entire Monterey area.



Detail of U.S. Coast Survey Map, 1878. Note that the Chinese fishing village and the Pacific Grove Retreat are both clearly marked.
(Reproduced in *Chinese Gold*, p. 58)

As it developed, the Chinese fishing village consisted of numerous small, gable-roofed, wood-frame dwellings, many of which were constructed on pilings directly adjacent to the beach where small fishing boats could be hauled up when not in use. Larger vessels could be brought ashore via a wooden boat ramp. Unlike many Chinese settlements elsewhere in California, men and women both participated in the work, and the village was very much a self-sufficient community.⁷³ The center of spiritual life was the joss house, or temple, which stood apart from the buildings. A newspaper article in 1870 provides a description of the settlement:

“Built of redwood shakes, their houses look nevertheless as old as a suburb of Canton and there proceeds from it a most ancient and fish-like smell. There are plenty of women in the village ... and as a consequence a number of small specimens of the Mongol type, toddling about among pigs and poultry. The village grows all the while and the business this people are engaged in seems to thrive.”⁷⁴



Point Alones Village, circa 1880s
(Pat Hathaway Collection, reproduced in *Chinese Gold*, p. 156)

By the late 1860s the Chinese had begun paying rent to David Jacks, who now owned the vast majority of the Point Pinos Rancho. Jacks charged the Chinese two hundred dollars annually to be paid in quarterly installments. The Chinese retained ownership of their buildings, and were entitled to collect any fallen timber in the pine forests above the village for heating and cooking.⁷⁵ The village's association with David Jacks probably gave it some measure of protection from outside interference, and Jacks does not appear to have objected to their continued operations on his land. Indeed, the Chinese were by far the most numerous tenants on Jacks' land in what would become Pacific Grove.

ASSOCIATED PROPERTY TYPES & REGISTRATION REQUIREMENTS

The primary themes of this period are the redistribution of land in Northern California and the subsequent decline of the mission at Carmel; the establishment of a Chinese fishing village at Point Alones; and land acquisition by entrepreneur David Jacks. However, few, if any, property types representing these themes are still extant in Pacific Grove today.

Mexican Period Resources

This period marks the first formal subdivision of the land that would become Pacific Grove, and the historical record clearly indicates that a rancho house was constructed circa 1834 for Jose Maria Armenta near the present-day intersection of Jewell Avenue and Del Monte Boulevard. This house was shown on an 1852 U. S. Coast Survey map, but no drawings or images of it are known, and it does not appear on any subsequent maps of the area. It is presumed to either have been in ruins or dismantled sometime prior to 1875. The possibility does exist, however, that subsurface evidence of the Armenta rancho house may remain. This evidence might include features such as the remnants of foundation walls or post holes. It might also include evidence of activity areas—including garbage pits—containing concentrations of glass and ceramics consistent with the period. If such resources are discovered, it is recommended that a qualified archaeologist be contacted to further assess the

area, as the site may be significant under Criterion D/4 for its potential to yield information important to history.

Early American Period Resources

By far the most significant built resource remaining from the Early American Period is the Point Pinos Lighthouse, constructed in 1854, and today the oldest active navigational aid on the West Coast. It symbolizes early efforts by the American government to consolidate California's entry into the union, as well as enhance the region's prospects for trade and commerce. There is no need to discuss registration requirements, however, as the lighthouse is already appropriately recognized as a historic resource and was listed in the National Register of Historic Places in 1977.



The Point Pinos Lighthouse, constructed in 1854, is the only extant resource from this period.

Despite an extended period of occupation by Chinese fisherman at Point Alones, there are no other built resources associated with the Early American Period extant in Pacific Grove. The fishing village was largely destroyed by fire in 1906, and all the surviving buildings were removed from the site. However, it is likely that subsurface remains of the village remain—including the vestiges of a Chinese cemetery that was known to be located at the site. Evidence of Chinese occupation would include items such as broken glass and ceramics consistent with the period, as well as nails, hooks and other items associated with fishing culture. If such resources are discovered, it is recommended that a qualified archaeologist be contacted to further assess the area, as the site may be significant under Criterion D/4 for its potential to yield information important to history.

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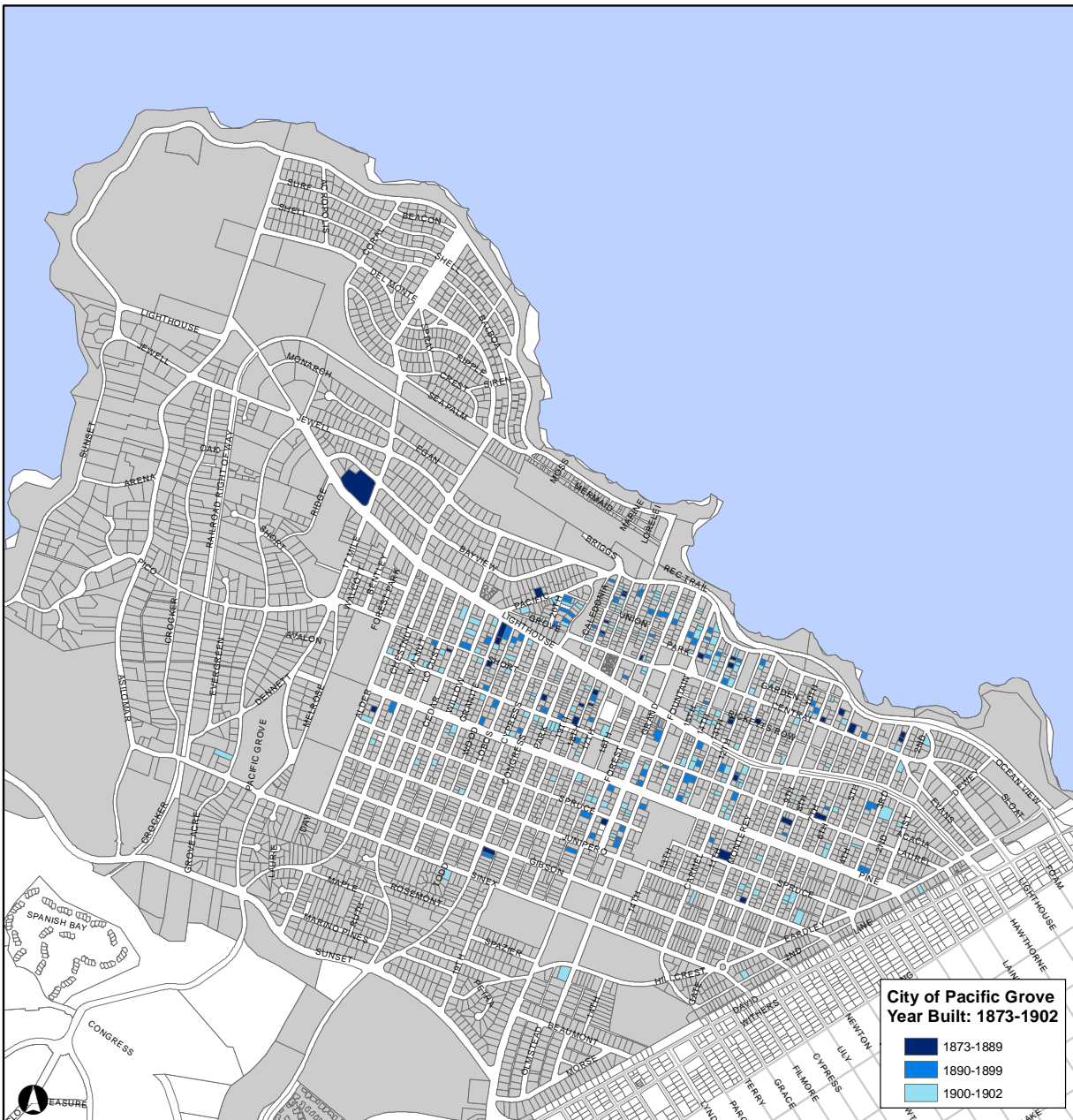
C. Early Development of Pacific Grove (1873 - 1902)

The period 1873 to 1902 includes numerous crucial events that helped shaped the essential character of Pacific Grove—both physically and culturally. The primary historic themes and events of this period include the following:

- The establishment of the Pacific Grove Retreat Association and the early development of the Pacific Grove Retreat.
- The acquisition of Pacific Grove by the Pacific Improvement Company and that company’s impact on development of the area, including the extension of the original retreat boundaries and sale of lots.
- The influence of Chautauqua and other social and religious organizations on the culture and character of the city.
- The transition of the Retreat from a summer encampment to a city, including the development of water, sewage and transportation infrastructure, as well as the emergence of residential, commercial and civic development patterns.
- The development of recreational facilities and promotion of the area as a tourist attraction.
- The contributions of the Chinese fishing village to local culture.

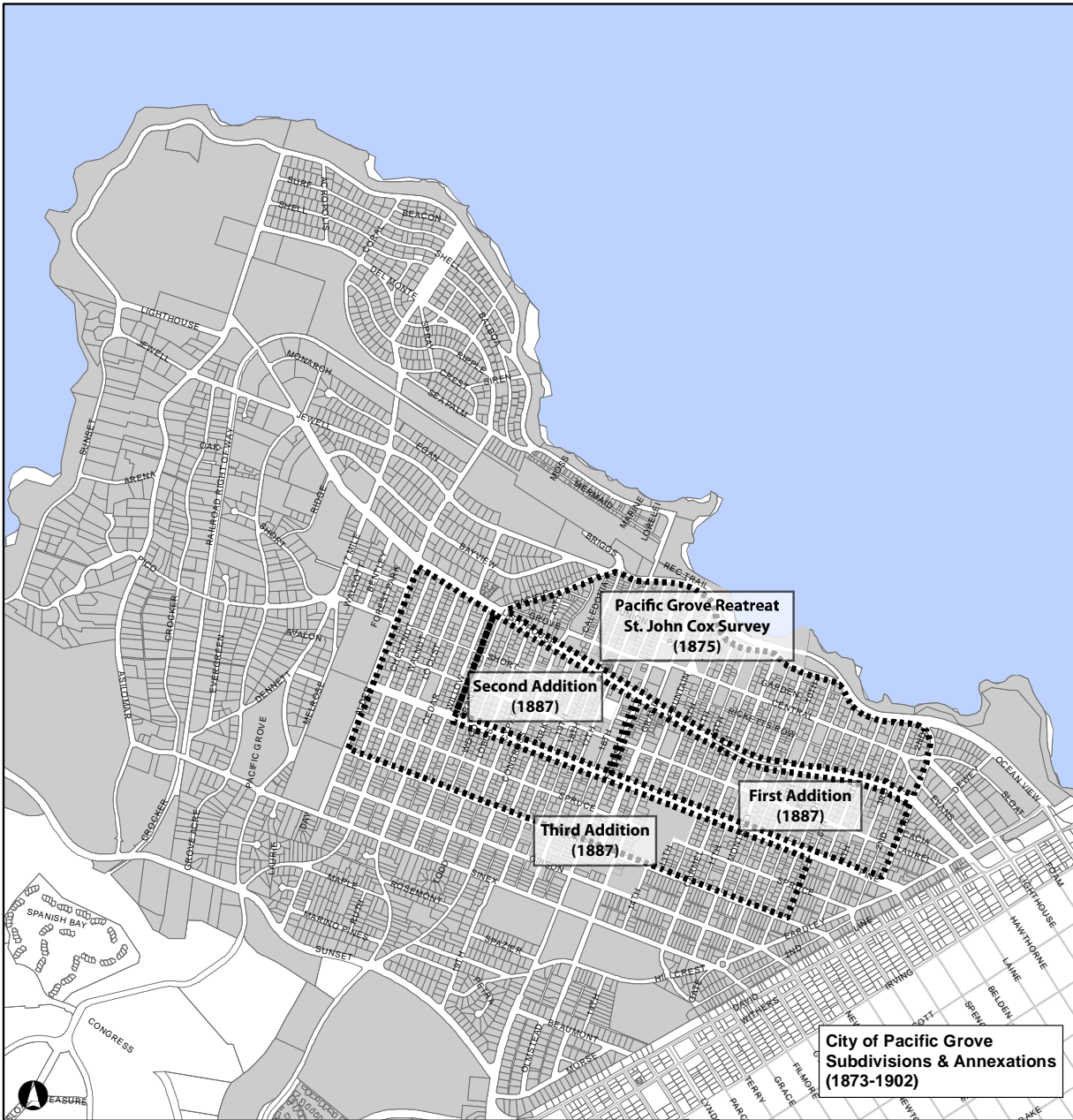
In some respects, 1889 might be considered the watershed year of the period as it marked the incorporation of the city and the arrival of the Southern Pacific Railroad. However, neither of these events led to a spike in population or a palpable shift in building typologies. Pacific Grove first began to develop in earnest with houses for year-round occupancy in the mid-1880s, and the city continued to grow through the turn of the century in a fairly steady arc with late Victorian architectural styles predominating. The decision to end this period in 1902 is related to events that occurred over the following two years that marked clear departures from previous patterns. These included a dramatic redevelopment of the beach area at Lovers Point with expanded tourist facilities, as well as the introduction of new architectural styles and building materials—particularly in commercial buildings. Likewise, the next major additions to the city were not made until 1905 and 1907 respectively.

This period witnessed the establishment of residential and commercial development patterns that would guide the city’s development through the mid-twentieth century. The overwhelming majority of surviving buildings from this period are residential, primarily consisting of single-family residences, with only a handful of multi-family buildings. Residential architecture of the period encompasses a wide range of Victorian-era styles. However, because Pacific Grove was a resort area, stylistic “rules” were likewise relaxed, and thus most residences are vernacular in nature and may loosely be grouped under the heading of Folk Victorian. Commercial properties, civic & public assembly properties, and cultural landscape elements associated with the significant themes of the “Early Development of Pacific Grove” period are also present. Although a handful of light industrial properties existed during this period, none appear to be extant today.



Page & Turnbull, Inc. / 24 June 2011

Properties constructed during “Early Development of Pacific Grove” period (1873-1902)
(Page & Turnbull)



Page & Turnbull, Inc. / 24 June 2011

Subdivisions and additions platted during “Early Development of Pacific Grove” period (1873-1902)
(Page & Turnbull)

FORMATION OF THE PACIFIC GROVE RETREAT

The origins of Pacific Grove as a religious retreat can be traced directly to the development of Ocean Grove, a Methodist campground founded along the New Jersey shoreline in 1869. There, religious-minded persons from cities such as New York and Philadelphia could gather to discuss spiritual matters in a rustic setting free from urban distractions and workaday responsibilities. The formation of a religious retreat was not a unique concept, but rather an outgrowth of the revival meetings held in early nineteenth century America, when a shortage of formal religious facilities in frontier communities inspired itinerant preachers to hold outdoor revivals. The popularity of these so-called “camp meetings” grew throughout the nineteenth century, leading to the development of annual encampments in several locations, including Ocean Grove, the Hollow Rock Holiness Camp Meeting in Toronto, Ohio, and the Methodist Campground in Merrick, New York.

As word spread of the success of Ocean Grove, attendees of the 1872 California Annual Conference of the Methodist Church formally began discussions about establishing a West Coast campground. Among those who would have been aware of these discussions was Reverend W. S. Ross, a Methodist clergyman from Alameda. In 1873, Ross visited the Monterey area in the hope that his deteriorating health might be improved by the fresh air. During his visit, Ross evidently met with David Jacks who invited the clergyman to build a tent house on land located near today’s Lighthouse and Fountain Avenue. Ross’ health improved, and he was soon joined by relatives and other visitors that included Methodist Bishop Jesse T. Peck. Subsequent to these visits, David Jacks contacted Reverend George Clifford, then the presiding elder of the San Francisco district, about the possibility of using his land near Monterey for a Methodist campground.⁷⁶

In 1874, Bishop Peck formed a committee to investigate the formation of a retreat that included himself, Reverend Clifford, and ministers George Ash of Salinas and J. W. Ross of Alameda. The group then traveled to Salinas where they were met by David Jacks and given a tour of his lands. Impressed with the magnificent location, the committee soon entered into negotiations with Jacks. These culminated in Jacks formally offering 100 acres of land for the development of a summer resort during the 23rd California Annual Conference of the Methodist Church held in September 1874.⁷⁷ Around this same time—perhaps as a gesture of goodwill—Jacks permitted Reverend A. C. McDougall to construct a house on his lands. Located at 142 Pacific Avenue, this is today the oldest surviving house in Pacific Grove.⁷⁸ According to local historian Don Beals, however, the house was subsequently enlarged and remodeled after its construction.⁷⁹

Prior to concluding their agreement with David Jacks, the Methodist Episcopal Church filed articles of incorporation for the Pacific Grove Retreat Association (PGRA) on June 15, 1875, at the Monterey County Clerk’s office. The Association was governed by a Board of Trustees that included Reverend Clifford and Reverend Ross, as well as Reverends Frank Jewell and Otis Gibson of San Francisco.

On July 31, 1875, the PGRA finalized its agreement with David Jacks. It outlined the subdivision of 100 acres of Jacks’ land for use as a Christian resort. Five of the 100 acres were donated outright by

Jacks for the purpose of camp meetings, while the other 95 acres were to be divided into lots. These lots could then be sold or leased by Jacks to people who were willing to submit to the Retreat Association's rules. Jacks would then split any profits from the sales with the PGRA. Jacks also agreed to loan the PGRA funds for improving the land, which was to be repaid by half the proceeds of the sale of lots. Further, until at least 300 lots were sold, Jacks would pay half the salary of a caretaker for the property. One acre of lots also had to be sold for at least \$1,000.⁸⁰

In return, the PGRA agreed to pay half the taxes levied on unsold lots, as well as make improvements such that the area would be "suitable as a place of Christian sea-side resort ... for the purpose of an annual camp meeting of fourteen days." With both parties in agreement, the PRGR purchased 95 acres, plus the five acres donated by Jacks, for one dollar.⁸¹

For David Jacks, the agreement was both altruistic and business-savvy. While the PGRA was able to acquire lands in a prime location, Jacks also was assured the profits from the sale of half the lots. The PGRA was also required to make improvement to the grounds, further increasing the value of Jacks' land. As one author observed,

The way the contract was laid out virtually assured Jacks of making a profit. If the campground were an enormous success he could count on revenue from the sale of the newly established lots. If it was a failure and the PGRA did not sell as many lots as they expected he would still benefit. If they couldn't sell enough lots the Association would not have the money to refund Jacks' initial loan and the lots would revert back to his ownership ... All at little expense to himself and with the bonus of having previously unused land cleared, set into lots, and partially occupied ... He set himself up nicely regardless of the fate of the Retreat. At the same time it appeared he was making a generous donation to a good Christian cause – which he actually was.⁸²

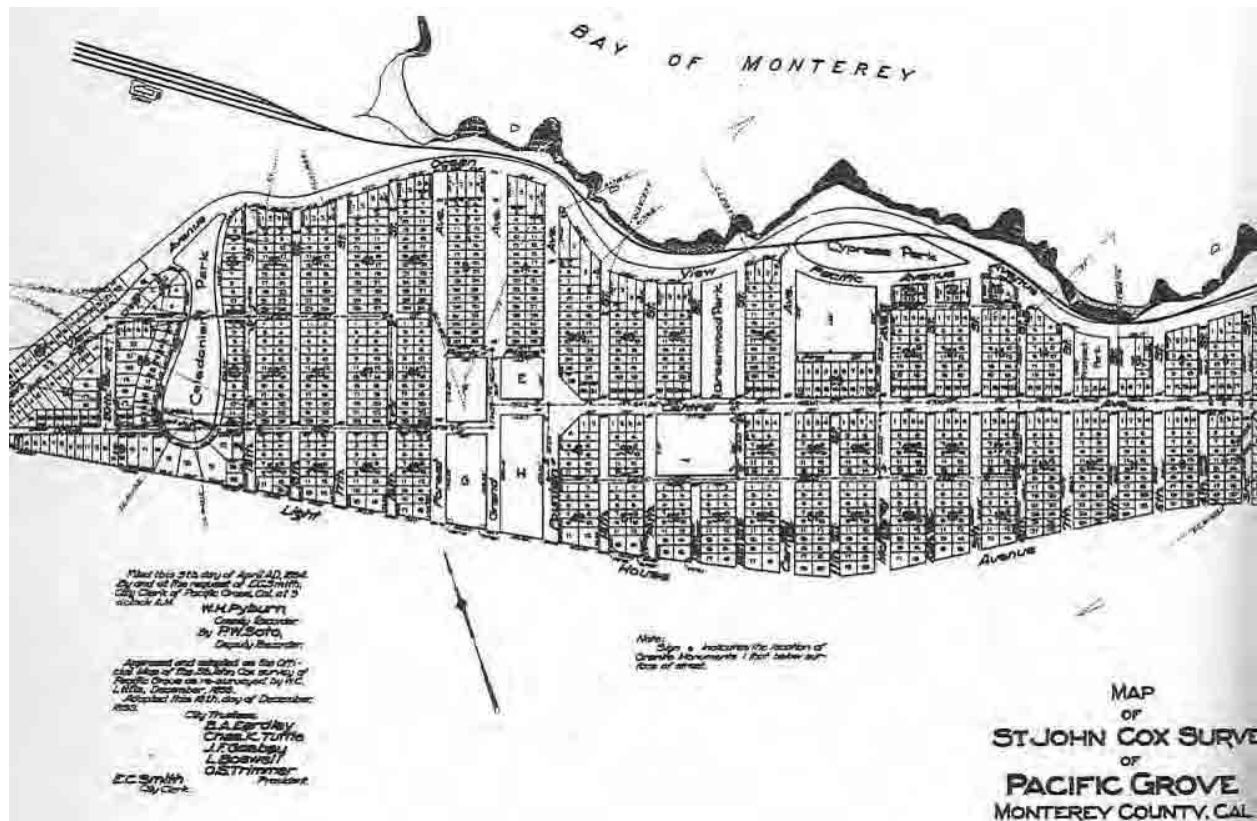
SURVEY AND SUBDIVISION

In July 1875 a survey map of the Pacific Grove Retreat was filed with the Monterey County Recorder's Office. Prepared by surveyor St. John Cox, the map not only provided the initial blueprint for subsequent development of the city, but is also instructive as to the ambition of the Retreat's founders. Laid out largely in a traditional grid pattern, the map depicts the boundaries of the original Retreat as Monterey Bay on the north, Lighthouse Road on the south, 1st Street on the East, and Ocean View Avenue (now Pacific Avenue) on the west. It is important to note that the map does not show all the land donated by Jacks, but rather only the land that the PGRA planned for initial improvements.⁸³

The use of a grid system with uniform lot sizes was not only the most expedient method for surveying the land, but also maximized the number of lots that could be sold. Typically, the lots in Pacific Grove measured 30 feet wide by 60 feet deep. By conventional standards these were

relatively small. But at the time of the Retreat's founding it was envisioned that most would be used for camping purposes, rather than the erection of permanent homes. This unusual lot pattern can still be seen today in the residential neighborhoods north of Lighthouse Avenue.

Street and avenue widths varied. Generally speaking, most avenues were 50 feet wide, while street widths, such as those between 1st and 10th Street, alternated between 30 and 40 feet in width every other block. The narrowest streets, of which there were few, included Union and High (now Ricketts), which were only 20 feet wide. The two largest thoroughfares were Grand Avenue and Lighthouse Road, which respectively measured 75 feet and 100 feet wide.



1894 map of the entire St. John Cox Survey
(City of Pacific Grove, reproduced in *Images of America: Pacific Grove*, p. 44)

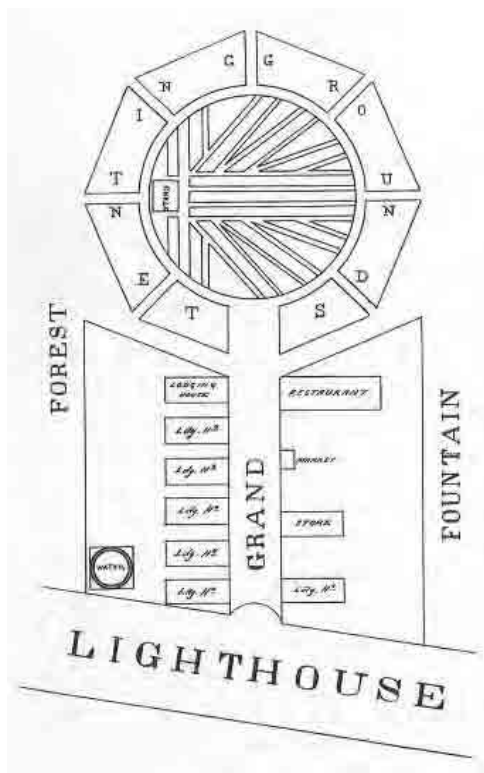
In total there were 64 blocks, but these varied in size depending on the arrangement of intersecting streets or natural features. For example, the blocks bounded by Grove, Union, Forest and 19th Street uniformly included 24 lots. However, some of the blocks located closer to the waterfront, such as the block north of Central Avenue between 5th and 6th streets, might contain as few as 8 lots.

The lack of uniform block sizes was also determined in part by Grand Avenue, which served as a crucial dividing line between the two halves of the Retreat. Other than Lighthouse Road, none of the east-west streets located east of Grand Avenue were connected to any the east-west streets located west of Grand Avenue. The effect of this can still be seen today on the south side of Jewell

Park, where Central Avenue has to jog to the south to connect with what was formerly called Grove Street.

Other irregular blocks resulted from the creation of three parks, all of which survive today: Cypress Park, Caledonian Park and Greenwood Park. While Cypress Park appears to have been developed to take advantage of the coastal views, both Caledonian Park and Greenwood Park are likely products of the local topography. In particular, Greenwood Park was placed astride a small creek that was not easily developed, but which could provide fresh water. Both the aforementioned 1852 Coast Survey map, as well as an additional map prepared in 1878, indicate the creek originated at point near the intersection of present-day Pine and 15th streets and then traveled northeast, crossing Lighthouse Avenue around present-day 14th Street, and Central Avenue near 12th Street.

Similarly, the previously-mentioned drainage wash near Lovers Point is shown originating near the north end of Caledonian Park, which was “for many years a swamp ... drainage from Lighthouse Avenue made a lake on the ground in wintertime.”⁸⁴ The drainage from this area flowed through a ravine and emptied into the beach area at Lovers Point. Given the extremely rocky topography along most of Pacific Grove’s shoreline, the presence of this sheltered, naturally-formed beach area suitable for bathing was likely a strong influence on the decision to locate the primary facilities of the Retreat almost directly south of this area.



St. John Cox Map of meeting ground, 1875.
(Monterey Public Library, California History Room,
reproduced in *Images of America: Pacific Grove*, p. 24)



Preacher's Stand, 1880.
(Photo by C.W.J. Johnson; Pat Hathaway Collection,
reproduced in *Images of America: Pacific Grove*, p. 8)

As shown on the St. John Cox survey map, the focus of the Retreat was located a block southeast of the beach area, where Central and Grand avenues converged on a large square with an octagonal-shaped meeting ground at its center. This was to be the focal point of the camp meetings, and would include a large wooden Preacher's Stand completed in July 1875 by Herman Prinz, a building contractor who operated a lumber mill in Monterey.⁸⁵ The Preacher's stand was surrounded by bench seating arranged in a 200-foot circle, with aisles ranging from four to twelve feet in width. This seating was in turn surrounded by an area where a ring of tents could be pitched.⁸⁶ On the east and south sides of meeting ground, the streets responded to the octagonal layout and were clipped at a 45-degree angle—a design that is still in evidence at the intersection of Central and Fountain avenues. The map also depicts a fountain at the intersection of Central and Fountain avenues, which is almost assuredly the namesake of the latter street.

THE FIRST CAMP MEETING

The St. Cox survey map indicates that the central area of the Retreat was already under development prior to filing the map with the Monterey Recorder's Office. Almost certainly, this construction activity was being rushed to completion in preparation for the first camp meeting, scheduled to be held in August, 1875. As early as May 1st, the *Monterey Weekly Herald* had announced that basic plans for the Retreat were complete and that work had begun clearing the grounds. By the time the St. Cox survey map was filed, the area south of the Preacher's stand was shown as having a series of buildings located on either side of Grand Avenue. These included a 33' x 90' restaurant and two camp stores on the east side of Grand Avenue, all of which were nearing completion by mid-July.⁸⁷

These simple, wood-frame buildings were quickly joined by a grocery provisional store, likely enclosed by tents on the side, and a small lodging house office located at the northeast corner of Lighthouse Road and Grand Avenue. Six wood-frame tent dormitories were also built on the west side of Grand Avenue, all measuring 24 x 50 feet.⁸⁸ In addition, a bath house was constructed at Lovers Point, with Reverend Alexander McDougall as its first custodian.⁸⁹

The first official camp meeting at the Pacific Grove Retreat opened on August 8, 1875, and continued for three weeks until August 29.⁹⁰ In addition to the lodging houses constructed along Grand Avenue, the area surrounding the Preacher's stand was available for free to campers. Tents could also be purchased or rented from the Pacific Grove Retreat Association at reasonable prices.⁹¹ Attendees at the camp meeting could purchase meals from the restaurant on a meal ticketing system, priced at \$6 a week, \$1 a day or 50 cents a meal.⁹²

While some water for the encampment may have been supplied by the stream in Greenwood Park, the main supply was the spring formerly used to supply the Armenta ranch, located approximately near the present-day intersection of Jewell and Del Monte avenues. Here, on land owned by David Jacks, were constructed two water tanks: the first tank was 60 feet tall and held 6,000 gallons, while the second held 15,000 gallons. Water was delivered by gravity through pipes to the Retreat grounds.⁹³ Water from the tanks was also sprinkled throughout the retreat grounds to hold down dust.⁹⁴ In 1884, the tanks were razed as new water supplies became available.



Early view of Grand Avenue, circa 1880
(California State Library)

While much of the Retreat Association’s agreement with David Jacks focused on the sale of lots, it does not appear that the first encampment was used to in any way encourage real estate speculation. Rather, it was hoped that visitors would simply delight in the area’s natural splendor and want to purchase lots for future use.⁹⁵ The first lot sales were not concluded until the final week of the encampment on August 26, 1875. Among the initial purchasers were Dr. Frank F. Jewell, Dr. Thomas Sinex, Edward Berwick, James A. Clayton and Reverend J. W. Ross. Ross was also named first Superintendent of the Retreat, and would be succeeded in 1876 by George O. Ash, who had been on the initial committee that met with David Jacks.⁹⁶

DEVELOPMENT UNDER DAVID JACKS

Although by many measures the first encampment had been a success, the sale of lots was not sufficient for the Pacific Grove Retreat Association to repay its loan to David Jacks. On May 8, 1876, all land at the Pacific Grove Retreat—other than those lots already sold—reverted to David Jacks.⁹⁷ Eager to see the value of his lots increase, Jacks continued a program of improvements, including “building bridges over gulches, felling trees and clearing avenues, building fences and stiles, and planting cypress and eucalyptus trees.”⁹⁸ At this time, nearly all of the streets at the Retreat were largely unimproved, as were the lots. Early photos show that even Grand Avenue, the focus of the Retreat, was thick with large pine trees.

Despite the Retreat’s rusticity and relative isolation, Jacks also facilitated the first important transportation connections to Pacific Grove. In 1874—around the same time that negotiations began for the formation of the Pacific Grove Retreat—David Jacks and Salinas landowner Carlisle S. Abbott organized the Monterey & Salinas Valley Railroad. This was a narrow-gauge line that would connect their two towns and mutually improve the value of their lands. Jacks donated almost \$70,000 toward construction, and the line was completed in October 1874 with a depot in Monterey. However, the line would be plagued by repeated failures of its trestle over the Salinas River.⁹⁹ In those cases, another option was travel via the steamship *Constantine*, which made regular passage between San Francisco and Monterey.¹⁰⁰

With the addition of the narrow-gauge railroad, visitors to Pacific Grove could travel via the Southern Pacific Railroad to Salinas, then transfer to David Jacks’ line for the trip into Monterey. There, they could transfer for a carriage ride to the campgrounds, which would follow the route of the recently-completed Lighthouse Road into Pacific Grove. While a footpath from Monterey into Pacific Grove had been previously established, Lighthouse Road was not formally improved until 1874, when Captain Allen Luce, keeper of the Point Pinos Lighthouse, felled trees to cut a trail through the pine woods to Monterey.¹⁰¹ This made it much easier to deliver goods to the Lighthouse station, which previously had to be brought in by sea.¹⁰²

Jacks’ improvement program for the Pacific Grove Retreat received a crucial boost in 1878 with the arrival of Joseph Oscar Johnson, who was hired by Jacks as Superintendent of the Retreat at a salary of \$75 a month. His duties included greeting visitors at the Retreat office, located near a stile gate entrance at Lighthouse and Grand avenues. Johnson was in charge of assigning rooms or camping plots, collecting fees and enforcing rules. At the time, only eight wood-frame cottages had been built at the Retreat—along with 40 to 50 tent frames. During the off-season, the Retreat was nearly empty. Johnson headed one of only two families that lived at the Grove year round. Even as late as 1881, only eight families called Pacific Grove their permanent home.¹⁰³

Robert Louis Stevenson, who visited Pacific Grove during 1879, wrote glowingly of the splendid isolation:

After a while the woods began to open, the sea to sound nearer at hand. I came upon a road, and, to my surprise, a stile. A step or two farther, and, without leaving the woods, I found myself among trim houses. I walked through street after street, parallel and at right angles, paved with sward and dotted with trees, but still undeniable streets, and each with its name posted at the corner, as in a real town ... Facing down the main thoroughfare—“Central Avenue,” as it was ticketed—I saw an open-air temple, with benches and sounding-board, as though for an orchestra. The houses were all tightly shuttered; there was no smoke, or sound but of the waves, no moving thing. I have never been in any place that seemed so dreamlike.¹⁰⁴



Retreat office and stile gate entrance at Lighthouse and Grand avenues, 1885. Joseph Oscar Johnson (lower right) was hired by Jacks as Superintendent of the Retreat, and was responsible for greeting visitors at the gate.
(Photo by C.W.J. Johnson. California State Library)

The quiet of the winter months was in stark contrast to the summer encampments, which Stevenson described as a time when “crowds come to enjoy a life of teetotalism, religion and flirtation.” Under Johnson’s steady management, the summer encampments continued to grow steadily during the late 1870s. The focus of the retreats remained prayer and spiritual meditation, but visitors also enjoyed picnicking, fishing and buggy rides to nearby scenic points. Recreational opportunities were also enhanced by Joseph Johnson, who developed a rifle range and horse-powered swing. Beginning in 1879, visitors to the beach cove could also rent rowboats from James Hogan, or enjoy bathing at the bath house, which early photos indicate stretched across the previously-mentioned ravine.¹⁰⁵

THE ARRIVAL OF THE CHAUTAUQUA

As the 1870s came to a close, the summer season at the Pacific Grove Retreat had already been extended to accommodate week-long retreats by groups that were not exclusively Methodist. Such a development was not problematic for Pacific Grove’s founders. True, the Retreat had been founded by Methodist leaders based on Methodist teachings, but it was meant only to be a Christian seaside resort, not a strictly Methodist resort.¹⁰⁶ In time, the accommodation of multiple groups over the summer season became the norm for Pacific Grove, allowing it to function something like a modern conference center. Permitting other Christian groups to use the Retreat also promised to enhance its development.

In 1879, the California Sunday School Association, which included a number of prominent Christian leaders, arrived at the Retreat a week prior to the Methodist encampment.¹⁰⁷ The visit of the Sunday School Association, held from June 27 to July 4, received extensive coverage in the *California Christian Advocate* which mentioned: “The grounds are in better condition than we ever saw them on former occasions. A large number of good cottages have been erected. They are neat and tasteful, and some of them are quite sufficient for permanent family residences. A few of the homes are enclosed with good fences, well-painted.”¹⁰⁸

Among those in attendance at the Sunday School Conference was Methodist Episcopal Reverend John Heyl Vincent.¹⁰⁹ Vincent had founded the *Sunday School Teacher* publication in 1866, and became editor of the *Sunday-School Journal* in 1868.¹¹⁰ In 1874, Vincent teamed with Lewis Miller to organize a summer assembly for Sunday school teachers near Lake Chautauqua in New York. Although it was governed by the Sunday School Association of the Methodist Episcopal Church, the meeting also encouraged Baptist, Presbyterian and Congregational members to attend. One of Pacific Grove’s founders, Bishop Jesse Peck, also participated in these early New York assemblies.¹¹¹

By 1878, the New York meeting grew to include the Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circle (CLSC), which consisted of a four-year adult-education reading course.¹¹² Within a few years the Chautauqua had grown into a national movement for self-improvement through popular education. At Chautauqua meetings, participants attended public lectures on a variety of theological and scientific subjects, listened to concerts and enjoyed dramatic performances. By the turn of the century there were over 10,000 CLSC circles in the United States, which led one author to observe that it is “probable that no other single wholly American institution, with the possible exception of the Model T, left a greater imprint upon the social and cultural life of rural communities.”¹¹³

The first Chautauqua meeting in Pacific Grove commenced on July 4, 1880, and drew over 500 people. Guests were charged the same rental rates as those for the Methodist encampment.¹¹⁴ It included a course with lectures in Bible Studies, Marine Botany, General Biology, Astronomy, and Egyptology. John Muir was also expected to attend. The cost was \$2.50.¹¹⁵ J. J. Shinaberger, who visited Pacific Grove in 1880, recalled:

Tents, tents! Nothing but tents. The woods was full of them. They were of all sizes and styles, but mostly new ... David Jacks had a monopoly of and did a brisk business in, renting tents to the Chautauquans and others in attendance at the meeting ... Lighthouse Road ... was the only thoroughfare in or out, and it was dusty, whew! Forest Avenue was the first lateral main street to be opened.¹¹⁶

The Chautauqua Hall

The arrival of the Chautauqua in Pacific Grove was to have profound influence on the character of the Retreat, and would become a fixture of the summer season for the next 45 years. As early as 1883, the Chautauqua encampment attracted some 1,200 visitors.¹¹⁷ Among the first tangible physical outgrowths of the Chautauqua movement was the construction of the Chautauqua Hall in 1881. Located at the southeast corner of 16th and Grove (now Central) streets, the wood-framed Chautauqua Hall features a simple, utilitarian design, with board-and-batten cladding and a gable roof. It is unquestionably one of the most significant buildings in Pacific Grove surviving from the earliest years of the Retreat’s development, and is designated as California Historical Landmark 839.

From the outset, the Hall was a multi-use facility. During summer encampments it provided a venue for services and Sunday schools led by clergymen from different denominations.¹¹⁸ During the off-season it was used for tent storage. It remained the primary meeting venue in the city until approximately 1889, when meetings moved to the newly-constructed Methodist Church Assembly Hall.¹¹⁹ Around the same time, the old Preacher’s stand was dismantled and fitted for a stable. By 1916 it had been moved to 311 Forest Avenue on a lot owned by J.A. Pell (no longer extant).¹²⁰



Early view of Chautauqua Hall, 1885
(Pacific Grove Museum of Natural History, reproduced in *Images of America: Pacific Grove*, p. 30)

The arrival of the Chautauqua also strongly influenced the intellectual development of Pacific Grove. It brought important speakers and introduced an educated class of people to the area, including scientists, philosophers, artists and poets. By the mid-1880s, Pacific Grove would organize its first museum through the efforts of Josiah Keep of Mills College, and Mary E. B. Norton, a botany instructor at the San Jose Normal School, who became the Chautauqua Museum’s first

curator. The collections focused on natural specimens such as seashells, sea mosses, plants and pinecones.¹²¹ Eventually, Norton would keep the museum open the entire year, rather than solely for the summer season.¹²² In 1886, music was added to the Chautauqua program, and music education would remain an important part of Pacific Grove’s cultural fabric well into the twentieth century.¹²³

THE PACIFIC IMPROVEMENT COMPANY

Although the Chautauqua movement strongly influenced the early character of Pacific Grove, it may be fairly said that no single entity was to have a greater influence on the development of the city—indeed the entire Monterey Peninsula—than the Pacific Improvement Company (PIC). The PIC traced its earliest roots to the Central Pacific Railroad, financed by Sacramento businessmen Leland Stanford, Collis P. Huntington, Charles Crocker and Mark Hopkins—otherwise known as the “Big Four”—who in 1869 had been instrumental in completing the Transcontinental Railroad. The previous year, however, the Big Four had also purchased the nascent Southern Pacific Railroad. This line was slated to begin in San Francisco and then head south along the coast before eventually turning east and completing a southern route across the United States. Under the management of the Big Four, the Central Pacific and Southern Pacific Railroad operations were merged in 1870, with the Southern Pacific Railroad reaching Los Angeles in 1876, and New Orleans in 1883.¹²⁴

By the late 1870s the Southern Pacific Railroad had a near monopoly on California’s rail system. Through federal land grants given to the company along their right of way, they had also acquired enormous land holdings. In 1878, the Pacific Improvement Company was formed as a subsidiary of Southern Pacific with the express goal of developing these landholdings—as well as nearby areas that could be served by the railroad. With its scenic coastline and proximity to San Francisco, one of the first areas targeted for development by the PIC was the Monterey Peninsula.

In September of 1879, the Southern Pacific purchased the Monterey & Salinas Valley Railroad from David Jacks and other shareholders. By December, the Pacific Improvement Company had purchased the El Pescadero Rancho at Pebble Beach. Then in May of 1880, it was announced that the PIC and David Jacks had agreed on the purchase of the entire Punta de los Pinos rancho—except for the Lighthouse reservation and 100 lots reserved by Jacks.¹²⁵ The total price for these acquisitions was \$35,000—or about \$5 an acre.¹²⁶

David Jacks’ motivations for the sale are not known. Clearly, he was able to divest himself of the property in one fell swoop at a substantial profit to his initial investment. He also likely realized that any improvements made by the PIC would vastly increase the value of the lots he still retained in Pacific Grove.¹²⁷ For its part, the Pacific Improvement Company appears to have been perfectly willing to honor the prior arrangement between Jacks and the Retreat Association to maintain Pacific Grove as a Christian Resort—doubtless because they were as eager to see the area developed as Jacks had been. The transition was also smoothed by the PIC’s retention of Joseph O. Johnson as Superintendant of the resort.¹²⁸

Tensions did emerge, however, following the PIC's discovery that the boundaries of the land in the deeds signed by Jacks did not extend to the western end of the Monterey city limits. Jacks defended his claim to this strip of land, however, by employing a large group of men to construct a fence from the waterfront along the entire east line of the PIC survey (Eardley Avenue). This strip of land eventually came to be known as the Intermedia Tract, and it would be many years before the cities of Pacific Grove and Monterey agreed to extend their boundaries into this no-man's land, with the official boundary designated as Line Street between David and Eardley avenues.¹²⁹ This boundary also remains abundantly clear today in the awkward intersection between the Pacific Grove and Monterey street grids.

Land disputes aside, the PIC wasted no time in improving its purchases. In early February 1880 the company began clearing land for a luxury resort known as the Del Monte Hotel. Located at what was then the eastern edge of Monterey, the three-story hotel was completed in six months. It featured over 100 rooms, as well as a ballroom, observatory, and approximately 100 acres of grounds with bathhouses, fountains and parks.¹³⁰ To bring in visitors, the Monterey & Salinas Valley Railroad was reconstructed as a broad-gauge line from Castroville to Monterey. A railroad table from 1883 indicates that Monterey could be reached from San Francisco via the Monterey Express, or "Daisy Train," which left San Francisco at 3:30pm and arrived in Monterey 3 ½ hours later.¹³¹

While the Del Monte Hotel was under construction, the PIC also began developing a scenic coast drive to showcase the local scenery for hotel visitors. This was a loop drive from Monterey out through Pacific Grove to the Pebble Beach area, and quickly gained fame with tourists as the "17 Mile Drive." One of the first stops was the "exotic" Chinese fishing village at the eastern end of Pacific Grove.¹³² In 1883 a writer would describe the Hotel Del Monte as:

The "Queen of Watering Places without a peer among resorts for tourists, pleasure-seekers, and invalids. That it shall attain this distinction, even situated as it is, is a purpose of its proprietors which are sparing no pains to compass. They own the whole peninsular jutting into the Pacific west of the hotel—a compact body of over 7,000 acres—which they propose to convert into a beautiful park, with drives and deer, and lakes and dells, and to attract many a wealthy household establish homes there."¹³³

In Pacific Grove, the PIC also made important improvements including improved street grading and the development of sewer and drainage infrastructure. The latter was considered crucial in order to remove the threat of malaria, as well as "the thousand natural shocks that flesh is heir to, arising principally from sewer gas and the foul odors engendered thereby."¹³⁴ In 1881 the PIC also built six new cottages on the west side of Grand, which took the place of the original Retreat cottages in the same location.¹³⁵

Perhaps the most important improvement made by the PIC was the construction of a water system to supply the Hotel Del Monte—as well as the rest of the Monterey Peninsula. In 1883 the company

spent several hundred thousand dollars constructing a dam at the headwaters of the Carmel River. The water was then transported by gravity flow through a 23-mile pipeline to Pacific Grove and Monterey. The system was further enhanced in 1884 by the construction of a 14 million gallon reservoir, located southwest of the present-day intersection of David and Carmel avenues in Pacific Grove.¹³⁶ Storage capacity was again increased in 1888 through the construction of the Forest Hill Reservoir. Located in the hills between Pacific Grove and Pebble Beach, the reservoir was constructed in three months by 1,700 Chinese laborers who enlarged a former clay pit and then lined it with granite. When completed, the reservoir featured a storage capacity of 140 million gallons.¹³⁷

FROM SUMMER TENTS TO COTTAGES

The development of the Del Monte Hotel and the 17 Mile Drive brought large numbers of visitors to Pacific Grove during the summer months, encouraged in part by the Southern Pacific, which charged retreat-goers one-third less than the regular fare and provided free transportation for tents and baggage.¹³⁸

The Southern Pacific's largesse was doubtless inspired by the desire to attract potential buyers for the PIC's lots in Pacific Grove. They also encouraged goodwill by financing the construction of the previously-discussed Chautauqua Hall. In 1881, the PIC sold 128 lots, followed by 405 lots in 1882.¹³⁹ In part, these sales appear to have been facilitated by company efforts that allowed potential buyers to visualize the exact placement of their property. A writer in 1882 noted that:

Desirable lots for building residences or for tenting purposes, can be purchased at reasonable rates. Maps are on exhibition at the Grove and a person to show the ground and state prices. Every lot has been staked out, so that purchasers can see immediately their boundary lines ... A large number of lots have been sold during the past season and several new residences erected. ... A four horse coach [from the Hotel Del Monte] makes four trips daily to and from the Grove. (Not so frequent on Sundays.) All places of interest can be reached by one of the finest drives in the State over a macadamized road of twenty miles.¹⁴⁰

Despite the sale of lots, Pacific Grove largely remained a tent city during the summer meetings. After 1880, visitors had the option of renting tents from either David Jacks—who maintained a commercial presence in the Grove—or from the PIC. These were easily distinguished by their color. The PIC tents were white, while those offered by David Jacks featured blue-colored stripes in order to maintain a certain degree of privacy.¹⁴¹

The PIC tents features six-foot-tall walls and came in numerous configurations, ranging from the smallest (10 x12 feet), to medium-sized tents (12 x 16 feet), to the largest (12 x 24 feet). In 1882 a writer mentioned these could be rented for prices ranging from \$4 to \$9.50 a week. The largest tent was “divided into three rooms and furnished with cook stove and kitchen table.” Those bringing their own tents would be charged a small ground rent that also covered water usage.¹⁴²

To facilitate easier set-up of tents during the summer season, semi-permanent tent frames were placed throughout the Retreat. By far, the densest clusters were located along 16th Street north of Grove Street, and 17th Street north of Lighthouse Road.¹⁴³ In time, many retreaters constructed more permanent cottages by cladding these frames with single-wall redwood board-and-batten skin, while still retaining the original tent on the interior as a dust barrier.¹⁴⁴ The result was a hybrid type of gable-fronted “tent cottage” exceedingly well-suited to the Retreat’s small 30 x 60 foot lots. Along with simple hip-roofed cottages, the gable-roofed tent cottage quickly became the most common form of frame folk-housing in the Grove. It has even been opined that the colored battens used on these cottages were meant to imitate tent stripes.¹⁴⁵



**Tent frame accommodations, likely along 16th or 17th Street, 1885.
(California State Library)**

Many of these tent cottages retained the original dimensions of the tent frames, although it quickly became common to enlarge them with shed-roofed additions in the rear for kitchens. In the ensuing years, other additions would follow. As one author observed, “The first addition was usually nailed on the back side and pipes of all sizes and shapes were attached to the exterior in order to provide running water and inside bathroom facilities. Around the turn of the century its gas lighting was replaced by electric wiring and fixtures.”¹⁴⁶ Tent cottages from this period are likely to be significant for their association with the theme of residential development tied to the founding of Pacific Grove as a religious retreat. For example, small board-and-batten tent cottages are able to convey the unusual, small lot divisions created for the Retreat, as well as the city’s early growth as a summer encampment.



Views of tents and cottages, 1885. Photos by C.W.J. Johnson.
(California State Library)

Tent cottages were by no means the only type of housing being erected in the Grove. In 1878 Joseph O. Johnson had constructed a house on the northeast corner of Lighthouse and Fountain Avenue. It included a hip roof and a prominent porch—design features also common to many residences of the period. Perhaps the most substantial building in early Pacific Grove was the house of Dr. Frank F. Jewell (no longer extant), constructed as a summer retreat in 1879 using the doors and stained glass windows from a razed Methodist church in San Francisco. In contrast to the simple tent cottages, Jewell’s House featured numerous “gingerbread” decorative elements and occupied a prominent lot on the northwest corner of Forest Avenue and what is today Park Place. Jewell was one of the founding fathers of the Retreat and during the 1880s served as pastor of the San Jose First Church, and then as presiding elder for the Oakland District. In 1897 he became superintendant of the Retreat, and following his death in 1899 was buried in El Carmelo Cemetery. Jewell’s widow operated the house as furnished rooms for a brief period, and it was subsequently used as a boarding house.¹⁴⁷

Another prominent early residence was that of Senator Benjamin J. Langford, constructed in the early 1880s at the extreme eastern edge of Pacific Grove on Lot 1, Block 1 of the Retreat. Addressed today as 225 Central Avenue, the two-story house shows Italianate style influences in its tall central tower, and would have been an impressive landmark marking the entrance to the Retreat. The house’s location also led to one of the more storied occurrences in Pacific Grove’s development. At the time the house was constructed, the boundaries of the Retreat were fenced—more symbolically than for security’s sake. One could enter the Grove on foot quite easily by walking through a stile gate—which was a break in the fence with a step up and through. But visitors on horseback or in carriages could not enter the Grove unless the wagon-gate was unlocked by the Superintendent. Langford’s home stood just beyond the entrance gate to the Retreat, and he apparently grew weary of repeatedly parking his carriage, walking all the way into the Grove to retrieve the key, unlocking the gate, and then traveling back to return the key. Thus he eventually decided to take matters into his own hands and used an axe to demolish the gate—which was never rebuilt.¹⁴⁸ Grander residences such as the Langford House may be significant as an illustration of Pacific Grove’s early association with prominent individuals, as well as the financial success of some of the city’s early developers.



Dr. Frank F. Jewell House, circa 1900
(Steve Travaille, reproduced in *Images of America: Pacific Grove*, p. 74)



Early photograph of Langford House, circa 1890
(Courtesy the Heritage Society of Pacific Grove)

By 1882 approximately 100 cottages had been constructed in Pacific Grove Retreat and an impulse was growing to open the area as a year-round settlement. A visitor that year wrote:

The seed is sown from which good fruit is confidently awaited in coming years. It was at first designed to keep the Grove open only during summer, when it never rains and tents afford all needed shelter for campers. Since so many cottages have been built, and the proprietors have erected lodging houses, and a restaurant and public parlor, and a bakery and store have been set up, so many are lingering and loth [sic] to leave, that it is decided to keep open the year round.¹⁴⁹

As development continued in the Grove, the Pacific Grove Retreat Association passed a series of rules in 1883 designed to protect the atmosphere of the Retreat. These regulations were published as an agreement between the Pacific Improvement Company as owners, and the Retreat Association as “moral and prudent” managers. At this time, Frank F. Jewell served as President of the Retreat Association, with Thomas H. Sinex as Secretary. Among the various prohibitions was the sale of any good or merchandise—except medicine—on the Sabbath. Immodest bathing apparel was prohibited, as was fast travel on horseback or in a carriage. No animal stock was allowed to roam free, and keeping horses was also banned except at designated stable lots. Social and public dancing was not allowed, nor was card playing, gambling or profane language. The sale of alcohol was strictly forbidden, and public parlors were required to close at 10:00 p.m. A curfew against any travel whatsoever in the Grove began at 10:30 p.m.¹⁵⁰

The rules of the Retreat Association are a reflection of Pacific Grove’s demographics at this time. Almost by definition the early residents were overtly religious, and most appear to have been relatively affluent. This was evidenced by their ability to afford a seasonal vacation residence, as well as have the funds and leisure time to enjoy it. Census information (discussed at length later in the report) also indicates that nearly all of the residents were white, and many were at or nearing retirement age. Thus, Pacific Grove does not appear to have been a place that attracted immigrants eager to make a fortune, but rather a place where people who had already established themselves in society came for quiet relaxation. This trend would remain an essential facet of Pacific Grove’s character well into the twentieth century.

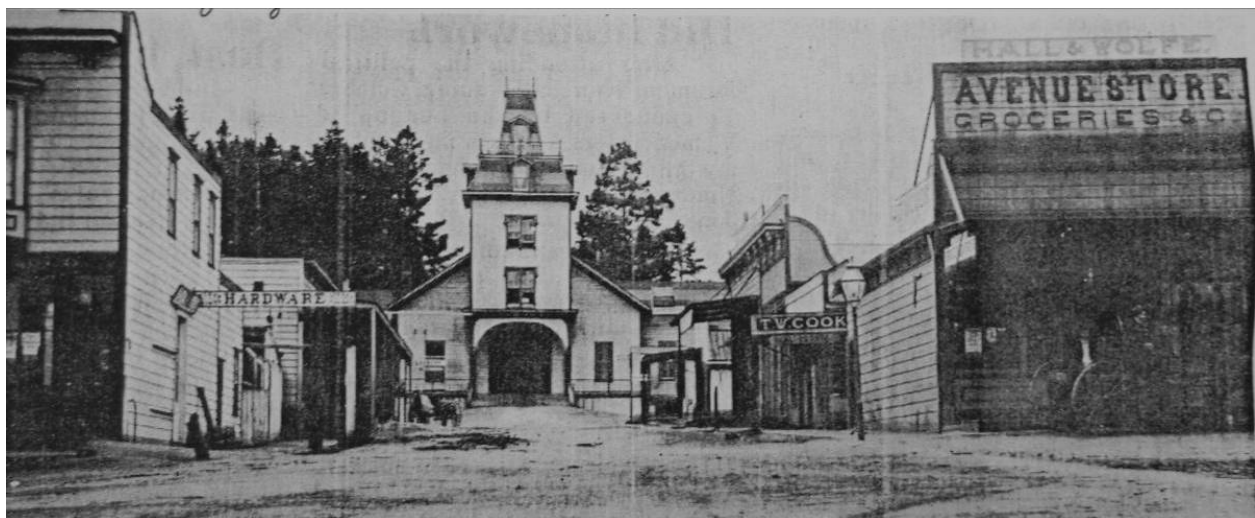
EARLY COMMERCIAL DEVELOPMENT

Prior to 1886, Pacific Grove had few commercial enterprises other than those operated by the Retreat Association. In fact, the densest commercial area was comprised of the same stores constructed for the opening of the Retreat in 1875. Lots sold elsewhere by the PIC for business purposes came with the stipulation that they could only be operated during the summer season. By the mid-1880s, however, the Retreat had grown to include approximately 200 cottages, and it is estimated that the PIC had sold at least 1,500 lots for summer residences.¹⁵¹ With this critical mass, it appears that the PIC felt the timing was opportune to open up the area to greater commercial development.¹⁵² To facilitate this, the PIC sold a large lot to its agent in the Grove, Joseph O.

Johnson. In February of 1886, Johnson filed a map with the Monterey County Recorder for a new subdivision called the “Stable Block.”¹⁵³ Located on the south side of Lighthouse Avenue between Forest, Fountain and Laurel avenues, this would become the nexus for Pacific Grove’s first commercial “downtown.”

Development of the Stable Block is a clear reminder of the preeminent role horses played in nineteenth century America, and the distinct imprint they left on building types and business ventures. All of today’s modern infrastructure serving the automobile—such as gas stations, repair shops, garages and parking lots—had their counterparts during the nineteenth century in livery and feed stores, blacksmith shops, stables and corrals. The earliest horse-related infrastructure in Pacific Grove was a large corral developed by David Jacks on land located south of Lighthouse Road and north of Greenwood Gulch in the present-day vicinity of 15th Street.¹⁵⁴ In 1884, Joseph O. Johnson developed the Grove’s first stable, which stood on the south side of Lighthouse Avenue between Grand and Fountain avenues. Here, Johnson also operated a stage line operating between the Hotel Del Monte and Pacific Grove, as well as excursions along the 17 Mile Drive. This operation was a precursor to Johnson’s greatest venture, Mammoth Stables, which served as the centerpiece of the Stable Block.

Constructed in 1886, Mammoth Stables stood on the south side of the block facing the southern extension of Grand Avenue. The name was apt, as the stable was at that time the largest building ever constructed in the Retreat. At center was a carriage house featuring a five-story tower capped by a cupola. To the east was a long wing that could hold 94 horses, while large corrals were located to the northwest and in the rear of the stables. Johnson also constructed a large home called “Nine Gables” set back from the southeast corner of Fountain and Lighthouse avenues. This residence featured a three-story tower and could rightly be characterized as Pacific Grove’s first mansion.



**Mammoth Stables, circa 1890 (no longer extant)
(Reprinted in *Monterey Bay Tribune*, 25 October 1990)**

To finance the construction of Mammoth Stables, Johnson auctioned adjacent lots facing Forest, Lighthouse and Grand avenues. An auction was held on March 6 and the new lots sold well. Almost immediately construction began on new stores in preparation for the opening of the summer season. That same year, Johnson stepped down as Superintendent of the Retreat in order to attend to his increasing business duties.¹⁵⁵

Among the first new businesses to appear on the Stable Block was Frederick Henry Ray's hardware store, a two-story building located on the southeast corner of Lighthouse and Grand avenues. Immediately to the south was the one-story Seaside Drug Store, built for J.P.E. Heintz in 1886. This building was acquired by pharmacist Charles K. Tuttle in 1887, who would go on to have a distinguished career in the Grove, serving in various public offices. Tuttle was also a photographer, and many of his images remain the best record of the early development of Pacific Grove. In 1892, Tuttle raised his building to two stories and added bay windows. The Ray Building was also remodeled with a new facade at this time, and both buildings remain extant.¹⁵⁶



Johnson Block, circa 1889. Note Bedson Eardley's office at right.
(Heritage Society of Pacific Grove, reproduced in *Images of America: Pacific Grove*, p. 68)

Joseph O. Johnson also developed a business block on the east side of Grand Avenue with the construction of 213 – 221 Grand Avenue in 1886 (extant). This one-story building was divided into five continuous storefronts covered by awnings and capped by felt roofing. By 1888 the southernmost storefront was occupied by a Chinese “Wash House,” while Bedson Eardley opened up a printing facility for the *Pacific Grove Review* in the storefront at 215 Grand Avenue.¹⁵⁷ The first issue

appeared in May 1888, but it was primarily a vehicle for real estate promotion. The paper's banner read "Pacific Grove Review – Devoted to the Real Estate Interests of Monterey County." At the time, lots were selling between \$125 and \$1,000 each.¹⁵⁸ Eardley would go on to serve as Superintendent of the Pacific Improvement Company's operations in Pacific Grove, while the paper came under the control of editor and publisher Anna A. Gallanar. In 1893 the paper sold at a subscription price of \$2 per annum and was said to be a "worthy local organ of Pacific Grove."¹⁵⁹



Commercial buildings on Lighthouse Avenue, between Forest and Grand, circa 1889.

Note that all are designed in the Western False-Front tradition.
(C.K. Tuttle Collection, Pacific Grove Museum of Natural History,
reproduced in *Images of America: Pacific Grove*, p. 48)

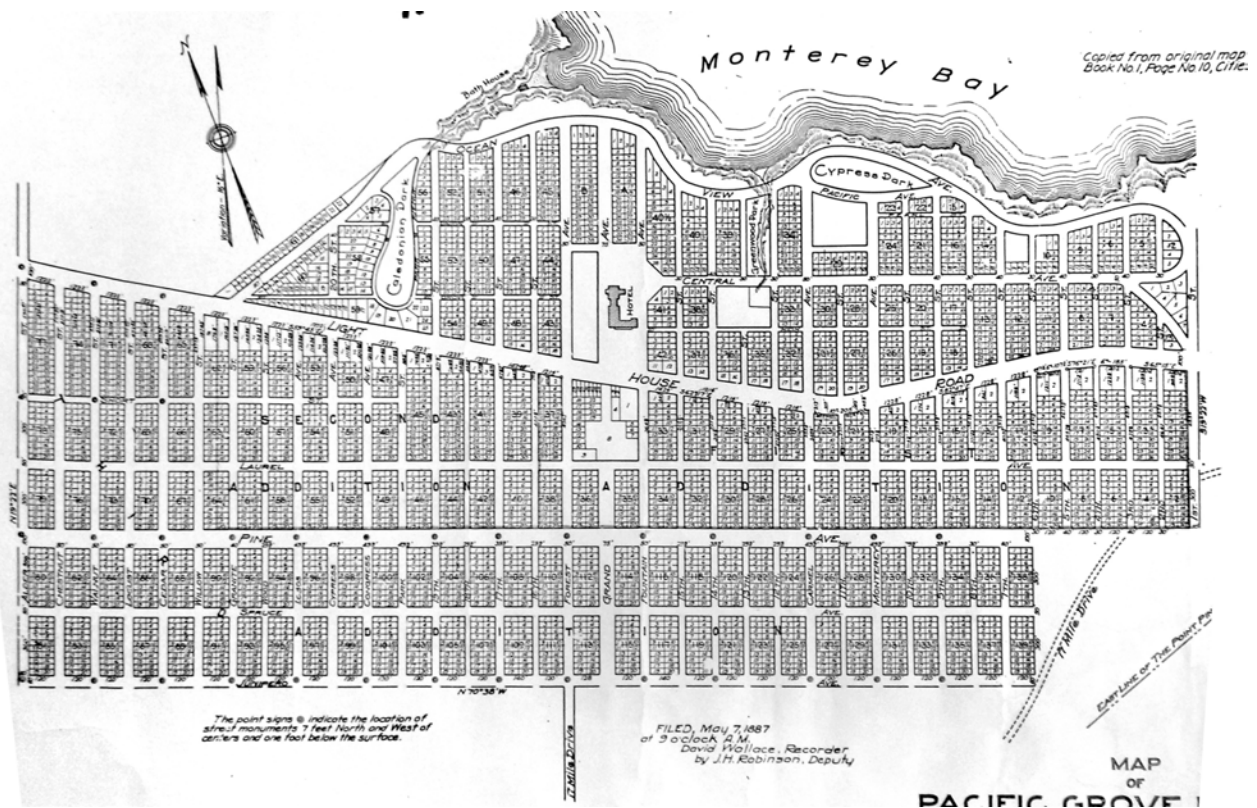
The remainder of the nascent business district was located on the west side of Grand Avenue, where new businesses fronting on Lighthouse Avenue included David W. Lloyd's General Merchandise store at 563 – 567 Lighthouse. This building was constructed in 1886, and enlarged with a second story by 1893. Immediately east was Hall & Wolfe's grocery store, constructed in 1888, while immediately west was the Pacific Improvement Company's office, followed by the Pacific Grove Land Office developed by Baker & Barber in 1886.¹⁶⁰ By 1888, Sanborn maps indicate that a post office had also been established on the west side of Grand Ave, as well as a large roller skating rink on the northeast corner of Forest and Laurel avenues. Roller skating was then quite popular throughout the United States, and appears to have been considered sufficiently appropriate for the Retreat Association.

Of all the pre-1900 buildings constructed on the west side of Grand Avenue within the Stable Block, it appears that only one survives today: the two-story Aljah Roy Cummings building at 211 Forest Avenue. Historian Donald Howard dates the construction of this building to 1884, which pre-dates Johnson's subdivision.¹⁶¹ Sanborn maps indicate that between 1888 and 1892 a rear addition was added to the building for a carpenter's shop, while the front of the building housed the printing

plant for Anna Gallanar’s *Pacific Grove Review* newspaper. (An exceptionally detailed account of Pacific Grove’s early business development is provided in Donald Howard’s book, *The Old Pacific Grove Retreat 1875 – 1940*, which should be considered a primary reference for research on this subject).

The commercial buildings described here are likely to be significant as illustrations of the establishment of commerce during the earliest period of development in Pacific Grove, especially along Lighthouse, Grand and Forest avenues as the city’s primary commercial area. The architecture of nearly all of these commercial buildings found a common root in the Western False-Front tradition, so called because it used a flat-front facade and tall parapet—sometimes featuring a cornice—to conceal a gable-roof behind it. This gave the building a more impressive street presence by extending its height, while also imitating the profile common to urban commercial centers in the East. These buildings were easy to construct—and as alluded to above—easy to modify. Thus it was common that over time the facades of many of these buildings would be modified according to evolving tastes and architectural styles. Common treatments would include the addition of bay windows and elaborate wood trim designed to catch the eye and impress the shopper.

THE FIRST, SECOND AND THIRD ADDITIONS



Copy of the map filed on May 7, 1887 showing the First, Second and Third Additions to the Pacific Grove Retreat. The additions are located south of Light House Road, while the original Retreat boundaries are to the north. (Courtesy the Heritage Society of Pacific Grove)

The year 1887 was a whirlwind of activity for the Pacific Investment Company. On May 7th the company filed survey maps detailing the First, Second and Third Additions to Pacific Grove. Other than the subdivision of Johnson’s Stable Block the previous year, this represented the first extension of the Retreat’s boundaries since the 1875 survey by St. John Cox. All of the land was located south of Lighthouse Avenue. The First Addition stretched from 1st Street on the east, to 16th Street on the west, with Pine Avenue as its southern boundary. The Second Addition was located to the west, running from 16th Street to a line between Granite and Willow streets, also with Pine as the southern boundary. The Third Addition was L-shaped, wrapping around the First and Second Additions on the south and west. Its boundaries included 6th Street on the east, Junipero Avenue on the south, and Alder Street on the west. Combined, these Additions more than doubled the size of the Retreat.

These new surveys generally continued the pattern of north-south streets from 1st Street all the way to 19th Street. Further west, however, there were no north-south street connections between the new additions and the old Retreat streets. Generally speaking, the block sizes were standardized, with dimensions of 300 feet by 120 feet. This allowed for twenty 30’ x 60’ lots in each block. It is these small parcels—both in the original subdivision and the first three additions—that are largely responsible for the dense, close-knit character of Pacific Grove’s historic core. The lot sizes dictated the sizes of the homes that could be built on them, which were generally confined to small cottages. Pacific Grove’s larger homes were frequently built on less uniform lots, such as those along the curves of Lighthouse and Ocean View avenues, which frequently resulted in lots with larger widths or depths. Several smaller parcels could also be purchased and joined together to make a single, larger lot, but this was not especially common.

Lots could be purchased at the PIC company office, which at this time was located in a storefront along Lighthouse Avenue. Auctions were also held, however, including the sale of 1,400 lots in the Third Addition. The *Del Monte Wave* reported that, “In front of a platform in a charming spot in the Grove were arranged several rows of seats for the sale. All present were supplied with a complete lithograph map of the Grove. While the bidding was spirited, there was no excitement whatever.”¹⁶² The auctions led to concerns that land speculation was overtaking the Grove, which would increase the price of property “above the reach of those not possessed by wealth.”¹⁶³

THE EL CARMELO HOTEL

A mere two weeks after the Pacific Improvement Company filed survey maps for the new additions, it also completed its most notable developments to date with the construction of the three-story El Carmelo Hotel. Located on the north side of Lighthouse Avenue, the hotel grounds occupied the entire area between Lighthouse, Forest, Park Place and Fountain avenues. The hotel opened on May 20, 1887 with modern features including indoor plumbing in each of its 114 rooms, an elevator, and gas lighting.¹⁶⁴ A landscaped park was laid out in front of the building by landscape architect, Rudolph Ulrich, who also landscaped the grounds for the Del Monte Hotel.¹⁶⁵ A large ornate fountain donated by the Loyal Temperance Union was added to the grounds, located near the

northeast corner of Grand and Lighthouse avenues.¹⁶⁶ At the rear, the hotel was connected to a large two-story dining room and kitchen, which served hotel guests as well as other summer retreaters. A small octagonal “smoking room” also stood at the rear of the property in the middle of Grand Avenue.



**El Carmelo Hotel, circa 1900
(California Historical Society/USC Digital Archive #CHS-14375)**

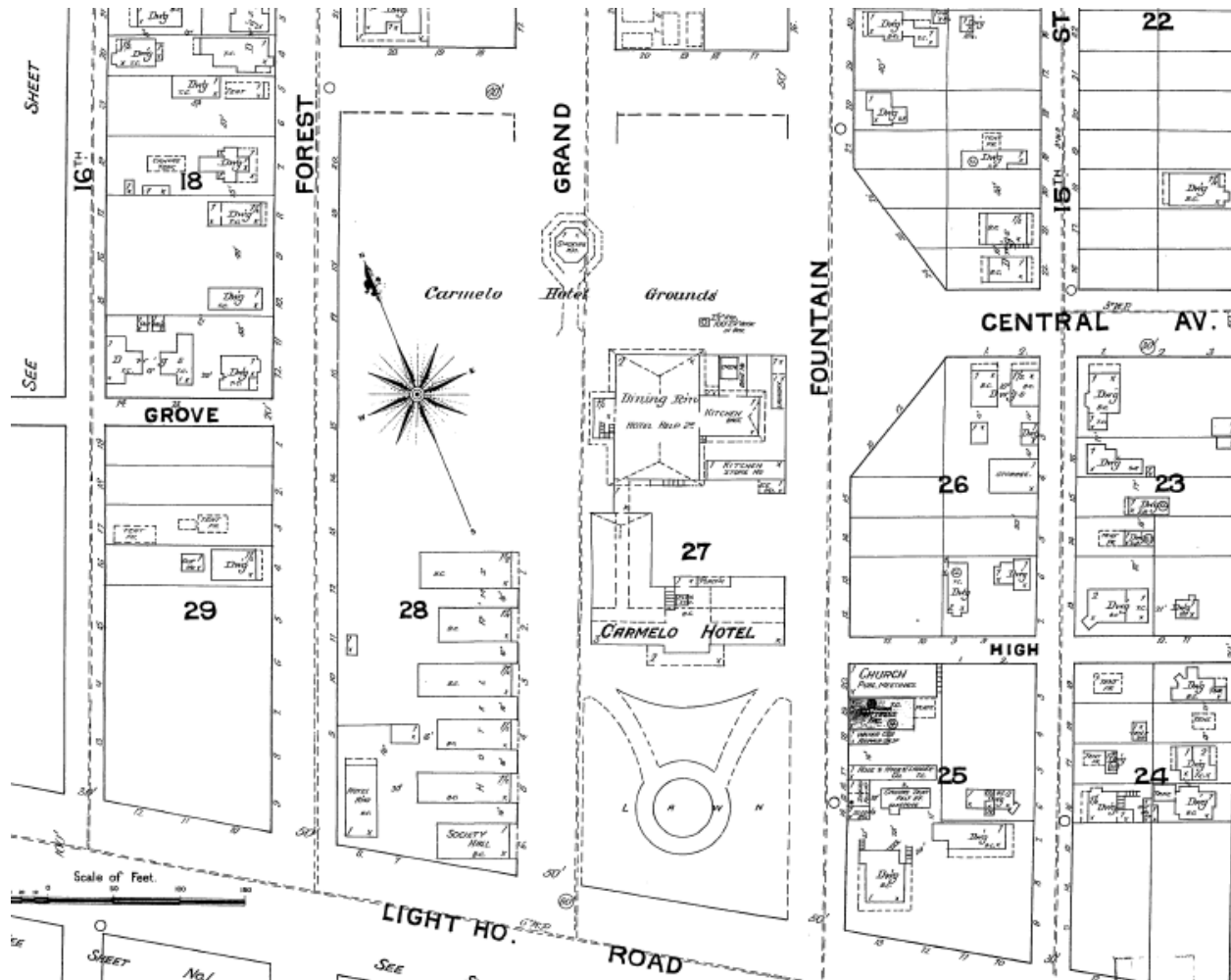
The El Carmelo would quickly become a centerpiece of social life during the summer months, heralded a few weeks after its opening by the dramatic and unplanned arrival of guests from the Del Monte Hotel in Monterey. In early June that hotel had been destroyed by fire, and many of its guests were relocated by the PIC to Pacific Grove. Two other notable lodging facilities were also constructed around this time. In 1888 construction began on the 20-room Centrella Hotel, located on the northeast corner of Grove (Central) and 17th Street. Constructed by local caterers, the building is still extant and has been placed on the National Register of Historic Places.¹⁶⁷ That same year, Joseph F. Gosbey constructed a boarding house at 643 Lighthouse Avenue, renting rooms to visiting clergymen. Around 1900 the building was remodeled with the addition of a corner tower.¹⁶⁸

Construction of the El Carmelo, which featured many modern conveniences, marked a clear departure from the earlier, rustic aspect of the Retreat, and led to a dramatic makeover of the Retreat’s central area. The old Preacher’s stand and bench seating beneath the pines were replaced by landscaped grounds, and the restaurant, store, market and lodging house built on the east side of Grand Avenue in 1875 were moved to the east side of Fountain Avenue across from the hotel. In the ensuing years, many of these buildings would see multiple uses. The old restaurant was

converted into a church and social hall on the southeast corner of Fountain and High Street (now Ricketts' Row). Another building was converted to a mattress factory, likely to supply the tent campers during the summer season. The old lodging houses on the east side of Grand remained in place and served as adjunct hotel rooms.

1888: A MOMENT IN TIME

One of the primary tools for researching this history of development in Pacific Grove is a series of maps produced by the Sanborn Map and Publishing Company. Originally designed to help insurance companies set rates according to fire risks, these maps illustrate lot by lot, block by block development, including the building's use, site plan and construction materials. The first Sanborn maps for Pacific Grove were produced in 1888 and offer an exceptionally-detailed view of the area's development at that time. It should be noted, however, that the maps focus primarily on areas with the densest concentration of buildings. Isolated buildings located far from activity centers (where there was less fire risk) were not shown.



1888 Sanborn Fire Insurance Map of the El Carmelo Hotel and vicinity.
Note the large grounds surrounding the Hotel.

A careful examination of the 1888 maps for Pacific Grove show that the most developed area of the Retreat were the blocks bounded by Forest, Laurel, Fountain and Ocean View avenues. The three-story Carmelo Hotel and its grounds dominated the center of the Retreat north of Lighthouse Avenue, while J. O. Johnson's Stable Block was the sole focus of commercial activity south of Lighthouse Avenue. Then, as is still the case now, the overwhelming majority of buildings were residential, mostly one or one-and-a-half story wood-frame dwellings. Most houses featured small setbacks and front porches, while some also included boxed window bays. The largest home was that of J. O. Johnson, and there are probably no more than 20 two-story buildings in the entire Retreat. Tent frames continued to be clustered in "tent city," shown as rows of frames along 16th and 17th streets from Lighthouse Avenue toward the bay, as well as small clusters of tent frames north of Park Place along Grand and Fountain avenues.

There was almost no industrial development of any kind, save for a blacksmith's shop located in the Stable Block and a lumber yard located on the northwest corner of Forest and Laurel avenues. This was the chain mill and yard operated by the Loma Prieta Lumber Company, which had arrived in Pacific Grove in 1883.¹⁶⁹ Several stables were also clustered nearby on the block bound by Forest, Laurel, Grand and Pine avenues. Given the relative paucity of industrial development, there does not appear to have been any dedicated company housing (e.g., worker dormitories) or clusters of working-class housing. Presumably, most unskilled or semi-skilled laborers lived as boarders, or occupied small cottages which are not distinguishable on Sanborn maps from seasonal resort cottages.

The 1888 Sanborn maps show that there was little development of any kind south of Laurel Avenue—unsurprising given that the area had only been opened for development the previous year. In fact, the vast majority of all development in the Retreat was concentrated north of Laurel between 12th Street on the east and Park Street on the west—and even these boundaries show hundreds of undeveloped lots. The areas immediately adjacent to the coast also appear mostly undeveloped, and the beach area at Lovers Point is not shown on the maps.

Given the religious origins of the Retreat, it is somewhat surprising that few dedicated religious buildings were shown at this time save for the Chautauqua Hall, labeled as a Methodist Episcopal Church, and a makeshift non-denominational church (later called the "Old Parlor") located on the southeast corner of what is today Fountain Avenue and Ricketts Row. As previously mentioned, this was the old restaurant built in 1875, moved from the east side of Grand when the El Carmelo was built. South of this building, located about mid-block, was Pacific Grove's first fire fighting facility, a hook-and-ladder company occupying a narrow one-story frame building.

BECOMING A CITY

As late as November 1886 there were only 205 cottages in Pacific Grove connected to the water system, and only 87 of them drew water year round.¹⁷⁰ But a number of developments were then taking place that demonstrated increasing momentum for conversion of the Retreat into a conventional city. One of these included the construction of the firehouse mentioned above. The Pacific Grove Hook & Ladder Company No. 1 had been organized in 1885, and the following year an engine house for a two-wheel handcart was constructed by L. D. Stone (no longer extant).¹⁷¹



**Pacific Grove's Volunteer Fire Department, July 4, 1887
(Phyllis Fisher Neel, reproduced in *Images of America: Pacific Grove*, p. 49)**



**Pine Street School, circa 1891. Note the original school in the rear.
(C.K. Tuttle Collection, Pacific Grove Museum of Natural History,
reproduced in *Images of America: Pacific Grove*, p. 55)**

Schools were also being developed. In 1884 Carrie Lloyd opened a summer school for children in the rear of the Chautauqua Hall. A school district was formed the following year and classes were

held in the Old Parlor. Then in 1887, a local bond issue was passed for the construction of a schoolhouse. The PIC donated 20 lots on the south side of Pine Avenue in the First Addition for the school site—the same site where the Robert Down School stands today.¹⁷² A one-room schoolhouse was constructed that same year, but within a short time a new two-story facility called the Pine Street School was constructed on the same site, opening its doors on April 13, 1891 (no longer extant). The old schoolhouse was moved to rear of the property and used for adjunct classroom space.¹⁷³ By 1893 it was written that:

The public schools of Pacific Grove are divided into four classes, taught by four teachers. There are about 150 pupils in attendance. There is a high-school class where pupils are prepared for the university ... A kindergarten class is also maintained ... The district has a fine school building, with six rooms, and a large hall, capable of being divided into two more rooms when the occasion requires. The schoolhouse is thoroughly furnished with all the modern appliances for heating, seating, and ventilation; and the plumbing is of the best.¹⁷⁴

At the same time that schools were being formed, the development of Pacific Grove's first library was also underway. The nucleus of the library began in the 1880s with a collection of books stored in a corner of the Old Parlor. Within a few years, however, it had moved to the octagonal-shaped building previously used as a "smoking room" behind the El Carmelo Hotel. This building also appears to have been used as space for the nascent Pacific Grove Museum, and by 1892 the octagonal building had been moved from its previous location to the area where the Pacific Grove Museum of Natural History stands today. After the turn of the century the library would move again to J. O. Johnson's block at 211 Grand Avenue, where it became the first free circulating library in Monterey County.¹⁷⁵

The late 1880s also witnessed a period of street improvements, including the clearing and grading of Lighthouse Avenue with a gravel bed. In 1888, all men living in Pacific Grove were asked to present themselves with appropriate tools to accomplish the job. The gravel was obtained "by digging and blasting a large deep gravel pit between Willow and Wood streets on Lighthouse Avenue and hauling it with four horses."¹⁷⁶

While these civic and cultural developments were important milestones for Pacific Grove, the greatest single impulse for incorporation as a city was unquestionably the coming of the Southern Pacific Railroad. In 1888 plans were announced for the continuation of the Southern Pacific Railroad from Monterey to Pacific Grove and out to the mouth of the Carmel River—a total distance of about 16 miles. This announcement stirred business owners and residents alike, and within a short time efforts were underway to incorporate the Retreat as a city.¹⁷⁷

In June of 1889, Pacific Grove incorporated as a city of the sixth class (the class was based on population). The move to incorporate met with little resistance. The city was governed by a Board of Trustees drawn from the old Retreat Association, and its first significant effort was the enactment of

a series of ordinances with names that included the “Protection of the Persons and the Preservation of the Morals in the city of P.G.” There were designed to preserve the unique qualities of the town, and in large part followed the earlier retreat rules, prohibiting “immoral” businesses—especially those that would sell alcohol—as well as other undesirable activities including shooting firearms, and playing ball in the street.¹⁷⁸ Pacific Grove does not appear to have had a city hall at that time. The first time it appears on a map is in 1897, when the Sanborn map of that year shows it sharing space with the firehouse building on Fountain Avenue.

RAIL SERVICE ARRIVES IN PACIFIC GROVE

Construction on the Southern Pacific Railroad extension from Monterey was begun in May 1889 by Chinese laborers, and the first Southern Pacific Railroad train pulled into Pacific Grove on the 1st of August 1889. The right-of-way followed a sinuous route along the shoreline at the eastern end of Pacific Grove before straightening out in a large field southwest of Lovers Point. A depot was constructed on the south side of the line in what is today the Monarch Pines Mobile Home Park. In this same area, spur lines were constructed to serve the enormous Loma Prieta Lumber Company yard located north of the tracks. That this lumber company would be given such a large plot or prime land southwest of Lovers Point was not accidental. This company had been founded in the 1880s by the Dougherty Brothers of San Jose, and was incorporated with Timothy Hopkins (adopted son of Big Four founder, Mark Hopkins) as President. The company owned some 7,000 acres of forest in the Santa Cruz Mountains near Aptos, which was brought to a market by a rail system constructed in cooperation with the Southern Pacific.¹⁷⁹

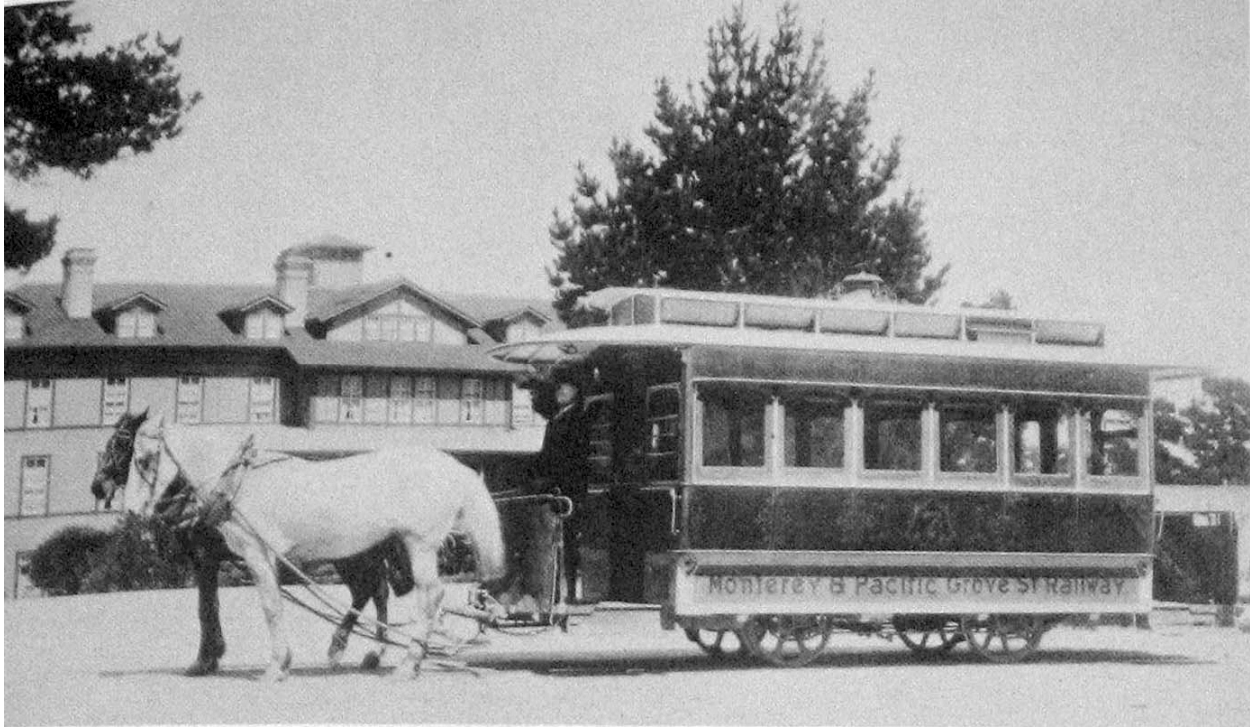
From the area southwest of Lovers Point, the railroad line then continued westward, out through the pasture land of the Bodfish Dairy—today the site of the Pacific Grove Golf Links. The dairy had been developed by David Jacks in 1887, and subsequently rented to William Bodfish.¹⁸⁰ During railroad construction in this area, it is reported that work crews encountered a human burial, perhaps associated with the old Jose Armenta ranch house.¹⁸¹ From there, the railroad line turned near El Carmelo Cemetery and continued south over today’s Railroad Way to a point just south of Sunset Drive. There, a “sand spur” was constructed that extended southwest to the vicinity of Lake Majella.¹⁸² This was a pond located amidst rolling dunes in what is today the Spanish Bay Club development.

The line was originally planned to continue to an area of coal deposits in the Carmel Valley, but for reasons that are unclear, it was never extended beyond Lake Majella. Here the PIC established commercial sand mining operations amidst the abundant sand deposits at Moss Beach. Initially, the sand was mined by hand and loaded onto gondola freight cars for exclusive use by the Southern Pacific, which used the sand to improve traction on its many lines. Eventually, though, the sand would also be mined for shipment to east coasts glass makers.¹⁸³



Southern Pacific Steam Engine, 1896
(Pat Hathaway Collection, reproduced in *Images of America: Pacific Grove*, p. 22)

Within a few years the Southern Pacific was not the only rail operation in Pacific Grove. On April 20, 1891 service was initiated by the Monterey and Pacific Grove Street Railway Company. This was a narrow-gauge, horse car line running out from the Hotel Del Monte to Lighthouse Avenue through New Monterey, then out Central Avenue in Pacific Grove to Fountain Avenue. There it traveled one block south to Lighthouse Avenue where it turned west and continued to a terminus at 17th Street. A car barn was built at the Del Monte terminus, as well as another car barn located at Central Avenue at 2nd Street in Pacific Grove (no longer extant). The grand opening coincided with a visit from President Benjamin Harrison, with the parade starting in Pacific Grove.¹⁸⁴ The company was reorganized in 1893 as Monterey and Pacific Grove Street Railway and Electric Power Co.¹⁸⁵ Among its directors at the time were Oliver S. Trimmer and Phillip Oyer of Pacific Grove, as well as Harry A Greene of Monterey.¹⁸⁶ Greene was a highly influential figure in the development of Monterey, including the subdivision of New Monterey, the creation of the city's first electric company, and construction of the Monterey harbor breakwater. His house, constructed in 1887, still stands in New Monterey at 361 Lighthouse Avenue.

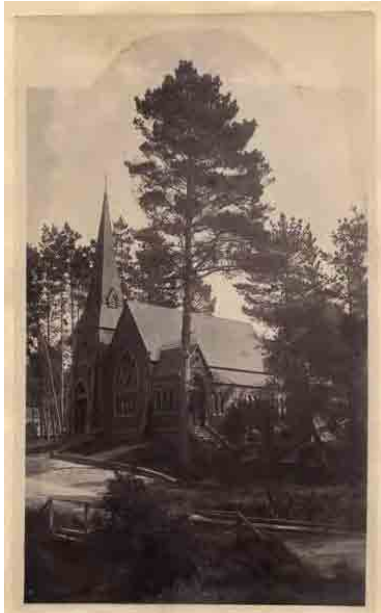


Monterey & Pacific Grove Street Railway, Horsecar No.7, 1895
(Erle C Hanson, Monterey & Pacific Grove Street Car Era)

PACIFIC GROVE'S EARLY CHURCHES

Despite Pacific Grove's reputation as a Christian seaside resort, it was not until 1887 that construction began on the first building wholly designed for religious worship. This was St. Mary's-by-the-Sea, located on a lot donated by the Pacific Improvement Company at the southwest corner of Central Avenue and 12th Street. The building was designed by William H. Hamilton after a Gothic church located in Bath, England, and the interior finished with natural woods. A rectory designed by Ernest Coxhead was added in 1890, followed by a Parish house in 1893.¹⁸⁷ Part of the lot included a spring feeding Greenwood Park gulch, which had to be crossed by a wooden bridge.

The following year the cornerstone was laid for a new Methodist Episcopal Church and Assembly Hall located on the north side of Lighthouse Avenue between 17th and 18th streets (no longer extant). The site encompassed eight lots donated by the PIC, which also donated \$10,000 toward its construction. A Mr. Price of Philadelphia served as architect, while William Henry Hoyt—who would also build several commercial buildings in Pacific Grove—served as contractor.¹⁸⁸ Completed in 1889, the Gothic Revival style edifice was the largest of Pacific Grove's churches, featuring two impressive towers flanking the sanctuary. On the interior, the sanctuary featured a sloped floor, with opera-style seating installed in the balconies which could seat 600 persons. Classes were held in both towers as well as the basement, which also housed a kitchen and banquet room.



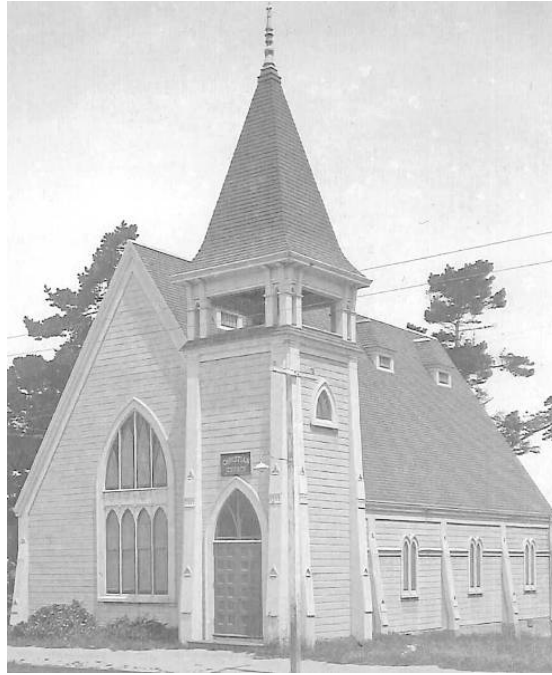
Early view of St. Mary's-by-the-Sea
(California State Library)



Methodist Episcopal Church and Assembly Hall, 1900
(C.K. Tuttle Collection, Pacific Grove Museum of Natural History,
reproduced in *Images of America: Pacific Grove*, p. 63)

From the outset the Methodist Episcopal Church was designed as both a church and meeting hall, and would soon play host to many of the Chautauqua assembly functions. Part of the total \$25,000 construction cost had been donated by several individuals “with the express understanding that this edifice was to be owned by the association and used for the meetings of all religious and educational assemblies which come to the Grove, free of charge. It is, however, dedicated as a Methodist Church, and is so used by the local Methodist Episcopal Association.”¹⁸⁹

The Mayflower Congregational Church incorporated in 1892, and by the following year had begun work on a modest chapel. This was located directly west of St. Mary's-by-the-Sea on land that had also been donated by the PIC. A Gothic Revival style chapel was completed in 1895, but would be destroyed by fire in 1910. It was then replaced by a much larger brick-veneered building, completed around 1911.



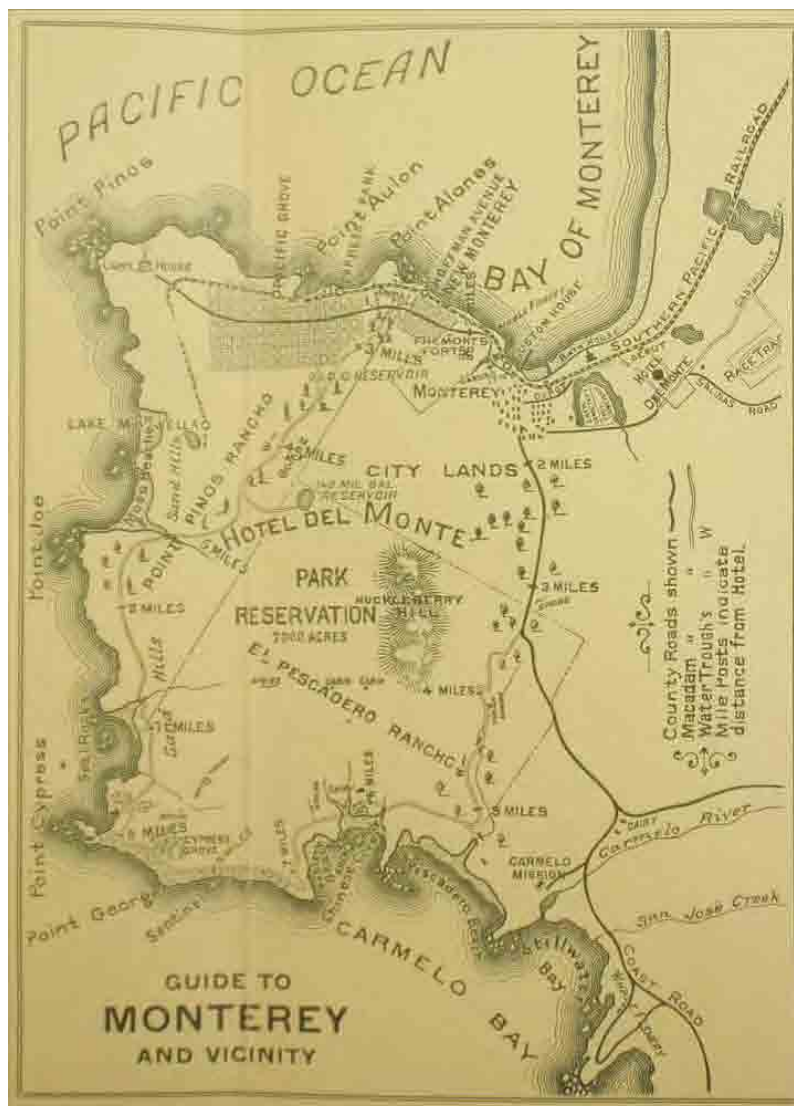
First Christian Church, 1896.
(C.K. Tuttle Collection, Pacific Grove Museum of Natural History,
reproduced in *Images of America: Pacific Grove* p. 62)

Following the completion of the Mayflower Church, construction began on yet another church in the vicinity. The First Christian Church had organized in 1891 with meetings in the Old Parlor, and by 1896 had completed work on the shell of a Gothic Revival chapel located on the northwest corner of Central and Carmel avenues. Completed in 1904, the building features a corner tower with a belfry and rounded out an impressive collection of religious edifices all located with a block of Greenwood Park.¹⁹⁰ Why the PIC chose to donate land for several churches in this area is not entirely clear, but Central Avenue was then considered one of Pacific Grove’s more important thoroughfares, and this location near the gateway to “downtown” would have been considered prestigious. Indeed, the PIC was active in making street improvements during this era. The gardener who maintained the grounds of the Hotel Del Monte also headed street improvement projects in Pacific Grove, and the company frequently donated gravel and manpower for street repairs.¹⁹¹ Along with an improvement of the streetscape, construction of these churches would lend a greater sense of permanency to the young city, and doubtless increase the further sale of lots and residential construction activity.

The construction of Pacific Grove’s first permanent churches clearly represents an important transition from religious retreat to fully-functioning city. These churches are therefore likely to be significant as expressions of religious and cultural values tied to the earliest period of growth in Pacific Grove, as well as for their exceptional architectural design.

TURN OF THE CENTURY GROWTH

Although the 1890 U.S. Census records were later destroyed by a warehouse fire, a contemporary account from the period held that Pacific Grove counted 1,336 year-round residents that year, and it was estimated that 10,000 visitors arrived every summer.¹⁹² By this time Pacific Grove's summer calendar included a rapid succession of spiritual and social organizations that arrived for a few days or a week before being supplanted by another. A typical summer program might have included the Epworth League at the end of April; the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) in May; the Summer Encampment of the Methodist Episcopal Church in early July, followed immediately by the Chautauqua Assembly; the Women's Christian Temperance Union in early August followed by the Farmer's Institute; the Itinerant's Club in early September, followed by the California Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, which closed out the season.¹⁹³



Promotional map of Monterey and vicinity, 1900
(Monterey Public Library, California Room)

An adult summer school was also held, with classes that included mathematics, history, romance languages and physics. These were taught by “instructors from the faculties of both Stanford University and the University of California.”¹⁹⁴ Around 1895 the Pacific Grove Summer School of Music was also founded, which featured eight weeks of music classes conducted in association with the Chautauqua.¹⁹⁵ The summer music school was a forerunner of the Pacific Grove High School summer music program, which continued well into the twentieth century.¹⁹⁶

Commercial Development

Commercial development grew steadily during this period to service the large numbers of visitors, most of whom appear to have arrived via rail from the San Francisco Bay area. Almost all of the new commercial development was focused on Lighthouse Avenue, where new businesses spread outward from the earlier development of the Stable Block. These included the stores of the Hollenbeck Block, which fronted the south side of Lighthouse Avenue for the entire block between Forest Avenue and 16th Street (no longer extant). Constructed by contractor William Henry Hoyt in 1889, the two-story building included a bakery, candy store and cigar stand, with a hotel on the second floor. The post office was also relocated in this building, while the former postal building on Grand Avenue was converted to a telegraph office. One of the more popular shops in the Hollenbeck Block was a dry goods store operated by Rensselaer Luther Holman in partnership with George Washington Towle. Holman had arrived in Pacific Grove in 1890, and he and his sons would go on to become some of Pacific Grove’s most successful merchants.¹⁹⁷

Another notable development during this period was the William Robson Building, also constructed by contractor William H. Hoyt on the northwest corner of Lighthouse and Grand avenues. When completed in 1892, the Robson building was the first notable commercial building developed on the north side of Lighthouse Avenue. It would include the Gale Brothers Grocery on the ground floor, and the Ancient Order of United Workmen lodge on the second floor. At some point prior to 1905, Bedson Eardley would gain control of the property, and by 1929 the building would be razed and replaced by the First National Bank.¹⁹⁸

A further catalyst for commercial expansion occurred in 1892 when J. O. Johnson sold his large residence at the southwest corner of Fountain and Lighthouse avenues—which was promptly moved across the street to the southeast corner. The large parcel was then subdivided into smaller lots, and by 1897 a small string of shops had been constructed south of Charles K. Tuttle’s drug store including a furniture shop, a hat store, and a store selling stoves and tin ware (all extant). Johnson died in 1896, and by the following year his former home was operating as a “Faith Healing Home.”¹⁹⁹

The fact that Joseph O. Johnson’s house was moved across the street should not be considered extraordinary. Although it was one of the largest homes in the Grove at that time, house moving was a very common occurrence during this era—both in Pacific Grove and elsewhere in California. In fact, it is safe to assume that few homes during this era were demolished in the conventional sense of the word. At worst they might have been dismantled and the building materials used

elsewhere. But most of Pacific Grove’s buildings were small, wood frame structures, and moving them would not have been particularly difficult—especially at a time when vacant lots were plentiful, and rarely more than a block away.

Rounding out Pacific Grove’s downtown commercial development at this time was the addition of a few more stores on the east side of Forest Avenue south of Lighthouse. These included a hardware and paint store, as well as a furniture store that included an annex for an undertaker (no longer extant). This was Pacific Grove’s first undertaking business, operated by J. A. Pell, and its establishment was doubtless connected with the development of the El Carmelo Cemetery near the Point Pinos Lighthouse in 1889.²⁰⁰



Lighthouse Avenue, 1901
(Pat Hathaway Collection; Monterey Public Library, California History Room Clipping Files)

Viewed as a whole, the nature of Pacific Grove’s commercial development during this period clearly reflects the macro trends of the day. Some buildings were strongly geared to the tourist trade: the curio stores, candy shops, jewelry stores and hat shops. Others show a town where new construction—particularly residential construction—was in high gear: the hardware stores, furniture shops, stove dealers and paint suppliers.

Residential Development

Sanborn maps produced in 1892 and 1897 show that Pacific Grove’s residential growth during this period consisted primarily of infill within the original Retreat boundaries, as well as growth into the First and Second Additions. In the early part of the decade, much of the growth occurred between Pine and Lighthouse avenues from 11th Street on the east and Granite Street on the west. By 1897,

however, residential growth was also concentrating at the east end of the city, particularly between 4th and 11th streets in the vicinity of the streetcar line along Central Avenue. Here, the prestigious corner lots along Central remained mostly undeveloped, while the interior portions of the blocks were being built out with modest one-story frame dwellings. Closer to Ocean View Boulevard, the houses tended to be larger, with one-and-a-half or two-story frame dwellings offering views of Monterey Bay. At least some—if not most—of the lumber to construct these residences was supplied by the large Loma Prieta Lumber Company yard located southwest of Lovers Point on the north side of the Southern Pacific Railroad tracks.

Despite this development, tent frames also remained common. Pacific Grove may have incorporated as a city, but that did not herald the end of the summer season tent city. The Sanborn maps show that the densest cluster of tent frames had shifted one block west by 1892, when it was located between 17th and 18th streets north of Grove (now Central) Street. The former heart of the tent city—which had stood between 16th and 17th streets in the same area—was then in the process of being developed with new houses, such as a row of three semi-identical one-and-a-half story cottages at 116 – 122 16th Street (two of which are still extant). These cottages were constructed by the PIC, and are identical to another cottage at 302 Lighthouse Avenue.²⁰¹

The location of the tent city was not accidental. It stood a relatively short distance southeast of the Southern Pacific Railroad Depot, which simplified travel arrangements for visitors. The PIC's continued support of the tenting operations during this period also appears pragmatic. The land remained effectively undeveloped, while its value for future sale increased with the construction of new buildings in adjacent areas. And as one of the most affordable options for lodging in the Grove, the tents also continued to bring in new visitors whom the PIC—like the Retreat's founders—hoped would fall in love with the area and purchase a lot.

By the 1890s, the conversion of tent frames to tent cottages was growing less common. Nevertheless, the simple gable-front design remained a powerful inspiration, and many homes of the era copied the basic design as it was so well-suited to the small lots. However, the houses constructed in the final decade of the nineteenth century on the whole tended to be larger than those constructed in previous years, and represented the transition of the area from summer resort to year-round city. Residences from the turn of the century are therefore likely to be significant as examples of this transition.

Demographic research also appears to indicate that many of these new dwellings represented retirement homes, as Pacific Grove's population skewed heavily to older, white, middle or upper middle class residents during this period.²⁰² There does not appear to have been a sizeable immigrant community, nor are any ethnic enclaves apparent, save for the Chinese fishing village. In this sense, Pacific Grove appears to have stood apart from the ethnically diverse demographics that characterized many growing California communities during this period, functioning as a quiet retirement community for most of the year, with the center of the city transforming into a busy resort during the summer months.

In time, the regular influx of visitors during the summer season led to the conversion of private homes to boarding houses. This was particularly true in the central area of the city north of what is today Jewell Park. Between 1888 and 1892 at least four private dwellings were converted to boarding houses, including the Jewell House, 123 Forest Avenue (extant), 133 Forest Avenue (extant), and 134 Grand Avenue (extant, but enlarged). Of interest, 123 Forest was used for a time as a sanitarium, having been built in 1886 for Dr. Carrie L. Roe. A few boarding houses also developed in the same manner along Lighthouse Avenue during this period, including the Gosbey House at 643 Lighthouse Avenue (extant), as well as the Bain Building at 663 Lighthouse Avenue (extant). These were all almost exclusively large two-story dwellings with many rooms to accommodate visitors.



Queen Anne-style residences on Lighthouse Avenue, circa 1900.
Note the Gosbey House (left) and Dr. Hart House (right)
(C.K. Tuttle Collection, Pacific Grove Museum of Natural History,
reproduced in *Images of America: Pacific Grove* p. 63)

Viewed as a whole, Pacific Grove's residential development during this time loosely fit into three categories: tent cottages and other small wood-frame dwellings, usually featuring a front-facing gable roof; medium-sized residences, often one or one-and-a-half stories with a hip or gable roof; and much larger two-story residences that might be classed as mansions. Tent cottages, modest dwellings, and grander residences may all be significant as examples of their respective typologies. The latter were scattered throughout the town and included Doctor Andrew Jackson Hart's residence built in 1893 at 649 Lighthouse Avenue, as well as the home of Dr. Oliver S. Trimmer at 230 6th Street, constructed the same year by notable Pacific Grove contractors Abraham Lee and George Quentel.²⁰³ Both residences were designed in the Queen Anne style and featured dramatic turrets, patterned wood shingles and art glass windows.²⁰⁴ Many prominent residences of the period would have also included metal cresting at the roofline, although much of this was lost to scrap

drives during the two world wars. One of the few homes in Pacific Grove that is still ornamented with roofline cresting is 509 Laurel Avenue, built in 1888.

One of the more unusually ornamented houses of the period was built in 1888 at 289 Lighthouse Avenue. Because of the steep lot, a large stone retaining wall was built featuring a dramatic entry and a stone carving of a mountain lion. These were designed by stoneworker Charles D. Casper, who worked as a mason for the El Carmelo Hotel. Although the original house was torn down in 1928, the wall and mountain lion are still present, and the brick-clad Mediterranean Revival bungalow that stands on the lot is today known as “The Boulders.”²⁰⁵ According to local historian Kent Seavey, the masonry work on the wall is indicative of the masonry techniques used by Chinese stone masons.²⁰⁶



**LaPorte Mansion, 1081 17 Mile Drive (1895). Photo circa 1970s.
(Monterey Public Library, California History Room)**

Perhaps the most prominent residence built during this period was a Queen Anne style mansion constructed by banker George Brandt in 1895 and today addressed as 1081 17 Mile Drive. Sometimes referred to as “Pinehurst,” or the LaPorte Mansion, the house stands on a six-acre lot,

which appears to be among the largest residential parcels in Pacific Grove. Of interest, the house's location would have been outside the city limits when constructed, and the sale of the lot was likely concluded through an arrangement with the Pacific Improvement Company.

As compared to the opulence of Pacific Grove's grander residences, this period also witnessed the construction of two log houses, both located in the same general area. The Curtis house at 301 Alder Street was completed circa 1897 for Mrs. Clara E. Curtis. It passed through several owners until purchased by Albert S. Collins circa 1915, who made a large addition to the original structure using Craftsman-style design elements.²⁰⁷ Another much larger log house was constructed at 505 Chestnut Street circa 1902 for Charles Howard. Both buildings remain extant.²⁰⁸



Porter Lodge at 301 Alder, originally constructed for Mrs. Clara E. Curtis. Photo 1910.
(Heritage Society of Pacific Grove, *Board & Batten*, February/March 2000)

Civic Development

Given the steady pace of commercial and residential development, it is somewhat surprising that very few wholly civic projects were undertaken during this period—other than the schools previously discussed. No formal town hall existed. Rather, the city's administrative offices were located in the firehouse building located on the east side on Fountain Avenue across from the El Carmelo Hotel. In 1891 that building had been enlarged with the addition of 40-foot tower, which housed a bell donated by Joseph O. Johnson. (The bell now stands in front of the firehouse at Pine Avenue and 17th Street.)²⁰⁹

In 1895, the city did work to tackle an ongoing problem with garbage disposal by constructing a municipal garbage chute located at the edge of the bay near the present-day intersection of Sea Palm and Ocean View avenues. This was a wooden ramp that ran out from the cliff face above the water, allowing residents to dump their garbage directly into Monterey Bay, where it would be carried out to sea by the current. Prior to that time, most residence simply buried their garbage at the rear of

their yard. The area continued to be used as a dumping ground until at least 1913, when the city relocated the dump to Del Monte Park near the foot of Buena Vista Avenue.²¹⁰

In 1897 a small jail is reported to have been constructed near Laurel and Fountain avenues, and indeed a very small structure labeled as a “lock up” appears on an 1897 Sanborn map, located northwest of Mammoth Stables behind a wagon and blacksmith’s shop (no longer extant).²¹¹ At the time, Pacific Grove counted only two law enforcement personnel—a constable during the day and a night watchman.²¹² This rather informal police force had been inaugurated in 1888, but Pacific Grove did not form a regular police department until 1900, when it gained a marshal and five deputies.²¹³

Perhaps the two most important civic improvements of the era were the arrival of electric power in 1895, and the inauguration of telephone service in 1896. Both were somewhat slow to develop, however. Electricity was supplied by the Monterey Electric Light and Development Company from generators located in Monterey.²¹⁴ Initially, electric wires were only installed on the principal streets, but by about 1910 most homes had been wired. Similarly, Pacific Grove’s first telephone service consisted of exactly one exchange: a connection between the home of Doctor Oliver Trimmer and Charles Tuttle’s drugstore. Tuttle had married Trimmer’s niece, and his daughter Winnifred would become the town’s first operator. As late as 1906, however, there were only 150 subscribers to the telephone system.²¹⁵

Of all the civic-related buildings constructed during this period, the only one that remains today is the former Pacific Grove post office located at 208 Forest Avenue. Erected in 1901, it was the first brick building constructed in the city, and the post office would remain at this location until the late 1930s when a new post office was opened.²¹⁶

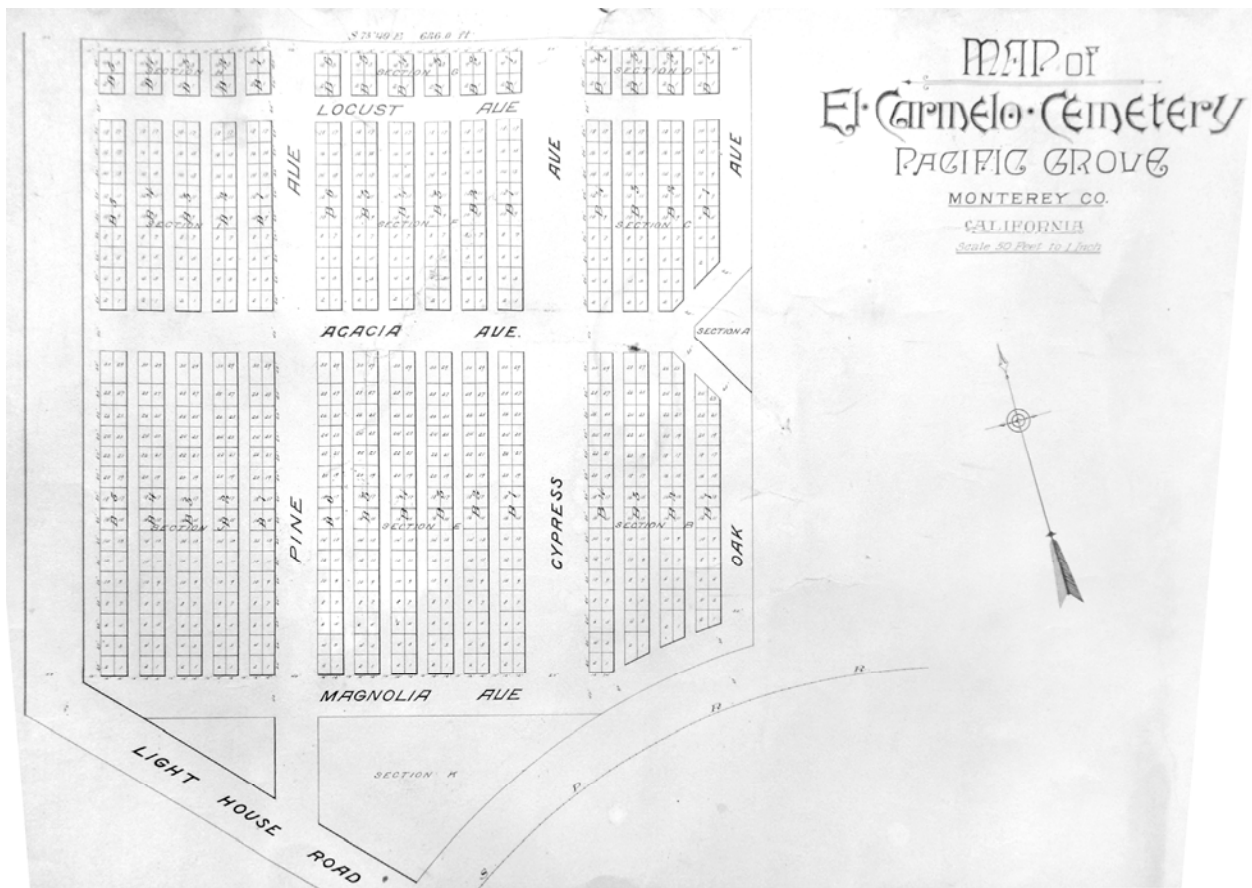
El Carmelo Cemetery

The first and only burial ground established in Pacific Grove was the El Carmelo Cemetery, located northeast of the intersection of Lighthouse and Asilomar avenues, and is likely a significant cultural landscape. The first burial occurred at the site in 1889, when the surrounding area was composed almost entirely of pine forest. Presumably, the cemetery was developed by the Pacific Improvement Company, as an 1895 article in the *Pacific Grove Review* states: “The management have shown good taste in selecting such a site and have laid out the grounds for avenues and walks with good taste.”²¹⁷ However, David Jacks—who owned the adjacent Bodfish Dairy lands—is also known to have donated a portion of the grounds for the graves of Methodist ministers and their families. Prior to 1905, a group called the El Carmelo Cemetery Association also owned several burial plots in the cemetery, but these may have been purchased from the PIC.

The earliest available maps of the cemetery indicate that it was laid out in a roughly rectangular shape featuring fourteen sections of varying size (labeled sections A through K), and that it was to be bisected by several avenues. The eastern end of the cemetery is also shown as having an entrance

wrapping around a small triangular wedge of ground labeled as section A. The southeastern edge of the cemetery was bounded by the curving line of the Southern Pacific Railroad.

In 1909, the Pacific Improvement Company would sell 9.32 acres of the site to the Trustees of Monterey Lodge Number 182, Independent Order of Odd Fellows. Four years later, the Trustees sold the cemetery to Hind Harper for \$1,500, who in 1918 would purchase an additional acre of land for the cemetery from the PIC. Other sales would follow until the city purchased the site in October 1945.²¹⁸ Further information on the city's acquisition of the cemetery is included in subsequent chapters.



Early map of El Carmelo Cemetery, circa 1900.
(Courtesy the Heritage Society of Pacific Grove)

Social Organizations

Along with hosting summer retreats for a variety of allied religious and social organizations, the city was also home to a large number of fraternal lodges and benevolent societies. Their meeting places evolved over time, but during the 1890s most appear to have met in one of three places: Robson Hall located in the William Robson Building on the northwest corner of Lighthouse and Forest avenues; the second floor of the Aljah Roy Cummings building at 211 Forest Avenue; or the second floor of the William Scoble Building at 609 Lighthouse Avenue (no longer extant). In 1902, however, William Scoble's son, Thomas, constructed a new two-story building on the southeast

corner of Lighthouse Avenue and 17th Street (extant). Known as Scoble Hall, it included a furniture store used by R. L. Holman on the ground floor, and the Independent Order of Odd Fellows' Lodge on the second story.²¹⁹

Robson Hall and Scoble Hall quickly emerged as the most popular venues, with a turn-of-the-century city directory indicating that Scoble Hall hosted the Odd Fellows; the Companions of the Forest; the Order of the Eastern Star (a women's auxiliary of the Masons), and the Daughters of Rebekah (an women's auxiliary of the Odd Fellows). For its part, Robson Hall hosted organizations such as the Ancient Order of United Workmen; the Grand Army of the Republic; the Independent Order of Good Templars; the Women's Civic Improvement Club; the Women's Relief Corps; the Modern Artizans; and the Ancient Free and Accepted Masons.²²⁰ The Mason's Lodge had been founded by Charles K. Tuttle in 1897, and he served as its master for four years.²²¹



**Early postcard of Tennant Memorial Home
(Courtesy Charles Huff)**

Pacific Grove's benevolent impulses were also realized by the construction of the John Tennant Memorial Home in 1896.²²² This was a 17-room Neoclassical mansion located on the southwest corner of Forest and Sinex avenues. It was built by Pacific Grove resident, Margaret Tennant, as a memorial to her brother. Design of the building was completed by one of the most respected architects of the period, Ernest Coxhead of San Francisco.²²³ Over the years it was used as a home for the aged, as lodging for unwed mothers, and as a rest-cure sanitarium. Tennant later donated the property to the Episcopal Church, and by 1922 it was being used as a boarding house named

Hillcrest Lodge. In 1936, it was renamed the Holiday House and was subsequently used as a school. The building was demolished in 1965, although Margaret Tennant’s personal residence, constructed in 1885, survives at 312 Central Avenue.²²⁴

Development at Lovers Point

It is important to remember that Pacific Grove was developed first and foremost as a summer resort. Thus, while religious reflection and Chautauqua enlightenment were vital parts of every summer season, people also came to the Pacific Grove to enjoy themselves. From the beginning, one of the lynchpins of the summer season was bathing at the cove located at Lovers Point—although when the point assumed that name is not entirely clear. Appearing as Point Aulon on prior maps, the first published mention of Lovers Point was in 1885.²²⁵

As previously discussed, the beach at Lovers Point owed its topography to a drainage gulch that had broken through the coastal rocks to create a sheltered beach cove. The first bathhouse—used for changing into appropriately modest bathing attire—had been constructed in 1875 directly above the gulch into the cove. A covered “vista building” where people could take in views of the water was subsequently constructed by the Retreat association about 1883 near the southeast area of the cove. A wooden wharf was also constructed around 1890 by the PIC, but was destroyed by storms within a few years. Steps from Forest Avenue down to the beach were also improved using rock rubble as a foundation.²²⁶

Despite, these improvements, by the 1890s the old bathhouse was viewed as somewhat shabby and ripe for redevelopment. This was driven in part by the arrival of the nearby Southern Pacific Railroad station, which in 1892 began receiving Sunday excursion trains from San Francisco, Oakland and San Jose. These trains allowed visitors to come down for the day and then return home, and visits to Lovers Point would have been an important part of many tourists’ itineraries.²²⁷

In 1893 John Lucas Birks leased a portion of the beach area from the PIC and erected a new frame bathhouse with approximately 60 dressing rooms, as well as hot tub baths that were fed by a windmill pump. An advertisement from that year declared that the new Pacific Grove Bathing House had been “recently thoroughly overhauled and enlarged ... Splendid beach and surf bathing ... pleasure boats, both row and sail, at reasonable rates.”²²⁸ The area was further improved in 1897 when Nathaniel Sprague hired William Hatch to blast rocks from the beach and cliff face in order to construct a new wooden wharf. Sprague was John Birks’ son-in-law and had briefly operated the bathhouse in partnership with Birks. When completed, Sprague’s wharf was located directly opposite the bathhouse along the southeast portion of the cove and used for docking pleasure boats.²²⁹



Bathhouse at Lovers Point, circa 1898. Photo by Joseph K. Oliver.
(Kim Coventry, reproduced in *Images of America: Monterey Peninsula*, p. 71)

Sprague was a recreational pioneer on the Monterey Peninsula, having teamed with San Francisco boat builder William Stone to construct a small fleet of rental rowboats in 1892 for use at a pier located near what is today Cannery Row in Monterey. But his real innovation was the development of glass-bottom boats for use in Pacific Grove, whereby tourists could be rowed out from the new wharf to enjoy the natural splendor of the “Marine Gardens.” Sprague’s “white swan” glass-bottom boats were operating as early as 1898, and would become a fixture of the Pacific Grove waterfront for decades. Sprague served as oarsman, and would continue to operate the boats until his death in 1948.

Hopkins Seaside Laboratory

Recreation was not the only activity at Lovers Point. In 1892 the Hopkins Seaside Laboratory was founded through an endowment by Timothy Hopkins, adopted son of the Big Four railroad magnate Mark Hopkins. In 1885 Hopkins was appointed trustee for the recently created Stanford University, and in 1892 supported the construction of one of the country’s first marine laboratories on land donated by the PIC at Lovers Point. Located slightly southwest of the point, the first building was a two-story frame laboratory that included various labs, as well as aquariums supplied by a 2,000 gallon tank at the rear. Water for the tank was pumped in by the same windmill that served Birks’ bathhouse. By 1893 another two-story building had been constructed, housing laboratories and a public aquarium on the first floor, with classrooms and a library on the second floor. Many of the laboratory’s specimens were gathered by Chinese fisherman, such as Quock

Tuck Lee, whose intimate knowledge of Monterey Bay allowed them to find and collect rare specimens. A scientific journal published around the turn of the century even singled out Quock Tuck Lee as having been “of utmost service, skilful, persevering and accurate in locating Chimaera” (a deep-water relative of the shark).²³⁰



Lovers Point, with Hopkins Seaside Laboratory visible in distance, circa 1900 (Bancroft Library)



Hopkins Seaside Laboratory, 1892 (Heritage Society of Pacific Grove, reproduced in *Images of America: Pacific Grove*, p. 68)

THE 1900 CENSUS

In his master’s thesis, *Pacific Grove: A Story of Western Development*, Robert J. Rapp presents a thoughtful analysis of the 1900 U.S. Census, which reveals much about the character of Pacific Grove’s residents at the turn of the century. In particular, it shows that the young city included a sizeable number of elderly residents, who comprised nearly one-third of the population. The average head of household age was 54, and a fully twenty-two percent of the total population was comprised of widowers. This age, which at the time would have been associated with retirement, in part helps explain the large number of social clubs and community groups that were active in Pacific Grove. It also may explain the lack of resistance to restrictive ordinances that helped ensure a quiet, calm atmosphere. As might be expected of a city with an overtly religious character, no fewer than eight ministers also called Pacific Grove their home.²³¹

Of interest, the census also shows many single women as heads of households. This may have been indicative of the many women who had been widowed during the Civil War three decades earlier, and who were now in search of a comfortable, safe place to retire.²³² The rest of the town was comprised largely of married adults, which suggests that younger people who resided in Pacific Grove had come to settle down, rather than find a spouse.²³³

Economically, the town was solidly middle or upper middle class. More than half the residents owned their own homes, and of those over eighty-percent owned their home outright. The image of Pacific Grove as a quiet community dominated by relatively affluent retirees is also born out by an

analysis of occupational data. Of the 398 heads of households identified in the 1900 Census, 211 were either retired or provided no occupational data. Of those who provided employment information, more than fifty percent listed white-collar occupations, while an additional thirty-two percent could be classified as having skilled or semi-skilled blue collar occupations. Most also worked within the city limits of Pacific Grove. Only twenty-two heads of households were classified as unskilled or menial laborers.²³⁴

In part, this relative economic homogeneity is evidenced by contemporary Sanborn maps, which do not appear to reveal any socio-economically segregated neighborhoods. While larger houses did exist in Pacific Grove, they were not located in enclaves. Rather, they were quite frequently sited adjacent to small cottages. The owners of Pacific Grove's larger residences also lived relatively modestly. The Census indicates that only sixteen households employed domestic servants, most of whom lived on site.

Relatively few immigrants lived in Pacific Grove at this time. Over eighty percent of Pacific Grove's residents were native born, while the rest primarily hailed from the British Isles, Canada or northern Europe. Pacific Grove was also overwhelmingly white. Excluding the residents of the Chinese fishing village, the 1900 census shows only four African-American residents of the city, and only one person of Japanese descent.

THE CHINESE IN PACIFIC GROVE

The Chinese fishing village at Mussel Point continued to grow during the last decades of the nineteenth century, although in many ways it still stood a world apart from the city. An article from 1888 described it as a scenically rustic, yet commercially active area. According to the writer, the village was then comprised of:

A double row of shanties, built directly on the rocky shore, which here permits good-sized fishing boats to come to anchor at the owner's back door. ... On all the rocks about are arranged lattice-work frames that are covered with drying fish. The fish are mainly squid, about as long as one's hand, split and boned ... When viewed from the water, it is said by those who have traveled in China, to bear a striking resemblance to the native villages that line the Yangtze.²³⁵

By this time the Chinese village, which numbered around 200 residents,²³⁶ had also emerged as a common part of any tourist's list of things to see. One writer mentioned that, "even the Chinese fishing village in Pacific Grove, in spite of its mal-odiferous smells, has its full quota of sightseers. To many it is simple curiosity that prompts the threading of its narrow street and peering into its open doorways."²³⁷ The Del Monte Hotel even took guests to see the Chinese New Year celebrations, where the villagers welcomed visitors with tables set out with treats.²³⁸



Point Alones Village, 1890s
(Pat Hathaway Collection,
reproduced in *Chinese Gold*, p. 162)



Point Alones Village, circa 1900
(Pat Hathaway Collection,
reproduced in *Chinese Gold*, p.42)



Chinese fisherman, circa 1890
(Bancroft Library)



Chinese mission and school, circa 1890
(California State Library)

As discussed in the previous chapter, the large number of families at the Pacific Grove fishing village was atypical of many other Chinese settlements in California, which were almost exclusively comprised of male laborers. The result was that the village included a sizeable number of children. As early as 1883 the Methodist Episcopal Church had established a mission and school at the Chinese village directed by Eunice L. Wilson. The school moved to Pacific Grove in 1890, and after Wilson's death in 1894 the children were allowed to attend the Pacific Grove Elementary School as long as they would "present themselves clean and under the same conditions as white children."²³⁹ A book published in 1893 mentions: "The Chinese colony of 400 or 500, within the district, includes some thirty-five native born Chinese children, for whose education in English provision was made by the school trustees; but the parents of these children seemed to be averse to sending them to school."²⁴⁰

While the Chinese in Pacific Grove continued to operate the most important commercial fishing operations on Monterey Bay, some residents also found employment in the developing resort economy. Following the construction of the Hotel Del Monte, the PIC employed Chinese laborers at the hotel, as well as for construction of the various drives around the peninsula.²⁴¹ Chinese laborers—though not from the Pacific Grove village—were also an integral part of agricultural operations in the Salinas River Valley.

At least one Chinese immigrant inserted himself into the commercial life of Pacific Grove outside the Chinese Village with the establishment of a laundry at 221 Grand Avenue at the southern end of the commercial block developed by J. O. Johnson. The laundry was operated by Jim Jim or Jim Long Jong, and continued at this location until at least 1905 when it was converted into Simpson's Plumbing.²⁴² Hundreds of Pacific Grove residents turned out for Jim Jim's wedding in 1900, testifying to his important role in the community.²⁴³ The author of a study of Chinese culture in the Monterey concluded that:

Chinese laundries are probably the most misunderstood and least appreciated of all the businesses associated with the Chinese in America," and that they are often dismissed as "peripheral to the more dramatic exploits of the railroad builders or fishermen. Yet the Chinese laundryman personified the persistence, adaptability, and ingenuity of the Chinese immigrant. Often the first to establish a Chinese business in a community, the laundryman skillfully adapted to the shifting political and economic currents in the community.²⁴⁴

Another important role of the Chinese in the development of the Monterey Peninsula was the construction of the Forest Hill Reservoir in 1888. As previously discussed, this effort required some 1,700 Chinese laborers, although it is likely that few of them hailed from the Pacific Grove village. Ironically, the same year as the reservoir was being completed, the Scott Act was signed into law by President Grover Cleveland. This legislation not only prohibited further Chinese immigration to the United States, it also stipulated that any Chinese who had left the United States, even only temporarily, would be refused reentry.²⁴⁵

The exclusion of further Chinese immigration would have a profound effect on ethnic communities in the Monterey Bay area. In particular, it would open the door for Japanese immigrants who would assume the roles formerly played by Chinese laborers, as well as pioneer new industries. Around the turn of the century, the Chinese community would also face increasing pressures to leave its location at China Point. In part this was driven by the growth of both Pacific Grove and Monterey, which brought white residents in closer contact with an unfamiliar culture, as well as practical concerns focused around the smell of the Chinese fishing operations. Just as importantly, however, was the fact that the Chinese lived on what was increasingly very valuable real estate adjacent to the coast. In the coming years, pressure on the Chinese to relocate would increase dramatically, leading to one of the more dramatic events in Pacific Grove history.

ASSOCIATED PROPERTY TYPES & REGISTRATION REQUIREMENTS (1873 – 1902)

The dominant themes of the “Early Development of Pacific Grove” period are the early development of the city as the Pacific Grove Retreat and the Retreat’s subsequent transition from a summer encampment to a city (creation of water, sewage, and transportation infrastructure and emergence of residential, commercial, and civic development patterns). The impact that development companies such as the Pacific Grove Retreat Association and the Pacific Improvement Company had on the built environment was important during this period, as was the influence of the Chautauqua and other social and religious organizations on the culture and character of the city. Other themes that emerged during this period included the development of recreational facilities and promotion of the area as a tourist attraction and the contributions of the Chinese fishing village to local culture. Property types associated with these significant themes include residential properties, commercial properties, civic & public assembly properties, and cultural landscape elements. Although a handful of light industrial properties existed during this period, none appear to be extant today.

RESIDENTIAL PROPERTIES

The period 1873 – 1902 covers a significant period of development in Pacific Grove, including the establishment of the Pacific Grove Retreat and its transition from a summer encampment to an incorporated city. Likewise, this period witnessed the establishment of residential and commercial development patterns that would guide the city’s development through the mid-twentieth century. The overwhelming majority of surviving buildings from this period are residential, primarily consisting of single-family residences, with only a handful of multi-family buildings.

Architecture of the period encompasses a wide range of styles, roughly following a chronology that includes the Gothic Revival style (1870s – 1890s); Italianate style (1870s – 1880s); Stick/Eastlake style (1880s – 1900); and Queen Anne style (1880s – 1905). However, because Pacific Grove was a resort area, stylistic “rules” were likewise relaxed, and relatively few pure examples of architectural styles are present. Thus, most residences are vernacular in nature and may loosely be grouped under the heading of Folk Victorian. These frequently drew from a variety of influences, particularly during the 1880s and 1890s, when Stick and Queen Anne decorative elements were often used on the same general building form.

Residences of this period may be loosely categorized within three separate typologies:

- Small “tent cottages” with front-facing gable roofs that were either converted from original tent frames or designed to imitate this pattern.
- Modest dwellings, typically one or one-and-a-half stories in height, most frequently with a hip roof.
- Large dwellings or grander residences, typically two stories in height and richly ornamented. A few large dwellings were also converted to boarding houses, and have been grouped in this category.



Residences from this period in Pacific Grove range in size and ornamentation. Primary typologies include tent cottages (left: 127-129 17th Street), modest dwellings (middle: 150 18th Street), and grander residences (right: La Porte Mansion, 1081 17 Mile Drive)

Within these typologies, several patterns are present. As a general rule, most residences are rectangular, and most typically are one to two stories in height. Wood frame construction is near universal, although brick and log structural systems are possible. The most popular roof forms were gable, hip or a combination of the two. Most homes of this period also featured partial or full-width entry porches.

Given Pacific Grove's small lot sizes, houses typically feature only a narrow set back from the front and side lot lines, although larger residences constructed on large or multiple lots may feature generous set backs from the street. Residential properties, particularly those on larger lots, also sometimes have associated ancillary structures such as storage sheds and stables that have often been converted to automobile garages. Some properties also have associated site or landscape features, such as retaining walls, site walls, steps, wrought iron fences, or large specimen trees.

All residential buildings dating to this period would originally have had wood-sash windows and wood paneled or glazed doors. Typical cladding would have originally consisted of wood board and batten, wood channel drop, or wood shingle siding. Many buildings would also have originally featured elaborate wooden trim, most often concentrated around porches, windows and gable ends.

These buildings are generally confined to areas of the city subdivided prior to 1900, including the original Retreat boundaries and the First, Second and Third Additions. Within this area, the greatest concentration of residences from this period are found north of Pine Avenue between Granite Street on the west and Carmel Avenue on the east. A few areas with particularly dense clusters include 19th Street between Central and Jewell avenues; Fountain Avenue and 15th Street north of Central Avenue; and 17th Street between Laurel and Lighthouse avenues.

Architectural Styles & Character Defining Features

The following section provides an outline of the relevant residential architectural styles and the character-defining features associated with each style. These styles can be applied to tent cottages, modest dwellings, and grander residences.

1. Gothic Revival Style (1870s – 1880s)



Gothic Revival-style house at 129 Pacific Avenue (1884)

- Typically rectangular or cruciform in shape, with symmetrical facades
- Steeply pitched gable roofs, sometimes with centered or paired gables on the primary facade
- Elaborate verge boards/trim in the gable ends; frequently “icicle” type designs
- Windows with lancet, or pointed arch tops, may be crowned with drip moldings

2. Italianate Style (1870s – 1880s)



Langford House at 225 Central Avenue is a typical Italianate villa (1884)

- Rare style in Pacific Grove
- Symmetrical facade, often with vertical emphasis; stronger examples may include a central tower
- Bracketed rooflines, typically with a hip roof
- Windows with hoods
- Recessed entries

3. Stick/Eastlake Style (1880s -1900)



Green Gables Inn, 104 5th Street (1888)

- Gable ends braced with turned truss work
- Jigsaw or lathed wood trim, often concentrated around porches or gable ends
- Applied wooden strips and/or applied wood “button” ornaments
- Extended brackets and building corners delineated by applied boards
- Rectangular, or “boxed” bay windows, frequently located on only one side of the façade

4. Queen Anne Style (1885 – 1910)



Dr. Hart Residence at 649 Lighthouse Avenue (1893) is a dramatic example of the Queen Anne style

- Facades of Queen Anne cottages are often symmetrical, with an integral porch on one side and a bay window or flat facade on the other. Larger and more dramatic examples are often asymmetrical, and may feature rounded towers or bay windows.
- Copious use of applied decorative ornaments, often concentrated on porches or in the gable ends. Most frequently these include scrolled brackets and spindlework above the porch.
- “Cutaway” slanted bay windows with brackets and pendants in the overhang
- Patterned wood shingles—particularly fish scale shingles—in gable ends
- Decorative half-timbering, most frequently on bay windows or in gable ends
- Multi-light art glass window lights, most typically in the upper sash



Queen Anne cottage at 320 17th Street (1900). Note the combination of boxed and angled bay windows.

4. Queen Anne Style (1885 – 1910), continued



Boarding houses like the Centrella Hotel at 612 Central Ave (1888) may also feature Queen Anne style influences

5. Folk Victorian (1885 – 1910)



Folk Victorian tent cottage, 112 18th Street (1886)



Folk Victorian tent cottage, 233 19th Street (1898)

- The most common type of 19th century housing in Pacific Grove. Generally distinguished by an informal composition versus more “pure” examples of the styles named above.
- Three common subtypes: tent cottages, gable-and-wing cottages, and hip-roofed cottages.
- Tent cottages are small, narrow dwellings featuring a prominent front-facing gable.
- Gable-and-wing designs usually features a projecting gable end intersecting a side gable
- Hip-roofed cottages have hip roofs, frequently with a pyramidal emphasis
- All types typically feature porches with posts
- Wood board-and-batten or channel-drop cladding is most common
- Often share decorative similarities with Stick/Eastlake and Queen Anne style buildings, particularly in the concentration of wood ornamentation around porches and in gable ends

5. Folk Victorian (1885 – 1910), continued



Gable-and-wing cottage, 229 19th Street (1893)



Hip-roofed form, 120 18th Street (1886)

6. Vernacular (1890 – 1910)



This vernacular duplex at 124 18th Street (1887) employs few decorative elements

- Typically display limited ornamentation
- Hip or gable roofs are most common
- Wood board-and-batten or channel-drop cladding is most common
- Typically have porches with prominent posts
- May also include traditional or rustic forms.
- Vernacular structures associated with residences may also include barns or stables.



Vernacular residence at 420 Eardley (ca. 1900) employs few decorative elements

6. Vernacular (1890 – 1910), continued



Vernacular designs can also include traditional or rustic forms, such as the log cabin at 301 Alder (1897)



Former stable behind 122 18th Street (facing 19th Street)

Significance

The table below discusses the significance of residential buildings from this era according to criteria established by the National Register of Historic Places, California Register of Historical Resources, and the Pacific Grove Municipal Code. It appears that the vast majority of surviving residential buildings from this period are already listed on the City of Pacific Grove’s Historic Resources Inventory.

National/ California Register	PG Municipal Code §23.76	Significance	Discussion
A/1	A, B	Events, Patterns & Trends	Residential buildings from this period are significant for their association with the theme of residential development tied to the founding of Pacific Grove as both a religious retreat and its early development as an incorporated resort community. This association is frequently illustrated through simple, vernacular designs appropriate to seasonal use or as retirement cottages. For example, small board-and-batten tent cottages are able to convey the unusual, small lot divisions created for the Retreat, as well as the city’s early growth as a summer encampment. Grander residences may illustrate Pacific Grove’s early association with prominent individuals, as well as the financial success of some of the city’s early developers. Groups of buildings may be better able to convey these

National/ California Register	PG Municipal Code §23.76	Significance	Discussion
			<p>patterns than individual structures; evaluators should consider the presence of historic districts that illustrate this criterion, though some properties may also qualify individually for their architectural merits or associations with prominent individuals (see below). Residences from this period may also be associated with ethnic or cultural groups, or may reflect the influence of the Pacific Grove Retreat Association or the Pacific Improvement Company.</p>
B/2	C	Persons	<p>Residential buildings from this period may be significant for their association with persons important to Pacific Grove history. Grander residences are more likely to be associated with significant persons, such as prominent merchants or religious officials; however, very early cottages may be associated with one of the city’s founding families. If this is the case, however, the residence should be compared to other associated properties to identify which property(s) best represents that person’s achievements or reasons for being significant.</p>
C/3	D, E, F, G, H, I, J, K	Architecture/ Design	<p>Residential buildings from this period may be significant for their architecture, as expressed by intact stylistic features, forms or construction methods. Buildings may also qualify as the work of a master architect or prominent builder. Individual resources qualified under these criteria should be good examples of types and/or styles, and retain most of their original features. Tent cottages, modest dwellings, and grander residences may all be significant under these criteria as examples of their respective typologies.</p>
D/4		Information Potential	<p>Buildings, ruins or subsurface remains that have the potential to yield important information about construction methods and materials, or the evolution of local residential building development may be significant for their potential to provide information important to history. However, such examples would be extremely rare.</p>

Integrity

In order to be eligible for listing in the local, state, or national historic registers, a residential property must retain sufficient integrity to convey its significance in association with residential development during this period. While most buildings undergo change over time, alterations should not significantly change the essential historic character of the building. Properties constructed prior to 1903 are relatively rare, and therefore some consideration for their age and rarity is warranted when considering integrity (see below: “Other Integrity Considerations”). Nevertheless, a residential property must retain essential physical features that made up its historic character. The aspects of integrity deemed most important for this period are design, materials, association and feeling.

Buildings would typically meet the threshold for addition to the local register if they meet the minimum eligibility requirements. Buildings qualified as individual resources at the state or national levels should exceed the minimum requirements, and should retain a substantial majority of their original features.

Minimum Eligibility Requirements:

- Clear example of residential architecture from this period (should represent tent cottage, modest dwelling, or grander residence typology)
- Retains original form and roofline
- Substantially retains the original pattern of window and doors
- Retains some of its original ornamentation. (The retention of entry, window and/or roofline ornamentation should be considered most important)
- Replacement of doors and windows is acceptable as long as they substantially conform to the original door/window pattern and the size of the openings
- Retention of the original cladding is important, but not absolute (see below)

Other Integrity Considerations:

- It was not at all uncommon for houses to be moved during this period, and so integrity of location and setting should not be considered a paramount concern.
- It is generally acceptable for entry stairs and porch features to have been replaced, as these are subject to greater deterioration from weathering and use—particularly in a seaside setting. However, replacement porches should substantially conform to the original configuration, and should not detract from the overall character of the residence. Incompatible porch replacement would likely jeopardize a residence’s eligibility for the National Register.
- Because many seasonal cottages were later adapted for year-round use, additions may be acceptable, particularly if they were made prior to approximately 1920 when construction materials were generally from the same palette. Rear additions that have respected the scale of the original building are also generally acceptable. However, more modern additions that compromise a building’s form and scale are not acceptable.
- The replacement of the original cladding—most frequently stucco or asbestos siding over wood—is generally a severe detriment to integrity. It is generally only acceptable as long as

all or nearly all of the remaining character-defining features are retained. Replacement of siding would likely jeopardize a residence’s eligibility for the National Register.

- The retention of original windows greatly enhances integrity of materials, and likewise enhances integrity of design and workmanship. However, it should be recognized that window replacement was common during the mid-20th century. Thus, the fact that a building does not retain its original windows should not—in and of itself—be viewed as an obstacle to historic registration. Far more important is that the building retain its original pattern of windows, and that the replacement windows are located within the original frame openings. The National Park Service notes that “a property that has lost some historic materials or details can be eligible *if* it retains the majority of features that illustrate its style in terms of the massing, spatial relationships, proportion, pattern of windows and doors, texture of materials, and ornamentation.”²⁴⁶
- A residence that was later altered into another style, such as a Victorian building remodeled with Mediterranean Revival influences, has lost association with this period, and should be considered to have association with the period during which it was altered—so long as the alteration adapts the character-defining features of the new style.
- Nearly all residences from this period—especially larger homes—originally had associated ancillary structures, but most have been demolished over the years. An early Pacific Grove residence that retains its original ancillary buildings would be considered to have especially high integrity. These outbuildings derive their significance from the significance of the residence, and are typically not eligible in their own right.
- The presence of original site or landscape features is not essential, but could enhance a property’s significance and integrity. Properties that retain elements such as walls, fences, steps, paths, and heritage trees are likely to qualify for listing in the National Register.
- Residences that have been converted to commercial use are still eligible for listing under all criteria as long as they retain their overall form and architectural character. While such buildings no longer retain their original use, they can still be fine examples of Victorian-era and turn-of-the-century architectural styles and residential development patterns.

COMMERCIAL PROPERTIES

Although this period witnessed the formation of Pacific Grove’s central business district, surviving commercial buildings dating to this era are not common. As with their residential counterparts, commercial buildings of this period are typically modest, no more than two stories in height, and many would have originally featured residential space on their upper floor. As originally designed, many of these buildings conformed to the Western False Front pattern, distinguished by the use of a high false-front parapet designed to impress shoppers. However, within this period it became common for business owners to enlarge and remodel their buildings according to popular tastes and expanding business needs. Examples include Charles K. Tuttle’s drugstore at 551 Lighthouse Avenue, which was raised from one to two stories during this period and embellished with bow-front bay windows. Similarly, the adjacent building at 553 Lighthouse was embellished with Queen Anne style bay windows featuring decorative half-timbering.

The J. O. Johnson block at 219 Grand Avenue was also developed as a commercial property, although it contained a former Chinese laundry at its southern end. Clothes cleaning operations are more accurately categorized as a light industrial use, but this business is grouped commercial properties because the physical characteristics of the laundry building are more closely aligned with those of commercial structures. Sanborn maps indicate that the storefront used by the Chinese laundry shifted in use over the years, appearing in 1914 as a store, while returning to light industrial use as a plumber’s storage facility in 1926 and 1962.



**Top Left: Original brick post office, 208 Forest Avenue.
Top Right: Charles K. Tuttle’s drugstore, 551 Lighthouse Avenue.
Bottom Left: Mixed-use building at 553 Lighthouse Avenue, with Queen Anne details.
Bottom Right: J.O. Johnson Block at 219 Grand Avenue.**

All but one of the surviving commercial buildings from this period are of wood frame construction, with the exception being the brick post office located at 208 Forest Avenue. Roofs are typically gabled, although Charles Tuttle’s drugstore incorporates a butterfly roof that is lower at center than at the ends. Covered porches or awnings at the first floor were originally a common feature, although all have been removed. Most typically, buildings of the period would have been originally clad in wood channel-drop or clapboard siding, and all would have incorporated double-hung wood-sash windows and paneled or glazed wood doors. Original storefront systems would likely have been constructed using wood and glass.

Nearly all surviving buildings from this period are clustered along Forest, Fountain, Laurel and Lighthouse avenues in close proximity to Grand Avenue, as this area was the center of business activities during this period.

Significance

The table below discusses the significance of residential buildings from this era according to criteria established by the National Register of Historic Places, California Register of Historical Resources, and the Pacific Grove Municipal Code. Most commercial buildings from this period are already listed on the City of Pacific Grove’s Historic Resources Inventory.

National/ California Register	PG Municipal Code §23.76	Significance	Discussion
A/1	A, B	Events, Patterns & Trends	Commercial buildings from this period are significant for their association with the theme of commercial development tied to the establishment of commerce during the earliest period of development in Pacific Grove. These buildings illustrate nascent patterns of commercial development that helped cement the area along Lighthouse, Grand and Forest avenues as the city’s primary commercial area. Many buildings would most easily be qualified as contributors to a historic district, although some would qualify individually for their architectural merits or associations with prominent individuals (see below).
B/2	C	Persons	Commercial buildings from this period may be significant for their association with persons important to Pacific Grove’s history, such as prominent merchant, Charles K. Tuttle. If this is the case, however, the building should be compared to other associated properties to identify which property(s) best represent that person’s achievements or reasons for being significant. For commercial properties potentially eligible for the HRI, this criterion may also apply to businesses or organizations.

National/ California Register	PG Municipal Code §23.76	Significance	Discussion
C/3	D, E, F, G, H, I, J, K	Architecture/ Design	Commercial buildings from this period may be significant for their architecture, as expressed by intact stylistic features, forms or construction methods. Buildings may also qualify as the work of a master architect or prominent builder. Individual resources qualified under these criteria should be good examples of types and/or styles, and retain most of their original features.
D/4		Information Potential	Buildings, ruins or subsurface remains that have the potential to yield important information about construction methods and materials, or the evolution of local commercial building development may be significant for their potential to provide information important to history. However, such examples would be rare.

Integrity

In order to be eligible for listing in the local, state, or national historic registers, a commercial property must retain sufficient integrity to convey its significance as part of commercial development during this period. While most buildings undergo change over time, alterations should not significantly change the essential historic character of the buildings. Commercial properties from this era are quite rare, and therefore discretion is warranted when considering integrity (see below: “Other Integrity Considerations”). Nevertheless, a commercial property must retain essential physical features that made up its historic character. The aspects of integrity deemed most important for this period are setting, design, materials, association and feeling.

Buildings would typically meet the threshold for addition to the local register if they meet the minimum eligibility requirements. Buildings qualified as individual resources at the state or national level should exceed the minimum requirements, and should retain a substantial majority of their original features. These include features such as clerestory windows, decorative trim, and prominent cornices or parapets. When assessing storefront alterations, particularly in multi-story commercial or mixed-use buildings, consider whether or not a storefront alteration is still subordinate to the overall character of the building.

Minimum Eligibility Requirements:

- Clear example of commercial architecture from this period
- Retains original form and roofline
- Substantially retains the original pattern of window and doors. Storefront alterations, particularly in multi-story commercial buildings, can be acceptable (see integrity considerations below)

- Retains at least some of its original ornamentation, if applicable. The retention of entry, window and/or roofline ornamentation should be considered most important.
- Replacement of doors and windows is acceptable as long as they conform, or substantially conform, to the original door/window pattern and the size of the openings

Other Integrity Considerations:

- Commercial buildings from this period that retain their original storefront configurations are extremely rare. In multi-story commercial buildings, ground floor alterations should be considered acceptable as long as they are subordinate to the overall character of the building. Similarly, storefront alterations that demonstrate evolving commercial design patterns associated with a subsequent historically significant context may be acceptable.
- Rear additions that have respected the scale of the original building are generally acceptable. However, more recent additions, especially those that compromise a building's form and scale, are not acceptable.
- The replacement of the original cladding is only acceptable as long as enough character-defining features are retained that the building can be clearly read as historic. In these instances, buildings should only be registered as contributors to a district, rather than as individual resources. Similarly, the application of ornamentation associated with evolving commercial patterns/styles during a subsequent historically significant context may be acceptable in certain instances. In these cases, the building loses association with the Early Pacific Grove period, but may gain association with the subsequent period when the alteration occurred.

CIVIC & PUBLIC ASSEMBLY PROPERTIES

Pacific Grove's surviving civic & public assembly facilities from this period are quite rare, and include the Chautauqua Hall as well as two churches: St. Mary's-by-the-Sea and the First Christian Church. (The 1902 post office on Forest Avenue is more closely aligned with commercial architecture of the period, and thus is grouped within that category.)



Left to right: Chautauqua Hall (1881), First Christian Church (1890), St. Mary's-by-the-Sea (1887)

These buildings are generally impressive and typically were constructed as one-story or one-story double height structures. All are wood frame, and all originally featured wood-sash windows and paneled or glazed wood doors. Stylistically, the two churches show character-defining features of the Gothic Revival style, which was extremely popular for church architecture during this period. In keeping with its rustic origins during the early years of the Retreat, the Chautauqua Hall is much more vernacular in nature.

As a group, these three buildings are significant as expressions of religious and cultural values tied to the earliest period of growth in Pacific Grove.

Significance

The table below discusses the significance of civic & public assembly buildings from this era according to criteria established by the National Register of Historic Places, California Register of Historical Resources, and the Pacific Grove Municipal Code. These properties’ significance is enhanced by their extreme scarcity, and all have been appropriately listed in the City of Pacific Grove’s Historic Resources Inventory. The Chautauqua Hall is likewise listed as a California State Historical Landmark.

National/ California Register	PG Municipal Code §23.76	Significance	Discussion
A/1	A, B	Events, Patterns & Trends	Civic & public assembly buildings from this period are significant as expressions of religious and cultural values tied to the earliest period of growth in Pacific Grove. The Chautauqua Hall represents that movement’s lasting impact on the culture and character of the city, while the two churches are excellent representatives of the overtly religious character of Pacific Grove during this period. Please note that historic significance for a church or other religious property cannot be established on the merits of a religious doctrine, but rather on secular terms for its architectural or artistic values or as a representation of important historic or cultural forces.
B/2	C	Persons	Civic & public assembly buildings from this period may be significant for their association with persons important to Pacific Grove’s history, such as an early religious leader. If this is the case, however, the building should be compared to other associated properties to identify which property(s) best represent that person’s achievements or reasons for being significant.

National/ California Register	PG Municipal Code §23.76	Significance	Discussion
C/3	D, E, F, G, H, I, J, K	Architecture/ Design	Civic & public assembly buildings from this period may be significant for their architecture, either as an expression of rustic vernacular design (Chautauqua Hall), or as examples of religious architecture. In particular, St. Mary’s-by-the-Sea is both associated with a master architect, Ernest Coxhead, and is a notable example of Gothic Revival design tempered by the influences of the Arts and Crafts movement.
D/4		Information Potential	Buildings, ruins or subsurface remains that have the potential to yield important information about construction methods and materials, or the evolution of local building development may be significant for their potential to provide information important to history. However, such examples would be extremely rare.

In addition to meeting the eligibility requirements outlined in this table, if a church from this period is to be considered for listing in the National Register, it must also meet National Register Criteria Consideration A (Religious Properties). This Criteria states in part that a “religious property requires justification on architectural, artistic, or historic grounds to avoid any appearance of judgment by government about the validity of any religion or belief.” Even if the church is only being evaluated for its eligibility for the state or local register, this information may be helpful in determining the property’s potential significance. For further details, see the *National Register Bulletin #15 – How to Apply the National Register Criteria For Evaluation*. Under California Assembly Bill 133, a religious property cannot be listed in the Pacific Grove HRI above the objection of the religious institution.

Integrity

In order to be eligible for listing in the local, state, or national historic registers, a civic & public assembly building must retain sufficient integrity to convey its significance as part of development during this period. While most buildings undergo change over time, alterations should not significantly change the essential historic character of the buildings. Buildings qualified as individual resources at the state or national levels should retain a substantial majority of their original features. The aspects of integrity deemed most important for this period are location, design, materials, association and feeling.

Minimum Eligibility Requirements:

- Clear example of civic or public assembly architecture of the period
- Retains original form and roofline
- Substantially retains the original pattern of window and doors

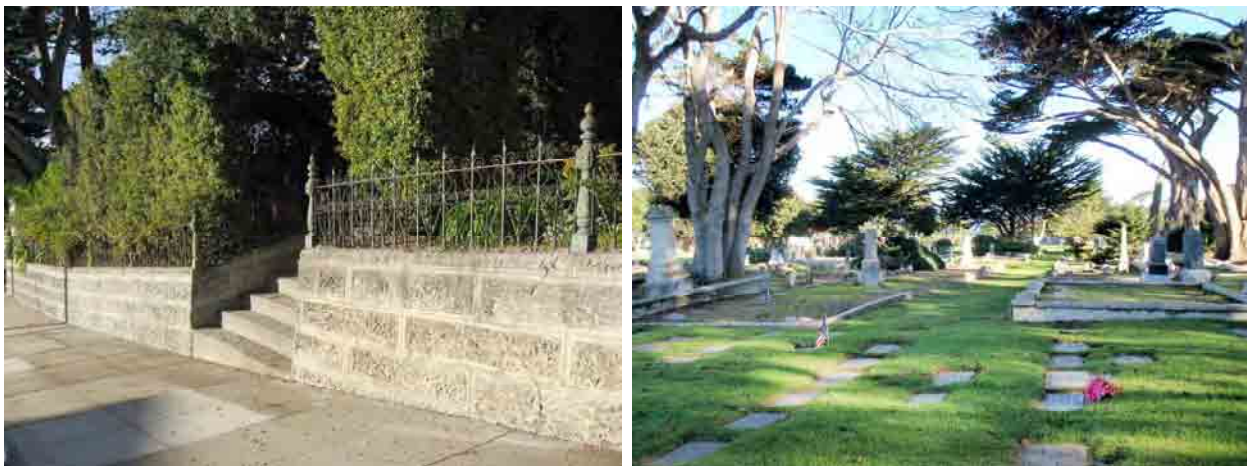
- Retains some of its original ornamentation. (The retention of entry, window and/or roofline ornamentation should be considered most important)
- Replacement of doors and windows can be acceptable as long as they conform to the original door/window pattern and the size of the openings
- Retention of the original cladding is important, but not absolute (see below)

Other Integrity Considerations:

- Alterations that have included the use of conjectural decorative elements to create a false sense of history are not acceptable.
- Additions that have respected the scale of the original building are generally acceptable. However, additions that compromise a building’s form and massing are not acceptable.

CULTURAL LANDSCAPE ELEMENTS

Significant themes from this period can be illustrated by cultural landscapes, as well as by the traditional built resources described above. As mentioned previously, site features such as retaining walls, wrought iron fences, and large specimen trees associated with a residence should be evaluated in conjunction with that residence. Similarly, landscaped or designed grounds of a church or other civic facility should be evaluated in conjunction with those institutional properties. Known extant cultural landscapes from this period include sites such as the El Carmelo Cemetery and public parks.



Left: Concrete site wall and wrought iron fence at Trimmer Hill (1893). Right: El Carmelo Cemetery (1889).

Character-defining features that may collectively contribute to a cultural landscape from this period include:

- Topography
- Vegetation
- Circulation (e.g. roads, paths, steps, and walls)
- Site features and objects (e.g. fences, benches, lights, and sculptures)
- Structures or buildings

Significance

The table below discusses the significance of cultural landscapes from this era according to criteria established by the National Register of Historic Places, California Register of Historical Resources, and the Pacific Grove Municipal Code. These properties do not appear to be listed in the City of Pacific Grove’s Historic Resources Inventory.

National/ California Register	PG Municipal Code §23.76	Significance	Discussion
A/1	A, B	Events, Patterns & Trends	Cultural landscapes from this period may be significant as expressions of the transition of the Retreat from a summer encampment to a permanent city. For example, the establishment of public parks and the El Carmelo Cemetery help illustrate the early settlement of the city, or may have been the site of an important event.
B/2	C	Persons	Cultural landscapes from this period are not likely to be significant under this criterion for their associations with important persons.
C/3	D, E, F, G, H, I, J, K	Architecture/ Design	Cultural landscapes from this period may be significant for their distinctive design values. In order to qualify under this criterion, the landscape must be purposefully designed, and must clearly express aesthetic principles or technological achievements in city planning, landscape architecture, engineering, or sculpture. These properties may also be significant if they represent the work of a master landscape architect.
D/4		Information Potential	Cultural landscapes from this period are not likely to yield important information not available in built resources or other extant documentary evidence.

In addition to meeting the eligibility requirements outlined in this table, if the El Carmelo Cemetery is to be considered for listing in the National Register, it must also meet National Register Criteria Consideration D (Cemeteries). Even if the cemetery is only being evaluated for its eligibility in the state or local register, this information may be helpful in determining the property’s potential significance as a cultural landscape.

Integrity

In order to be eligible for listing in the local, state, or national historic registers, a cultural landscape must retain sufficient integrity to convey its association with development trends during this period. Even more so than buildings, cultural landscapes—especially vegetation—are anticipated to experience change over time. An understanding of the landscape as a continuum through history is therefore critical in assessing its cultural and historic value, and a clear definition and understanding of the landscape’s period of significance is essential. In order for the landscape to have integrity, these character-defining features or qualities that contribute to its significance must be present, and integrity of setting becomes a particularly important aspect. Landscapes qualified as individual resources at the local, state or national level should generally retain a majority of their original features.