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*William B. Pyburn, Monterey, ca. 1854. From a daguerrotype.*

*(Courtesy of Muriel Pyburn)*

**Inside: The Pyburn Papers, 1847-1899**  
**From Gold Rush to Gilded Age**

## THE PYBURN PAPERS, 1847-1899: FROM GOLD RUSH TO GILDED AGE

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June 30, 1999

When the Gold Rush hit California, according to traditional accounts, Old Monterey quickly became a sleepy town of old Spanish squires, cowboys, a few fishermen and vagabonds. Occasionally, vaqueros rode into town, down its sand-washed streets. So uneventful was life in Monterey that you could measure time by the number of *fandangos* (dances) you attended each month. After the 1849 state constitutional convention held in Colton Hall ended, and with the excited claims of riches to be had from the new mining camps, the proud capital of Spanish and Mexican California had simply become emptied of its inhabitants. Both the Reverend Walter Colton, Monterey's chief civic officer (*alcalde*), and merchant and real estate investor Thomas O. Larkin (who had largely supplied Monterey's 1840s building boom), reported that almost "all were left for the mines."<sup>1</sup>

When Monterey's population did increase, little changed in the old capital according to traditional sources. Even by the 1870s, visitors such as Robert Louis Stevenson and the artist Jules Tavernier depicted a quaint but seemingly lethargic town.<sup>2</sup> Yet the history of nineteenth century Monterey and the local region was more complex and intriguing than these accounts would first indicate. This version of Monterey's past now requires some important revisions.

The Pyburn Papers, the records of an early American family of the Monterey area, have recently been added to the archives of the California History Room at the Monterey Public Library. Donated by former area resident Robert Johnson, who saved them from destruction when the W.H. Pyburn House in Salinas was torn down in 1959, the papers cast a somewhat different light on early Monterey and Monterey County. The collection documents the social, business and political life of the community, and provides a unique view of Monterey and the local region, including commentary on local events as well as news from the rough and tumble old fields and the new state capitals at Benicia and Vallejo. Most importantly, they show the transformation of a family and community from the days of struggling pioneer ventures to the establishment of a more modern middle class life of work and leisure.

The collection, dating from 1847 to 1899, consists of letters, deeds, inventories, business records and ephemera. The collection is divided into three sections corresponding to three generations of the Pyburn family. Part One contains the records of William B. Pyburn, and covers the period from 1847

through the early 1860s. Part Two consists of the papers of his son William Henry Pyburn and his wife Julia Escolle Pyburn, including Julia's correspondence with women friends and relatives. Finally, Part Three includes the correspondence of their son, William Henry Pyburn, Jr., primarily, and his sisters and friends during the "Gay Nineties."

### **Part One**

"A nest of gamblers..."

*Walter Colton*

Although Colton and Larkin had chronicled the exodus to the gold fields after news of John Marshall's discovery, miners, artisans and merchants – as well as a motley group of vagabonds and gamblers – had begun to arrive in the emptied old capital. Among the newcomers from the East were a number of enterprising individuals "on the make" or at least determined to make a new start in Monterey. They constituted a second wave of immigrant Americans and northern Europeans out to succeed in California. Among them were William "Bill" B. Pyburn, from Louisiana, and his English-born wife, Hannah Brown Pyburn.

The first wave of immigrants had included Larkin, David Spence, Captain Cooper, W.E.P. Hartnell, Jacob Leese, Captain Wolter and other "foreigners" in Mexican Monterey. Several of the foreigners had married daughters of the Californios (the ranchers and former pueblo officials during Mexican rule who remained after the American conquest)—such as the Castros, Sanchezes, Vallejos, Vasquezes and others – and, as sons-in-law, they inherited large land holdings. The second wave of Easterners included shopkeepers, former soldiers and mariners from the American conquest, as well as land investors, speculators and gamblers. They included Joseph Boston, Francis Doud, Honore Escolle, Milton Little, David Jacks, and Pyburn's friends and business partners, William Curtis and Simpson Conover (who built the first brick building in Monterey),<sup>3</sup> all of whom would become pioneer developers of American Monterey.<sup>4</sup>

In part, Monterey's second wave of "Yankees" was responsible for perpetuating the reputation of Monterey as a quaint but languid Mexican town. In contrast to the acquisitive habits of the Easterners, the people of Monterey were more communal and the town retained much of its festive Spanish character. It probably benefited the new entrepreneurs to keep alive the perception of Monterey as a dozing community of few opportunities as they acquired land and established businesses that profited from the lack of competition.

Monterey, like most California towns of the period, would indeed experience many ups and downs in its history including drought, floods, depressions and epidemics. It would also undergo the removal of the state capital and the county seat to other towns. But despite the quiescent Mexican façade, the new immigrants were actually acquiring and building Monterey,



changing the trading and business climate. After the influx of the late 1840s, Monterey and its environs was anything but simply a quiet watering hole.

William and Hannah Pyburn arrived in Monterey with their four-year old daughter, Sarah, in 1849. Bill Pyburn quickly bought town lots in Monterey and rancho land in Carmel Valley. He established himself as a local merchant, and operated a saloon and gambling tables at two locations, the Alvarado Street establishment of the famous Bola de Oro ("Ball of Gold," a combination of barbershop and saloon managed by Jose Maria Soto) and in Don Jose Abrego's house. Business was brisk with miners trading their gold for liquor, food and supplies. Miners as well as the other newcomers gambled with gold and property. Bill Pyburn was ready to offer them "gaming" services. Already in 1846, Colton had complained that "a nest of gamblers" had arrived in Monterey, and Pyburn may have been one of a number of successive gambling enthusiasts who found Monterey fair territory for a game or two of monte bank. Although never acquiring the extensive holdings of his young competitor, David Jacks, Pyburn also began to obtain properties through barter, purchase or sheriff's tax sales. Profits other than in gold ore could be extracted in old Monterey.<sup>5</sup>



North on Alvarado from Pearl Street (west side), 1875. On the left is Laporte's saloon and store. Immediately to the north stands the Bola de Oro saloon-barbershop where W.B. Pyburn operated a gambling table in the 1850s. (California History Room, Monterey Public Library.)

As the Pyburn Papers reveal, the aftermath of the Gold Rush in Monterey County was a volatile time, politically and socially. In contrast to the earlier immigrants, the second wave had arrived in the unpredictable and unstable period of the Gold Rush and during the movement for California independence, later statehood. Rather than integration into Mexican society, the latest newcomers sought to appropriate what they perceived to be undeveloped, "unclaimed" land. Some acquired property through lawful means, but others, through chicanery, treachery and violence, gained a stake in the new land.<sup>6</sup>

Early in 1847, Company D of Col. Stevenson's Regiment of New York Volunteers entered Monterey to establish themselves as "permanent [American]

colonists" in Mexican California.<sup>7</sup> A former sergeant of Company D and well known to Pyburn, William Roach plays an interesting role in the early Pyburn Papers and Monterey history. A New Yorker, familiar with Tammany Hall machine politics, Roach established himself as boss of the Democratic Party in Monterey in the 1850s, and apparently sought even wider influence. A July 1854 letter to Pyburn reported that Roach and his associates attended the "democratic convention above" [San Francisco]. While there, Roach surely conferred with his former company officer, Col. J.D. Stevenson, a leader of the state Democrats. Roach became sheriff of Monterey County. In 1855, he was able to continue his influence by having another associate, John Keating, nominated as sheriff. By 1856, Larkin was promoting the newly formed Republican Party's candidate for President, John C. Fremont. David Spence, a member of the old Monterey establishment, urged Larkin to speak up and oppose Roach's support of Buchanan.<sup>8</sup>

A member of Roach's group and Pyburn's business partner, David Leitch, also offers some interesting commentary on affairs at the early state capital at Vallejo: "Times pretty hard, very little money in this town and no script issued yet. Lots of dead heads here." His report on the new capital at Benicia was even less enthusiastic. He also noted ominously for the liquor business that "the main liquor law will pass in a few days and I am just about to taper off drinking cocktails."<sup>9</sup>

Along with a lively political debate tinged with business interests, Pyburn witnessed some of the most notorious and violent episodes in early Monterey County history. Greed, treachery and murder – the basic elements of the notorious Roach-Belcher Feud involving Sheriff Roach and his club – formed the background to events noted in the early Pyburn Papers. Besides political aspirations, former sheriff Roach was a fortune hunter in his attempt to possess California riches. Sheriff Roach and Sheriffs Lyons and Keating – all featured in the Pyburn Papers – became embroiled in a bitter fight to gain control of the Sanchez estate. Don Jose Maria Sanchez, the owner of 26,000 acres in Monterey and Santa Clara counties, had amassed wealth through beef sales at inflated 1840s prices. His wife Encarcion Ortega de Sanchez had also inherited extensive land holdings. When Sanchez died attempting to cross the swollen Pajaro River, Judge Joshua Merritt appointed Sheriff Roach as guardian of the minor children. Roach immediately resigned as sheriff and appointed Aaron Lyons to replace him. Roach reportedly began to obtain bags of gold coins worth from \$65,000 to \$85,000 from the widow Sanchez. Dr. Henry Sanford then sued Roach for embezzlement, and Roach was imprisoned for contempt of court. One of Roach's friends, Jeremiah McMahan, angered at Roach's treatment, sought out Sanford in the Bola de Oro saloon where Pyburn operated a gambling table. Both fired pistols and killed one another.<sup>10</sup>

Another of Roach's associates, Isaac Wall, an attorney, county treasurer and Monterey's first state senator, was found murdered. Sheriff Keating headed a posse to arrest the alleged perpetrator, Anastacio Garcia, who had killed three deputies. Garcia died in jail, owing Pyburn a \$56.50 payment in



milk cows and cattle.<sup>11</sup> Housed in the stone county jail next to Colton Hall, he was lynched by a mob in 1857. The attorney Delos R. Ashley claimed that for a period of three years, "63 murders and not one judicial execution" took place in Monterey County, primarily during the Roach period. Horse and cattle rustling were rampant. Gangs of disaffected Californios and Anglos hid out along the Salinas River and on the lands of what later became Fort Ord. Vigilante justice and lynch mobs were common.<sup>12</sup> Writing to Pyburn who was away on business, a close friend reported that the vigilantes could include some of Monterey's leading citizens:

Some horse stealing been here...[Milton] Little, [Jacob P.] Leese, [Sheriff] Bill Roach loosers [sic], but they caught some of the robbers [sic] and hung them up dry and brought but some nine horses.<sup>13</sup>

Others, like Pyburn's close friend, William Osbourn, left for the gold fields, ostensibly for gold but with an eye to the gambler's best chance. Seeking Pyburn's help, he encouraged him to try his hand in the gold country too:

Times at this place [near Mokelumne Hill] is very lively... They have a good monte game here if a man deal in good luck this summer he could win a few thousand bucks shore [sic]... If you will take a couple of horses and bring Hannah up with you here and stay here three or four months I will furnish you a stake and help you Saturday and Sundays and in the week you can play alone and we will get a good game for I can get the best game of anyone else and have won a good deal of money but have loaned myself out all most [sic].

Away from Monterey, Osbourn worried that his lands might be taken for back taxes or sale. "If nothing happens I will come in time to redeem the house. I am hard at work digging but as yet can get no gold for the want of water." In 1851, Osbourn remained hopeful. Believing that the big strike was at hand: "Give my thanks to all of my old friends and tell them that I am coming down someday with pocket full of rock and we will have a big fandango... I shall make money plenty." But Osbourn could not disguise the hardness of the mining life: "You will excuse my pen for I handle the pick and shovel everyday hard and a bad light."<sup>14</sup>

The early accounts of frontier justice, land acquisition and loss, and the hardness of the gold camps cast a sometimes harsh light on events and activities in Monterey and California. But Americans also brought more salutary benefits as they began to reshape old Monterey. New families were established in Monterey. The observance of law and ways to maintain peaceful coexistence developed. The Americans also introduced new technologies, innovations in farm methods, business practices and a more democratic educational system. Pyburn, Curtis and Simpson and others managed businesses according to American practices and procedures.<sup>15</sup> Pyburn also began to develop his ranch, the Corral de Padilla, planting various varieties of apples, pears and grapes and

completing various "improvements." He and Hannah also attended to the education of their children.<sup>16</sup>

Despite Americanization, Monterey was still a Spanish town, and many of its customs harkened back to the pueblo. Spanish was the primary language of the town. One correspondent, reporting on the welfare of Pyburn's three-year old son, noted that "Little Harry [Henry] is well and smart as a steeltrap and talks Spanish better than English."<sup>17</sup>

Although Mexican Monterey had at least three schools, many residents of frontier towns like Monterey remained illiterate. The new Montereyans began to establish schools and even a library association. A boarder at the Pyburn house, Senator Carroll, also taught young students, mainly boys: "I am as ever teaching the young ideas... have Mother [Jane] Allens boys and Abregos so they can sing hallelujah equal to the brother Methodist." In a patriarchal world, women of the time often could neither read nor write. So it was for Hannah Pyburn who had to wait for her husband's letters to be read to her. In contrast, the Pyburns provided for both Henry and his sister Sarah to attend a Monterey school in 1857.

Carroll also detailed one summer month in the life of Monterey and the county in 1857: "The new steamer Santa Cruz arrived in Monterey City," several horse races on the "Salinas and Pajaro plains," and "a Spanish feast." Gambling remains an utmost concern as well as legal issues involving District Judge Rumsey, W.E.P. Hartnell, attorney D.R. Ashley and others. "A general epidemic seems to prevail [here] and almost everyone complaining of colds, fever and cough."<sup>18</sup>

By 1857, Pyburn had begun to experience coughing attacks and lung irritation as well. Advised by Dr. Toland, he sought to improve his health by a temporary stay in the "warmer climate" of Los Angeles to avoid "cold breathing." Toland prescribed a number of remedies – for good or ill: "Cod Liver Oil [and] Churchill's remedy." By late December 1857, Toland had begun to change his rather questionable prescription to:

Criton Oil [and if it] should fail to produce the effect, use the tartar Emtis Ointment... Take the following mixture – R mouth Acitos grong, acid Hydreyamic, Tinct[ure] Aemito Rad, Syn Scillae. Shake the vial and take a teaspoonful two or three times a day.<sup>19</sup>

The following year, Bill Pyburn died. Deeply in debt, the estate administrator Simpson Conover had to sell much of the estate.<sup>20</sup> The inventory and notice of the estate sale, nailed to the door of Pyburn's Cass Street house, offers an interesting glimpse into the materials of everyday life in mid-nineteenth century Monterey. Conover's list shows him proceeding through the yard and into the house as he enumerates and appraises Pyburn's belongings. First, the "Barn, stable, chicken and other outhouses, enclosed with a substantial board fence, and the garden [containing] a fine variety of growing fruit." He then assessed the kitchen, parlor, one or two bedrooms and other rooms of the house. Conover also had to sell several of Pyburn's lots in Monterey, his cattle



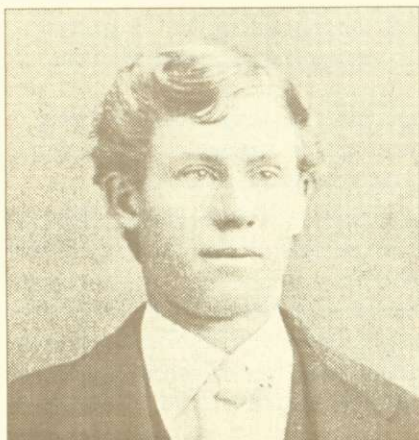
and other lands. The probate records reveal a modest, but apparently comfortable middle-class existence. Finally – not to be forgotten or outdone – Pyburn's rival, David Jacks claimed Pyburn's wood lot: "I hearby notify all persons present that I claim [the wood lot] and that anyone offering to bid of said Lot will do so at their risk and subject to all my rights. Signed David Jacks."<sup>21</sup>

After Pyburn's death, Hannah continued to run a boarding house and raise the children. She soon remarried, worked at the Washington Hotel and, by the early 1880s, she and her husband, Peter Corby, operated the Central Hotel in the remodeled Vasquez Adobe on Alvarado Street.<sup>22</sup>

### **Parts Two and Three**

*"Luck to the young Harry [Henry Pyburn]," October 1852.*

By the time Robert Louis Stevenson and Jules Tavernier arrived, the Pyburns' son, William Henry Pyburn, had already established himself as a merchant, operated his own grocery store and Western Union office (now the location of Ordway Drug), and had been elected the secretary of the Monterey Coal Mining Co. He later ran for public office, and held the posts of under sheriff, deputy county clerk and county recorder.



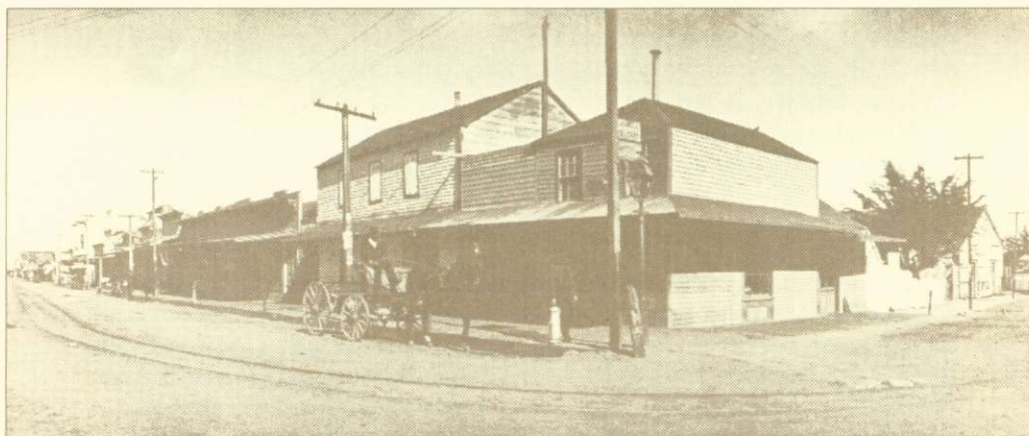
William Henry Pyburn and Julia Escolle at the time of their wedding in 1874. (*Pyburn Family Album, Courtesy of Muriel Pyburn*).

Henry began his business career as a young clerk in Honore Escolle's general merchandise store. Escolle, born in France, had become a wealthy landowner in Monterey County. he had purchased property on the Copa de Ora, the central market area centered at Pearl and Alvarado, near the town pump.<sup>23</sup> He had also obtained the Stokes Adobe as the home where he operated a pottery factory, set up a general store adjacent to the Cooper House, and established the



Pioneer Bakery. He also bought a portion of the Rancho Paraje de Sanchez in the Salinas Valley near Gonzales.<sup>24</sup> But it was while working in Escolle's store that Henry Pyburn fell in love with Escolle's daughter, Julia Escolle. ~~In July~~ FEB 14 1874, they married.

In the same year, Henry Pyburn established the W.H. Pyburn Grocery in the Wells Fargo building across from Escolle's store and situated on the corner of Alvarado and Pearl. Across Alvarado Street the Bola de Oro, where his father had operated a gambling table and where one of nine murders of the Roach affair had been perpetrated, still stood near the Juan Alvarado house.<sup>25</sup> Other new businesses mushroomed up and down Alvarado. By 1881, Henry had opened the Ivy Saloon, which he operated for almost a decade.<sup>26</sup>



Corner of Alvarado and Pearl Streets, ca. 1900. Henry Pyburn installed the first street lamp on this corner, adjacent to his store in 1876. (*California History Room, Monterey Public Library*).

In the 1870s and 1880s, the Pyburn letters show a family and a community in transition. Monterey, Salinas, the whole state and the country had entered the "Gilded Age," as Mark Twain dubbed the period. The onset of the era marked the beginning of modern life in the Monterey area. As the Pyburn Papers indicate, the origins of Monterey's social and business community lie even earlier in the years of statehood and gold fever. At that time, firm roots were planted for the development of the today's bayside community – its downtown businesses, many of its industries, and much of its unique social and historic character. Other important factors in the late nineteenth century (a time of rapid cultural change, not unlike our own) that contributed to present day Monterey were changes in technology, industry, organization, communication and recreation.

Agricultural entrepreneurs in California valleys such as the Salinas and Carmel valleys had also discovered a new form of gold. Large profits could be made in grains, fruits and vegetables. Farm ventures like Bill Pyburn and Honore Escolle's ranches eventually paid off. No doubt to dry goods and

grocery merchant Henry Pyburn, this was an immediate and abundant source for his business.<sup>27</sup> Well-respected, amiable, a "progressive" businessman and graduate of the esteemed Heald's College of San Francisco, Henry also demonstrated the contemporary zeal for civic improvement and progress. He with seventeen other shareholders founded the City Hall Company and built the first community hall in Monterey for the use of clubs, local organizations and traveling theatrical groups. Not content to work on improving Monterey, Henry and Julia moved their family of four children – Henry, Jr., Anita Alice "Birdie," Julia "LuLu," and Edwin Honore "Boy" – to Salinas in the mid-1890s. There, at the county seat, Henry, Sr. could more closely conduct his official office.<sup>28</sup>

After the 1890s, families like the Pyburns and their friends enjoyed new luxuries and new forms of recreation including ice cream socails and tennis matches at the Del Monte Hotel and Pacific Grove courts. They also enjoyed new forms of communication media including typewritten letters and the photograph-taking. A new mechanized "Sugar Factory" (Claus Spreckels' beet sugar plant near Salinas) was described in an 1896 letter to Henry Pyburn, Jr.<sup>29</sup> More bureaucratic forms of business also appeared. People joined clubs and societies and visited fairs and expositions in a new spirit of civic mindedness and delight in the new. Julia planned and arranged theatricals with Adolph Gunzendorfer, proprietor of the White House store in Monterey. Another correspondent wrote enthusiastically across the top of her letter in support of the admired California poet Edwin Markham: "Rah for Markham!" A new emphasis on young people is also evident in the pastimes of popular Henry Pyburn, Jr. and his friends: attending dances at the Jubilee Ball in Salinas, renting buggies from Charles Few's Monterey livery stable for a Sunday afternoon drive, playing tennis with James Harper and Edward Berwick at the Pacific Grove and Del Monte Hotel courts, and purchasing and sporting the latest style in clothes.<sup>30</sup>

Perhaps the most visible of changes for the Pyburns was the 1895 construction in Salinas of their beautiful Eastlake-style house, dressed in Carpenter's Gothic trim and accompanied by a matching carriage house. Life in Monterey and Salinas had indeed become enjoyable, modern, established, and more convenient. The Pyburns – like many other families – had entered a new world.

Still some things did not change and remained perennial – as when Henry Pyburn wrote this elegant love letter to Julia in 1886:

Your very much unexpected letter came safely to hand. I say unexpected not that I had given up all hopes of ever receiving a letter from you, but that I should receive one so soon is what surprised me... Much more was I pleased when that intelligence was imparted to me by your own sweet self and not by others. Tis true one loves to hear of those he loves, let it be by word of strangers even, but when those gentle words are spoken by those he adores that much sweeter does it sound to one...



Our lives have been joined together for 12 long years. During that period of time, God has been good enough to us to allow us to be close to each other and separations from each other have been few or of short duration...I never forget you. My mind is always fixed on you and the love I bear for you grows stronger every day. Fifteen years ago I first loved you and since that time my love has every day increased and will continue to do so. You may think these idle words but mistake them not, for they are the sentiments of my heart.<sup>31</sup>

*The author wishes to especially thank Jeanne McCombs, Special Services Coordinator, Monterey Public Library, for her assistance in preparing this article. The Pyburn photographs are courtesy of Mrs. Muriel Pyburn. All other photos are from the California History Room collection. All primary and secondary sources used in this article are from the Monterey Public Library.*

#### NOTES

1. Colton reports on the effects of gold fever in Monterey in Three Years in California (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1949 edition), 248-53. For Larkin's comments, see The Larkin Papers (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1951-68), VII, 278-285.
2. Robert Louis Stevenson, The Old Pacific Capital: from "Across the Plains" (Monterey, CA: Monterey History and Art Association, 1962). Tavernier's drawings of Monterey appeared in the Fall, 1878 edition of The Argonaut.
3. The Pyburn Papers list W.B. Pyburn's accounts with Curtis & Conover (1855 and 1856, Curtis & Conover Accounts), an account with Boston & Day (January 1856), and an account with Loveland (March 1855). Pyburn Papers, California History Room, Monterey Public Library.
4. In 1848, William Curtis joined with L.F. Loveland in a merchandise and saloon business. By 1854, Curtis changed to a new partner, Milton Little, to be followed by a partnership with Simpson Conover. With increased trade, Curtis, Conover and Leese founded the Monterey Wharf Co. in 1857 to improve Larkin's old pier. Little, investing in real estate, became the creator of a Littletown section along Monterey's waterfront. Doud began in the meat business and the trader Joseph Boston is known for the Boston Store.

5. Colton, Three Years in California, 248 (May 12, 1846). Pyburn Papers, Monterey Public Library.
6. Note: The marriage of Californios to Easterners was not restricted to the first wave of immigrants. For example, several of Roach's associates (discussed below): Joshua Merritt married Juana Castro, Jeremiah McMahan married Ramona Butron, and William S. Johnson married Louisa Castro, heir to the Soto estate. On the relations of Californios and "Yankees," also see Leonard Pitt, Decline of the Californios: a Social History of Spanish-Speaking Californians, 1846-1890 (Berkeley: University of California, 1968).
7. Company D's activities in Monterey County included the conversion of Jack Swan's boarding house to the First Theatre and forcefully removing squatters of illegal settlers on the land.
8. David Leitch to Bill [Pyburn], Vallejo, Jan. 19, 1853; F.L. Ripley to Pyburn, July 11, 1845, Pyburn Papers. David Spence to Larkin, Sept. 26, 1856; Edward L. Williams to Larkin, Sept. 29, 1856, The Larkin Papers, X, 307-309.
9. Leitch to Pyburn, Jan. 19, Feb. 18, Mar. 17, 1853, Pyburn Papers.
10. On details of the Roach-Belcher Feud, see Paul P. Parker, "The Roach-Belcher Feud," California Historical Society Quarterly 39/No. 1 (March 1950): 19-29; J.M. Guinn, History and Biographical Record of Monterey and San Benito Counties (Los Angeles: Historical Record Co., 1910), I, 288-92; William Crane Roddy, Sanchez File: the Probate Proceedings... (San Juan Bautista, CA: The History Co., 1995).
11. Promissory note, "Anaistacio" Garcia to W.B. Pyburn, Monterey, Dec. 7, 1852, Pyburn Papers; Guinn, History, I, 288-92.
12. Jail Register, Monterey, 1850 and 1854 [- 1872,] California History Room, Monterey Public Library, especially entry no. 313. Also, note: Entries 260, 274, and 279. Guinn, History, I, 281-84.
13. Ripley to Pyburn, July 11, 1854. Ripley also commented that "[James or Isaac?] Wall was robbed of \$3000 at the fort and has gone in search of the thief [sic]."
14. Wm. S. Osbourn to W.B. Pyburn, Nov. 14, 1851. Also: Mar. 22, 1853.
15. 1855 and 1856 Curtis & Conover account records of W.B. Pyburn; Letter, Bordon to Pyburn, Dec. 9, 1855; Agreement, Sept. 16, 1853. All from the



Pyburn papers. The different business practices of Mexican California are discussed in David L. Langum, Law and Community in the Mexican-California Frontier (Tulsa, OK: University of Oklahoma, 1941), 175-77.

16. T.J. White to [Pyburn,] sept. 25, 1857; J.Q.A. Ballou to W.B. Pyburn, Dec. 19, 1857. The corral de Padilla was located between the James Meadows Tract and Rancho Los Laureles, near Scarlet Rd. or Mid-Valley area of Carmel Valley. Donald T. Clark, Monterey County Place Names: A Geographical Dictionary (Carmel Valley, CA: Kestrel Press, 1991); personal conversation, June 10, 1999, with Donald M. Howard, author of Ranchos of Monterey County (Monterey, CA: Angel Press, 1978).
17. Letter, Senator Carroll to Pyburn, July 31, 1857. On Spanish spoken in Monterey, see Stevenson, Old Pacific Capital. Sarah and Henry Pyburn's ages are based on the Pyburn Family Bible (photocopied page).
18. Carroll to Pyburn, July 31, 1857. Jane Allen, born in England and married to Thomas Allen, operated a boarding house on the corner of Webster and Munras. Jose Abrego, born in Mexico, arrived in Monterey in 1838. A hatter by trade, he operated a trading store and saloon.
19. Letters, Toland to Pyburn, Dec. 10 and 26, 1857, Pyburn Papers.
20. After a successful business career, Conover & Curtis also fell into debt, ending in 1867 with the sale of their properties.
21. Notice, David Jacks, Oct. 12, 1860. Jacks' adverse relations with the Pyburns did not end. In 1890, Henry Pyburn published a notice in the Monterey Cypress declaring his integrity and complete separation from Jacks' procurement of property from a Monterey widow. The widow exonerated Pyburn of any connection with the deal. Pyburn had acted as notary public.
22. Donald M. Howard, Cowpath to Main Drag: Monterey's Alvarado Street (Pacific Grove, CA: the author, 1996), 119.
23. This is now the location of Simoneau Plaza and the transit center.
24. After 1872, Honore Escolle built another home and developed fruit orchards on the ranch. The Pyburn Papers refer to visits and stays at the Escolle ranch. In 1886, Escolle sold the cooper House business to another son-in-law, A. A. [Augustus Antoine] Manuel.
25. Business Directory of San Francisco and Principal Towns of California and Nevada, 1877... (San Francisco: L.M. McKenny, 1877), 45; California State

Business Directory... 1875-1876 (San Francisco: d.M. bishop & Co., 1875), 288; Pyburn Papers, Monterey Public Library.

26. Disturnell's Business Directory and Gazetteer of the West Coast of America... (San Francisco: W.C. Disturnell, 1882), 54. In an interesting connection to W.B. Pyburn's gambling business at Abrego's house, the building housing the Ivy Saloon was moved from the Abrego's lots in the 1860s. Howard, Cowpath to Main Drag, 81.
27. W.H. Pyburn, Jr. to W.H. Pyburn, [Sr.], Mar. 21, 1895. Also, Aug. 29, 1896, Pyburn Papers.
28. "W.H. Pyburn," Resources of Monterey County and the Midwinter Edition of the Gonzales Tribune (Gonzales, CA: Renison & Farley, 1894), 8. In 1891, Henry Pyburn was still involved in Monterey affairs being one of the initial contributors to the purchase of land for the new school building. Monterey Daily New Era, Dec. 3, 1891. Note: The residence in Salinas would also be closer to the Escolle ranch.
29. The writer (Aug. 29, 1896) asks Henry, Jr. about the condition of his beet crop, perhaps a reference to a crop grown at the Escolle ranch.
30. James Harper was assistant postmaster in Pacific Grove at the time. Edward Berwick, born in England, was a familiar advocate of world peace and a Carmel Valley horticulturist who retired to Pacific Grove. Both were members of the Pacific Grove Tennis Club. Henry Pyburn, Jr. worked for O.H. Meyer's dry goods store in Salinas at the time.
31. W.H. Pyburn to "Dearest Julia" [Pyburn], April 9, 1886, Pyburn Papers.



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