CITY OF CARMEL-BY-THE-SEA
HISTORIC RESOURCES BOARD

Jordan Chroman, Erik Dyar, Esther Goodhue, Karyl Hall, Kathy Pomeroy

All meetings are held in the City Council Chambers
East Side of Monte Verde Street
Between Ocean and 7th Avenues

REGULAR MEETING
Monday, May 20, 2024

TOUR TIME 3:30 PM

MEETING 4:00 PM

THIS MEETING WILL BE HELD VIA TELECONFERENCE AND IN PERSON AT CITY HALL. The public is welcome to attend the meeting in person or remotely via Zoom; however, the meeting will proceed as normal even if there are technical difficulties accessing Zoom. The City will do its best to resolve any technical issues as quickly as possible.

To attend in person, visit the City Council Chambers at City Hall located on Monte Verde Street between Ocean and Seventh Avenues. To view or listen to the meeting remotely, you may access the YouTube Live Stream at: https://www.youtube.com/@CityofCarmelbytheSea/streams, or use the link below to view or listen to the meeting via Zoom teleconference:

https://ci-carmel-ca-us.zoom.us/j/82192956570?pwd=XXz9QXLUAAjcnCJW_I3Trss9PIKKSw.mw6QkWSxRsB-TYcD. To attend Zoom webinar via telephone, dial +1 669-444-9171. Webinar ID: 821 9295 6570. Passcode: 296093.

HOW TO OFFER PUBLIC COMMENT: Public comment may be given in person at the meeting, or using the Zoom teleconference module, provided that there is access to Zoom during the meeting. Zoom comments will be taken after the in-person comments. The public can also email comments to mwaffle@ci.carmel.ca.us. Comments must be received 2 hours before the meeting in order to be provided to the legislative body. Comments received after that time and up to the beginning of the meeting will be made part of the record.

CALL TO ORDER AND ROLL CALL - TOUR

TOUR OF INSPECTION

The Historic Resources Board will meet and convene the public hearing at the first location listed below on the Tour of Inspection. The public is welcome to join the Board on its tour. The tour is intended only to give the Board an opportunity to view project sites scheduled for a public hearing later that day. No deliberations on the merits of

projects will take place during the Tour of Inspection. Following completion of the tour, the Board will recess and return to the Council Chambers to reconvene the public hearing at 4:00 p.m., or as soon thereafter as possible.

A. **HE 24042 (Dunham)** - Santa Fe Street 5 northwest of 3rd Avenue

CALL TO ORDER AND ROLL CALL - CHAMBERS

PLEDGE OF ALLEGIANCE

PUBLIC APPEARANCES - Under the Brown Act, public comments for matters on the agenda must relate to that agenda item, and public comments for matters not on the agenda must relate to the subject matter jurisdiction of this legislative body. Hateful, violent, and threatening speech is impermissible public comment, as it disrupts the conduct of the public meeting. This is a warning that if a member of the public attending this meeting remotely violates the Brown Act by failing to comply with these requirements of the Brown Act meeting, that speaker will then be muted.

Members of the public are entitled to speak on matters of municipal concern not on the agenda during Public Appearances. Each person's comments shall be limited to 3 minutes, or as otherwise established by the Chair. Matters not appearing on the agenda will not receive action at this meeting and may be referred to staff. Persons are not required to provide their names, and it is helpful for speakers to state their names so they may be identified in the minutes of the meeting.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

CONSENT AGENDA

Items on the consent agenda are routine in nature and do not require discussion or independent action. Members of the Board or the public may ask that any items be considered individually for purposes of Board discussion and/ or for public comment. Unless that is done, one motion may be used to adopt all recommended actions.

ORDERS OF BUSINESS

1. **Historic Context Statement Phase II Monthly Update:** Status report and discussion on partial Draft (May 13, 2024), provided by PAST Consultants (Attachment 1).
2. **Review Draft Proclamation Honoring Hugh W. Comstock**

PUBLIC HEARINGS

3. **HE 24042 (Dunham):** Consideration of a preliminary determination of historic ineligibility for the property located at Santa Fe Street 5 northwest of 3rd Avenue. APN: 010-102-005-000.

DIRECTOR'S REPORT

FUTURE AGENDA ITEMS

4. Next Regular Meeting: June 17, 2024

ADJOURNMENT

CORRESPONDENCE

5. PUBLIC CORRESPONDENCE: Public Hearings and/or other items appearing on

the Agenda

6. PUBLIC CORRESPONDENCE: Additional items not associated with Public Hearings and/or other items appearing on the Agenda

This agenda was posted at City Hall, Monte Verde Street between Ocean Avenue and 7th Avenue, Harrison Memorial Library, located on the NE corner of Ocean Avenue and Lincoln Street, the Carmel-by-the-Sea Post Office, 5th Avenue between Dolores Street and San Carlos Street, and the City's webpagehttp://www.ci.carmel.ca.us in accordance with applicable legal requirements.

SUPPLEMENTAL MATERIAL RECEIVED AFTER THE POSTING OF THE AGENDA

Any supplemental writings or documents distributed to a majority of the Historic Resources Board regarding any item on this agenda, received after the posting of the agenda will be available at City Hall located on Monte Verde Street between Ocean and Seventh Avenues during regular business hours.

SPECIAL NOTICES TO PUBLIC

In compliance with the Americans with Disabilities Act, if you need special assistance to participate in this meeting, please contact the City Clerk's Office at 831-620-2000 at least 48 hours prior to the meeting to ensure that reasonable arrangements can be made to provide accessibility to the meeting (28CFR 35.102-35.104 ADA Title II).

CITY OF CARMEL-BY-THE-SEA
HISTORIC RESOURCES BOARD
Staff Report

May 20, 2024
ORDERS OF BUSINESS

TO:	Historic Resources Board Commissioners
SUBMITTED BY:	Katherine Wallace, Associate Planner
SUBJECT:	**Historic Context Statement Phase II Monthly Update:** Status report and discussion on partial Draft (May 13, 2024), provided by PAST Consultants (Attachment 1).

RECOMMENDATION:

Receive update and provide feedback on partial Draft (May 13, 2024) (Attachment 1).

BACKGROUND/SUMMARY:

Carmel's Historic Context Statement is Appendix I of the City's General Plan and serves as the foundation for the City's historic preservation program. Carmel-by-the-Sea has adopted comprehensive historic preservation policies as part of the General Plan and implements these policies through the Historic Preservation Ordinance (CMC 17.32). The context statement is an important tool in preparing State of California Department of Parks and Recreation (DPR) records and evaluating which properties qualify for inclusion on the Carmel Inventory of Historic Resources.

The current Historic Context Statement was originally adopted by the City Council in 1994, and subsequently updated in 1997, in 2008, and most recently updated in 2022. The 2022 update extended the context to cover a twenty-year period: 1966-1986. The extension was funded by OHP as a Certified Local Government (CLG) $30k grant and was authored by PAST Consultants. As the update got underway, it became clear to OHP staff, City staff, the Historic Resources Board, and the community that the entire context statement was in need of an update; however, as a grant-funded project, inflexible reporting and expenditure deadlines limited the effort to the 1966-1986 extension. Understood to be a "Phase I" update, the extension was approved by OHP, adopted by the City Council on December 6, 2022 and approved by the California Coastal Commission on July 12, 2023 (see Attachment 2).

In 2023, the City applied for and received a second OHP CLG grant to pursue a "Phase II" update. The City released RFP #23-24-2023 on October 27, 2023, seeking proposals from qualified professionals to assist in "Phase II" of the update. On January 9, 2024, the City Council passed Resolution 2024-009 approving a professional services agreement with PAST Consultants, not to exceed $79,380 and passed Resolution 2024-010 accepting the $40k CLG grant award with a $26,667 local match. On March 1, 2024, City staff initiated outreach to thirteen tribal representatives, inviting participation in this project.

On May 20, 2024, PAST Consultants and City Staff will provide a monthly progress update and seek feedback on a partial Draft (May 13, 2024) (Attachment 1).

FISCAL IMPACT:

The Historic Context Statement “Phase II” update has been included in the FY 2023-2024 Community Planning and Building Department budget ($79,380). The project will be partially funded by a $40,000 Certified Local Government (CLG) grant awarded to the City by the State of California Office of Historic Preservation (OHP).

ATTACHMENTS:

HCS Partial Draft_May 13, 2024
HCS_adopted by Council 12.6.2022

HISTORIC CONTEXT STATEMENT

CARMEL-BY-THE-SEA, CALIFORNIA



East side of Dolores Street, circa-1931 *(Source: Pat Hathaway Collection, Monterey County Historical Society)*

Prepared By:

PAST CONSULTANTS LLC

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Prepared For:

City of Carmel-by-the-Sea
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30% Draft: May 13, 2024

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1 EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The activity which is the subject of this (type of publication) has been financed in part with Federal funds from the National Park Service, Department of the Interior, through the California Office of Historic Preservation. However, the contents and opinions do not necessarily reflect the views or policies of the Department of the Interior or the California Office of Historic Preservation, nor does mention of trade names or commercial products constitute endorsement or recommendation by the Department of the Interior or the California Office of Historic Preservation.

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Director, Equal Opportunity Program
U.S. Department of the Interior
National Park Service
P.O. Box 37127
Washington, D.C. 20013-7127

2 INTRODUCTION

2.1 PROJECT FUNDING BACKGROUND AND OBJECTIVES

Under the auspices of the Certified Local Government (CLG) program, the federal government and the City of Carmel-by-the-Sea (Carmel) jointly funded this Update to the 2023 Fourth Edition of the Carmel-by-the-Sea Historic Context Statement. The 1980 amendments to the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 created a CLG program to encourage local governments' direct participation in identifying, evaluating, registering and preserving historic properties and integrating preservation concerns into local planning and decision-making processes. California's CLG program is a partnership among local governments, the California Office of Historic Preservation (OHP) and the National Park Service, which administers the National Historic Preservation Program. The total project cost for this Historic Context Statement update is $79,000, with OHP awarding Carmel a $40,000 CLG grant for the 2023-2024 CLG funding year and Carmel contributed an additional $39,000 towards the project. The grant period for this project was October 1, 2023 through September 30, 2024.

2.1.1 PURPOSE OF HISTORIC CONTEXT STATEMENTS

One of the biggest challenges in saving historic resources is answering the question "What do we preserve and why?" Developing a historic context statement is the first step towards helping citizens and municipalities understand the significance of specific historic resources and to prioritize their preservation. The *Secretary of the Interior's Standards for Preservation Planning* defines three primary standards for historic preservation:

1. Standard I. Preservation Planning Establishes Historic Contexts.
2. Standard II. Preservation Planning Uses Historic Contexts to Develop Goals and Priorities for the Identification, Evaluation, Registration and Treatment of Historic Properties.
3. Standard III. The Results of Preservation Planning Are Made Available for Integration Into Broader Planning Processes.

Historic context statements are the finished product of Standard I and provide the foundation for governmental agencies to implement Standards II and III: prioritizing the identification, evaluation, registration and treatment of certain historic properties and making the process an integral component of land use planning.[1]

National Register Bulletin Number 15: How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation defines **historic contexts** as "historical patterns that can be identified through consideration of the history of the property and the history of the surrounding area."[2] *National*

[1] U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, *National Register 24: Guidelines for Local Surveys: A Basis for Preservation Planning*, 4.
[2] U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, *National Register Bulletin Number 15: How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation*, 7.

Register Bulletin 16A: How to Complete the National Register Registration Form is a little more specific, defining a historic context as:

> Information about historic trends and properties grouped by an important theme in the prehistory or history of a community, State, or nation during a particular period of time. Because historic contexts are organized by **theme, place and time**, they link historic properties to important historic trends (bold in original).[3]

To place a resource within its historic context, evaluators must identify the resource's period of significance and the historic theme it represents. The period of significance is the "span of time in which a property attained the significance for which it meets" the relevant local, California Register or National Register criteria.[4] A **historic theme** "is a means of organizing properties into coherent patterns based on elements such as environment, social/ethnic groups, transportation networks, technology, or political developments that have influenced the development of an area during one or more periods of prehistory or history."[5] By focusing on theme, place and time, historic context statements explain how, when, where and why the built environment developed in a particular manner. They describe an area's significant land use patterns and development, group the patterns into historic themes, identify the types of historic properties that illustrate those themes, and establish eligibility criteria and integrity thresholds for registering historic properties on national, state or local registers.

The California Office of Historic Preservation (OHP) developed guidelines in its document, *OHP Preferred Method of Historic Context Statements*. This document describes the structure and contents required for a historic context statement to meet requirements of the Federal Certified Local Government Program (CLG). Regarding the development of historic contexts, themes and property types his document states (bold in original):

> **Historical Background**: Provide a narrative broad-brush historical overview of the overarching forces (environmental, geographical, social, cultural, political, governmental, technological) which have shaped land use patterns and development of the built environment of the area under consideration.
>
> **Theme:** Refer to NR Bulletin 16B, pages 12-13. This narrative section provides a focused, analytical discussion of the historical patterns, significant events or activities, environmental, social, political, technological and cultural influences, and significant individuals and groups relevant to the context theme. This section is intended to establish through analysis the historical significance of properties associated with the theme. Note: A historic context statement for local government surveys typically will include several themes. OHP's preference is that the associated property types, eligibility criteria and integrity threshold

[3] U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, *National Register Bulletin 16A: How to Complete the National Register Registration Form* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior, 1997), 4.
[4] U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, *National Register Bulletin Number 16A: How to Complete the National Register Registration Form*, Appendix IV, 3. This appendix provides a useful glossary of National Register terms.
[5] U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, *National Register Bulletin Number 15: How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation*, 8.

section for each theme follow the particular theme.

Property Types: Identify important property types and their historical significance associated with the theme. Emphasis should be on describing extant property types, the general location and likely condition of each property type, identifying **eligibility criteria** and establishing **integrity thresholds** for each property type. This section needs to answer these questions: What facet of history does the property type represent? Why is that facet of history significant? Is the property type important in illustrating the context? How does the individual property illustrate that facet of history?

This section needs to provide direction on how to apply each of the register criteria in determining whether a resource is historic or not. Because this section provides the framework for evaluating individual properties, it needs to provide specific information about the associative qualities and character-defining features an individual resource as a representative of a particular property type needs to have to be eligible for listing to the National, California, or local registers. This section should also provide direction for evaluating integrity based on which aspects of integrity are critical for each property type to be able to convey its significance within the theme or context. This guidance should take into consideration the types of changes that may have been made to a resource through time as a result of its original design, location, materials, workmanship, and uses.[6]

2.1.2 DEVELOPMENT OF THE CARMEL-BY-THE-SEA HISTORIC CONTEXT STATEMENT

The Carmel-by-the-Sea Historic Context Statement has developed through a series of editions that expanded the document to include updates to time periods and to address issues with determining historic themes and property types in accordance with OHP standards. The specific editions are:

- First Edition, 1994, prepared by Teresa Grimes and Leslie Heumann, Leslie Heumann and Associates. This first edition provided the historical development for Carmel, dividing the context into five major areas: Prehistory and Hispanic Settlement (1542-1846), Economic Development (1846-1966), Government, Civic and Social (1903-1966), Architectural Development in Carmel (1888-1966), and Development of Art and Culture (1904-1966). This document called these five major developmental areas "themes" with the time periods listed after each theme. It should be noted that this approach to themes was not developed according to current OHP standards.
- Second Edition, 1996 (adopted 1997), prepared by Glory Anne Laffey, Archives & Architecture. This second edition expanded upon the contextual discussion introduced in the first edition.
- Third Edition, 2009, prepared by Architectural Resources Group. This third edition updated the document to 1986, expanding upon the contextual/thematic approach of the first edition and including sections on associated property types within each contextual area. It should be noted that the original thematic approach was not updated according to

[6] State of California, Office of Historic Preservation, *OHP Preferred Method of Historic Context Statements* (undated), https://ohp.parks.ca.gov/pages/1072/files/Format-for-Historic-Context-Statements.pdf. Accessed 5/15/24.

OHP standards, nor were any additions made to develop associated property types, architectural styles, character defining features, eligibility criteria or integrity thresholds.

- Fourth Edition, 2023, by PAST Consultants, LLC. This recent addition updated the historic time period to 1986 within the five major contextual areas of the original document. Recognizing that no evaluative methodology had been created yet, the Architectural Development chapter included a visual survey of Carmel architectural styles from 1935 – 1986 with lists of character defining features, eligibility criteria and integrity thresholds, as a means of introduction to the proper methodology for evaluating historic buildings according to OHP guidelines.

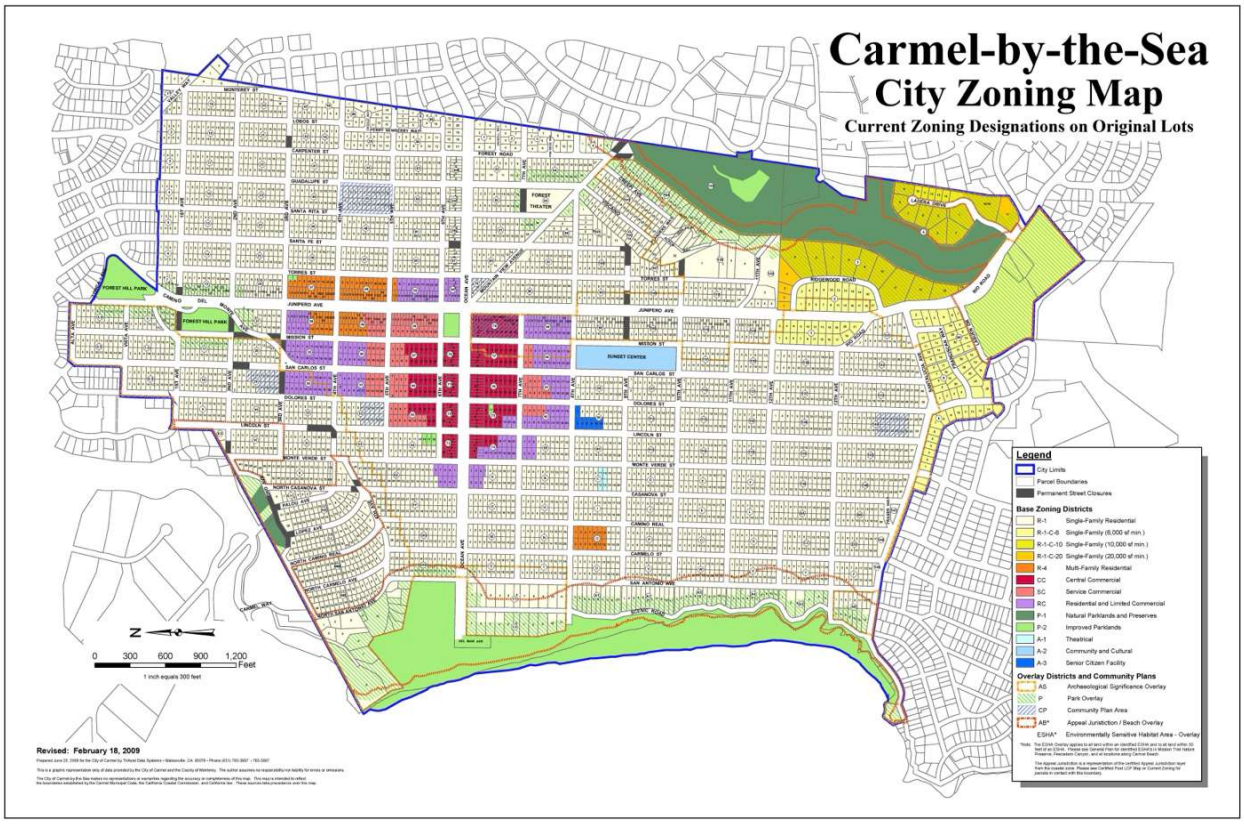
Following the publication of the Fourth Edition in 2023, the City of Carmel-by-the-Sea, in collaboration with the State of California Office of Historic Preservation (OHP) has decided to fund the preparation of this Fifth Edition of the Historic Context Statement. Major revisions include dividing the historic context into six themes with discrete time periods tied closely to the historical and architectural developments of the city, with lists of associated property types, their architectural styles, character defining features, eligibility requirements and integrity thresholds.

The following revised historic context statement has been prepared according to California OHP standards and includes administration; project methodology; the evaluative criteria of the National Register, California Register and the Carmel Historic Resources Inventory; and Carmel's historic context. Carmel's historic context is divided into six themes with discrete time periods related specifically to events in the city's history that impacted the built environment. For each theme, associated property types are included, that provide photographs of architectural styles, lists of character defining features for each style, and the eligibility requirements and integrity thresholds for each theme's associated properties.

The 2023 Edition of the Carmel-by-the-Sea Historic Context Statement has been archived and is available on the City's planning website.

2.2 CARMEL-BY-THE-SEA: GEOGRAPHICAL AREA

The Carmel-by-the-Sea geographical area is shown below.



Carmel-by-the-Sea Zoning Map (Source: Carmel-by-the-Sea Planning Department

2.3 PROJECT TEAM

This Historic Context Statement is the collaboration between the California Office of Historic Preservation (SHPO), the City of Carmel-by-the-Sea Planning Department, PAST Consultants, LLC and the public. The following project contacts are:

California Office of Historic Preservation
Insert name and title of CLG Coordinator
Surveys & Contexts/CLG Coordinator
California Office of Historic Preservation
1725 23rd Street, Suite 100
Sacramento, CA 95816

City of Carmel-by-the Sea
PO Box CC
Carmel, CA 93921
Marnie Waffle, Principal Planner; Katherine Wallace, Associate Planner

Historic Preservation Consultant:
PAST Consultants, LLC*
P.O. Box 721
Pacific Grove, CA 93950
Seth A. Bergstein, Principal
Kent L. Seavey, architectural historian/subconsultant

* Seth A. Bergstein, Principal, Historic Context Statement co-author; and Kent L. Seavey, architectural historian and report co-author meet the *Secretary of the Interior's Professional Qualifications Standards* in Architectural History and History.

2.4 PROJECT METHODOLOGY

PAST adopted a three-part methodology to develop this historic context statement. First, PAST performed a review of the existing Carmel-by-the Sea Historic Context Statement to determine information that should be included in the present document. Second, the PAST project team undertook extensive research to develop a set of themes with discrete time periods that link Carmel's historical events with the built environment. Third, to connect the historic themes with extant properties, PAST conducted field reconnaissance of the entire Carmel city limits to identify extant properties that illustrate the historic themes. The associated property type sections of each theme are the result of this field reconnaissance survey. Within each thematic time period, PAST developed a comprehensive list of associated property types, their architectural styles, eligibility criteria and integrity thresholds for each property type. These sections are included at the end of each theme and focus on properties listed on the Carmel Historic Resources Inventory (HRI), whenever possible.

Historical Research

PAST prepared this historic context statement under professional standards established by the U.S. Department of the Interior, California State Office of Historic Preservation and professional historic preservation practice. PAST conducted historical research at the following repositories:

- Carmel-by-the-Sea Planning Department Files
- California History Room, Monterey Public Library, Monterey, California
- Harrison Memorial Library, Carmel, California
- Monterey Area Architectural Resource Association (MAARA) archives, including the Kent L. Seavey library and archives, Monterey, California
- Monterey County Assessor's Office and Planning Department

Field Reconnaissance Survey

PAST conducted a reconnaissance survey of the entire Carmel-by-the-Sea Planning Area to: (1) locate properties, and any potential concentration of properties, that represent the historic themes; (2) determine the historic integrity of the properties; and (3) develop a set of eligibility criteria and integrity thresholds for each property type. The project's scope of work did not include preparation of any survey forms or specific property documentation.

Project Meetings

PAST attended various project meetings with Carmel Planning staff and a liaison representing the Carmel-by-the-Sea Historic Resources Board (HRB). As required by the CLG grant contract, PAST attended four public meetings with Carmel Planning staff and the HRB to discuss and receive comments regarding the various draft submissions made to the City. Progress reports sent to the California SHPO were prepared by PAST and the Carmel Planning Department.

Tribal Outreach

As part of the CLG requirement, the Carmel Planning Department has contacted appropriate Tribal Preservation Officers to determine if they wished to contribute to this document.

2.5 How to Use This Document

The National Register program's document, *Background on Historic Properties Context Statements* summarizes the role and use of historic context statements:

> The historic context (statement) is an organizing structure for grouping information about historic properties that share a common theme, place, and time. A historic context focuses on describing those historical development patterns within which the significance of a resource can be understood.
>
> Historic context statements are a specialized form of historical writing with specific goals and requirements. They are not intended to be a chronological recitation of a community's significant historical events or noteworthy citizens or a comprehensive community history. Nor are they intended to be academic exercises demonstrating prodigious research, the ability to cite myriad primary and secondary resources, and write complex and confusing prose comprehensible only to professionals in the field. Rather, historic context statements need to be direct, to the point, and easily understood by the general public.[7]

[7] U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, *Background on Historic Properties Context Statements*. Located at: https://ohp.parks.ca.gov/pages/1054/files/Background-on-Historic-Context-Statements.pdf (Accessed 5/9/24).

The establishment of historic themes and their associated property types is the accepted organizational manner in which the historic context statement is presented. This document is intended as a tool for city planners, historians, property owners and interested citizens to understand Carmel's architectural development.

The following is a general guide to how to use this document:

1. Using Carmel Planning Department or Monterey County Assessor records, determine the construction date of the subject property.
2. Find the *historic theme* spanning the date in which the property is constructed. This will be the potential historic theme for the subject property.
3. Proceed to the *Associated Property Type*s section within the thematic time period. Determine the subject property's architectural style by comparing it to the photographs given for each style presented within the thematic time period.
4. Once the style is determined, compare the subject property's existing conditions with the character defining features listed in the style guide to determine if the subject property maintains a sufficient number of these features.
5. If most of the character defining features are present, the subject property likely maintains sufficient historic integrity. If these features are absent, the subject property is not historic because of a lack of sufficient historic integrity.
6. For properties that maintain a sufficient number of character defining features, proceed to the eligibility requirements and integrity threshold lists to either support the subject property's listing on the Carmel Historic Resources Inventory (HRI), or to determine that the subject property is ineligible for listing.
7. The Carmel historic preservation ordinance requires that a listed property be representative of at least one historic theme presented in this historic context statement.

2.6 ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

3 IDENTIFYING AND EVALUATING HISTORIC RESOURCES

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The following chapter describes the historic preservation process in Carmel and summarizes the evaluation criteria of the National Register of Historic Places, the California Register of Historical Resources and the applicable provisions of the Carmel Municipal Code for both historic and archaeological resources. This chapter also describes procedures for evaluating buildings in Carmel that are currently on the Carmel-by-the-Sea Historic Resources Inventory (HRI) according to the *Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties.*

3.2 HISTORIC PRESERVATION IN CARMEL

The City of Carmel-by-the-Sea evaluates historic resources according to the guidelines of the California Environmental Quality Act, the California Register Program and the Carmel-by-the-Sea, under Municipal Code, *Chapter 17.32: Historic Preservation*. The California Environmental Quality Act (CEQA) provides the framework for the evaluation and treatment of historic properties (Section 15064.5). CEQA defines a historical resource as: (1) a resource determined by the State Historical Resources Commission to be eligible for the California Register of Historical Resources (including all properties on the National Register); (2) a resource included in a local register of historical resources, as defined in Public Resources Code (PRC) Section 5020.1(k); (3) a resource identified as significant in a historical resource survey meeting the requirements of PRC Section 5024.1(g); or (4) any object, building, structure, site, area, place, record, or manuscript that the City determines to be historically significant or significant in the architectural, engineering, scientific, economic, agricultural, educational, social, political, military, or cultural annals of California, provided the lead agency's determination is supported by substantial evidence in light of the whole record.[8]

3.3 EVALUATION CRITERIA

3.3.1 NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES (NR)

The National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 authorized the Secretary of the Interior to create the National Register of Historic Places. Districts, sites, buildings, structures, and objects significant in American history, architecture, archeology, engineering and culture are eligible for listing if they meet at least one of four criteria.[9] Eligible resources are those:

A. That are associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history; or
B. That are associated with the lives of persons significant in our past; or
C. 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

[8] California Code of Regulations, 14 CCR § 15064.5.

[9] 16 U.S.C. 470, *et seq.,* as amended, 36 C.F.R. § 60.1(a).

significant and distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction; or

D. That have yielded, or may be likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history.

Eligible resources must also retain sufficient integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association to convey the relevant historic significance.[10] The seven aspects of integrity are described in a separate section below.

3.3.2 CALIFORNIA REGISTER OF HISTORICAL RESOURCES (CR)

A resource is eligible for listing in the California Register of Historical Resources if it:

1. Is associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of California's history and cultural heritage.
2. Is associated with the lives of persons important in our past.
3. Embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, region, or method of construction, or represents the work of an important creative individual, or possesses high artistic values.
4. Has yielded, or may be likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history.[11]

Resources eligible for listing in the California Register must retain enough of their historic character or appearance to be recognizable as historic resources and convey the reasons for their significance. Historic character is reflected in a given historic resources' retention or absence of its character defining features.

The same seven aspects of integrity are considered when evaluating resources for listing in the National Register and California Register: location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association. Alterations over time or historic changes in use may themselves be significant. However, resources that may not retain enough integrity to meet National Register criteria may still be eligible for listing in the California Register.

3.3.3 HISTORIC INTEGRITY

National Register Bulletin 15: How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation defines **historic integrity** as "the ability of a property to convey its significance." Historic properties either retain their integrity or they do not. To retain integrity, a resource will always retain several and usually most of the seven aspects of integrity:

1. **Location:** the place where the historic property was constructed or the place where the historic event occurred.

[10] 36 C.F.R. § 60.4.
[11] California Public Resources Code § 5024.1(c).

2. **Design:** the combination of elements that create the form, plan, space, structure, and style of a property.
3. **Setting:** the physical environment of a historic property.
4. **Materials:** the physical elements that were combined or deposited during a particular period of time and in a particular pattern or configuration to form a historic property.
5. **Workmanship:** the physical evidence of the crafts of a particular culture or people during any given period in history or prehistory.
6. **Feeling:** a property's expression of the aesthetic or historic sense of a particular period of time.
7. **Association:** the direct link between an important historic event or person and a historic property.

After establishing the property's historic significance, the evaluator assesses integrity using *National Register Bulletin 15*'s four-step approach:

1. Define the **essential physical features** that must be present for a property to represent its significance.
2. Determine whether the **essential physical features are visible** enough to convey their significance.
3. Determine whether the property needs to be **compared with similar properties**. And,
4. Determine, based on the significance and essential physical features, **which aspects of integrity** are particularly vital to the property being nominated and if they are present.

National Register Bulletin 15 emphasizes that "ultimately, the question of integrity is answered by whether or not the property retains the **identity** for which it is significant." Identity of the historic resource is based on the essential physical features noted above. Commonly referred to as "character defining features," these features include the physical aspects of a historic resource, including its spatial relationships, massing, roofline, materials and architectural detailing that establishes sufficient historic integrity.[12]

3.3.4 CARMEL-BY-THE-SEA MUNICIPAL CODE

The City of Carmel-by-the-Sea's historic preservation ordinance is contained in the Municipal Code, *Chapter 17.32 – Historic Preservation*. The criteria for eligibility for listing on the City's Historic Resources Inventory (HRI) are:

A. Should be representative of at least one theme included in the Historic Context Statement.
B. Shall retain substantial integrity according to the Federal definition and evaluation methodology for historic integrity as detailed in *National Register Bulletin 15: How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation*.

[12] U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, *National Register Bulletin 15: How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation*. Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, 1997, 44-49 (bold in original).

C. Should be a minimum of 50 years of age and shall meet at least one of the four criteria for listing on the California Register at a national or statewide level of significance (primary resource) or at a regional or local level of significance (local resource) per CEQA Guidelines Section 15064.5(a)(3).
D. To qualify for the Carmel Inventory, an historic resource eligible under California Register Criterion No. 3 (subsection (C)(3) of this section) only, should:
    1. Have been designed and/or constructed by an architect, designer/builder or contractor whose work has contributed to the unique sense of time and place recognized as significant in the Historic Context Statement; or
    2. Have been designed and/or constructed by a previously unknown architect, designer/builder or contractor if there is substantial, factual evidence that the architect, designer/builder or contractor contributed to one or more of the historic contexts of the City to an extent consistent with other architects, designer/builders or contractors identified within the Historic Context Statement; or
    3. Be a good example of an architectural style or type of construction recognized as significant in the Historic Context Statement; or
    4. Display a rare style or type for which special consideration should be given. Properties that display particularly rare architectural styles and vernacular/utilitarian types shall be given special consideration due to their particularly unusual qualities. Such rare examples, which contribute to diversity in the community, need not have been designed by known architects, designer/builders or contractors. Rather, rare styles and types that contribute to Carmel's unique sense of time and place shall be deemed significant.

As stated above, potential historic buildings that would qualify under California Register Criterion 3 (National Register Criterion C), in the area of architecture, must meet additional thresholds to be eligible for the Carmel Inventory.

Archaeological properties are treated in a different manner, as stated in the Carmel Municipal Code, *Chapter 17.32.060: Determining Eligibility for the Carmel Inventory, Item E*, which requires a qualified archaeologist to follow the procedures under this heading of the Municipal Code.[13]

3.3.5 CARMEL-BY-THE-SEA HISTORIC RESOURCES INVENTORY

Carmel Municipal Code *Chapter 17.32.60: Determining Eligibility for the Carmel Inventory* also outlines the procedures for determining eligibility for listing on the Carmel Inventory. For properties that have not been evaluated previously the procedures entail the following process:

1. The Carmel Code states: "Upon the filing of a preliminary site assessment application, development application, property owner request for determination or as initiated by the Department, an initial assessment of historic significance shall be conducted to determine whether the property may have historic resource potential sufficient to warrant conducting

[13] Carmel-by-the-Sea Municipal Code, Chapter 17.32: Historic Preservation.

an intensive survey." If the initial assessment determines that the subject property is ineligible for the Carmel Inventory, no further investigation of the property is necessary.

2. If the initial assessment determines that the subject property will meet the criteria for listing on the Carmel Inventory, an intensive survey is then conducted. Similarly, if the initial assessment is unable to make a determination of eligibility, an intensive survey is conducted. It should be noted that intensive surveys, referred to as **Phase One Historic Assessments**, must be conducted by a qualified architectural historian under an on-call contract with the City. Carmel-by-the-Sea utilizes two qualified architectural historians to perform the intensive surveys. Intensive surveys include the preparation of State of California, Department of Parks and Recreation forms (DPR523 forms) for the subject property.

3.3.5.1 PHASE ONE AND PHASE TWO HISTORIC ASSESSMENTS

As described in the previous section, a Phase One Historic Assessment, known as an intensive survey, establishes whether a property is historically significant at the federal, state and local levels. For property owners whose property is over 50 years old and has not been evaluated previously, the Phase One Historic Assessment will determine if further action on a given property is required. If the building is determined to be eligible for listing on the Carmel Inventory, and an alteration permit is filed with the City, a **Phase Two Historic Assessment** will need to be prepared by a qualified architectural historian on-call with the City.

Carmel Municipal Code, *Chapter 17.32.120: Alteration of Historic Resources*, outlines the procedures for altering resources listed on the National Register, Carmel Register and the Carmel Inventory. According to Item A of this chapter:

> A. Determination of Consistency. It shall be unlawful for any person, corporation, association, partnership or other legal entity to directly or indirectly alter, remodel, demolish, grade, relocate, reconstruct or restore any historic resource without first obtaining a determination of consistency with the Secretary's Standards, complying with the requirements of the CEQA, and obtaining a building permit or other applicable permit from the City. Demolition of structures identified as historic resources on the Carmel Inventory is prohibited except as provided in CMC 17.30.010. The alteration of any structure identified as an historic resource on the Carmel Inventory in a manner that is inconsistent with the Secretary's Standards is prohibited unless one or more of the findings established in CMC 17.64.050 is adopted.

A **Phase Two Historic Assessment** is the methodology required to satisfy Item A, above. The Phase Two Historic Assessment provides relevant property information, including location, physical description, building chronology and summary of the property's historic listing. The goal of this report is to provide an evaluation of the proposed building alterations for conformance with the *Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties*.[14]

[14] The *Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties*, can be found through the Department of the Interior, National Parks at: https://www.nps.gov/orgs/1739/secretary-standards-treatment-historic-properties.htm. Accessed April 15, 2024.

The Secretary of the Interior's Standards

Two publications provide both the standards and guidelines for analyzing new additions to historic buildings for conformance with the *Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties:*

- *The Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties*: Kay D. Weeks and Anne E. Grimmer, U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1995, 1998; and
- *Preservation Brief 14, New Exterior Additions to Historic Buildings: Preservation Concerns*: Kay D. Weeks and Anne E. Grimmer, U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Technical Preservation Services, August 2010.

The *Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties* (the *Standards*) provides the framework for evaluating the impacts of additions and alterations to historic properties. The *Standards* describe four treatment approaches: preservation, rehabilitation, restoration and reconstruction. The *Standards* require that the treatment approach be determined first, as a different set of standards apply to each approach. For most Phase Two Historic Assessment projects, the treatment approach will be rehabilitation. The *Standards* describe rehabilitation as:

> In Rehabilitation, historic building materials and character-defining features are protected and maintained as they are in the treatment Preservation; however, an assumption is made prior to work that existing historic fabric has become damaged or deteriorated over time and, as a result, more repair and replacement will be required. Thus, latitude is given in the Standards for Rehabilitation and Guidelines for Rehabilitation to replace extensively deteriorated, damaged, or missing features using either traditional or substitute materials. Of the four treatments, only Rehabilitation includes an opportunity to make possible an efficient contemporary use through alterations and additions.[15]

The ten *Standards* for rehabilitation are:

1. A property will be used as it was historically or be given a new use that requires minimal change to its distinctive materials, features, spaces, and spatial relationships.
2. The historic character of a property will be retained and preserved. The removal of distinctive materials or alteration of features, spaces, and spatial relationships that characterize a property will be avoided.
3. Each property will be recognized as a physical record of its time, place, and use. Changes that create a false sense of historical development, such as adding conjectural features or elements from other historic properties, will not be undertaken.
4. Changes to a property that have acquired historic significance in their own right will be retained and preserved.
5. Distinctive materials, features, finishes, and construction techniques or examples of craftsmanship that characterize a property will be preserved.

[15] *The Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties*: Kay D. Weeks and Anne E. Grimmer, U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1995, 62.

6. Deteriorated historic features will be repaired rather than replaced. Where the severity of deterioration requires replacement of a distinctive feature, the new feature will match the old in design, color, texture, and, where possible, materials. Replacement of missing features will be substantiated by documentary and physical evidence.
7. Chemical or physical treatments, if appropriate, will be undertaken using the gentlest means possible. Treatments that cause damage to historic materials will not be used.
8. Archeological resources will be protected and preserved in place. If such resources must be disturbed, mitigation measures will be undertaken.
9. New additions, exterior alterations, or related new construction will not destroy historic materials, features, and spatial relationships that characterize the property. The new work shall be differentiated from the old and will be compatible with the historic materials, features, size, scale and proportion, and massing to protect the integrity of the property and its environment.
10. New additions and adjacent or related new construction will be undertaken in such a manner that, if removed in the future, the essential form and integrity of the historic property and its environment would be unimpaired. [16]

For properties listed on the Carmel HRI, or properties determined to be eligible for the Carmel HRI, the *Rehabilitation Treatment Approach* and the above ten standards will be applicable. Properties that meet these *Rehabilitation Standards* will maintain sufficient historic integrity and allow them to maintain their historic listing status.

Alterations made to historic properties that meet these *Rehabilitation Standards* are considered as mitigated to a level of less than a significant impact on the historic resource, do not constitute a substantial adverse change to the historic resource and thus conform to the requirements of the California Environmental Quality Act (CEQA).

3.4 CARMEL ARCHAEOLOGICAL SIGNIFICANCE OVERLAY DISTRICT

Carmel Municipal Code, *Chapter 17.20: Overlay Districts*, Article II establishes the *AS Archaeological Significance Overlay District*. The following quotes the Municipal Code:

> The purposes of the AS archaeological significance overlay district are to implement the General Plan/Coastal Plan Land Use Plan and to:
>
> A. Protect archaeological sites in Carmel that can provide evidence of the area's earliest human habitation, help to document the cultural history of the City, and are often highly significant to Native American descendants as burial grounds or because of their connection to sacred traditions.

[16] The *Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties*, can be found through the Department of the Interior, National Parks at: https://www.nps.gov/orgs/1739/secretary-standards-treatment-historic-properties.htm. Accessed April 15, 2024.

B. Provide for the designation of archeological resources and establish explicit guidance for the protection of archeological resources, especially when they are subterranean.

C. Create a clear process and standards for evaluating projects that may affect archaeological resources, and for identifying appropriate measures to mitigate the effects of such projects. (Ord. 2004-02 § 1, 2004; Ord. 2004-01 § 1, 2004).

Chapter 17.20 provides the Archaeological Significance overlay locations for potential archaeological sites in Figures III-1 through III-6, which map the overlay zones over the city limits and also provide a list of properties located within the Archaeological Overlay Zone.

Applications for new construction of additions or alterations to properties located within an AS Overlay District are required to have an Archaeological Resource Management Report, written by a qualified archaeologist, prepared. Guidelines for this report are provided in Carmel Municipal Code 17.32.060.

4 HISTORIC CONTEXT

4.1 INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY OF HISTORIC THEMES

Architectural development in Carmel-by-the-Sea has been divided into six themes that are connected to discrete time periods that shaped the city's architectural development. With the exception of the first theme, *Prehistory and Hispanic Settlement*, associated property types that support a given theme are extant within the city limits. The historic themes and date ranges are:

- Prehistory and Hispanic Settlement (1542-1846)
- Carmelo (1847-1902)
- Seacoast of Bohemia (1903-1923)
- Village in a Forest (1924-1945)
- Postwar Development (1946-1965)
- Continuity in Change: (or The Carmel Dynamic Continues) (1966-1986)

The following chapter introduces each theme with a narrative that provides the primary historical patterns, significant events, social and political developments that shaped the built environment for a given thematic time period.

Following the historical narrative, the associated property types that developed during the thematic time period are presented. The associated property sections provide photographs of each style, along with lists of the character-defining features that define each style. Eligible property types are grouped according to their use categories and include commercial, residential, religious and institutional properties. Lastly, each thematic section presents eligibility criteria and integrity thresholds for establishing the historic significance of a property type within a given theme.

4.2 PREHISTORY AND HISPANIC SETTLEMENT (1542-1848)

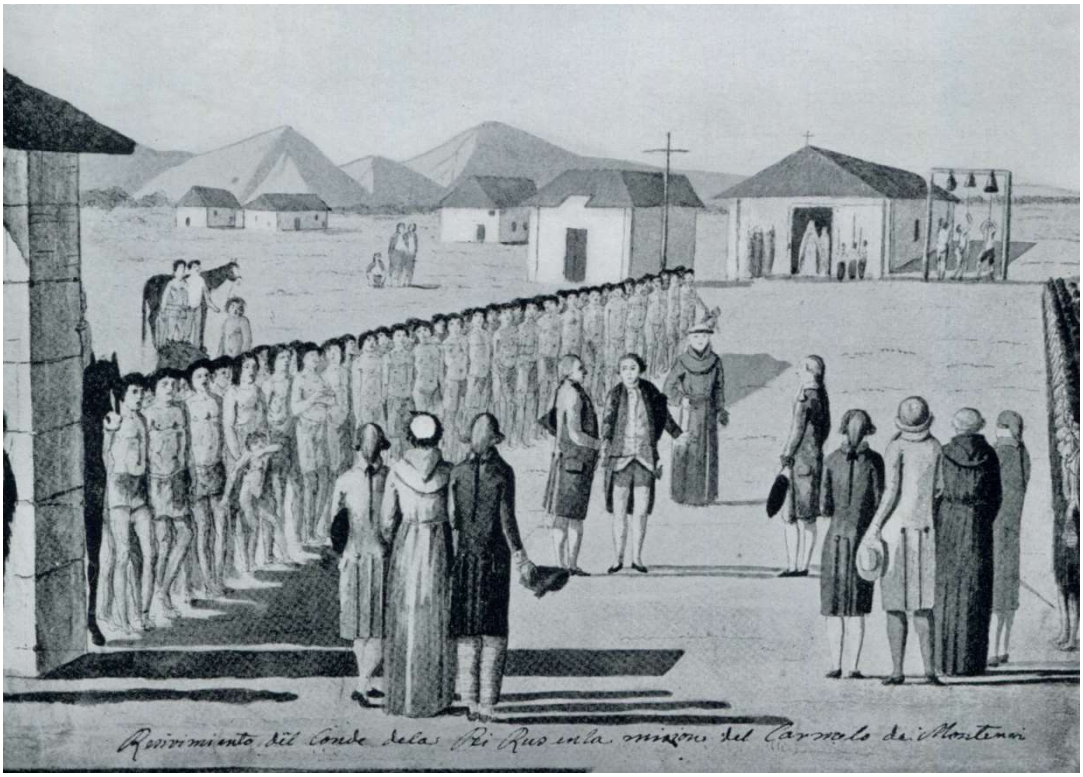


Image from a 1786 painting by Gaspard Duche de Vancy, showing the arrival of French explorer Jean Francois Galaup de la Perouse at the Carmel Mission. (*Source:* Van Nostrand and Coulter, *California Pictorial*, 11).[17]

The Ohlones: The Region's Earliest Inhabitants

Humans have occupied Central California for more than 9,000 years. The Ohlones arrived on the Central Coast 4,500—5,000 years ago; more than 10,000 lived between San Francisco Bay and Point Sur. Rather than a discrete tribe that communicated with the same language, the Ohlones were a connected group of tribelets, each speaking a slightly different language than their neighbors. Local Central Coast tribelets include the Calendaruc band near Watsonville and south to Salinas and the Mutsen band near Aromas and south towards the Salinas Valley. In the Carmel area, the Rumsen were the dominant band or tribelet.

The Spanish called them "Costenos" ("people of the coast"), which changed to "Costanoan," but Ohlone is now the generally accepted name. The name may be a Miwok word for "western people" or a prominent village named "Oljone" which was located on the San Mateo coast. No Ohlone tribe or confederation existed and each of the roughly forty different tribelets spoke different, albeit related, languages. Locations of the different tribelets within Monterey County are mapped below.

[17] Van Nostrand, Jeanne and Edith M. Coulter, *California Pictorial*, 5.

The Rumsen band occupied the Carmel area and were concentrated near the developing Carmel Mission and the Carmel River estuary.[18]



Map of Ohlone districts, each dominated by a single tribelet (*Source: Monterey County and provided by the Harrison Memorial Library*)

The Ohlones were a lithic or Stone Age culture into the nineteenth century and did not have the tools normally used to prepare land for agricultural production. Rather, they lived a nomadic existence and relied on hunting and gathering to obtain food. During the rainy winter months a temporary village was erected near their coastal food supplies. Villages would relocate to the hills

[18] Malcolm Margolin, Editor, *The Way We Lived: California Indian Stories, Songs & Reminiscences* (Berkeley: Heyday Books, 1993), 1, 6. Malcolm Margolin, *The Ohlone Way: Indian Life in the San Francisco-Monterey Bay Area* (Berkeley: Heyday Books, 1978), 1-3, 59, 62-63.

to hunt and reside during the warmer months. The tribelet would then return to their coastal location, construct the village and the cycle would begin again.[19]

The Ohlone diet was omnivorous and extensive. They harvested food from both coastal and hillside locations. Acorns were a dietary mainstay, with a preference for black and tanbark over live and valley oaks. They also consumed lizards, snakes, birds, moles, rabbits, raccoons, foxes, and larger game, such as deer, elk and coastal game, such as sea otters. During the spring and summer, families would gather in the coastal meadows to harvest grasshoppers. The hunting of deer was a ceremonial ritual for men, who prayed in groups in the sweat lodge for days before going out to the field. A typical Ohlone coastal village appears below.[20]



A typical Ohlone Village (*Source:* Margoliln, *The Ohlone Way*, 17)

As can be seen above, Ohlone houses were composed of tule and brush harvested nearby. According to archaeologist Gary Breschini:

> The majority of the houses in the county were made by fixing small boughs into the ground in a six foot circle and binding them together at the top. This created a low ceilinged hut

[19] Gordon, *Monterey Bay Area: Natural History and Cultural Imprints*, 4, 6. Margolin, *The Ohlone Way*, 24-25, 29, 49.

[20] Margolin, *The Ohlone Way*, 41-43, 45, 52. The Ohlones stored dried acorns in hampers and acorn granaries — large, basket-like containers on stilts. Mugwort and aromatic herbs drove away insects and helped prevent mold.

> which was thatched with straw during the rainy season and left open during the rest of the year. The floor was of earth and a fire was probably built inside when needed, but cooking was done outside.[21]

Sweat lodges were an integral part of male Ohlone culture, as a center for purification, religious ritual and to prepare for the deer hunt. The building consisted of a low-formed hut, composed of brush and buried against a bank. The structure had only one opening and after the men entered, a fire was placed near the entrance. The low-formed structure and lack of any air passage caused considerable heat to develop, causing its inhabitants to sweat profusely. Sweat would be wiped with a piece of wood and bone. When the effects became unbearable, the men would decamp and jump into a nearby stream to cool off.[22]

Since the Ohlones moved from coastal to hillside locations, remains of village sites are generally unknown. While previous archaeological research indicated that over 385 archaeological sites existed in Monterey County, archaeologist Gary Breschini estimate the number of sites to be closer to 1,000. The former sites typically are either a coastal village as shown above, a small campsite or a fishing station. Old Carmel Mission records list a village known as, "Ychxenta, located on San Jose Creek, south of the mission. This site was excavated and carbon dated, with results indicating that the remains were between 1800 and 2400 years old. When Sebastián Vizcaíno landed at Monterey in 1602, he noted a deserted Ohlone village on the bank of the Carmel River, likely a temporary fishing site.[23] Most of the fishing sites were located in rocky areas of the Monterey Coast and not along sandy beaches, as a greater abundance of food could be located near rocky locations. Between Carmel and Monterey, archaeologists have uncovered an estimated 133 fishing sites.[24]

The Spanish missionaries forced the Ohlones to adopt "modern" agricultural methods. Once the Spanish missionaries arrive, the Carmel-area Ohlones were drawn to Mission San Carlos Borromeo del Rio Carmel, known as the Carmel Mission, and were friendly and welcoming to the newcomers. In addition to attempting to Christianize the Ohlones, the missionaries made them cultivate crops; prepare hides; make soap, tallow and adobe bricks; forge tools; and spin and weave cloth. In effect, the Ohlones became the primary labor group that erected the Carmel Mission. Early paintings from the time period show the typical Ohlone village structures occupying the hills adjacent to the Carmel Mission (next page).

[21] Breschini, Gary, *The Indians of Monterey County* 10.
[22] Margolin, *The Ohlone Way*, 26; Breschini, 27.
[23] Ibid, 10.
[24] Ibid, 21.



Engraving from a 1793 drawing by John Sykes, showing the Ohlone structures behind the early structures of the Carmel Mission. The adobe foundation for the landmark stone church can be seen at center left. (*Source:* Van Nostrand and Coulter, *California Pictorial*, 11).[25]

When the French explorer Jean Francois de la Perouse arrived in the Monterey region with his team of scientists in 1786, he was greeted warmly at the Carmel Mission – which at this time was a dusty site with a collection of what amounted to a group of crude adobe buildings with thatched roofs. The great stone Mission was barely under construction. The Ohlone buildings were located away from the Mission structures. La Perouse describes a typical Ohlone dwelling:

> They are round and about six feet in diameter and four in height. Some stakes, the thickness of a man's arm, stuck in the ground and meeting at the top, compose the framing. Eight or ten bundles of straw, ill arranged over these stakes, are the only defense against the rain or wind; and when the weather is fine, more than half the hut remains uncovered, with the precaution of two or three bundles of straw to each habitation to be used as circumstances may require.[26]

The Carmel Mission attracted numerous Ohlone tribes, as the Spanish aimed to secularize as many as possible. In 1812, Spanish Secretary of Foreign Relations, Don Ciriaco Gonzalez Carvajal, sent questionnaires to all of the California Missions to understand their numbers and

[25] Van Nostrand, Jeanne and Edith M. Coulter, *California Pictorial*, 11.
[26] Margolin, Malcolm, *Life in a California Mission: The Journals of Jean Francois de La Perouse*, 80.

customs. The 1814 reply from Carmel Mission's representative, Fray Juan Amoros, notes the number of different Ohlone tribes at the mission:

> Seven Indian tribes live at this mission. They are the Excelen and Egeac, Rumsen, SargentuaRus, Sarconenos, Guachirron, and CalendaRuc. The first two are from the interior and have the same language and speech, which is totally distinct from the other five, who also speak a common language. At the beginning of the conquest, the missionaries experienced great difficulty in getting them to assemble for religious services, for agricultural pursuits, or for any duty whatsoever. Today they have succeeded in making them associate. The majority of them sufficiently understand and speak Spanish; the minority, though they can barely speak it, understand it somewhat."[27]

The lack of understanding of diverse cultures by the Spanish missionaries is noted when reading these early accounts. The 1814 account by Carmel Mission Fray Juan Amoros continues:

> The Indians are instructed how to live as rational individuals. Besides the communal lands and corn-fields, a parcel of land for a small kitchen-garden is allotted to some, to get them accustomed to individual effort. But the net result is that some day (sic) the woman in a fit of anger pulls out the shoots of corn, squash, etc., saying that she has planted them. Her husband does likewise. Therefore, in these matters they behave like children of eight or nine years, who as yet have not acquired a constant or steady disposition.[28]

These "instructions" amounted to the creation of a coerced labor society of Native Americans forced to convert to an entirely alien way of life. The Ohlones who didn't follow the strict rules of Mission society were cruelly punished. In his journals, French explorer Jean Francois de La Perouse writes, "Corporal punishment is inflicted on the Indians of both sexes who neglect the exercises of piety, and many sins, which in Europe are left to Divine justice, are here punished by irons and the stocks."[29]

Forced assimilation to a European lifestyle decimated the area's Ohlone population. It is difficult to imagine the level of psychological effect on a people whose entire way of life was being usurped by one so different than the Ohlone way. In 1972, archaeologist Gary Breschini writes, "The estimated Indian population in Monterey County in 1770 was about 7,000. In 1920, the population of the Salinan and Costanoan tribes (including those in the Bay Area) was 87 and the number of Indians today has dropped to a few dozen." As an example, Breschini notes the devastating impact of the Spanish missionary life on the Ohlone's religion when the missionaries forbade the Ohlone use of sweat lodges. The loss of this practice profoundly affected the Ohlone's spiritual practice, but also impacted their physical health, as the men developed "skin boils and itches (that) flourished until the Indians were allowed to use the sweat houses again. Another benefit of the sweat house was the relief from fatigue that it brought."[30]

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[27] Heizer, Robert F., *The Costanoan Indians*," 45-46. The spelling of the tribelet names taken directly from the quote.
[28] Ibid, 51.
[29] Margolin, Malcolm, *Life in a California Mission: The Journals of Jean Francois de La Perouse*, 82.
[30] Breschini, Gary, *The Indians of Monterey County*, 29, 38.

Diseases, intermarriage and psychological stress from the Spanish missionary lifestyle were the primary culprits of the Ohlone's population decimation. Life in a California mission included unhealthy concentrations of people in one continuous location (the opposite of the Nomadic Ohlone way), the introduction of new foods and forced labor. The native people had no immunity from European diseases, such as measles, pneumonia, diphtheria, smallpox, cholera, scarlet fever, typhoid and syphilis. Intermarriage was encouraged by the Spanish missionaries, who understood it would control and absorb the remaining Ohlone population into a Spanish lifestyle. A sense of psychological helplessness must have pervaded the Ohlone mind, as their entire way of life was usurped.[31] Or, as historian Kenneth Starr states, the missionaries that were sent to transform the ancient Native American cultures "were ordinary men as far as their talents and education were concerned; yet they were dedicated to an extraordinary purpose, at least in their own eyes: the evangelization of the Native Americans of California, whether the Native Americans wanted to be evangelized or not."[32]

Spanish Period (1769 – 1822)

European settlement occurred along North America's eastern shore long before explorers came to California. Spaniards first saw the region in 1595 while seeking a port for the Acapulco to Manila trade route and again in 1602, when Sebastián Vizcaíno returned. He named local landmarks including the Monterey Bay (after New Spain's viceroy, the Condé de Monterey) and the Rio del Carmelo or Carmel River (after the Carmelite friars who accompanied his voyage).

More than 160 years passed before the Monterey Bay area again caught Spain's attention in 1768, when the crown ordered protection for California's coast against possible English, Dutch and Russian threats. The governor of Baja California, Captain Gaspar de Portolá, led a 1769 expedition up the California coast by land and sea. Father Junípero Serra of the Franciscans of the Apostolic College of San Fernando in Mexico City accompanied him. The Portolá Expedition passed through the Monterey Bay Area several times, founding the Presidio of Monterey and the Mission San Carlos Borromeo in Monterey (later moved to Carmel) in 1770.[33]

Development of the Carmel Mission

The Mission San Carlos Borromeo del Rio Carmelo (Carmel Mission) was dedicated to Carlos Borromeo (1538-1584), the Cardinal Bishop of Milan, who was canonized as a progressive educator. After Father Junípero Serra's arrival at the Monterey location in 1770, he realized that the Monterey location was not ideal for several reasons. First, to locate his "neophytes" (potential Native American converts) further away from the soldiers and their debauchery at the Presidio; and second, to have a more suitable location for the development of agriculture as a methodology to train and feed his neophytes. In a biography of Father Serra, Friar Kenneth M. King notes that Serra's decision to move the mission's location was because Serra "was sensitive to the beauty of nature and there is hardly a more beautiful spot to be found on earth than the green vale of

[31] Breschini, Gary, *The Indians of Monterey County*, 29, 38.
[32] Starr, Kevin, *California: A History*, 36.
[33] Fink, *Monterey: The Presence of the Past*, 17-24, 30, 37, 40, 43.

Carmelo." Serra received permission for the mission's relocation in 1771, as well as ten new Franciscan friars sent by Spanish Visitador-General Galvez to develop a series of missions throughout California.[34]

Construction on the north side of the Carmel River began in 1771, with Father Serra moving into a hut on the site and directing a construction crew consisting of forty Native Americans and several Spanish soldiers. Serra soon left the construction of the mission's buildings to a manager to establish the chain of missions throughout California along the El Camino Real. By the time of Serra's death in 1784, the Carmel Mission land had been cleared sufficiently for modern agriculture to feed its population of 700 persons living at the Mission and surrounding rancheria. The site featured an irrigation canal that extended from the Carmel River to a pool for fish, 520 head of cattle, 82 horses and numerous pigs and sheep. The Mission church was an adobe structure (with Native Americans now trained to make adobe bricks) with a rush roof, associated living quarters, a three-room priest's residence, two barns, and thirty workshops surrounding an open space in the center. The outer rancheria surrounded the mission buildings and contained living quarters for the Native converts.[35]



Reproduction of the 1827 William Smyth watercolor, showing the completed Carmel Mission. (*Source:* Van Nostrand and Coulter, *California Pictorial*, 25)[36]

[34] Temple, Sydney, *The Carmel Mission*, 14. The quote is from the 1956 biography by Kenneth M. King, *Mission to Paradise – The Story of Junipero Serra and the Missions of California*.
[35] Temple, Sydney, *The Carmel Mission*, 35.
[36] Van Nostrand, Jeanne and Edith M. Coulter, *California Pictorial*, 25.

The Carmel Mission's greatest period of growth occurred between 1784 and 1793 under Father Serra's successor and close friend, Fermin Francesco de Lasuen, who had accompanied Serra and Father Francisco Palou to establish the California mission system. Construction of the landmark stone church building would begin in 1793, under direction of mason Miguel Esteban Ruiz, sent by Spanish governor Felipe de Neves. The building is constructed of local sandstone quarried in the Santa Lucia mountains and brought to the site by an Ohlone labor force. The cornerstone was laid on July 7, 1793. The foundation of the new stone church is visible in the 1793 John Sykes drawing shown previously in this chapter. Construction was completed in 1797.[37] The completed church was the subject of an 1827 watercolor by William Smyth (previous page) and provides an excellent representation of the various buildings.

The End of Spanish Rule over Alta California

The attempt to govern a vast, hostile and distant land clearly drained the economic and military resources of Spain. The ambitious mission project, in retrospect the last attempt by Spain to establish a permanent foothold in Alta California, was their final attempt to create the foothold the Spaniards so desperately wanted. Transformation of the Native Americans was deemed necessary to create a population loyal to Spain that could be the workforce that would develop Alta California and convert the Native American population.

However, as the Franciscan movement advanced north, it was met with the same Native American resistance that burned the first mission in San Diego to the ground within months of its construction. As historian Kevin Starr notes,

> Yet even a sympathetic observer, acknowledging the benevolent intent of the mission system, must see it by the standards of the twenty-first century, as a violent intrusion into the culture and human rights of indigenous peoples. For more than twenty-five generations, Native Americans had lived harmoniously in their own cherished places under the terms of the cultures they had evolved. They had their own myths and rituals, their own way of life, their own fulfillments and dreams. And now they were being forced from their homelands, brought into the mission system – frequently against their will – and treated as children not yet possessed of full adulthood, not yet people of reason.

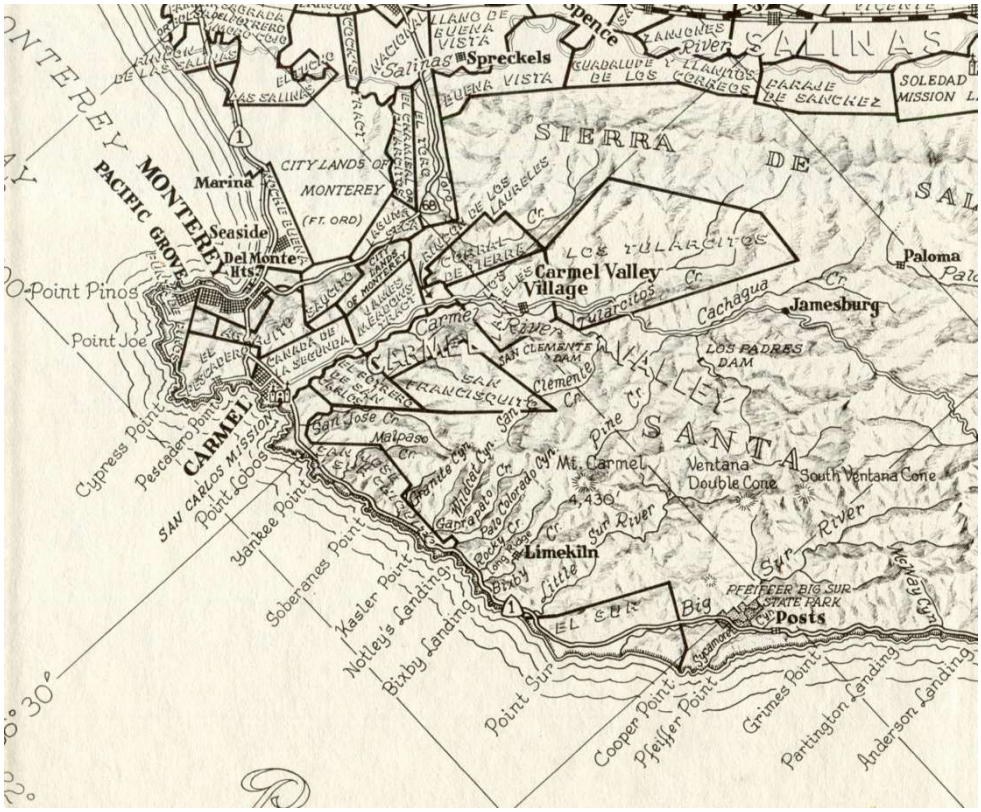
Thus, Native American resistance was understandably fierce throughout the Spanish attempt to colonize California. Throughout the Spanish period, Spain considered itself at war with the native population, even as they tried to convert them to an entirely foreign way of life. Historians have also written that the Spanish conquest lacked a secular civil society to be established in Alta California. While the Franciscan mission system was certainly a historic accomplishment in human will and architectural development, the Native Americans, as could be well understood, would rather perish on the battlefield than lose their ancient way of life."[38]

[37] Belleza, Robert A., *Missions of Monterey: Images of America*, 8, 20.
[38] Starr, Kevin, *California: A History*, 37.

Mexican Period (1822 – 1847)

Mexico declared its independence from Spain in 1822 and secularized the missions in 1834, requiring an inventory of all Mission property. The Native American population was released from Mission authority; many fled east, others assimilated into regional society as little more than slaves to the wealthy new Mexican landowners. When explorer Charles Henry Dana visited Monterey in 1835, he observed, "Among the Mexicans, there is no working class, the Indians being practically serfs, and doing all the work – two or three being attached to the better houses."[39]

The 1834 Secularization Act divided the Carmel area into large land grants. Between 1836 and 1842, Juan Bautista Alvarado, the first native-born Governor of California, created the land grants from which Carmel-by-the-Sea would later develop.



Map of Carmel-area land grants (Source: Augusta Fink, *Monterey: The Presence of the Past*.)[40]

Various ranchos established after secularization encompassed the land that would become Carmel. The area along the coast south of the *Rio Carmelo* was *Rancho San Jose y Sur Chiquito*, granted to Teodoro Gonzalez in 1835 and re-granted to Marcelino Escobar in 1835. The land north of the Carmel Mission, *Rancho El Pescadero*, included the Del Monte Forest, Cypress Point and Pebble Beach, was granted to Fabian Barreto in 1836. The 4,307-acre *Rancho El Potrero de San Carlos* on the south side of the Carmel River and part of the pasture lands of the Carmel Mission was

[39] Temple, Sydney. *The Carmel Mission*, 81.
[40] Fink, Augusta, *Monterey: the Presence of the Past*, frontispiece.

granted to Fructuoso del Real in 1837. *Rancho Cañada de la Segunda* was granted to Lazaro Soto in 1839 and encompassed land east of the mission to *Rancho Cañada de la Segunda*.[41]

The rancho period was a time of abundance and prosperity for a limited number of aristocratic families and their large numbers of relatives, who would enjoy lavish meals of beef, fruit and vegetables grown on the rancho and cooked by Native American servants. The rancho owners and their families lived a luxurious life, holding religious and feast days, where the entire extended family would gather for a great repast, drink imported wine, play music and hold various celebrations.

For the Native Americans cast out of a Mission society that had usurped their entire way of life previously, most became indentured servants to the new Mexican royalty, or became *vaqueros*, skilled horseman that patrolled and cared for the vast herds of cattle roaming the ranchos. These Native American *vaqueros* would become some of the most skilled horseman in California at the time. However, the treatment of the remaining Native Americans continued to be harsh, and they were subjected to cruel punishment.[42]

Secularization brought ruin to the Carmel Mission. In 1844, Governor Manuel Micheltorena, the last California Governor sent by Mexico, decreed that all mission lands be sold off to private interests, with the proceeds serving the Mexican government's defense of Alta California. The Carmel Mission's buildings were sold in January of 1846, some of them to Monterey resident William Garner, who recycled the building materials, including timber framing and roof tiles for construction of new business buildings in Monterey.[43] The remaining buildings on the site were left in a state of arrested decay until the region's fortunes would change dramatically with California's admission into the United States in 1848.

Associated Property Types and Registration Requirements

With the exception of the restored and protected Carmel Mission buildings (National Historic Landmark No. 66000214), no above-ground property types are present to illustrate this theme. Because of their impermanent nature, Native American buildings, such as dwellings and sweat houses, are not present. Remains of Ohlone-related occupation are in the form of archaeological deposits, mainly concentrated in the areas surrounding the Carmel Mission. However, the wooded hillside locations on the northern and eastern boundaries of Carmel also may contain Ohlone-related artifacts, including stone tools, arrowheads, mortars and pestles.

The Monterey County, *Carmel Area Land Use Plan*, describes potential Native American archaeological locations as:

> The Carmel area shoreline from Carmel Point to Point Lobos Reserve contains one of the densest remaining concentrations of shellfish gathering activities in central California. Point

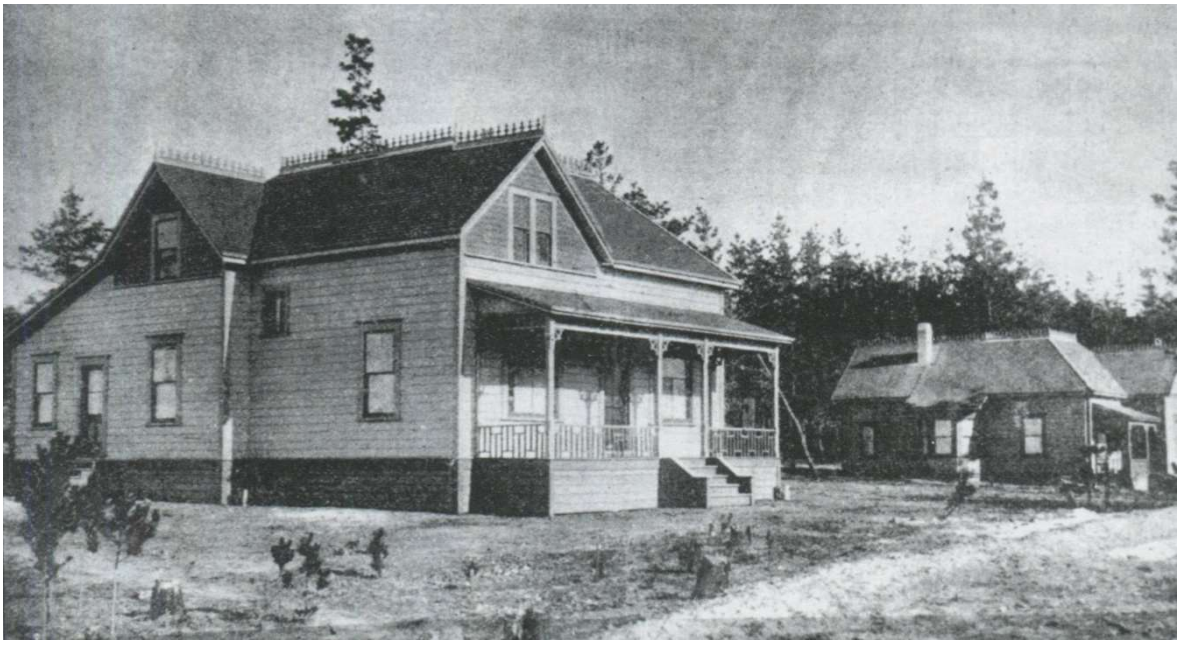
[41] Temple, Sydney, *Carmel-by-the-Sea*, 39-40.
[42] Starr, Kevin, *California: A History*, 50.
[43] Temple, Sydney, *The Carmel Mission*, 92.

> Lobos Reserve supports one site considered to be a permanent village. These archaeological deposits have been identified as a highly significant and sensitive resource.[44]

Because of this possibility, the Archaeological Overlay Zone has been created. Properties within the overlay zone need to be reviewed when soil disturbance is anticipated on any properties within the overlay zone (see: *Chapter 3.4: Carmel Archaeological Significance Overlay District*). If any resources are discovered, a site within the Archaeological Overlay Zone may be significant for Information Potential (NR Criterion 4/ CR Criterion D).

[44] County of Monterey, *Carmel Area Land Use Plan* (Local Coastal Program, Certified April 14, 1983; updated 1995), 63-63.

4.3 CARMELO (1848-1902)



Historic image of the circa-1894 Abbie Jane Hunter house (right) and the Augusta Robertson house constructed by Delos Goldsmith, likely from pattern book designs (Source: *Carmel-By-the-Sea: Images of America*, 16).[45]

The thematic time period from 1847 to 1902 represents the first American settlement of the Carmel region. "Carmelo" was the name given to the area by Sebastián Vizcaíno during his return voyage to explore the region. Accompanied by three Carmelite priests and a group of friars, Vizcaíno camped at Monterey Bay between December 17, 1602 and January 3, 1603. They chose their patroness, Our Lady of Mount Carmel, to protect the crew and deliver a safe voyage. Translated to mean "Mountain Land," Carmelo was an apt description of the undeveloped landscape, with its hillside pine forest rising from the Pacific and the dramatic backdrop of the Santa Lucia mountains. On the third day of the expedition, they traveled overland to the mouth of the Carmel River. When describing the Carmel River, Vizcaíno declared, "A river of very good water but little depth, whose banks are well peopled by poplars, very tall and smooth, and other trees of Castile; and which descends from high white mountains. It was called El Rio de Carmel because the friars of this order discovered it."[46]

By 1880 and with the completion of the Southern Pacific Railroad's terminus at Pacific Grove and the associated construction of the Del Monte Hotel, the Carmel region became a tourist destination. Having purchased the narrow-gauge Monterey & Salinas Valley Railroad in 1879, the Southern Pacific reconfigured the right-of-way for their broad-gauge extension of the line to Pacific Grove. By 1892, the railroad added lavish parlor cars for eager tourists to view their journey to the Del

[45] Hudson, Monica, *Carmel-by-the-Sea: Images of America,* 16.
[46] Clark, Donald Thomas, *Monterey County Place Names*, 72.

Monte Hotel. The connection of the region by railroad opened tourism as a primary economic engine that would drive the region's economy to this day.[47]

The primary events that shaped Carmel's development during this thematic time period are:

- The first restoration attempts at the Carmel Mission
- The creation of "Carmel City," by Santiago J. Duckworth
- Abbie Jane Hunter and the Women's Real Estate Investment Company
- Delos Goldsmith constructs the first houses in Carmel

Restoration of the Carmel Mission

When Robert Louis Stevenson visited the decayed Carmel Mission in 1879, he lamented at the loss of a landmark that could serve as beacon both for worship and tourism, he was puzzled that such a monument would be preserved in Europe and not left to deteriorate: "so piously, in these old countries, do people cherish what unites them to the past. Here, in America, on this beautiful Pacific Coast, you cannot afford to lose what you have." By time of the Stevenson's visit, the Carmel Mission was little more than a ruin, its roof tiles and its great timbers recycled to help build Monterey. The building was entirely open to the elements, weeds grew and cattle grazed within its walls. The surrounding adobe buildings had virtually returned to the earth.[48]



Circa-1880 stereograph by famed photographer, Carleton Watkins, showing the ruins of Carmel Mission (Source: The Society of California Pioneers)[49]

[47] Seavey, Kent L., *Pacific Grove: Images of America*, 52.
[48] Hudson, Monica, *Carmel-by-the-Sea: Images of America, 12.*
[49] The Society of California Pioneers, Accession Number C009237, Accession Bin/Box B001812. Viewed on https://www.carletonwatkins.org/getviewbyid.php?id=1003588, accessed May 3, 2024.

Father Angelo Delfino Casanova (for whom the Carmel street is named) took an interest in the Carmel Mission when he arrived at the Monterey parish in 1863; by 1879 he began charging tourists admission to view the ruins. With this money and additional local investment, he was able to reroof (albeit inaccurately) the building by 1884. By this time, the Carmel Mission had become a local stop for wealthy tourists on their regular tours from the Del Monte Hotel. Father Casanova officially rededicated the Carmel Mission on August 28, 1884, on the one hundredth anniversary of Father Junipero Serra's death. Reportedly, a crowd of about 500 people gathered for the dedication.[50]



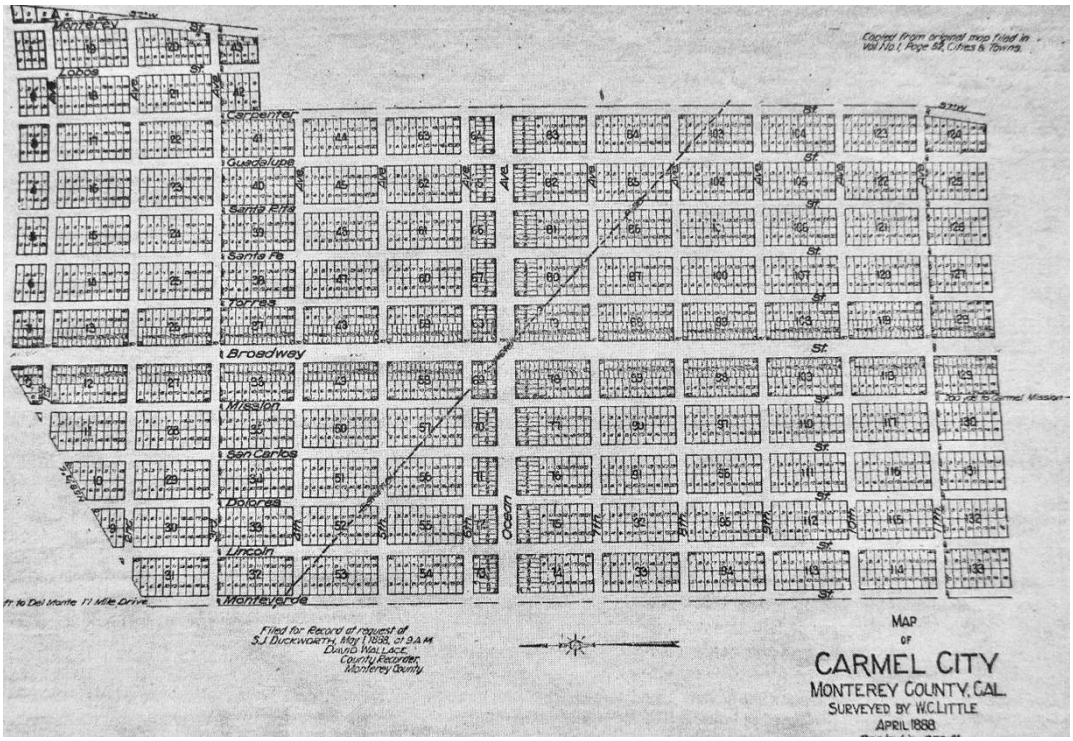
C.W.J. Johnson photograph of the August 28, 1884 rededication ceremony for the Carmel Mission, with its steeply-pitched gable roof (Source: *Carmel: A History in Architecture*).[51]

Santiago J. Duckworth and the Creation of Carmel City

Witnessing the enthusiasm of the crowd at the 1884 Carmel Mission rededication, the brothers Santiago and Belisario Duckworth who owned a real estate company in Monterey, created the first vision for Carmel development – a Catholic retreat conceived along similar lines as the Methodist retreat in Pacific Grove.[52] Initially, their timing was excellent, as the newly completed transcontinental railroad and the Southern Pacific Railroad's Pacific Grove spur were creating a population and real estate boom in the region. The real estate brothers created an agreement with landowner Honore Escolle, who raised cattle on the open hillsides east of the Carmelo pine forest, whereby they would survey, subdivide and lay out plots in the pine forest adjacent to the

[50] Temple, Sydney, Carmel-by-the-Sea, 54; National Register of Historic Places, Inventory and Nomination Form No. 660002: *Mission San Carlos De Borromeo Del Rio Carmelo*.
[51] Seavey, Kent L., *Carmel: A History in Architecture*, 11.
[52] The 1890 Polk's Monterey County City Directory (page 727), lists Santiago J. Duckworth as a real estate and insurance agent. It lists Belisario E. Duckworth as city clerk, notary public and agency for Carmel City property.

ocean, dividing profits between Escolle and the Duckworth Brother's Monterey real estate company. The various parties signed the agreement on February 8, 1888. Within a few months, the first subdivision of what would become "Carmel City" was published with the County of Monterey.



First survey and subdivision for Carmel-by-the-Sea, known as Carmel City (Source: Monterey County Recorder's Office).

The subdivision overlaid a grid pattern of streets on the hillside forest of Carmel. Ocean Avenue is visible as the primary east-west arterial, with Broadway Street (to become Junipero Street) the north-south axis. The plan was conceived with Ocean Avenue and Broadway Street serving as the commercial arterials of the subdivision; the remaining lots being reserved as residential lots. In 1889, the first advertisements in local newspapers for "Carmel City," dubbed as a Catholic institution of learning, appeared in local newspapers. By 1890, over two hundred residential lots were sold, primarily to outsiders from San Francisco, who endeavored to own a summer home in the new retreat. Despite the early lot sales and the marketing efforts of Santiago Duckworth, the national financial panic and subsequent recession of the 1890s squelched these first efforts to develop the city of Carmel. The Duckworth Brothers' vision for the Catholic retreat was not realized, but the lots would be purchased by a developer with a different vision: Abbie Jane Hunter.[53]

[53] Temple, Sydney, Carmel-by-the-Sea, 55-58.

The Women's Real Estate Investment Company and Carmel's First Buildings

One of the earliest purchases of Carmel real estate was by Abbie Jane Hunter, owner of the Women's Real Estate Investment Company in San Francisco. By 1892, she purchased 164 acres, numbering about 300 lots of Carmel City from the Duckworth brothers. The early lot sales were mostly to San Francisco teachers, professors and writers, who endeavored to own a summer home in what she dubbed the "Haven of Rest."

Hunter arrived in Carmel with her brother, the carpenter Delos E. Goldsmith, to construct the first buildings in Carmel. Hunter and Goldsmith extended Ocean Avenue to the sea, where Delos E. Goldsmith constructed a wood-framed bathhouse, the first social center for the fledgling city. Goldsmith also constructed the first houses in Carmel, located at the northeast corner of Guadalupe Street and 4th Avenue (see previous photograph) in a modest Queen Anne style. The two houses are extant (but altered), the latter of which is now part of the Carl Cherry Center for the Arts. During this period, Delos E. Goldsmith opened the first business in Carmel – a carpenter shop – on what is now Carpenter Street. Goldsmith also constructed the Hotel Carmelo at the corner of Ocean Avenue and Broadway Street, the first hotel in Carmel. The building was subsequently moved and absorbed into the Pine Inn. A glimpse of the landscape surrounding the building's original location shows how rustic Carmel City was at this time.



C.J. Johnson photograph looking west down Ocean Avenue in 1888, with the Hotel Carmelo at the extreme right (Source: Pat Hathaway Collection, Monterey County Historical Society).

As seen in the above image, Carmel City circa-1890 was an assemblage of dirt roads dotted with only a few wood-framed buildings set within the rolling pine-clad landscape. A San Francisco lawsuit against Abbie Jane Hunter's real estate company caused the company's decline, as she

was arrested in San Francisco in 1895. This event, combined with the recession of the 1890s, concluded the earliest era of Carmel's development.[54]

Carmelo (1848 – 1902): Associated Property Types and Registration Requirements

This thematic time period represents the earliest building construction in Carmel. With the exception of the initial stages of the Carmel Mission's restoration and the construction of the Hotel Carmelo (now part of the Pine Inn), the first buildings constructed in the Carmel city limits were houses.

The earliest houses constructed in Carmel were either pattern book variants of the Queen Anne style or the Early Carmel Vernacular style. Field survey has not located many resources other than those listed on the Carmel Historic Resources Inventory (HRI).

With the exception of the Benjamin Turner house, which was constructed by owner Benjamin Turner to show off his masonry skills, the Early Carmel Vernacular-style houses are wood-framed and wood-clad, with side gable or gable-on-wing massing.

Only a handful of buildings that represent this theme are listed on the Carmel Historic Resources Inventory (HRI).

[54] Temple, Sydney, Carmel-by-the-Sea, 60, Seavey, Kent L., "Carmel: A History in Architecture," 28-33, "Carmel Legends," *Carmel Pine Cone*, 6/25/99, n17.

Architectural Styles and Character Defining Features

Queen Anne Style (1888-1902)



Abbie Jane Hunter House

Introduction

Queen Anne Victorian buildings are characterized by irregular plans with steeply pitched hipped or gable roofs. A prominent street-facing gable end or cross-gabled ends for corner lots is typical of the style. The gable ends frequently feature paired wood-sash windows and are locations for displaying shingles in a variety of decorative patterns, spindles or other wood details. An asymmetrical front porch supported by chamfered or Classical columns and featuring decorative scrolls, spindles or other wood details in the cornice or column capitals is common.

Character Defining Features

- Single-story or two-story irregular plan
- Side-gable, hipped or gable-on-wing massing
- Two-story designs frequently have cross-gable massing
- Wood clapboard, V-groove or Novelty-style wall cladding
- Prominent gable end with paired wood-sash windows
- Partial, corner or full-width front porch, with decorative columns, capitals and cornices
- Extensive use of decorative wood details, such as textured shingles in the gable ends, spindle work in the porch capitals and in window and door surrounds.

Representative Buildings

- Abbie Jane Hunter House (1894)

Early Carmel Vernacular Style (1848-1902)



Santiago Duckworth House

Introduction

Early Carmel Vernacular buildings represent the first buildings constructed by Carmel pioneers. These buildings are wood-framed and wood-clad with board-and-batten, rustic-wood and occasionally half-log exterior wall cladding. The buildings feature little to no decoration and no front porch, although front porch alterations are common.

Character Defining Features

- Single-story rectangular or gable-on-wing plan
- Side-gable, gable or hipped roofs
- Wood wall cladding, typically board-and-batten or rustic Redwood siding
- Wood sash windows in single- or multi-pane configurations
- Typically, do not have a front porch
- Minimal exterior decoration

Representative Buildings

- Santiago Duckworth House (1888)
- Benjamin Turner House (1898)

Historic Significance

The following table analyzes the significance of buildings within this thematic time period, by synthesizing the criteria established by the National Register of Historic Places (Ntl.), the California Register of Historical Resources (CA), and the Carmel-by-the-Sea Municipal Code.

Ntl / CA Register	Carmel Municipal Code §17.32.040	Significance	Analysis for Carmel Inventory of Historic Resources
A/1	1	Events, Patterns Trends	Should support at least one historic theme listed in the historic context statement.
B/2	2	Persons	Should be associated with significant persons that contributed to the City through economic development, government, civic, cultural, artistic or social institutions.
C/3	3	Architecture, Construction Method	Buildings designed by a significant architect, landscape architect, or a significant builder; buildings designed by unrecognized architect/builder, but being a good representative of an architectural style listed in this context statement. Individual examples, which contribute to diversity in the community, need not have been designed by known architects, designer/builders or contractors. Rather, rare styles and types that contribute to Carmel's unique sense of time and place shall be deemed significant.
D/4	4	Information Potential	Confined primarily to archaeological or subsurface resources that contribute to an understanding of historic construction methods, materials, or evidence of prehistoric cultures.

Historic Integrity Considerations

Minimum Eligibility Requirements

- Retains sufficient character defining features to represent a given architectural style.
- Retains original form and roofline.
- Retains the original fenestration pattern.
- Retains original exterior cladding (or original cladding has been replaced in-kind).

4.4 SEACOAST OF BOHEMIA (1903-1923)

4.5 VILLAGE IN A FOREST (1924-1945)

4.6 POSTWAR DEVELOPMENT (1946-1965)

4.7 CONTINUITY IN CHANGE: THE CARMEL DYNAMIC CONTINUES (1966-1986)

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HISTORIC CONTEXT STATEMENT
CARMEL-BY-THE-SEA

Prepared For
The City of Carmel-by-the-Sea

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September 1994

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May 31, 1996
Adopted January 7, 1997

Updated By
Architectural Resources Group, Inc.
Adopted by City Council September 9, 2008
Certified by the California Coastal Commission November 12, 2008

Updated By
PAST Consultants, LLC
Adopted by City Council December 6, 2022

The activity which is the subject of this Historic Context Statement has been financed in part with Federal funds from the National Park Service, Department of the Interior, through the California Office of Historic Preservation. However, the contents and opinions do not necessarily reflect the views or policies of the Department of the Interior or the California Office of Historic Preservation, nor does mention of trade names or commercial products constitute endorsement or recommendation by the Department of the Interior or the California Office of Historic Preservation.

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0.0 PREAMBLE

Between 1997 and 2008, the City of Carmel-by-the-Sea utilized a Historic Context Statement that was adopted on 7 January 1997. It is a well-researched document that was carried out to professional standards and it will continue to be used by the City in conjunction with the updated material that follows. The themes outlined in the 1997 Historic Context Statement convey Carmel's early development and the influences that shaped the City until 1940. In association with the thematic history, the 1997 Historic Context Statement identifies associated resource types and significance.

In 2008, the 1997 Historic Context Statement was updated by Architectural Resources Group of San Francisco (ARG) to extend and incorporate the 25-year period, 1940 to1965. In accordance with *National Register Bulletin 24*, the updated document covered a broad pattern of historical development in this community. To update the Historic Context Statement, ARG undertook extensive documentary research and some fieldwork to review resources related to the development of the City between 1940 and 1965, and conducted research at local libraries, archives and repositories. Building and new construction permits from the City of Carmel-by-the-Sea for the period 1940-1965 were not available for the project. Based on research and fieldwork, ARG developed applicable contexts relating to the 1940 to 1965 period. Rewriting the 1997 Historic Context Statement was not part of the scope of the update, though minor edits for clarity were made.

The 2022 update by PAST Consultants, LLC, was grant-funded by the California Office of Historic Preservation. The update expands the existing document's historical narrative and thematic structure to cover significant events and architectural styles for the time period 1966 to 1986. Because several architectural styles began prior to 1966, the architectural development chapter has been expanded with a presentation of architectural styles from 1935 to 1986, and includes photographs of typical buildings, lists of character defining features and examples of significant or listed buildings. Unless otherwise noted, all photographs were taken by PAST Consultants, LLC, in 2022. Appendices were also updated, including the timeline up to 1986, and numerous architect biographies were added. Like the previous updates, the 2022 update was intended to expand the document within its existing format, in a cohesive manner.

1.0 INTRODUCTION

1.1 The Historic Context Statement

A historic context statement is a technical document containing specific sections mandated by the Secretary of the Interior in *National Register Bulletin 16*. The Bulletin defines a historic context as "a body of information about historic properties organized by theme, place, and time." Historic context is linked with tangible historic resources through the concept of property type. A property type is a "grouping of individual properties based on shared physical or associative characteristics."

A historic context statement is one of many tools used by municipalities as part of a comprehensive preservation program. Its purpose is to provide a framework for identifying historic resources, determining their relative significance, and applying the criteria for listing in the National Register of Historic Places. The Historic Context Statement is to be used in conjunction with the City's General Plan policies regarding historic preservation and the Preservation Ordinance found in Municipal Code chapter 17.32 to identify historic resources and is not a stand-alone document.

Throughout the Historic Context Statement specific place names, properties and individuals are included to clarify historical patterns and provide richer detail. Examples are included solely to illustrate physical and associative characteristics of each theme and/or property type. The specific reference to an existing

property within the Historic Context Statement is not a determination of historic significance at the present time, rather it signifies that the property contributes to a particular historical theme. Designation of a property as a historic resource is determined on an individual basis following a survey and evaluation process and ultimately reflects a judgment by the City that the property is significant.

The Context Statement is not meant to be all-inclusive, and exclusion from this report is not intended to diminish the significance of any individual historic resource or person.

1.2 Location and Boundaries of Carmel-by-the-Sea

Carmel-by-the-Sea is located on the Monterey Peninsula. It is approximately one square mile in area and is generally bordered by the Pacific Ocean to the west, Highway One to the east, the community of Pebble Beach to the north, and the Carmel River to the south.

1.3 Community Character and Values

When established in 1902, development in Carmel was greatly influenced by the Arts and Crafts movement. Much of the unique character of Carmel-by-the-Sea results from this Arts and Crafts influence coupled with an appreciation of the City's natural environment. Elements of the natural environment such as topography, vegetation and climate, shaped the human response to the built environment. As the community developed, efforts were made to adapt the man-made elements to the underlying natural elements. In the residential districts, roads are typically narrow and curve and undulate to follow the topography and make room for trees. In the commercial districts, sidewalks curve and are frequently interrupted by trees and mini-parks. Most shops and businesses are built to face open sidewalks and interior or exterior courtyards in acknowledgment of the mild weather. The use of open space encourages pedestrian exploration and movement. Architectural design includes construction with natural materials, pleasant open spaces, and abundant landscaping.

Over the years, there has been a conscious effort to maintain the village-like characteristics of the town. For example, there are no house numbers, residential sidewalks, parking meters, streetlights, or traffic signals. Houses are small and blend into their surroundings. Gardens are informal, making use of natural vegetation. Trees are greatly revered and given precedence over building expansion and the movement of traffic.

1.4 Overview of Themes

Each chapter of this report is organized by a theme, derived from a broad set of associated events that helped shape the history of Carmel. Each theme spans a particular period; however, at any given point in time, events contributing to more than one theme may be at work. Consequently, time periods for each theme may overlap. The starting and ending dates of thematic periods are usually determined by key historical events.

The development of Carmel-by-the-Sea can be organized into five broad themes: Prehistory and Hispanic Settlement (1542-1846); Economic Development (1846-1986); Government, Civic and Social Institutions (1903-1986); Architectural Development (1903-1986); and the Development of Arts and Culture (1904-1986). From 1542 through 1846, the story of Carmel was not separated from the surrounding region and revolved around the Native American inhabitants, European exploration, and Spanish and Mexican colonization. California's transformation to an American state after 1846 was characterized by the changes in the economy that led to the development of the village of Carmel and the rise of business and tourism in the area. Following Carmel-by-the-Sea's development in 1902 and incorporation in 1916, a number of government, civic and social institutions were established. The role of the Arts and Crafts movement permeates both the built environment and the cultural life of the town. The influx of artists and writers after 1905 set the stage for the development of an artists colony and the arts and culture have played a pivotal role in the identity of Carmel ever since.

1.5 Gender and Ethnicity

Women have been critical to the history of Carmel in terms of the development of architecture, cultural institutions and community activities. Beginning in 1889, Abbie Jane Hunter opened the first hotel in Carmel. In 1892 she formed the Women's Real Estate and Investment Company to help stimulate early land sales. She was followed in 1902 by Jane Powers, an accomplished painter, who worked with her husband Frank Powers to make Carmel-by-the-Sea a center for people of artistic temperament. She helped organize the Arts and Crafts Club in 1905 with several other ladies already involved in the arts. After the San Francisco 1906 earthquake, she encouraged many of her artistic friends to move to Carmel. These individuals were the vanguard of notable women who greatly influenced the character of Carmel.

Ethnic minorities also helped to shape the city's past. The ethnic history of Carmel can be traced back some 12,000 years to the Native American inhabitants of the region, discussed in the second chapter of this report. In the recent past, non-White ethnic groups played a variety of roles in the society including that of laborers, fisherman, small business owners, firemen, and artists. According to the 1910 census, about 90 percent of people living in Carmel were American born, with most migrating from other parts of California and others arriving from a variety of states in the East or Midwest. The population also encompassed a relatively small number of foreign-born immigrants from Asian and European countries including China, Japan, Sweden, Italy, Portugal, Germany, Norway, and Spain. Some of the first property sold by the Carmel Development Company was sold to Mrs. E.A. Foster, an African-American woman from Monroe, Michigan. She purchased two lots on Dolores and ten lots on the south side of Ocean Avenue between San Carlos and Mission. In 1903 Roland and Emma Henderson, an African-American couple from San Jose, opened a restaurant in the old carpenter shop on Dolores Street. Pon Sing opened the second restaurant in Carmel, which was also the town's first Chinese restaurant. He later became the cook at the Pine Inn, which opened in 1903. One of Carmel's many artists, Ling Fu Yang, was also of Chinese ancestry. Pon Lung Chung served with the Carmel Fire Department and in 1931 was reportedly the only fireman of Chinese ancestry in the United States.

In 1960, Carmel had a total population of 4,580 inhabitants, consisting of a significantly higher ratio of women to men, with the majority of the population ranging in age from forty to seventy-five and older.

Carmel was racially homogenous, 99% of the population was Caucasian,[1] and 83% of the population being of "native" versus of "foreign" parentage.[2] Only half of the population were employed and worked in various occupations ranging from sales and clerical workers, office managers, and craftsmen.[3] The main industries included wholesale and retail trade, finance, personal services, professional services, and public administration.[4] 54% of the housing units in Carmel were owner occupied and consisted of an average of five rooms, while the remaining 46% of the housing units were renter-occupied and consisted of an average of three-and-a-half rooms.[5]

Ethnic and gender contributions are considered integral elements that overlay all the themes discussed below. Where known, significant contributions by non-white groups and women will be discussed; however, the absence of specific gender or ethnic references does not preclude the importance that these demographic groups may have played in the development of the community.

2.0 PREHISTORY AND HISPANIC SETTLEMENT (1542-1846)

2.1 The Original Inhabitants

The history of Carmel begins in the millennia preceding the "discovery" of California by Europeans, when there were some 300,000 Native Americans throughout the territory that later became the state of California. These early inhabitants were divided into more than 100 tribes which typically shared cultural, linguistic, dress, housing, and other traits according to the regions of California in which they lived: southern, central (where Carmel is located), northwestern, or northeastern. The indigenous peoples of Carmel were the Coast people, given the name Costanoans by John Wesley Powell. They are also sometimes referred to as the Ohlones, more specifically the Rumsen or Rumsien. The Native Americans foraged for seeds and nuts, hunted small animals, and fished from boats. Archaeological evidence has placed Ohlone settlements near the present mission and at the mouth of San Jose Creek. Villages were made up of ten to twelve rounded dwellings of tule grass lashed to willow poles, each with a central fire pit. Other structures included sweat houses used for purification in times of illness and before a hunt.

2.2 Early European Exploration

The Ohlones may have come into contact with Europeans as early as 1542, when the Spanish explorer, Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo, journeyed to Alta California.[6] Contact with the Ohlones was first reported in 1602 by Sebastian Vizcaino, who had been commissioned to map the coast of Alta California. On December 16, 1602, Vizcaino, along with two hundred men and a few Carmelite friars, landed in Monterey Bay. The friars found the area to be almost identical to Mount Carmel and the hills of Galilee and persuaded Vizcaino to call the river through the area Rio Carmelo and the rounded mountain above it Mount Carmel. After surveying the area for three weeks, the group continued to sail north and eventually returned to Mexico to report on their expedition.

2.3 Hispanic Settlement

[1] U. S. Department of Commerce, U. S. Census of Housing: 1960, City Blocks, 1.
[2] U. S. Department of Commerce, Census of Population: 1960, Volume I, Characteristics of the Population, 6-395.
[3] U. S. Department of Commerce, Census of Population: 1960, Volume I, Characteristics of the Population, 6-395.
[4] U. S. Department of Commerce, Census of Population: 1960, Volume I, Characteristics of the Population, 6-395.
[5] U. S. Department of Commerce, U. S. Census of Housing: 1960, City Blocks, 1.
[6] Cabrillo was actually of Portuguese descent, but acting on the orders of the Spanish viceroy of Mexico.

Despite the sixteenth and seventeenth century Spanish explorations of Alta California, occupation and settlement did not begin until the eighteenth century. Fearful that the Russians or the English might try to expand their territory in North America, the king of Spain ordered Gaspar de Portola to set out on an overland expedition from San Diego in 1769 to establish missions, presidios, and pueblos. He was accompanied on his journey by Franciscan friars led by Father Junipero Serra. Father Serra was born in Petra on the Isle of Mallorca on November 24, 1713. He entered the Order of Saint Francis at a young age. At thirty-six he was sent to Mexico where he was a missionary for nineteen years before journeying to Alta California to establish the chain of missions.[7] The first of the missions was founded in San Diego on July 16, 1769. In 1770, the group arrived in Monterey Bay and on June 3 the Mission San Carlos Borromeo del Rio Carmel and the Royal Presidio were dedicated where San Carlos Church stands today in the City of Monterey. A year later the mission was moved five miles south to a more fertile area near the Rio Carmelo. A cross was erected, and work began on the first mud-plastered wooden buildings. By 1772 Serra could thus describe the mission:

> A stockade of rough timbers, thick and high, with ravelins in the corners, is something more than seventy varas long and forty-three wide, and is closed at night with a key, although it is not secure because of the lack of nails. The main house is seventy varas wide and fifty long. It is divided into six rooms, all with doors and locks. The walls are constructed of rough timbers plastered over with mud, both inside and out. Those of the principal rooms are whitewashed with lime. One of the rooms serves provisionally for a church. Near this building, on the outside, is the guardhouse or barracks for the soldiers; and adjoining it, their kitchen. All is enclosed in the stockade. All of these buildings have flat roofs of clay and mud, and for the most of them a kitchen has been made. There are various little houses for the Indians, with straw or hay roofs. Attention was later given to a small garden, which is near at hand, but for want of a gardener, it has made little progress.[8]

For the rest of his life, Father Serra used Mission San Carlos Borromeo del Rio Carmel as the headquarters from which he established seven more missions.[9] In ecclesiastical terms it became the most important of the missions.

Native American tribes, including the Ohlone (Rumsen, Sargentaruc, and Ensen tribes) and Esselen people were subjugated by the missionaries and required to convert to Christianity. Indeed, those who were baptised became the *de facto* labor force in as much as neophytes were not permitted to leave the mission. As enslaved laborers, they raised livestock, cultivated crops, and constructed buildings; harsh conditions and lack of immunity to European diseases caused illness and death. By 1783 the mission was self-sufficient and supported a population of 700.[10]

Construction of the church at Mission San Carlos Borromeo del Rio Carmel near the Carmel River was begun in 1793. Dedication took place in 1797 under the direction of Father Lasuén, who took over as "padre presidente" after Serra died on August 28, 1784. Unlike most of the missions in the chain, which

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[7] The word "mission" applies not only to a church, but the entire individual settlement. The Franciscans followed, in general, the routine of deciding upon a likely spot for a settlement (good land, fresh water, native population, and strategic position), blessing the site, planting a cross, and erection of an open air structure for services. A small chapel, house for the missionaries, house for the female natives, soldier's dwellings, guard house and kitchen were then built. These early buildings were usually constructed of adobe with tule roofs. Later, a larger church, larger living quarter and store houses were built of brick or stone.

[8] James Ladd Delkin, *Monterey Peninsula*, p. 156-157.

[9] With the establishment of a mission in Sonoma in 1823, the chain totaled twenty-one and was linked by the El Camino Real.

[10] Harold and Ann Gilliam, Creating Carmel: The Enduring Vision, p. 46.

were designed by padres, Mission San Carlos Borromeo del Rio Carmel was designed by a stone mason, Manuel Estevan Ruiz, who was brought from Mexico. Ruiz also built San Carlos Church in Monterey, which was erected at the same time. The chief material was native brown sandstone, with mortar and plaster obtained from abalone shells. The simple nave plan is 150 feet by 29 feet, measured on the inside, with walls 5 feet thick. Firmly buttressed, the building is surmounted by two belfries, one of which is approached by an outside stairway. Typical of mission churches, the design of Mission San Carlos Borromeo del Rio Carmel is rooted in the architectural traditions of Spain and Mexico, although the constraints of the locale and climate, and the locally available materials and skills necessitated certain adaptations. The construction of other buildings—school, dormitories, shops, and granaries—preceded until 1815, when the completion of the mission quadrangle was celebrated with thanksgiving services.

By the 1820s, the lagging economy of the area began to change and increase due to the altered administrative policies of the new Mexican government. Two of these policies had important local ramifications. The first was the legalization of trade with foreign ships in the ports of San Francisco and Monterey. The traders exchanged tea, coffee, spices, clothing, leather goods, etc., for tallow and hides. Under the stimulus of this commerce, coastal settlements became lively trade centers.

The second change in policy to have far-reaching effects in California was the secularization of the missions and the establishment of large, private land grants. During Spanish rule the relationship between the missions and provincial government of Alta California became increasingly tense as the Franciscans were pressured into giving up control over their land and neophytes. Mexico's independence from Spain in 1821 removed trade restrictions that up until then had been imposed on the missions. Open trade allowed the missions to increase their productivity, thereby becoming a supply source for the settlers and travelers along El Camino Real, the road which linked the missions. The Franciscans amassed a great deal of economic as well as spiritual power. However, disputes soon arose between the Franciscans and Mexican government over debts to the missions, taxes, and authority over the neophytes. In 1822 Mexico's legislature finally mandated the formal secularization of the missions. The Franciscans were replaced, missions were converted to parish churches, and land holdings redistributed. During this time, the Mission San Carlos Borromeo del Rio Carmel was essentially abandoned, and San Carlos Church became the principal local place of Catholic worship.

With the change of governmental control from Spain to Mexico in 1822 and the secularization of the missions, new land utilization and ownership patterns began to evolve. In 1824, Mexico passed a law for the settlement of vacant lands in an effort to stimulate further colonization. Men, foreign or native, could select a tract of unoccupied land so long as it was a specific distance away from the lands held by the missions, pueblos, and Indians. The grantee petitioned the governor for a specific tract, which after investigation and if there were no objections, was granted. The grantee was responsible for building a house and keeping a minimum of 100 head of cattle.

A number of ranchos were created around Mission San Carlos Borromeo del Rio Carmel. The area along the coast south of the *Rio Carmelo* was *Rancho San Jose y Sur Chiquito*. It was granted to Teodoro Gonzalez in 1835 and re-granted to Marcelino Escobar in 1835. Another grant resulted in *Rancho El Pescadero*, located to the north of the mission and including Del Monte Forest, Cypress Point and the present-day community of Pebble Beach. It was granted to Fabian Barreto in 1836. *Rancho El Potrero de San Carlos*, also on the south side of the Carmel River, consisted of 4,307 acres that had been used by the mission as a pasture. It was granted to Fructuoso del Real in 1837. *Rancho Cañada de la Segunda* was granted to Lazaro Soto in 1839 and encompassed land east of the mission to *Cañada de la Segunda*.

Overseeing the immense acreage and herds of cattle, the California ranchero and his vaqueros spent many hours on horseback, the favored form of transportation. Cattle, allowed to range freely, were rounded up twice a year during a *rodeo*—in the spring to brand the calves and again during the late summer for

slaughter. The *rodeo* was often an occasion for socializing with the neighboring rancho families. With *fiesta* and *fandango*; the *rodeo* festivities often lasted a week or more.

In the early years of the province, the slaughter, or *matanza*, was solely for domestic needs. Cattle supplied beef to be eaten fresh or dried for future use; hides for shoes, lariats and outerwear; and tallow for candles and soap. During the period of Mexican rule the *matanza* became more systematic and extensive. Hides were carefully stripped from the carcasses and the tallow was rendered for domestic use and for export. In trade, the tallow brought six cents per pound, from 75 to 100 pounds were obtained from each carcass. Hides brought from one dollar to $2.50 a piece, becoming known as "California bank notes." The hide and tallow economy was fostered by foreign merchants who were settling in California during this period. Monterey merchant Thomas Larkin actively encouraged the rancho economy and exploited local resources by purchasing or taking in trade rancho products in exchange for manufactured goods brought by American and English trading ships.

2.4 Associated Property Types

2.4.1 Identification

There are few extant properties associated with the Native American culture or early European exploration and settlement of Carmel. Property types associated with this theme include:

- Archeological sites
- Mission structures and objects
- Rancho hacienda buildings and features

2.4.2 Description

Archaeological Sites

Tribal villages were located near Carmel and remain as culturally important sites to various native tribes.

Mission Structures and Objects

Mission San Carlos Borromeo del Rio Carmel is designated as a California Registered Historic Landmark and is listed in the National Register of Historic Places. It is significant as an excellent restored and reconstructed example of a California mission, which has the added importance of having been founded by Father Junipero Serra in 1770, and having served as the headquarters from which he directed the administration of the expanding mission system until his death.

The mission as it exists today is a fusion of an early building plus its early restorations with twentieth century structures sympathetic to the Mission style of architecture. Only parts of the mission church remain as originally built in the late eighteenth or even nineteenth century, while the remainder of the mission quadrangle and the nearby buildings are of more recent construction. The mission gradually fell into a state of disrepair after its secularization in 1833. During the 1880s the mission was maintained and altered in a piecemeal fashion. Early restoration efforts included the construction of the peaked roof which replaced the original tile, vaulted roof.

In 1931, San Francisco cabinetmaker Harry Downie was commissioned by Monsignor Philip G. Scher of San Carlos Church to restore the mission. Under Downie's supervision, the tile roof was restored, three steps to the original altar rail were changed to one, and radiant heating was placed under a new tile floor

which replaced the original burnt tile. Many of the original statues and works of art were returned. Restoration of the mission school was undertaken in 1945.

Rancho Haciendas

A number of Mexican ranchos were granted in the sphere of influence of Carmel-by-the-Sea. Although no hacienda sites are known to have existed in or near Carmel, it is possible that rancho activities associated with the coastal resources or shipping activities were located in the vicinity. A rancho hacienda was typically a small, self-sufficient village that, in addition to the main residence, could also include auxiliary residences for vaqueros and Indian labor, kitchen, privies, granary, ovens, wells, spring house, blacksmith shop, tanning vats, trash deposits, corrals, and gardens and orchards. Most of the building materials would have also been manufactured on site; however, some may have been "borrowed" from San Carlos Mission which had been abandoned after secularization. Barrow pits for the making of adobe bricks and kilns for firing roof and floor tiles would have been located nearby.

2.4.3 Significance

Archaeological sites associated with the Native American, Mission, and Rancho periods that retain integrity may qualify for listing in the National Register of Historic Places under Criteria D because they have yielded, or may be likely to yield, information important in prehistory of history. The State Office of Historic Preservation or the Archaeological Information Center should be contacted regarding known archaeological sites in the area; exact locations of sites are protected information.

As the headquarters for the California missions, any resources associated with Mission San Carlos Borromeo del Rio Carmel have a high degree of significance despite low levels of integrity due to deterioration and subsequent restoration. According to the National Register nomination form, only the mission church is listed. Related resources which may qualify for listing on the National Register under Criterion C include a statue of Serra and a cenotaph by Joseph Mora, as they "represent the work of a master and possess high artistic values." The statue was dedicated during the Serra Pageant in 1922, but is located outside of the city boundaries at the foot of Serra Road in the Carmel Woods neighborhood. The cenotaph was dedicated to the memory of Serra in 1924 and is located in the mission church.

There also may be other standing and archaeological features associated with mission activities at and/or near the current mission compound. The old pear orchard adobe was occupied by Christiano Machado, which later served as the Mission Tea Room and more recently as a residence. Archaeological features may include building foundations, tanning vats, olive presses, blacksmith shops, canals and other water features, grain mills, etc. The archaeological remains of mission and rancho resources would be important in furthering a more complete understanding and interpretation of the development of the Hispanic frontier.

3.0 ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT (1846-1986)

3.1 Early Agriculture and Industry

3.1.1 Ranching and Farming

In May 1846, the United States declared war on Mexico and shortly thereafter the Americans raised the flag in Monterey. In 1848, the United States acquired the Mexican province of California in the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. Closely following the annexation of California by the United States, the discovery of gold in the Sierra foothills precipitated a sudden influx of population to the State and accelerated

California's statehood. After California was admitted into the Union as the thirty-first state in 1850, increasing numbers of European settlers made their homes in the Carmel area. The U.S. Board of Land Commissioners was created to confirm the Spanish and Mexican land grants. During this time, many ranchos began to break up as Mexican families lost control over their land in court to other claimants because titles were unclear. Others were forced to sell off portions of land to European settlers to help pay taxes and legal fees incurred during the confirmation process.

A similar pattern of land segmentation emerged in the Carmel area. A small section of the once extensive lands of Mission San Carlos Borromeo del Rio Carmel, most of which were sold by the Mexican government, was returned to the church. On February 19, 1853, Joseph Sadoc Alemany, Roman Catholic Bishop of the Diocese of Monterey, petitioned the U.S. Board of Land Commissioners for the return to the Church of a portion of Mission San Carlos Borromeo del Rio Carmel including the buildings and surrounding land. The grant was confirmed on December 18, 1855, and a patent was issued on October 19, 1859 for nine acres. On some maps these lands are shown as Rancho Mission Carmel. Honoré Escolle, a French immigrant, gained control over the land to the north of the mission which he called *Rancho Manzanitas*. His land included the area from present-day Junipero Avenue to Monte Verde Street. In 1860, John Martin acquired a large parcel of land between Escolle's property on the north and the mission on the south. It encompassed the land between present-day Twelfth and Santa Lucia Avenues and continued west to the shoreline to include Carmel Point. It is believed that John and Anna Murphy settled on land west of Escolle about 1846. Because of unsettled land titles, it was not until 1875 that Murphy received a deed for ninety acres of land along the shoreline. The *Rancho Cañada de la Segunda* passed through numerous owners until acquired in 1869 by Mrs. Dominga Doni de Atherton, wife of Faxon Dean Atherton, and mother of Gertrude Atherton. William Hatton became Mrs. Atherton's ranch manager in 1888, later purchasing the western portion in 1892.

Land use during the early American period was primarily cattle ranching and dairies. William Hatton managed several dairying operations in Carmel Valley. Most of the farms and ranches in the area practiced general farming, raising livestock and poultry, producing butter and eggs, planting orchards and vineyards, and growing a variety of field crops. What was not consumed by the family was sold locally or shipped to San Francisco.

The earliest surviving example of a nineteenth century ranch house in Carmel is the Murphy-Powers Residence and Barn/Studio, located on a beach front parcel west of San Antonio Avenue. The farmhouse dates back to 1846 when John Murphy and his family settled the property. John Murphy's title to 90 acres, including this property, was confirmed in 1875. The house and barn may predate 1875; evidence has been found to support construction as early as 1846.

During the twentieth century, the property changed hands several times and underwent several alterations. In 1904 the buildings and property were sold to Frank Powers, president of the Carmel Development Company. Powers, with his wife Jane, reportedly made improvements to the house. At the same time, they turned the old pine log barn into a studio for Jane, an accomplished artist. In 1920 James and Maud MacKenzie moved into the ranch house and stuccoed the board and batten exterior. The barn/studio property was later subdivided and incorporated into a new house for Herbert and Luella Chapman.

3.1.2 Whaling and Fishing Industries

During the mid-nineteenth century, the abundant marine life of Monterey Bay attracted Chinese, Portuguese, and Japanese fishermen to the area. Possibly as early as 1851, a Chinese fishing village was located on a level terrace above the cove at Point Lobos, now called Whalers Cove. By 1860 six Chinese fishermen lived in the small village, and were joined in 1862 by Portuguese whalers. The two groups shared the cove until the Chinese left in the 1870s. Located at this site was a stone quay from which the

Chinese could ship their catch as well as pull their boats out of the water when necessary. Leasing land from David Jacks, there were also Chinese fishing villages located at Pescadero Point and at Stillwater Cove (now Pebble Beach Golf Course) as early as 1868. In 1880, Jacks sold his Pescadero ranch to the Pacific Improvement Company, who opened a scenic drive along the coast in 1881. Within a year of the drive's construction, the Chinese at Pescadero opened a roadside stand where they sold polished shells and souvenirs to the parade of tourists. In 1888, J.W. Collins noted the village for the U.S. Fish Commission:

> At Pescadero, on Carmel Bay, is another Chinese fishing camp, settled in 1868, and [it] has a resident population of some 30 fishermen; it is picturesquely situated on a road that skirts the shore, and is within easy reach of the fishing grounds on Carmel Bay.

Numbers dwindled at the Pescadero fishing village until it was abandoned about 1912.[11]

Whalers Cove near Point Lobos became the focal point of the Portuguese whaling industry in 1862. Whalers Knoll was the area from which whales were sighted. The captured whales were brought to Whalers Cove to be "flenced." The Portuguese built residences on the south side of the cove. Antonio Victorine, a native of the Azores and a whaler by trade, came to the Point Lobos whaling station in 1863. In addition to whaling, he also established a dairy near the mouth of San Jose Creek. The Victorine family stayed in the area, marrying into other local families, with many members of the extended family taking an active role in the development of the region.

Around 1880, the availability of less expensive kerosene for lighting supplanted whale oil, which began the demise of the Carmelo Bay Whaling Company. Some Portuguese whalers returned in 1897 to join the Japanese in a whaling venture operating for a short period under the name Japanese Whaling Company.

In 1896, Gennosuke Kodani, a Japanese marine biologist, arrived from Japan and began an abalone fishing business at Point Lobos. In 1898, Alexander M. Allan purchased Point Lobos for a business investment and residence. Kodani and Allan established and operated an abalone fishery in 1898 and constructed an abalone cannery in 1902. This partnership continued until 1930. After the abalone cannery was shut down, Japanese divers continued to harvest abalone until shortly before World War II.[12]

3.1.3 Extractive Industries

Although very little in the way of heavy industry took place in the village of Carmel, there were a number of mining ventures that took place at various locations around Carmel Bay. Point Lobos was also the scene of several extractive industries. As early as 1854, granite was quarried from a nearby rock outcropping. About 35 men were employed in the extraction. The granite was shipped from the stone quay in Whalers Cove. The rock was used in the construction of the Old Monterey Jail, U.S. Mint in San Francisco, and in the Mare Island shipyard.

In 1863, the San Carlos Gold and Silver Mining Company was formed by local citizens. Several abandoned mine shafts have also been discovered on John Martin's ranch near Mission San Carlos Borromeo del Rio Carmel.

In 1874, low-grade coal was discovered and brought from Malpaso Canyon in the Carmel Valley to Coal Chute point by four horse wagon teams. A narrow gauge, horse-drawn railroad was built by the Chinese in the valley in 1878. The low-grade coal was never found in enough volume to be a very successful

[11] Sandy Lydon, Chinese Gold: The Chinese in the Monterey Bay Region, pp. 138-139
[12] Pt. Lobos State Reserve, The Whaler Cabin and Whaling State Museum.

operation, and the mining efforts were abandoned in 1901. In an attempt to recoup losses, the Carmel Land and Coal Company subdivided property near Point Lobos, selling lots for $50 or less.

Sand and gravel from Carmel Bay beaches were also exploited. Surveyor George Tolman's 1872 field notes note that the "large drift of white sand" on Carmel Beach was "much used by painters and glass blowers." In 1888 sand deposits were mined at Pebble Beach. The sand brought $2.50 per cubic yard. Dr. Walton Saunders signed an agreement with the San Francisco and Pacific Glass Works for the purchase of 89 acres west of Monte Verde Street between the lands of Murphy on the north and Martin on the south. In 1899, Alexander Allan laid narrow-gauge railroad tracks from San Jose Beach to the Coal Bunker at Point Lobos for transporting sand to ships. In 1901, Ann Murphy leased 37 acres of her Carmel Beach ranch to E.B. Lindauer of San Francisco. According to the terms of the lease, Lindauer could haul away at least 500 tons of "pure white sand" annually, paying Ann 20 cents per ton removed. Sand was to be removed by steamship or railway.[13] Point Lobos sand pits again went into operation during World War II when the Monterey Sand Company sent sand to the Navy Shipyards in the San Francisco area. In the 1920s, gravel was quarried at the "Pit" near Point Lobos and trucked to San Jose Beach and crushed for construction use.

After Carmel-by-the-Sea was established the only industrial activities within or near the village boundaries were associated with the building industry. The Plaza Fuel company produced brick and in 1925 Albert and Emma Otey became the owners of the Carmel Thermotite Company in partnership with Ella Maugh. Thermotite was a type of interlocking concrete building block invented by H.E. Clauser and Floyd Bohnett in Campbell in the early 1920s. Clauser and Bohnett produced the machines and molds for the blocks which they sold as franchises throughout the country.[14] In Carmel, Thermotite was distributed from a small factory building on Santa Fe and Third streets from 1922 to 1931. The structure still stands today. The Seven Arts Building at Lincoln and Ocean streets and the Flanders Mansion were built of the Thermotite hollow concrete block system.

3.2 Commerce and Tourism

3.2.1 Real Estate

In 1888, Santiago J. Duckworth purchased 324 acres of land from Honoré Escolle and filed a subdivision map for Carmel City.[15] Surveyed by W.C. Little and Davenport Bromfield, Carmel City was generally bounded by Monte Verde Street on the west, Monterey and Carpenter Streets on the east, Twelfth Avenue on the south, and First Avenue on the north. Ocean Avenue divided the area into north and south while Broadway (now Junipero) bisected it into east and west. Duckworth, already established in the real estate business in Monterey, planned to develop Carmel City as a summer resort for Catholics, akin to the Methodist retreat already established in Pacific Grove. Considering the number of tourists the mission had been attracting since its first restoration, the idea seemed to have merit. In July 1888 the sale of lots began. Corner lots were sold for $25, inside lots for $20 or more and business lots sold for $50. An advertising brochure highlighted the advantages of the lots for commercial purposes, access to the Southern Pacific train station in Pebble Beach, and the soon to be completed road to Monterey over Carmel Hill.

In the first few years, development of Carmel City seemed to be advancing as planned. Cottages were built and businesses established. Duckworth opened the Hotel Carmelo on the northeast corner of Ocean

[13] Kirstie Wilde, History of the Murphy-Powers-Comstock Barn/Studio, p. 9.
[14] Eugene Sawyer, History of Santa Clara County, California, p. 1403.
[15] Gilliam and Gilliam state on page 61 of their book, *Creating Carmel*, that Duckworth purchased 324 acres from Escolle, a prosperous Frenchman.

Avenue and Broadway (Junipero) in 1889.[16] Abbie Jane Hunter, with her uncle, Delos Goldsmith, as builder, was responsible for the creation of one of the first important businesses in Carmel, a bathhouse. Located at the foot of Ocean Avenue, the Carmel Bathhouse also opened in 1889. It was eventually sold to the City of Carmel in 1921, which in turn sold it in 1929 to Mrs. W.C. Mann who dismantled it.

By the early 1890s, however, Duckworth's plans began to collapse as the boom of the 1880s quickly turned into the depression of the 1890s. He turned to Abbie Jane Hunter for assistance, and for a short time business seemed to regain its momentum. Hunter was an unusual woman for the era, having formed the Women's Real Estate and Investment Company in January 1892. In April of that year she sent William T. Dummage to Carmel as her resident agent. By 1895, the company had sold some three hundred lots in Carmel, mostly in what is now the business district. Sales soon declined, however, and Hunter was forced to disinvest as well.

In 1902 James F. Devendorf took over the unsold land from Duckworth with the financial backing of San Francisco lawyer Frank H. Powers and the two formed the Carmel Development Company with an office at the northwest corner of Ocean and San Carlos. Devendorf, who was the on-site manager, is generally credited with shaping the development of early Carmel. Originally from Michigan, he went to San Jose in 1874 to be with his mother who had relocated there some years earlier. With a love for the land and experience as a salesman, Devendorf joined the booming California real estate market and came to own extensive property in San Jose, Morgan Hill, Gilroy, Alviso, and Stockton. Unlike other real estate developers, he was not interested in land speculation; his passion was for building communities. When Duckworth approached him about exchanging land in Carmel for part of his holdings elsewhere, Devendorf was intrigued by the idea, having visited Carmel on vacation with his family in the early 1890s. Envisioning the opportunity to build a community that enhanced the natural environment, he made the exchange and filed a map of Carmel-by-the-Sea with the County Recorder in 1902. The new tract was a re-subdivision of most of Carmel City west of Broadway, now renamed Junipero Avenue. Soon thereafter Devendorf built a cottage for himself at Lincoln and Sixth (now demolished). His family continued to live in Oakland where he would join them on weekends.

Frank Powers shared Devendorf's love for nature and commitment to the development of Carmel, but he had more of a financial stake in its success. Like Duckworth, Powers was certain that the Southern Pacific Railway extension from Pacific Grove would be built. The fact that the rail link to Carmel never came to fruition, of course, probably allowed the natural character of the town to be maintained. Powers and his wife, socialite and oil painter Jane Gallatin, remodeled the old Murphy ranch house as a family home and artist studio. Powers also maintained his social ties and legal practice in San Francisco.

Initially, lot sales in Carmel-by-the-Sea were slow. A $500 cottage was easily secured with a $5 or $10 deposit, or $6 per month to rent. By 1905 there were seventy-five residents, several stores, a restaurant, a school and hotel. After the 1906 San Francisco earthquake, however, lots sold more vigorously as displaced San Franciscans looked for a new place to live. By 1913 there were approximately 550 permanent residents and thousands of summer visitors.

The majority of lots sold by the Carmel Development Company included restrictive liquor clauses in the deeds. Buyers were not permitted to sell, exchange, or give away 'intoxicating liquor' and faced re-possession if found in breach of the conditions. Many early residents of Carmel-by-the-Sea were attracted to the village because of temperance-inspired attitudes and policies. The restrictive deed provisions remained in place until the post-Prohibition era, when challenged in court.

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[16] There is some disagreement as to whether Duckworth or Hunter built the Hotel Carmelo. Sharron Lee Hale states on page 11 of her book, *A Tribute to Yesterday*, that Hotel Carmelo was established by Hunter with Goldsmith as builder. Apparently Duckworth and Hunter were partners, and Goldsmith was the builder.

By 1940 Carmel had experienced growth but still maintained an intimate population of 2,837 citizens.[17] By this time, the village composition had matured into a population of middle-aged residents and retirees, many of whom had roots in Carmel's pioneer years. Carmel's small size allowed the charming idiosyncrasies that defined village character through the 1930s to continue into the early 1940s, including the lack of street addresses, a telephone service without a dial system, and the use of a community bulletin board that served as a social gathering place.[18] Still, the autonomy and utopian nature of Carmel, so embraced and promoted by the community at large, did little to protect the village from the events that would shape the entire country in the late 1930s and early 1940s.

In 1937, after eighteen years of construction, California State Route 1 was connected between San Simeon and Carmel.[19] Few events have had a greater impact on Carmel's character. The completion of this segment allowed traffic to flow easily from Southern California to Carmel. Tucked into the southernmost corner of the Monterey Peninsula and virtually inaccessible from the south throughout its history, Carmel's status as a tourist destination was undoubtedly solidified by the connection of this great coastal highway.

The carefree days of Carmel were brought to a halt on December 7, 1941, when Japanese planes attacked the United States Naval Base at Pearl Harbor, forcing the United States into World War II. Immediately after the attack on Pearl Harbor, fears of a coastal invasion sent the country into a panic. After the announcement of the draft, 418 Carmelites signed up for duty.[20] Under orders from the Army commandant at the Monterey Presidio, the entire village of Carmel was evacuated for a day and subsequently forced under a cloak of darkness during mandatory blackouts during the first few weeks of the war. Residents installed blackout shades and painted the headlights of their vehicles while sentries took up posts on the beach. Local citizens volunteered to watch for enemy planes. Firemen were taught how to deal with incendiary bombs, should they be dropped on the village. Carmel became home to 200 navy men who were stationed at the Aviation Pre-Flight School in Monterey's Old Del Monte Hotel, which had been appropriated by the Navy (it is now the Naval Postgraduate School).[21] The Manzanita Club at Dolores near Eighth Avenue (later the American Legion Hall/Post No 512) was transformed into a United Service Organization (USO) Club and was popular with men from both Fort Ord and the Naval School. The Pine Inn on Ocean Avenue between Lincoln and Monte Verde dedicated one of its rooms as a relief station for officers.[22]

Carmel's experience during and after World War II was intensified by its proximity to Fort Ord and the U.S. Naval Postgraduate and Army Language Schools in Monterey. The post-war years in Carmel witnessed a surge in population that would have a profound impact on the village's character. Servicemen attracted to Carmel's charm during recreational leaves returned to settle as permanent residents at war's end. Officers stationed at the nearby bases were equally inclined to retire in Carmel.[23] In 1948 a former serviceman reported at least sixty retired officers were living in Carmel, including Admiral Richmond K. Turner. General Joseph W. Stilwell lived in Carmel until his death in 1946.[24] An

[17] "This is Carmel 1957."
[18] "This is Carmel 1957."
[19] Carmel Business Association. Carmel-by-the-Sea A Booklet Prepared for Those Who *Desire to Learn More of Our World-Famed Village.* Carmel, Ca.: Printed for the Carmel Business Assoc. by the Carmel Press, 1940s.
[20] Sydney Temple, Carmel-by-the-Sea: From Aborigines to Coastal Commission, 1987.
[21] Sydney Temple, Carmel-by-the-Sea: From Aborigines to Coastal Commission, 1987.
[22] Kay Prine, "Carmel and World War II," Unpublished manuscripts from the Unpublished manuscript from the Henry Meade Williams Local History Department at the Harrison Memorial Library (date unknown).
[23] "This is Carmel 1957."
[24] Elmont Waite, "The Cities of America: Carmel, California," *The Saturday Evening Post*, 15 May 1948.

additional demographic of younger, non-military residents hoping to open businesses tipped the scales. The sheer volume and composition of this new wave of residents, coupled with a post-Depression economic cushion resulting in a sudden influx of tourism, affected Carmel in ways heretofore unseen.

By 1943, Carmel's population was estimated to exceed 4,000 and included a smattering of homes in unincorporated areas.[25] In 1948 approximately 5,000 lived in the village, and by the next year the crush of people had resulted in population-related problems so powerful they threatened to "engulf Carmel Village," according to the Monterey Peninsula Herald.[26] Around this time, the Planning Commission introduced a statement of policy that defined a collective resolution against anything that could be construed as a threat to Carmel tradition:

> Because of the inevitable period of growth and expansion which lies ahead; the Planning Commission…believes in…what has come to be known as the Carmel tradition, a tradition from which there should be no departure…The people of Carmel do not desire the kind of progress that would disturb or alter the atmosphere and unique charms of Carmel…[27]

Essentially, this was a reaffirmation of Carmel's Magna Carta, a set of laws written into ordinance in the 1920s that codified Carmel's desire to maintain its residential character.

It is often said that isolationism was the theme of the 1950s, an understandable reaction to the growth and change that defined the 1940s. In 1956 a citizens' committee set about closing Ocean Avenue to traffic and bar parking at the beach in an effort to stave the swelling tide of tourists.[28] One droll solution, proposed by City Councilman Francis Whitaker, suggested changing all streets to one-way streets that led out of town.[29] Both ideas are evidence that the anti-growth platform of the 1920s was persisting nearly three decades later. By 1957, Carmel had reached a population of 5,500 within its incorporated boundaries.[30] The town had grown large enough to boast five bars and three art galleries, yet there was still no mail service within the village limits. The community bulletin board had become less of a gathering place and more of a tourist attraction for weekenders seeking vestiges of Carmel's earlier years.[31] Though growing in population, Carmel did everything in its power to maintain its small-town character, going so far as passing an ordinance that disallowed short pants within village limits. However, "It [was] all right to be half naked on the beach," Mayor Horace Lyon reassured.[32]

In 1956 Lewis Livingston, Jr., a planning consultant hired by the City, submitted the *Plan for the Conservation and Enhancement of Carmel-by-the-Sea and Environs*. In the report, Livingston, in conjunction with a "Citizens Committee" of fifty Carmelites, defined the objective of the Plan as a guide to "preserve the primarily residential character of the community." As such, the Plan called for the following changes: the removal of tourist accommodations from the residential districts; the prevention of development that would be "inharmonious with the present character of Carmel"; the preservation of green space surrounding the community; the realignment of Highway 1 to Junipero Avenue; the addition of parking spaces downtown; and the addition of recreational facilities. The Central District Plan's most controversial recommendation called for "closing Ocean Avenue from Junipero Avenue to Monte Verde

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[25] "This is Carmel 1957."
[26] Dorothy Stephenson. "Threat of Humanity Threatens to Engulf Carmel Village." *Monterey Peninsula Herald*, 1948.
[27] Elmont Waite, "The Cities of America: Carmel, California," *The Saturday Evening Post*, 15 May 1948.
[28] Susan Beck, "Carmel in '50s: residents feat 'LAization'," *Carmel Pine Cone*, 2 November 1989.
[29] "Carmel…An Artist's Village Grown Into a City of Contrasts," *Monterey Peninsula Herald*, 13 August 1957.
[30] "This is Carmel 1957."
[31] "This is Carmel 1957."
[32] "Carmel in '50s: residents feat 'LAization'."

Street and Mission, San Carlos, Dolores, and Lincoln Streets between Sixth and Seventh Avenues to automobile traffic in order to create park-like pedestrian malls."[33] Livingston's Plan caused much consternation among citizens, and the document was lambasted. After several revisions, the plan was adopted on 28 May 1957.

The plan also warned: "Carmel's tourist trade can only be expected to expand. Constant vigilance will be necessary to prevent inappropriate commercialization of the area's tourist attractions."

At that time, there were still a few empty water-front lots left to sell. In the late 1950s, most large land holdings in Carmel were owned by descendants of pioneer families. These decedents included Tom Doud, a cattle rancher from Monterey; Mary Goold, a descendant of the Carmel Mission Machado family and the widow of former councilman and livery stable operator Charles Goold; Robert and Fred Leidig; and the estate of Mary Dummage.[34]

Due to the post-war flood of new residents wanting to settle in Carmel, real estate costs reached unforeseen peaks in the mid to late 1940s. In 1945 a two-bedroom house on Casanova sold for $4,000. The same house sold for $8,500 in 1946 and $14,000 a year later. In 1948 the most expensive home listed in the *Pine Cone Cymbal* was $45,000.[35] In 1957 the average price of a home was $20,000; empty inland lots sold for an average of $3,500 and lots on the coast were listed for $9,000.[36] The swelling of the number of real estate agents working in Carmel from 10 in 1947 to 31 in 1963 serves as a good indicator of the success of the real estate business in the immediate postwar era.[37] The Carmel Board of Realtors was located on Sixth near Lincoln Avenues at this time.

Real estate, specifically the types of commercial and residential development that would be permitted in Carmel, became the topic of discussion in the 1970s as the City worked to update their general plan. While population did not change dramatically from 1960 (4,351) to 1970 (4,525), the typical fight between keeping Carmel residential versus the threat of tourism and commercial overdevelopment continued. The 1970 census data indicated 2,820 housing units, with merely 23 listed as vacant or seasonal. Demand for Carmel real estate as a secondary or vacation residence was not yet significant. [38]

3.2.2 Business

Carmel's business "district" as it exists today began during the first decade of the twentieth century when the Hotel Carmelo was moved and as the Pine Inn was expanded. Commercial services which catered to residents and increasingly to tourists eventually lined both sides of Ocean Avenue between Junipero and Monte Verde and the blocks to either side between Fifth and Eighth Avenues. The commercial climate of the village was relaxed and informal, a characteristic that was also reflected in the architecture of the business district. In order to maintain the unique character of the downtown business district, in 1931 the city council passed an ordinance preventing the use of "neon" and other types of electric signage within the city.

One of the first entrepreneurial businessmen to settle in Carmel was Louis Slevin, who arrived with his mother in 1902. Slevin opened the first general merchandise store, served as the first official postmaster,

[33] Lawrence Livingston, Plan for the Conservation and Enhancement of Carmel-by-the-Sea and Environs, 1956.
[34] "This is Carmel 1957."
[35] Elmont Waite, "The Cities of America: Carmel, California," *The Saturday Evening Post*, 15 May 1948.
[36] "This is Carmel 1957."
[37] Polk City Directory.
[38] "Carmel-by-the-Sea Population 1920 – 2020," *Carmel Pine Cone*, 6/3/2022, 26A; 1970 U.S. Dept. of Commerce, *1970 Census of Population and Housing*.

first express agent, and first city treasurer. Slevin was also an avid photographer whose pictures document much of Monterey County during the early part of the century.

In the 1920s and 30s, art galleries became a focal point of the business district. While many artists had established studios in the village, the only gallery was the clubhouse of the Arts and Crafts Club on Casanova between Eighth and Ninth, at the current location of the Golden Bough Theatre. In 1927 the Carmel Art Association was formed, and the somewhat exclusive membership paid dues of one dollar per month to the association which would provide exhibition space, hire a curator, and make sales. Their first gallery was rented space in the Seven Arts Building at Lincoln and Ocean. The association purchased the former studio of artist and poet Ira Remsen on the west side of Dolores Street in 1933. The building was expanded in 1937 and updated in the 1960s and continues to accommodate the Carmel Art Association today.[39] Hazel Watrous and Dene Denny formed the Denny-Watrous Gallery in 1928 which sponsored concerts and art exhibitions in the Tudor building on the east side of Dolores between Ocean and Seventh. Through these and other galleries, the work of local artists found its way into the private and museum art collections all over the world.

By the 1940s, Carmel had very few businesses that catered solely to local residents, such as pharmacies, hardware stores, and medical offices. The downtown area contained more shops dedicated to tourists than residents. Typical throughout the entire country, business slowed or closed completely during World War II. The businesses that catered solely to tourists were hit the hardest. Nonetheless, Carmel was resilient, and recovered quickly, aided by the Carmel Business Association based in City Hall.

The 1951 city directory provides evidence of a commercial district laden with industries dedicated to tourism. There were nine hotels and twenty-one restaurants, such as Blue Bird and Carmel Restaurant on Ocean Avenue and The Tuck Box still active on Dolores. Nineteen clothiers, such as Bandbox and The Hour Glass on Ocean Avenue, and Viennese in the Seven Arts Court building, sold mostly high-end clothes. Seventeen gift shops pedaled themed knick knacks; there was Wee Bit of Scandinavia on Sixth, The Burlwood Shop on Ocean Avenue, and Denslow's on Lincoln. The Carmel Art Shop on Ocean, The House That Jack Built on Dolores and Sixth, and Village Jewelers all specialized in jewelry. The Gardener's Friend sold horticultural supplies on Fifth Avenue near Mission. Only a single art gallery was listed: the Carmel Art Association gallery on Dolores between Fifth and Sixth. The Carmel Dairy, an institution in Carmel since 1932, closed after World War II and the space was subsequently leased for use as a soda fountain. In 1953 Italian grocer Joe Bileci moved his Mediterranean Market from San Carlos Street to the Carmel Dairy building on Ocean Avenue. In the early 1950s, rents for downtown shops and offices – monopolized by a small handful of families – ranged from $100 to $450.[40]

In 1956, the city directory shows a jump in the number of motels to twenty-six, in addition to eight hotels and various guest houses. Seven additional restaurants appeared, including Birgit & Dagmar and Gene & Parvin's on Dolores. There were twenty-three gift shops, up from seventeen in 1951. The largest increase in business fell under the clothier category: thirty-five clothiers were listed, under such whimsical names as Bib 'n Tucker on Ocean, and The Best from Britain on Lincoln. Two art galleries joined the Carmel Art Association: Artists Guild of America, Inc. on Monte Verde and Morgan M. DeNeale Studio on Lincoln. And five artists listed themselves in the city directory, including Mrs. Joyce C. Nielsen on San Carlos, John O'Shea on Vista and Ling Fu Yang on Dolores.[41]

Two large-scale commercial development projects in the 1950s, markedly out of proportion to the existing buildings downtown, sparked one of Carmel's strongest anti-development movements in history.

[39] Carmel Art Association: History. https://carmelart.org/history/, accessed 7/27/22.
[40] Polk City Directory.
[41] Ibid.

Carmelites opposed the Jade Tree Motel on Junipero Avenue for both its height and massing. Sited on a slope, the Motel's five stories appeared to rise above the two-story height limit; though, due to the unique nature of the topography, the building was not in violation of the limits. The second controversial project was Carmel Plaza on Ocean Avenue. Undisputedly the largest commercial development in Carmel up to that point, the shopping center covered an entire block and was three stories in height.[42]

By 1963, city directories showed the number of hotels and motels had increased to forty-six. There were thirty-two restaurants, an increase of eleven from 1951.[43] The Village Corner, still in existence today, appeared on Dolores and Sixth, in addition to Anzel's Café on Ocean and The Little Swiss Café on Sixth. Gift shops, thirty in all, were often styled with Asian and Scandinavian themes, contributing to the village's fantastical international feel, which was very much a construct of the business community. Examples of this include Kjell of Norway and The Little Shanghai Shop on Dolores and Kon-Tiki Imports on Ocean. Thirteen art galleries appeared between 1956 and 1963, including The Louvrette Gallery on Lincoln and Zantman Galleries on Sixth. Comparatively, Monterey had three galleries and Pacific Grove had one. In addition to galleries, eight artists were listed. The Gardener's Friend was still supporting the gardening community on Fifth Avenue. Continuing along a historical trend, there were fifty clothiers listed in the directory, an increase of thirty-one in twelve years. Carmel appeared to have more shops selling clothes than either Monterey or Pacific Grove.[44]

The Shell-by-the-Sea gas station at San Carlos and Fifth, constructed in 1963-64, is a remarkable example of a utilitarian building whose design blended well with the existing architectural fabric of Carmel. An industrial take on the Bay Region style so popular in Carmel from the 1940s through the 1960s, the station is softened by skylights in the roof over the service area and wood trellises over the gas pumps and corner signage. The uniqueness and sensitivity of the design was the successful result of the Carmel Planning Commission's insistence that a "manufactured service station" would never be built in Carmel.[45] Designed by local firm, Burde, Shaw & Associates, the Shell-by-the-Sea gas station garnered an award from the Governor's Design Awards Jury in 1966 as California's best example in the Service Facilities category.

In 1950, a group of thirty-three merchants formed a local chapter of the Monterey Peninsula Chamber of Commerce, which became the Carmel Business Association. Understanding how some Carmelites would balk at the idea of promoting business in the village, the group announced, "We have assured Carmel that we have no designs on their traditional 'Way of Life.'"[46] Nonetheless, as one newspaper reported, "almost everybody in Carmel rose in righteous wrath" against the formation of the chapter.[47] Yet, despite the aggressive opposition, the Business Association persevered and existed through at least the 1960s. The group's first chairman was Robert Wallace.

In the early 1940s, a City Council with a majority of Carmelites from the "artistic element" voted to abolish parking on the median of Ocean Avenue. Nationally renowned landscape architect Thomas Church redesigned the median with stone walls, shrubs, and flowers.[48] Parking has long been a troublesome issue in the downtown core. People who worked downtown often parked their cars on nearby residential streets, which resulted in loss of parking for residents. Consensus was reached that

[42] Harold and Ann Gilliam, *Creating Carmel: The Enduring Vision*, 1992.
[43] Polk City Directory.
[44] Polk City Directory.
[45] "Architects Saluted for Design," *Monterey Peninsula Herald*, 26 December 1966.
[46] "Carmel Now Has Chamber of Commerce," Source provided by the Henry Meade Williams Local History Department at the Harrison Memorial Library, 1950.
[47] Barnard Norris, "Carmel Up in Arms Over Mention of Any Such Thing," *Monterey Peninsula Herald*, 14 December 1950.
[48] Harold and Ann Gilliam, Creating Carmel: The Enduring Vision, 1992.

parking meters were out of the question, so, in 1955, a one-hour parking zone was delineated around the downtown area. In 1957 a newspaper complained, "With little room to park in the business district and the ever-present threat of a ticket…visitors are increasingly discouraged from shopping [downtown]."[49]

3.2.2.1 Downtown Architectural Development: 1965 – 1986

The downtown business district (Ocean Avenue between Junipero and Monte Verde and the blocks to either side between Fifth and Eighth Avenues) received minimal architectural development during the 1960s, with the exception of infill development along the streets adjacent to Ocean Avenue.[50] Two modernist architectural additions to the commercial core arrived in the form of banks. In 1965, Olaf Dahlstrand completed his Organic-style design for the Wells Fargo Bank on the east side of San Carlos Street, between Ocean and Seventh Avenues. In 1972, the firm of Burde Shaw and Associates completed the design for the Northern California Savings and Loan Building, a commercial example of the firm's Bay Region Modern design.



Wells Fargo Bank (1965) by Olof Dahlstrand on San Carlos Street, between Ocean and Seventh Avenues.



Northern California Savings & Loan Building (1972) by Burde Shaw & Associates, SW Dolores Street and Seventh Avenue.

[49] "This is Carmel 1957."

[50] The "Downtown Conservation District" was adopted with the 2004 Zoning Code update to provide protections to Ocean Avenue and the commercial properties that surround the corridor; see City Municipal Code 17.20.260.

Perhaps the largest project of the time period was the expansion of Carmel Plaza. The original 40,000 square foot design by Olof Dahlstrand, constructed in 1962, was substantially enlarged in 1974 with 70,000 square feet of additional retail space and significant changes in circulation, fenestration and exterior materials.[51] The development met with much controversy among Carmelites who considered it out of scale and character with the City's existing commercial architecture, with the *Carmel Pine Cone* noting that it "stirred a lot of interest among local residents and merchants."[52] Residents and civic leaders grew increasingly concerned with the type and extent of commercial development in the business district, which culminated in a four-month moratorium on all new commercial building construction, winning a 4-1 vote in 1973. Planning Commissioner Ted Fehring said the Carmel Plaza expansion (approved in 1973 and completed in 1974) 'triggered' the moratorium.[53] The moratorium is discussed in more detail in Chapter 4.1. Civic Development and Incorporation.



Carmel Plaza (1962) by Olof Dahlstrand, SW of Ocean Avenue and Junipero Street. The site was substantially enlarged in 1974.

In 1976, local residents concerned with overdevelopment secured a preservation victory when the local preservation group Old Carmel, led by former *Carmel Pine Cone* editor Frank Lloyd and his wife and "unofficial historian," Marjory, saved the threatened Village Corner restaurant. The restaurant was a favorite meeting place for Carmelites and continues to operate today.[54]

[51] "Carmel Plaza Grand Opening," *Santa Cruz Sentinel*, 5/16/1974, p.46.
[52] "What Happened in 1973," *Carmel Pine Cone*, 12/27/1973.
[53] "'Motels are not a dirty word to me," *Carmel Pine Cone*, 12/27/1973, p.3.
[54] Gilliam, Harold and Ann, *Creating Carmel*, 205.



Village Corner (1946) restaurant by Hugh Comstock, NE Dolores Street and Sixth Avenue.

In 1980, the Nielsen Brothers Market building was developed under the new commercial building ordinance. Designed by Olaf Dahlstrand, the 9,000 square foot market is located at San Carlos Street and Seventh Avenue. The architect was careful to avoid creating a massive structure by placing the parking underground. The upper floor was designed as office space. The market remains a favorite of locals today.



Nielsen Brothers Market (1980) by Olof Dahlstrand, NE San Carlos Street and Seventh Avenue.

3.2.3 Tourism

In 1902 when Carmel City was taken over by Frank H. Powers and John Franklin Devendorf, one of their first projects was to move the Hotel Carmelo, of which they had also taken possession, closer to the beach. The two-story, wood-frame structure was partially dismantled and rolled down Ocean Avenue on logs to Monte Verde Street where it became the core of the Pine Inn. Completed in 1903, the Pine Inn included a campground with tents to accommodate the overflow of customers during the summer months. With the depression over by this time, the two men began to promote the town, which they called Carmel-by-the-Sea, as a family-oriented community encouraging people with artistic temperament.

While Mission San Carlos Borromeo del Rio Carmel continued to attract sightseers from around the country, Devendorf and Powers kept rates low at the Pine Inn in hopes of attracting visitors from San Francisco or the inland valleys who might buy lots and build homes. While lots did sell, a significant number of early buyers were not interested in making Carmel their permanent home. Rather, many of the first lots in Carmel were developed as weekend cottages or summer homes by professors from Bay Area universities, particularly Stanford University and the University of California.

The emerging popularity of the automobile in the 1920s further enabled the public to indulge its zeal for travel. While the Pine Inn remained the grande dame of hotels in Carmel, several others soon joined it to keep up with the burgeoning tourist trade. The Carmel Development Company applied the same formula for success in the Carmel Highlands as it did in Carmel-by-the-Sea: they built a resort hotel as the hub for a housing development. Located south of Point Lobos, well outside of the city boundaries, the Highlands Inn became a favorite destination for honeymooners after it opened in 1917. The La Playa Hotel was also started in 1911.

It was not by happenstance that Carmel became renowned as an artistic enclave. The community character that continues to define Carmel was pre-determined by its founders. California historian, Kevin Starr, writes: "Shrewdly, [Frank Powers and J.F. Devendorf (the developers of Carmel)] realized that if they brought the right people into Carmel, they could establish a tone, a style, that would become self-reflecting and self-perpetuating."[55] Thus, it is easy to understand why the events that unfolded in the 1940s and subsequent decades had such a powerful impact on Carmel. For the first time in its history, Carmel experienced a sudden increase in new residents and tourists, fundamental shifts in demographics, and the arrival of a real estate industry bent on exploiting the uniqueness of the village for profit. By mid-century, a great schism developed between the old guard, composed of older pioneers and what was left of the artistic and utopian set, and a new crop of younger, business-minded residents that moved to Carmel with the intention of setting up shop. Thus, the debate over change was born – a debate so fervid and enduring that it would define the second half of the twentieth century.

The changes that Carmelites fought so desperately to stave off are changes that would have affected Carmel's architectural traditions. Carmel's world-renowned "quaintness," the characteristic that has distinguished the village throughout its history, is often attributed to a distinctive, "storybook" style of architecture embodied in Hugh Comstock's Tuck Box of 1927. The novelty of this style and its accompanying charms proved irresistible to visitors, and Carmel became a tourist destination, drawing legions of onlookers from around the world and creating the need for an infrastructure that would support them. Almost immediately, native Carmelites resisted not only the influx of visitors, but fought fiercely against the encroachment of architectural styles that were not in keeping with the quaintness of the more vernacular or storybook styles – Modernism in particular. Additionally, the fight against progress was in large part a debate against commercialization – a struggle that spans the history of Carmel from the anti-progress mayoral campaign of Perry Newberry in the 1920s to the present. To this day, Carmel continues to balance the tension between the conflicting goals of protecting the village's identity and the promotion of local business, which is largely geared toward tourists.

By the 1950s, Carmelites had developed a complex relationship with tourists. Residents were openly disdainful of the problems caused by the extra number of visitors, yet equally aware that tourism was an economic boon for the village. In 1952, according to the City Clerk's office, sales tax returns netted Carmel ten dollars in tax per capita – six dollars higher than the state average. The disparity was attributed to tourism, and it was estimated that five-sixths of tax was paid by visitors, while the rest was

[55] Kevin Starr, The Dream Endures: California Enters the 1940s, 1997.

paid by residents.[56] In 1957 shop keepers estimated that fifty percent of their sales were made by tourists.[57]

I. Magnin & Company, a luxury department store, opened in the Carmel Plaza in 1960. The appearance of this high-fashion outlet, along with a growing number of art galleries (thirteen in 1963) and gift shops (thirty in 1963), is illustrative of a change in tourist demographic. Whereas the tourist of the first half of the twentieth century traveled to Carmel to partake in passive enjoyment of the natural and cultural scenery, the tourist of the latter half of the century traveled to Carmel to shop.

The growth of the tourist trade in Carmel saw the need for an architectural infrastructure that would support it, particularly lodging. City directories delineate patterns of growth and help show the number and type of businesses that were located in a place at a given time. Between 1947 and 1963, multiple hotels were listed in city directories for Carmel. Guest houses were first listed in the mid-1950s. Though not comprehensive, the following lists offer examples of the hotels that were located in Carmel during a given period.[58]

The following hotels and guest houses appeared in the 1947 city directory:

- Carmel Inn on San Carlos between Sixth and Eighth;
- Colonial Inn on San Antonio between Twelfth and Thirteenth;
- Green Lantern Hotel Cottages on Casanova and Sixth;
- La Playa Hotel on Eighth and Camino Real;
- La Ribera Hotel on Lincoln and Sixth;
- Lobos Lodge on Ocean between Monte Verde and Casanova;
- McPhillips Hotel on San Carlos near Fifth;
- Pine Inn on Ocean between Lincoln and Monte Verde;
- Sea View Inn on Camino Real between Eleventh and Twelfth;
- Williams Hotel on Ocean and Dolores.[59]

The following hotels and guest houses first appeared in the 1952 and 1956 city directories:

- Beverly Terrace Lodge on San Carlos and Fourth (1952);
- Cypress West Hotel on Lincoln and Sixth (1952);
- Dolores Lodge on Dolores near Eighth (1952);
- Hide-a-Way Inn on Junipero (1952);
- Lobos Lodge on Ocean between Monte Verde and Casanova (1952);
- Torres Inn Hotel on Ocean and Torres (1952);
- Anchorage Guest House on Carmelo near Twelfth (1956);
- Edgemere Guest House on San Antonio near Thirteenth (1956);
- Happy Hills Guest House on San Antonio near Thirteenth (1956);
- Schwerin Guests on Carmelo near Twelfth (1956);
- The Homestead on Lincoln near Eighth (1956);
- Rosita Apartment Hotel Fourth and Torres (1956);
- Tally Ho Inn on Monte Verde near Sixth (1956).[60]

The following hotels and guest houses appeared in the 1960 and 1963 city directories:

[56] "This is Carmel 1957."
[57] "This is Carmel 1957."
[58] Polk City Directory.
[59] Polk City Directory.
[60] Polk City Directory.

- Green Pastures Guest House on Santa Lucia near San Antonio (1960);
- The Stonehouse Guest House on Eighth near Casanova (1960);
- The Rider Apartment Hotel on Lincoln near Fifth (1960);
- The Stonehouse on Eighth and Monte Verde (1960);
- Wayside Inn on Mission and Sixth (1960);
- Argonaut Guest House on Monte Verde near Ninth (1963);
- Whispering Pines on Monte Verde near Ninth (1963).[61]

Vacationing, tourism, and a recreational tradition were established in the area in the 1890s when the Hotel Del Monte in Monterey was established. Recreation, specifically the sport of golf, has a long tradition on the Monterey Peninsula. The Del Monte Golf Course in Monterey, immediately a popular tourist destination, opened shortly thereafter as a nine-hole course in 1897. The area surrounding the City of Carmel is host to many historic, challenging, and internationally known golf courses. The Pebble Beach Golf Links opened in 1919. The Pebble Beach Resorts includes The Links at Spanish Bay (1987), Spyglass Hill (1966) and the Peter Hay Golf Course (1957). The Monterey area courses have been the sites of many invitational and championship tournaments.

While no golf facilities exist within the boundaries of the City of Carmel, the golfing tradition continues to draw tourists to the area and remains a popular activity for residents. The sport of golf has played a major role in the development of early tourism and recreation on the Monterey peninsula.[62]

3.2.3.1 Developments in Tourism: 1965 – 1986

A contingent of Carmelites became increasingly vocal about the negative impacts of tourism in the postwar period and midcentury era. The 1970s was a decade of city planning proposals and numerous planning commission hearings on how to balance the needs of city residents with the increasing commercial and tourist pressure. A 1973 *Carmel Pine Cone* article noted that "The tourist has been the subject of endless debate in Carmel since his dollars began to flow into a once sleepy little village. There is little that goes on in Carmel which doesn't take the tourist into account since he literally supports many businesses which thrive here."[63]

With tourism continuing to rise in the 1970s, the city government prioritized the threats from tourism and commercialism in its discussions regarding updating the 1959 General Plan. The 1973 commercial building moratorium and subsequent 1974 building control ordinance was one such step. The emergency ordinance banned the construction of new hotels and motels, prohibited commercial shop additions to apartment units, reduced the maximum size of commercial buildings from 10,000 to 8,000 square feet and limited the height of structures to 30 feet and a two-story maximum.[64] In a similar vein, the Planning Commission, led by the efforts of Albert Henry Hill, proposed a four-month ban on new restaurants in 1974. Local newspapers noted that Carmel had too many restaurants, "with nearly one restaurant seat for every man, woman and child living in the city." 53 restaurants were within the city limits in 1974, combining for a total of 3,060 restaurant seats. Noting the geometric proliferation of restaurants, Albert Henry Hill stated: "Sixty persons to each restaurant in Carmel to me is ludicrous."[65] Despite the

[61] Polk City Directory.
[62] All information in these two paragraphs is summarized from the book *Pebble Beach Golf Links: The Official History* by Neal Hotelling,
[63] "Merchants See Tourism as Mixed Blessing," *Carmel Pine Cone*, 8/30/73.
[64] "Rewriting Effort Begins on Zoning," *Monterey Peninsula Herald*, 8/2/73. "Planners Open Study in Carmel," *Monterey Peninsula Herald*, 7/20/73.
[65] "Moratorium Proposed on New Restaurants," *Monterey Peninsula Herald*, 11/21/74.

moratoriums and the various studies conducted, various issues delayed the General Plan update, which was not passed until December of 1983 and was officially adopted in 1984.

Demographics tell the story of considerable commercial growth in Carmel in the 1970s and 1980s. Retail sales were approximately $21.5 million in 1970, and up to $100 million by 1985. Over two million tourists came to Carmel per year during this time period, contributing to the rising demand for new retail stores in the commercial business district. By 1980, the City boasted a population of 4,707, yet there were 900 retail and service businesses, about one for every four residents. Over 50 motels were crammed into the city limits, totaling over 940 rooms. As stated previously, the number of restaurants approached 60, invoking the emergency ordinances of the 1970s.[66]

3.3 Transportation

From the Spanish period, there were three routes between the Mission and Monterey. The more direct main trail, described by surveyor George Tolman in 1872 as "the old road" from the Mission to Monterey, passed over Carmel Hill and crossed the peninsula. By 1872, there was also a "wagon road" that roughly followed the route of the state highway. Another route was known as the beach trail. In 1888 Mexican and Chinese laborers were brought in to cut trees and clean the streets. Old ranch roads were the main routes through the wilderness in early Carmel, with Ocean Avenue serving as a secondary street to Broadway (now Junipero).

In 1888 the Southern Pacific Railroad surveyed a route west of the Monterey depot through Pacific Grove and around the point to the sand deposits, and for a time rumors flew that the line would be extended to the Carmel Valley and the coal deposits there. By July 1889 the SP line reached the sand deposits where it stopped, and despite periodic proposals to extend the line to Carmel, it never went farther, which dampened the prospects of Duckworth and other investors in Carmel City during the 1890s. Powers and Devendorf still had expectations the railroad would be extended to Carmel at the time they made their investments in Carmel-by-the-Sea.

During this period, the Monterey Development Company provided tours of the mission by horse and wagon. In the early 1900s, the Coffey Brothers had a livery stable in Carmel and provided hired rigs for sightseers. They also ran stages to and from Monterey from the stage stop in front of the Hotel Carmelo. The Carmel Development Company also ran stages to pick up visitors and prospective buyers from Monterey and the Del Monte Hotel. Joseph Hitchcock worked for Devendorf as a surrey driver. From 1911 to 1916, he drove a four-horse stage from the train depot in Monterey to Carmel. In 1912 Charles Goold took delivery of two sixteen-passenger buses, eventually buying out the Coffey and Hitchcock operations. Additional bus services continued to expand until replaced by the Greyhound service and Joe's Taxi in 1930.

With the increased popularity of automobile travel, blacksmith shops, except for The Forge in the Forest which lasted until 1964, and livery stables gave way to gasoline stations and auto service facilities. Determined to maintain the rural appearance of the village, early residents and city fathers resisted paving city streets. The Carmel-Monterey Highway was paved in 1916, and Ocean Avenue was paved in 1922.

3.4 Associated Resource Types

3.4.1 Identification

Properties associated with the context of Economic Development (1846-1986) include:

[66] Statistics quoted from Temple, Sydney, Carmel-by-the-Sea: From Aborigines to Coastal Commission, 1987, 201.

1. Properties associated with agriculture and industry
    - Ranch houses and farm buildings
    - Fishing, Whaling, and Extractive Industries
2. Properties associated with business and tourism
    - Commercial Buildings
    - Hotels, Inns and Boarding Houses
    - Seasonal Homes
3. Properties associated with transportation
    - Gasoline/service stations

3.4.2 Description

Properties associated with agriculture and industry

Ranch Houses and Farm Buildings. Few resources remain in Carmel that are associated with the area's early agricultural history. This resource type includes ranch houses, barns, other outbuildings, water towers and windmills. As the oldest remaining residential structures in Carmel and due to their association with the rancho period of Carmel's history as well as their connection with Frank and Jane Powers, the Murphy-Powers residence and Barn/Studio have been designated as landmarks under Carmel's Historic Preservation Ordinance. Other ranches in Carmel's sphere of influence include the Martin's Mission Ranch, the Hatton Ranch, the Victorine Ranch behind the Bay School at San Jose Creek, and Palo Corona, today the Fish Ranch.

Fishing, Whaling and Extractive Industries. Although not located in the City of Carmel, there is a residence built by Chinese fishermen at Whalers Cove, which houses the Whaling Station museum at Point Lobos State Park. It is unlikely that any resources associated with the fishing industry in Carmel Bay are located in the City of Carmel.

Likewise, few if any resources associated with quarrying and mining activities in the area would be located within the boundaries or the sphere of influence of Carmel. Little is known of the silver mining activities near Mission San Carlos Borromeo del Rio Carmelo. Evidence of mine shafts have been discovered. It is therefore possible that there may be some subsurface evidence of silver mining activities in the vicinity of the Mission and in the Walker Tract near Junipero Avenue and Rio Road.[67]

The brick kilns of the Plaza Fuel Company and buildings associated with the Thermotite concrete block operation still exist near Santa Fe and Third, but are no longer in operation. If further research and study reveal the existence of resources associated with local industrial activities, they might be considered as significant.

Properties Associated with Business and Tourism

Commercial Buildings. Most of the historic commercial buildings (those built prior to 1940) are located on Ocean Avenue and Sixth and Seventh Avenues between Mission and Monte Verde Streets. They consist primarily of two story reinforced concrete and wood frame buildings in a variety of architectural styles with retail and/or gallery space on the ground floor and office space and artist's studios on the upper floors.

[67] Sharron Lee Hale, A *Tribute to Yesterday*, p. 119

Hotels, Inns, and Boarding Houses. Tourist accommodations have played an important role in the economic development of Carmel since the days of the Hotel Carmelo and Carmel City. In fact, a business census of the community in 1956 listed forty-six such establishments. Built during all periods of Carmel's development, hotels, inns, and lodges reflect a wide range of architectural preferences.

Many times older structures were remodeled to serve as inns. Built in 1929, The Cypress Inn, formerly called La Ribera Hotel was built specifically for the purpose of lodging. Oakland architects Blain and Olsen were responsible for its Spanish Colonial Revival design, highlighted by a lavish stucco entry, tower, generous use of tile, and a flower-strewn patio.

On the other hand, the La Playa Hotel began in 1903 as the home and studio of Chris Jorgensen and was converted to hotel use after the tragic drowning of Mrs. Angela Ghiradelli Jorgensen in 1911. The house was designed around a two story stone tower with gable-roofed wings extending west and south. In 1921 more rooms were added, but in 1924 it was almost completely destroyed by a fire. The Godwins, who had also been associated with the Pine Inn, rebuilt the hotel, retaining some of the original stonework, and added 30 rooms in 1925. Subsequent additions increased the room count substantially. This hotel is now listed by the National Trust as a Historic Hotel of America.

Likewise, the Holiday House was originally the home of Stanford professor Guido Marx. Built in 1905, it was sold to Basilicio Jesena who converted it into the Holiday Inn in 1926. It was renamed the Holiday House in 1929 when it was taken over by Isabel and Mary Smith. The Sea View Inn at Camino Real and Twelfth, built in 1905, was owned and run by the Stout sisters.

Many of the local residents opened their homes during the summer season for boarders, such as professor Vernon Kellogg on Casanova between Ninth and Tenth streets. Some residents added guest cottages to accommodate extended family and summer visitors. Many of these homes later were expanded to become full-time inns, as were Edgemere Cottages and the Green Lantern.

Seasonal Homes. Carmel's identity as a vacation or part-time destination originated in the Carmel City era and continued past World War II into the present. A substantial percentage of homes in Carmel are still only occupied or rented for part of the year. In most ways, these houses are indistinguishable from year-round homes, except perhaps for an increased tendency towards informality, simplicity and outdoor orientation leftover from the early days.

Properties associated with transportation

Resources associated with pre-automobile transportation activities would include early trails and roads, blacksmith shops, livery stables, and stage stops. The Mission Trail exists in part from the Carmel Mission north, probably to old Highway 1. Oliver Road is the old road to Carmel Valley. This resource category would include the Forge in the Forest, and the stage stop at the Goold Building at San Carlos between Ocean and Sixth. Charles Goold also owned a garage at the southeast corner of Ocean and San Carlos which later became the Standard Oil Station and is now a clothing store.

With the advent of the automobile, associated resources would include early service stations, garages, car dealerships, taxi companies, and bus depots, such as the first depot built by Jon Konigshofer on the northwest corner of Junipero and Sixth. Existing resources include the Texaco (now Shell) Station at the corner of San Carlos and Fifth, the Richfield station on the southwest corner of Seventh and San Carlos, and Miller Harris' Shell station. Levinson's Automobile Agency was located at Dick Bruhn's on the southeast corner of San Carlos and Ocean. Until 1970, a Volkswagen showroom and sales agency was located at the corner of Fourth and Mission Streets.

3.4.3 Significance

Due to their relative scarcity, any properties associated with the agricultural and industrial economy would be considered significant resources. Agricultural resources usually existed in complexes of several types of functionally related structures. Generally the more pivotal buildings in the complex such as barns and farmhouses would have a greater significance than sheds and other ancillary resources.

Properties associated with business and tourism exist in abundance throughout Carmel. Significant examples should retain a high degree of integrity. Significance would be enhanced by association with prominent members of the business community and with specific businesses or business types that were pivotal in the town's economic development.

Due to relative scarcity and the importance in representing the continuum of development within this context, pre-automobile transportation resources would have a high degree of significance. Due to the prevalence of adaptive reuse, there would be a lower level of integrity expected for these resources. Significance of resources within this context would be enhanced by association with individuals that played important roles in the development of the Carmel business community or promoted tourism in the area.

4.0 GOVERNMENT, CIVIC AND SOCIAL (1903-1986)

4.1 Civic Development and Incorporation

In addition to assisting with the early formation of community and cultural institutions, James Devendorf also acted as the unofficial mayor, resolving disputes between residents. Ultimately, however, he could not create the kinds of ordinances or regulations necessary to control development or shape public improvements. A group in favor of cityhood circulated a petition for incorporation in October 1916. The County Board of Supervisors approved the petition and scheduled an election for October 26. There were 199 votes cast with 113 in favor and 86 against. At the same time, the first Board of Trustees was elected. There were five members in the total with two holding two-year terms and three holding the four year terms. The Board then elected a president to a two-year term. The charter members included A.P. Fraser, president, Peter Taylor, G.F. Beardsley, E.K. DeSabla and D.W. Johnson. In addition, Louis Slevin was elected treasurer and J.E. Nichols was elected as clerk. In 1920 Saidee Van Brower was elected City Clerk. Serving until 1942, she started and kept the only city building records. The position of City Clerk became elevated to City Administrator when Hugh Bayliss was promoted in 1968. In 1978 the system was slightly modified when the office of Mayor was changed to a publicly elected position. William Askew, Sr. was superintendent of Public Works for thirty years. Also employed by the city, William Askew, Jr. also served as the superintendent of Public Works for thirty years.

In 1917, the first official City Hall was located in the Philip Wilson Building on the northwest corner of Ocean and Dolores. In 1927, City Hall was located upstairs in the Oakes-Mitchell Building on the west side of Dolores between Ocean and Seventh. It moved again in 1946 to the old All Saints Episcopal Church on the east side of Monte Verde between Ocean and Seventh. The Department of Public Works was located in the little green building on the southwest corner of Mission and Seventh with the Police Station. In 1966, the new Public Works/Police Station, designed by Burde, Shaw & Associates and located on the east side of Junipero between Fourth and Fifth, was dedicated.

From the beginning there has been general agreement among Carmel residents for slow growth and preservation of the residential character of the village. One of the first city ordinances prohibited the cutting down of trees on public land. Determined to keep the rural setting, residents also fought the

introduction of paved streets, mail delivery, and electricity. Public improvements and development continued, but not without controversy. Even the paving of Ocean Avenue, which did not occur until 1922, was so hotly debated that the issue had to be resolved in court. Another battle raged over the development of the Dunes, a stretch of the beach at the foot of Ocean Avenue. A resort hotel planned for the site was defeated when a group of residents successfully persuaded Devendorf to sell the land to the city for $15,000. Citizens voted four to one in favor of its purchase.

Another hot issue was the bathhouse on Carmel beach. The bathhouse, constructed in 1889 for Women's Real Estate Company by Delos Goldsmith, served Carmel with dressing rooms and towels, had a tea room, and served as a meeting place and a site for wedding receptions. The City of Carmel purchased the building in the 1920s. However, the cost of upkeep and the potential for lawsuits should someone drown while using the life rope which extended from the bathhouse to the ocean, led many to question ownership of the property. The bathhouse was sold in 1929, and later demolished.

Battle lines over such issues were usually drawn between the art and business factions in the community. Perry Newberry became one of the central leaders of the art faction. Newberry had come to Carmel in 1910. Formerly on the art staff of the *San Francisco Examiner*, he became the assistant editor of the *Carmel Pine Cone* and later its owner until he sold it in 1935. He was first inspired to run for public office in response to a proposal to construct a city hall, an idea he opposed. He successfully ran for the Board of Trustees in 1922 and fought to preserve the unique and rural quality of Carmel. He promised voters:

Believing that what 9,999 towns out of 10,000 want is just what Carmel shouldn't have, I am a candidate for trustee on the platform, DON'T BOOST. I am making a spirited campaign to win by asking those who disagree to vote against me.

> DON'T VOTE FOR PERRY NEWBERRY:
>
> If you hope to see Carmel become a city.
> If you want its growth boosted.
> If you desire its commercial success.
> If concrete street pavements represent your civic ambitions.
> If you think a glass factory is of greater importance than a sand dune, or a millionaire than an artist, or a mansion than a little brown cottage.
> If you truly want Carmel to become a boosting, hustling, wide-awake, lively metropolis,
>
> DON'T VOTE FOR PERRY NEWPERRY.

In an effort to control the postwar building boom, Carmel re-established a new Planning Commission in 1946. The newly re-organized Commission was comprised of Bert Heron, former City Council member and mayor; Hugh Comstock, architect; Clara Kellogg, city trustee and co-creator of Devendorf Park; and Florence Josselyn, wife of Talbert Josselyn, a writer for the *Saturday Evening Post*.[68] All members were either part of the artistic element or were avid supporters of it. This group of individuals was responsible for codifying some of Carmel's most recognized planning restrictions, including bans against billboards, electric signs, and displays over sidewalks; requirements for off-street parking at motels; a two-story building height limit and appropriate setback; a restriction against sidewalks in the residential districts; and the most notorious of all, an ordinance requiring a signed waiver for anyone wearing high-heeled

[68] Harold and Ann Gilliam, Creating Carmel: The Enduring Vision, 1992.

shoes. In 1954 the Commission hired San Francisco planner Lawrence Livingston, Jr. to author a city plan, which he submitted in 1956. Highly controversial, the plan made such suggestions as eliminating vehicular traffic on Ocean Avenue to create space for an open-air pedestrian mall.[69] After a series of revisions, the Carmel General Plan was adopted in 1959.

Throughout the history of the village, Carmelites have appreciated the urban forest and sought to preserve it. In 1945 a gentleman denied a request to cut down his tree sent a poem to the *Monterey Peninsula Herald*: "I asked them to cut down that tree; I was prepared for 'ifs' and 'buts'; they answered me in one word – 'nuts.'"[70] Carmel formally declared its respect for local trees in the establishment of a forestry commission in 1958. Driven by the determination of council-member Gunnar Norberg, the Forest Commission took the responsibility of the City's trees from the City Council and placed it in the hands of a forester. The city's first forester, Robert Tate, was quoted as saying, "Without the trees, the city would be little different from many other coastal villages in California."[71] Carmel's urban forest took a toll on city sidewalks, as tree roots damaged asphalt and pavers. On October 9, 1963, in an effort to curb injury claims, the City Council decided to make it illegal to wear high heels without obtaining a special permit and signing a waiver of legal claims.

4.1.1 Civic Policy Development: 1965 - 1986

City government officials and residents continued their concern with the commercial and tourist pressures on the small village in the forest. Planning policy regulations were aimed at updating the 1959 General Plan, and various emergency building moratoriums, curbs on commercial and residential development, and measures to handle the massive influx of nonpermanent residents were implemented with much wrangling among citizens and city officials.

After winning the highest number of votes in the 1968 City Council election, businessman and pragmatist Barney Laiolo became the City's appointed mayor. That same year, there was an influx of hippies seeking to expand the Summer of Love to Carmel's quiet streets; many occupied Devendorf Park, the beachside sand dunes, and the downtown business district, and some solicited tourists and residents for money. Laiolo did not favor violent police intrusion, but police did quietly address illegal mischief. On July 31, 1968, the City passed a controversial emergency ordinance that regulated the use of public property. The State Supreme Court rescinded the ordinance in 1971, with the *Carmel Pine Cone* declaring, "sitting on the grass is legal now."[72]

In the 1970s, planning policy aimed to control commercial development and new restaurant construction in the downtown and the construction of large homes in residential zone. As previously described, the commercial building moratorium approved on July 24, 1973 was meant to address "the needs of permanent residents in relation to the needs of the mushrooming commercial district." It was the first building moratorium enacted by the City since its 1916 incorporation. The moratorium was proposed by planning commissioner Albert Henry Hill, who identified an alarming new trend of out-of-town business capital placing pressure on the little village. Indirectly referring to the proposed size and scale of expanded Carmel Plaza, Hill stated that the new business interests' intent was to "buy up, tear down, rebuild – and make it big to pay." Hill was backed by fiery councilmember Gunnar Norberg, who warned

[69] Harold and Ann Gilliam, Creating Carmel: The Enduring Vision, 1992.
[70] Steve Hauk, "Carmel Determined to Keep its Charm," *Monterey Peninsula Herald*, 1 June 1970.
[71] "Carmel Determined to Keep its Charm."
[72] Gualtieri, Kathryn and Lynn A. Momboisse, *A Village in the Pine Forest: Carmel-by-the-Sea*, 2016, 11.

of "far more serious things that appear on the horizon, huge enterprises coming from outside to remake Carmel block by block."[73]

The moratorium was extended to give the City time to perform studies to determine the best solutions to excessive commercialization, and work on amended development standards.[74] In December 1973, the Planning Commission voted unanimously to adopt an ordinance to amend the general regulations for commercial buildings, amend uses within commercial zones, and change the height definitions for commercial structures; the City Council voted to officially adopt the building control ordinance in March 1974.[75] Norberg cast the singular dissenting vote because he did not consider the building controls strict enough. The ordinance was aimed at insuring adequate open space, limiting maximum commercial building size and height, and encouraging second-story apartment uses.[76]

Residential development was another issue of the 1970s, when Carmelites began to express concern about Carmel losing its historic and stylistic character. In 1972, the City Council asked the Planning Commission to discuss a residential design ordinance and the implementation of design controls to residential properties, which heretofore only applied to the commercial district. Then-councilmember Barney Laiolo disagreed with the request noting, "It's pretty hard to control people's taste. One man might want a flat-top roof, another might like a peaked roof." Councilmember Olaf Dahlstrand, former head of the Planning Commission, agreed, stating, "You can't legislate beauty. One of the dangers (of design control) is that something really good that's ahead of its time might not get approved." Finally, City Councilmember Gunnar Norberg convinced the City Attorney to draft an ordinance that would "prevent gross intrusions against the residential character of the village, and that would take into account the complex policing job that might be created." [77] In 1978, City Councilmember and former mayor Bernard Anderson voted against a proposed moratorium on the new construction of two-story homes in the residential district.[78] These matters would not be resolved until the adoption of the 1984 General Plan.

Additional ordinances were proposed throughout the 1970s – all aimed at keeping Carmel "Carmel." In 1974, with planning commissioner Albert Henry Hill noting "sixty persons to each restaurant in Carmel to me is ludicrous," the City Council passed an emergency ordinance banning any new restaurants. An ordinance banning the use of illegal kitchens in the residential zone was also passed in 1974, in an effort to curb illegal cooking in boarding rooms and transient apartments. While these efforts continued throughout the decade, with much discussion among planning staff, commissioners and the public, these various concerns would not be addressed significantly until the adoption of the 1984 General Plan.[79]

The culmination of over one decade of discussion was the passing of the Carmel General Plan Update in December of 1983. Officially adopted in 1984, the new General Plan sought to address concerns about commercial overdevelopment, to foster small-scale commercial development in the business district and residential design controls. Plan highlights included:

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[73] "Carmel Votes 4-Month Building Moratorium," *Monterey Peninsula Herald*, 7/25/73. "Rewriting Effort Begins on Zoning," *Monterey Peninsula Herald*, 8/2/1973.

[74] "Carmel Votes 4-Month Building Moratorium," *Monterey Peninsula Herald*, 7/25/73; "Rewriting Effort Begins on Zoning," *Monterey Peninsula Herald,* 8/2/73; "Building moratorium extended eight months," *Carmel Pine Cone*, 11/15/1973, p.33.

[75] "Planners adopt altered commercial restraints," Carmel Pine Cone, 12/20/1973, p.10; "Council adopts building control law," *Carmel Pine Cone*, 03/21/1974.

[76] "Planners adopt altered commercial restraints," Carmel Pine Cone, 12/20/1973, p.10; "Council adopts building control law," *Carmel Pine Cone*, 03/21/1974.

[77] "City Attorney Asked to Draft Ordinance on Residential Design Control," *Carmel Pine Cone*, 8/10/72.

[78] "Retiring Councilman's Last Vote Stymies Move to Ban Two-Story Homes," *Carmel Pine Cone,* 3/14/78.

[79] "Moratorium Proposed on New Restaurants," *Monterey Peninsula Herald,* 11/21/74; "Two Ordinances Proposed for Limiting Second Kitchens, Additional Tenants," *Carmel Pine Cone*, 11/7/74.

- Establish a "village preservation overlay zone" on Ocean Avenue, implementing design restrictions on additions/alterations to new buildings.
- New second-story retail shops are not permitted in the commercial zone; however, residential apartments are permitted, as are professional offices defined as services.
- New motels are permitted only in the new RC: Residential and Limited Commercial Zone, located outside the commercial zone and adjacent to the R-1 Residential Zone.
- New tourist-related stores (including T-shirt shops and art galleries) are only allowed in the central commercial district, subject to the granting of a use permit.
- New restaurants would be allowed in the central commercial district and the commercial service zones, subject to the granting of a use permit.
- Commercial uses are no longer permitted in the R-4 multiple-family district.[80]

The City Council's first reading of the 1984 General Plan occurred in June, with a spirited, lengthy meeting that included, "name-calling, open threats of recall and a six-hour marathon session." The second and final reading occurred on July 3, 1984.[81]

During this time period, Carmelites also voted to confirm an ordinance making the mayor an elected position in 1978, a decision formerly under the purview of the City Council. In 1980, former mayor (1968 to 1972) and pragmatist Barney Laiolo became the first elected mayor of Carmel.[82] Laiolo served as mayor for one term, from 1980 to 1982, and returned the city administration to a business friendly environment. The mayoral election of 1982 became another political battle between the practical Laiolo and his old foe Gunnar Norberg, the latter seeking to return the city to an anti-commercialism platform. Despite both men's plans, Carmel native Charlotte Townsend won the mayoral race in 1982, becoming the first elected female mayor in Carmel's history.[83]

Charlotte Townsend served two terms as mayor from 1982 until 1986. After nearly ten years of hearings, she stewarded the passage of the 1984 General Plan (discussed above), which endeavored to provide a compromise between commercial development and keeping Carmel a local place. As implementation of the new General Plan occurred, business owners increasingly grumbled at the Plan's restrictive policies, viewing the new administration as anti-development, despite its intentions to balance both commercial and local needs. To assess the opinions of Carmelites, the Townsend administration released a survey to residents in the summer of 1985, with questions regarding the General Plan policies, including the limits of new restaurants and tourist-related stores, the location of hotels and the changes to second-story development in the commercial zone. The survey was distributed to 3,900 residents. The *Carmel Pine Cone* summarized the preliminary responses of the first 1,000 residents in a July article, notably that the city has "too many" tourist-related shops, such as gift shops, antique shops and art galleries; and that the city needs more shops that provide goods for locals, including book stores, hardware shops, furniture and auto parts stores. What became clear from the survey results is that locals felt underrepresented in their community, again reviving Carmel's longstanding conflict between commercialism and local needs. This controversy would lead to the election of Clint Eastwood in 1986.[84]

In 1985, Hollywood celebrity Clint Eastwood submitted plans for a new building on San Carlos Street. Initial designs were rejected by the Planning Commission, who viewed the proposed Eastwood building as too large and out of character with Carmel's village-like atmosphere. Negotiations continued for

[80] "New City General Plan Ordinances Would Limit Shops, Galleries, Eateries," *Carmel Pine Cone*, 4/26/84.
[81] "1984: The Year in Review," *Carmel Pine Cone*, 12/27/84.
[82] Gualtieri, Kathryn and Lynn A. Momboisse, *A Village in the Pine Forest: Carmel-by-the-Sea*, 2016, 12.
[83] Harold and Ann Gillian, *Creating Carmel, the Enduring Vision,*1992, 206.
[84] Michael Gardner, "Carmel Residents Voice Strong Views in Survey," *Carmel Pine Cone*, 7/25/85.

months. A bitter compromise was reached in 1985 and Eastwood was granted a permit for construction of the building. The results did not sit well with both locals and the business community, the latter viewing the fight as anti-commercial and not in the best interest of business development. The battle also resulted in Clint Eastwood's decision to run for mayor in 1986.

In 1986, Carmel made national headlines for reportedly banning ice cream. The media fervor stemmed from the denial of creamery permits (denied due to water requirements and restrictions on take-out food), misconstrued as an outright ban on ice cream. Eastwood made the issue part of his campaign, promising to bring back ice cream. Eastwood's campaign created yet another surge of visitors onto Carmel's quaint streets, as tourists swarmed into town to perhaps get a glimpse of the Hollywood icon. Running on an anti-government ticket, Eastwood sought to return Carmel to the people, and the actor embraced both locals and tourists alike during his campaign. Articles about Eastwood's movements and interactions with the people dominated the *Carmel Pine Cone* in 1986. Both locals and tourists wrote frequent letters to the editor during the Eastwood campaign, reflecting the ongoing conflict between local and tourist needs. The Letters to the Editor page from March 20, 1986 featured both sides of the debate, with one Carmelite writing, "Clint Eastwood may be a very nice person and a smart businessman, but what we need is a person who can and will give their full-time effort to being responsive to the needs of the residents. One who will do their best to keep what's left of the Carmel character intact, insofar as possible." The opposing view was presented by a southern California tourist who frequented Carmel for decades: "My daughter and I are sitting here wearing Clint Eastwood pins and eating Paul Newman popcorn. Let me tell you that Clint Eastwood is more like the residents of Carmel in those days than most of the ones today. Down-to-earth, unassuming and genuine.[85]

Clint Eastwood was elected mayor in April of 1986. Despite fears over a return to commercialism, Eastwood's term resulted in several benefits to Carmel residents. He revitalized the Carmel Youth Center, providing a place for Carmel children to meet and socialize in a safe environment. He also purchased the Mission Ranch in 1986, and restored the area's agricultural buildings with minimal intervention that both preserved the ranch's historic character and allowed for additional open space. Though ice cream was never actually banned in Carmel, Eastwood is credited with passing Ordinance 86-10, "Amending Title 17 of the Municipal Code redefining and establishing standards for eating places primarily selling frozen dessert products" to ensure an ice cream-friendly regulatory environment in Carmel.[86]

4.2 Public Services

Carmel's early residents organized to provide themselves with local public services and utilities long before the community was incorporated. In addition to the more frequently recognized services discussed below, other important community infrastructure basics include sanitation and disposal services. In 1966 a new Public Works Department building was constructed at Junipero and Fourth Avenue.[87]

4.2.1 Communication

The history of postal service in Carmel began in 1889, when leather mail pouches were hauled over the hill from Monterey to a small building in Carmel Valley known as the White Oak Inn. This arrangement was discontinued in April 1890. This post office was re-established in 1893, and there was an abortive attempt to move it in September 1903. At this time, Frank Powers traveled to Washington, D.C., where he successfully lobbied to have Carmel made the official post office for the area. The Carmel post office

[85] "No Coney Island (Letters to the Editor)," *Carmel Pine Cone*, 3/20/86; "Keep Carmel Intact (Letters to the Editor)," *Carmel Pine Cone*, 3/20/86.
[86] Gualtieri, Kathryn and Lynn A. Momboisse, *A Village in the Pine Forest: Carmel-by-the-Sea*, 2016, 13.
[87] Sydney Temple, Carmel-by-the-Sea from Aborigines to Coastal Commission, 1987.

was finally established in December 1903. The first mail carrier was A.F. Horn, who carried the mail between Carmel and Monterey on a one-horse wagon, along with baggage express and passengers. Charles Goold, who owned a local stage and hauling company, eventually earned the contract to bring Carmel mail from Monterey. Mail was distributed from Devendorf's office at the general store and Devendorf's brother-in-law, J.P. Staples, handed out the mail. Burton Williams, proprietor, acted as post-master until Louis Slevin had been a resident of Carmel for one year. Beginning with eight boxes, Slevin was Carmel's first official postmaster, a position he held from 1904 to 1914. Slevin was followed by L. Payne from 1914 to 1918, and Stella Vincent was postmaster from 1918 to 1929. Subsequent post office locations include Dolores near Seventh, where it moved in 1922; the southwest corner of Ocean and Mission in 1934; and the second building from the northeast corner of Dolores and Sixth. Since there was never door-to-door delivery, the post office, now located at the southeast corner of Fifth and Dolores, has always been a favorite spot to meet and chat with friends. In 1951 the post office was moved to its current location on Fifth Avenue between Dolores and San Carlos. The building received an addition and doubled in size in 1957.[88]

In the early days, Carmel residents devised a unique method of communication, described by Daisy Bostick and Dorothea Castelhun in *Carmel at Work and Play*. On an old board fence on Ocean Avenue, residents and visitors posted lost and found notices, announcements of meetings, help-wanted signs, advertisements, and bits of world news. One enterprising individual attached a pad of paper and a pencil with the command, "Leave your orders for wood here." As the village developed, the bulletin board found new sites. It remained a community institution until recent years.

It was often said, "If you don't hear about it on a trip to the bulletin board or the post office, you'll read it in the *Pine Cone*." The *Carmel Pine Cone* was established in 1915 by William Overstreet. An ex-San Francisco news reporter, clerk and correspondent, he dreamed of owning his own newspaper. Beginning on a shoestring budget with a second hand press in the room behind the post office, the *Carmel Pine Cone* became the voice of the village. Although the newspaper has changed hands several times over the years, it continues today as Carmel's primary news organization. There have been numerous competitors and other local news publications; however, none outlasted the *Carmel Pine Cone*. Examples include the *Carmel News* from 1914-1917; the *Carmelite* co-founded by Lincoln Steffens, lasted from 1925-1931; the *Village Press* from 1926 to 1935; and the *Village Daily* published from 1930 to 1935, to name a few.

The first telephone service in Carmel was the Sunset Telephone Company, established in 1903. The Carmel Telephone Exchange was established in 1913 in a section of Blood's Grocery on the corner of Ocean and Lincoln, with 35 customers. On April 13, 1917, a two-party telephone line was ordered by Carmel's city government, one for the residence of the city marshal and one for the office of the clerk in City Hall. By 1928 there were 880 subscribers in the village. In 1949 a new telephone central office building was constructed on Sixth Avenue between Junipero and Mission Streets. The building housed equipment for a new dial telephone system.

4.2.2 Utilities

As in most frontier locations, water for domestic use was originally provided by individual wells. Windmills and tank houses were common components of rural settlements during the early American period. In 1888, Wesley Hunter and his uncle Delos Goldsmith carried water from the Carmel River until a good well was dug. The first well in the city was on Carpenter near Ocean, but was too alkaline. The second, "Mary's Well," was at Guadalupe and Fifth. Water was piped to a windmill on Ocean Avenue where a tank supplied the Hotel Carmelo.

[88] Sharon Lee Hale, *A Tribute to Yesterday*, 1980.

The Pacific Improvement Company constructed the first unit of the water system when they piped the spring at the head of Laguna Grande, which proved unsuccessful. The first reliable water was supplied by a pipeline from Carmel Valley, built to supply water to the Del Monte Hotel in Monterey and Los Laureles Lodge, a spa in Carmel Valley. Water was supplied from the original San Clemente Dam built by 700 Chinese laborers in 1882-1883 under the supervision of William Hatton. After the dam was completed, a pipeline was constructed to a new reservoir in Pacific Grove. The Pacific Improvement Company laid a pipeline down Ocean Avenue. Those not connected to the pipeline drew water from the line and hauled it in barrels. The Carmel Water Works had a large holding tank during the early days, and there was a public water trough at Ocean and San Carlos.

In 1905, the Carmel Development Company installed its own water system, with a pump at the river to bring water into a large tank at Ocean Avenue and Mountain View. Horse drawn barrels allowed water to be brought to higher elevations. Later, the Monterey County Water Works took over water distribution. In 1935, the Monterey County Water System was owned and operated by the California Water and Telephone Company, a private corporation serving Monterey, East Monterey, Del Monte, Carmel, Pebble Beach, and various Carmel Valley locations. Cal-Am (California-American) now supplies water to Carmel.

Electricity may have come to the area as early as 1894. Monterey Electric Light and Development Company organized in 1891 and extended lines into Pacific Grove in 1894. However, Sharron Hale and other long-time residents agree that electricity did not arrive in Carmel until 1914. In the early days, the merchants and developers in Carmel-by-the-Sea agreed that the village should grow slowly and gas and electricity should be "forbidden." Gas service finally arrived in Carmel in 1930.

4.2.3 Healthcare

Carmel's first healthcare institution was a sanitarium operated by Dr. Himmelsbach. Opened in 1902, the Pine Sanitarium was located in his parent's home on the northeast corner of Dolores and Ninth. A second facility, Carmel Hospital, was established in 1927, the brainchild of Edith Ballou Shuffelton, a graduate of the nursing school at Stanford. Shuffelton persuaded individuals to donate funds for a facility to meet the general medical needs of the community. Located in Carmel Woods, the hospital was designed by Robert Stanton and built by Michael J. Murphy. In a matter of a few years, however, the facility proved to be inadequate. The equipment was sold to the Monterey Peninsula Community Hospital and the building converted to the Forest Lodge apartments.

The Metabolic Clinic was founded in 1928 by Grace Deere Velie Harris, an heir to the John Deere Tractor fortune. This clinic conducted research on the blood disease from which Harris suffered. Unfortunately, Harris died before the facility was completed in 1930. The Clinic was dissolved in 1934 and the structure became the Monterey Peninsula Community Hospital on Highway 68. Community Hospital had formed in 1934 and was located in the former Metabolic Clinic on Valley Way and Highway 1. When Community Hospital moved into its modern facility outside of the Carmel city limits, the building was transformed into a convalescent home (the Carmel Convalescent Hospital).

In the 1950s Samuel F.B. Morse donated twenty-two acres for the relocation of the Community Hospital of Monterey County. Famed modernist, Edward Durell Stone, received the commission for its design. The new hospital opened on 28 June 1962 and received many awards for its progressive design. The hospital was the first in the country to offer private rooms to all its patients. The hospital cost $3.5 million, two-thirds of which was donated by the community.[89] As stated above, the hospital is outside the boundaries of the City of Carmel, but it does serve the city's residents.

[89] "Our History," Community Hospital of Monterey Peninsula Online, 2008.

4.2.4 Fire and Police Departments

A group of twenty citizens, led by Robert Leidig, established a volunteer fire department in 1908. Equipment was stored in a tent on the southwest corner of San Carlos and Sixth and in a garage still standing at Santa Fe and Fourth streets. The Citizen's Fire Protection Committee organized to raise funds for a proper fire engine and a permanent fire company in 1915. The equipment was kept in a building contributed by the Carmel Development Company. When the city incorporated the following year, the fire protection service became the responsibility of the city. In January 1917, the Fire Protection Committee reported to the City Council that the Monterey County Water Works would lay six-inch drain pipes down Ocean Avenue to Monte Verde, then down Monte Verde to Twelfth with necessary fire hydrants. In 1920, John Jordan, owner of the Pine Inn, donated the shed which housed McDonald's Dairy on Sixth between San Carlos and Dolores. Moved in 1936, this building is now at the old Thermotite site on the west side of Santa Fe and Third. Through the approval of a bond and a federal Works Project Administration grant, money was raised for a new firehouse in 1936. Completed in 1937, the new firehouse designed by Milt Latham was constructed of poured-in-place concrete faced with Carmel stone. The Carmel Fire Department underwent significant equipment upgrades in the 1950s and 1960s, including the installation of a radio system in 1958, a new ambulance, and in 1963, a La France Engine, which cost the city $27,000. The Fire Department celebrated its fiftieth anniversary in 1965. Robert Leidig served as chief from 1925 to 1941; Vicente Torras from 1941 to 1956; Robert E. Smith from 1956 to 1965; J. Robert 'Bob' Baker from 1966 to 1970; and Robert Updike from 1970 to 1988.[90]

In 1948 Carmel's police force was decidedly small and consisted of only eight men.[91] In 1957, Carmel allocated a third of its budget toward policing the village, yet a newspaper from that year was quick to underscore that such a police force was unnecessary, as "almost nobody – and sometimes not even a few forgetful businessmen – lock their doors at night."[92] In 1967 a new police department station was completed at Junipero and Fourth Avenue, designed by Burde, Shaw and Associates.[93] The new police station was designed and engineered for future construction of a City Hall, Council Chambers and City Offices. The Carmel Police Department was headed by Roy C. Fraties from 1940 to 1950; Clyde R. Klaumann from 1950 to 1976; William H. Ellis from 1976 to 1981; and John J. McGilvray from 1982 to 1994.[94]

4.3 Educational and Religious Institutions

4.3.1 Schools

The Carmelo School District was established in the 1850s and served all the families in the Carmel Valley and beach area. The Bay School was established in 1879 on Joseph Gregg's ranch at the mouth of San Jose Creek. The Sunset School, founded in 1904, was the first and only public school established in the village of Carmel.[95] Children first attended classes in Delos Goldsmith's shed with Mary Westphal as teacher. Increasing enrollment, however, created a need for larger quarters. Classes were temporarily moved to Michael J. Murphy's lumber yard while plans were drawn for a two-room school house on the

[90] Sharon Lee Hale, *A Tribute to Yesterday*, 1980.
[91] Elmont Waite, "The Cities of America: Carmel, California," *The Saturday Evening Post*, 15 May 1948.
[92] "This is Carmel 1957."
[93] "Council Gives 'Go Ahead' on Civic Center," *Carmel Pine Cone*, 17 February 1966, p.1.
[94] Sharon Lee Hale, *A Tribute to Yesterday*, 1980.
[95] State law at the turn of the century required that a school be formed when as many as seven children lived in a town. Sharron Lee Hale states on page 10 of her book, *Tribute to Yesterday*, that "Devendorf, who was in favor of beginning a school in Carmel, begged the Nortons to stay so that Mabel [their daughter] would make the seventh pupil the law required and he could have his school."

southeast corner of Ninth and San Carlos. Completed in 1906, the mission Revival style building held forty-eight students in eight grades during its first year. In late 1931, additional classrooms and an auditorium were built to accommodate the growing student body. During this time, older students attended high school in Monterey or Pacific Grove. Miss Emma Williams taught a private school at two sites from 1906 through the 1930s.

The Forest Hill School was opened in 1922 at the southwest corner of First and Mission streets. Founded by Minna Steel Harper, the school temporarily closed in 1941; the *Carmel Pine Cone* states "during the war years, the building was used as a lounge and club for Fort Ord officers."[96] The school opened again in 1943, with students enrolled from kindergarten to third grade, but closed by 1961.

In 1938, the Sunset School District seceded from the Monterey Union School District. In 1938 a bond was issued for the construction of Carmel High School. Designed by acclaimed school designer Franklin & Kump Associates with Hugh Comstock, the high school was completed in two phases in 1939 and 1941.[97] Though the high school is located across Highway 1 outside of Carmel's city limits, the school's progressive design is worth noting. Immediately after its construction, Carmel High School caught the attention of the national architectural community. Pencil Points magazine raved in 1945, "Carmel High School deserves an exceptionally high rating."[98]

By the 1940s, the Carmel School District (formerly, the Sunset School District) had a population of 400 students.[99] In 1947 three schools were listed in the city directory: Carmel High School, Sunset Grammar School, and Forest Hill School. In the mid to late 1950s, the district population rose to 1,081 students and was comprised of four schools, three of which were located outside Carmel's incorporated boundaries.[100] In 1953 two additional schools appeared in the city directory: Carmel Woods on Dolores near Vista and Carmel Pre-School on Santa Rita near Third Avenue. In 1958 two new schools appeared: Carmel River School on Fifteenth near Monte Verde and Carmel Art Institute on Ocean Avenue near Monte Verde.

The 1956 *Plan for the Conservation and Enhancement of Carmel-by-the-Sea and Environs* stated: "The Sunset School buildings do not comply with earthquake resistance requirements of the State Law, and the site is substandard in size."[101] Soon thereafter, in the early 1960s, the district offered to sell the Sunset School to the City of Carmel-by-the-Sea. In 1964 the City Council voted to acquire the Sunset School with the intention of developing the complex into a cultural center. The school cost $550,000 and was purchased in 1965 after passing a bond measure.[102] Renamed the Sunset Center, it housed 733 in its auditorium and quickly became the Monterey Peninsula's regional theater and the permanent home of the Bach Festival.

In the early 1960s the district covered more than 500 square miles and oversaw nine schools. In 1963 three new schools appeared in the city directory: Academy of Applied Osteopathy on Third Avenue near Carpenter; Bishop Kip School on Dolores near Ninth Avenue; and the Kramer School for Secretaries on Fifth near Mission.

4.3.2 Libraries

[96] "History Beat by Neal Hotelling: That time Carmel was reluctant to 'impose art' on valley residents," *Carmel Pine Cone*, 10/18/2019, p.26A.
[97] The twenty-two-acre campus of Carmel High School is actually located outside the city limits.
[98] "Carmel High School, Carmel-by-the-Sea, California." *Pencil Points*, 1945.
[99] Daisy Bostick, Carmel Today and Yesterday, 1945.
[100] "This is Carmel 1957."
[101] Lawrence Livingston, Plan for the Conservation and Enhancement of Carmel-by-the-Sea and Environs, 1956.
[102] Nancy Hills, "City Showed Foresight in Buying Sunset Center," *Carmel Pine Cone*, 21 September 1989.

As was the case with many early community institutions in Carmel, the first libraries were located in private homes. Mrs. Helen Jaquith operated the first library in Carmel out of her cottage.[103] Beginning in 1904, she would receive books as gifts in exchange for lending privileges. The following year the Carmel Free Library Association was formed. The group, led by Frank Powers, dedicated itself to establishing a permanent public library by sponsoring fundraising events, expanding the collection of books, and attracting new members. In 1911 the group changed its name to the Carmel Library Association. Shortly thereafter, the Carmel Development Company donated a building for the library at Lincoln and Sixth. The box-like building resembled many of the small cottages built in Carmel during the period. Clad with Shingles, it was capped by a hipped roof with flared and extended eaves. The façade featured a central door flanked by bay windows. As the books in the library began to exceed capacity, funds were raised to purchase the adjacent lot. In 1921, the existing building was relocated diagonally across Sixth Street, presumably to provide space to construct larger facilities. After the new library was completed, the old library building was remodeled for use by the Girl Scouts.

Ella Reid Harrison can be considered the most generous supporter of Carmel's library. Harrison bequeathed a large portion of her estate, including bonds, land, books and furniture, to the city on the condition that they be used to build a public library in memory of her late husband, California Supreme Court Justice Ralph Chandler Harrison. Designed and built by Michael J. Murphy in consultation with Bay Area architect Bernard Maybeck, the Ralph Chandler Harrison Memorial Library was completed in 1928. Located at the northeast corner of Ocean Avenue and Lincoln, the building is designed in the Spanish Colonial Revival style. The L-shaped plan consists of two wings, one facing west and one facing south. Characteristics of the style, the cross-gabled roof is covered with red tile, and the exterior walls are finished with smooth stucco. Arched, multi-paned windows allow sunlight to flood into the reading room in the south wing. The building was modernized in 1949 and 1976.

4.3.3 Religious Institutions

As Carmel was originally envisioned as a religious retreat for Catholics, it is not surprising that churches were some of the first community institutions to form. After the Mission was re-dedicated in 1884, Catholic services were once again held there. Other religious denominations in Carmel which can trace their roots back to the turn of the century include Christian Scientists, Methodists, and Episcopalians. These early congregations often held services in hotels, private homes, or out-of-doors.

In 1903, a group of Christian Scientists began to meet at the newly-built Pine Inn. That congregation eventually disbanded, but Christian Scientists continued to meet in each other's homes on a more informal basis. Organized meetings commenced again in July 1913 in the Arts and Crafts Hall on Casanova Street between Eighth and Ninth avenues. The First Christian Scientists Society of Carmel incorporated in 1917. The following year a church was dedicated. In 1936 a reading room was established on Ocean Avenue.[104] The congregation relocated to a new building at Monte Verde between Fifth and Sixth avenues in 1950.

Methodists in the area began to meet under the trees on the corner of Dolores and Sixth in 1904. James Devendorf hired the Reverend George Clifford as pastor of the congregation, and donated two lots on Lincoln near Ocean for a Mission Revival style church which was dedicated in 1905. As the congregation grew so did the need for larger quarters. In 1926 Michael J. Murphy constructed a new room for Sunday services, a kitchen, and a recreation hall. In 1940 the name of the church was changed

[103] Dora Hagemeyer, a poet, operated the Woodside Library out of a cottage on San Carlos Street north of Fourth. It moved to Monte Verde in 1927 and eventually closed when the Harrison Memorial Library took root.
[104] The Christian Science Reading Room is now located at the church on Lincoln near Sixth.

to the Carmel Community Church, and a new building at Lincoln and Seventh was dedicated. Designed by Robert Stanton, the new church was a single stuccoed mass under a front-facing gabled roof. The name of the church changed again in 1947 to the Church of the Wayfarer. The Church of the Wayfarer celebrated its sixtieth anniversary in 1964 with a membership of 529.[105]

The Carmel Presbyterian Church was founded on 3 January 1954 by Dr. Harry Clayton Rogers. Arriving in Carmel in 1953 to retire after forty-two years in ministry service, Dr. Rogers soon realized the need for a Presbyterian church. On 14 November 1953, the first service was held in the Carmel Woman's Club. Located on Mountain View and Junipero, the Carmel Presbyterian Church building was dedicated on 11 September 1955. President and Mrs. Dwight D. Eisenhower attended services on 26 August 1956. An educational building and parking lot were added in 1964.[106]

An Episcopalian congregation had been meeting at various locations since 1907. In 1910 the Reverend E.H. Maloney, the rector of St. Mary's-by-the-Sea in Pacific Grove, began to hold services in the basement of the Pine Inn. Soon a committee was created to raise funds for a church. Devendorf donated two lots for the church that later were exchanged for ones on Monte Verde. Completed in 1913, All Saints Church was designed by Albert Cauldwell, a San Francisco architect, and built by Michael J. Murphy. Eventually, Reverend Darwell was hired as the full-time minister. In July 1948 retired U.S. Navy officer, M. R. Allen, launched a building-fund campaign for a new church at the southwest corner of Dolores and Ninth. All Saints' Episcopal Church commissioned famed local Modernist Robert R. Jones to design the building and charged preeminent landscape architect Thomas Church with the design of the patio and terrace.

The groundbreaking was celebrated on 5 February 1950, and the church was completed in 1951. The next year, *Architect and Engineer* magazine devoted six pages to new building, writing: "… the All Saints' Episcopal Church…is a unique blending of traditional church structure features and modern church design."[107] Constructed of Carmel stone and redwood, the church served a membership of 600 into at least the 1960s. In 1960 Jones designed an auditorium addition at the south end of the church site. In 1961 the church formed the Bishop Kip Day School under direction of headmaster, Rev. Peter Farmer.[108] The old All Saints' church on Monte Verde was purchased for use as City Hall in 1949.

"White Cedars," the home of Mrs. M.E. White on the corner of Ninth and Dolores was the site of the founding of the Carmel Missionary Society in 1907 by the auxiliary of the San Jose Presbyterian Society. The Missionary Society built a chapel in 1911, which it occupied until 1951. Located on the southeast corner of Dolores and Eighth, the chapel was also used by the local Chinese. White Cedars was purchased by All Saints Church in 1946, when it was moved to become the home of Rev. Seccombe, All Saints' new pastor.
After 1940, the sole religious organization listed in city directories was the International Association of Religious Science Churches on Lincoln near Seventh Avenue.

4.4 Social and Recreational Institutions

From its earliest days, Carmelites took their playing very seriously. Undoubtedly, the informal atmosphere, the pleasant weather, and the beautiful scenery promoted the casual lifestyle and the enthusiastic participation of the residents in a wide variety of social and recreational activities. In 1911, James Devendorf in the Carmel Development Company brochure extolled the opportunities for

[105] "Celebrate Oldest Protestant Church in Carmel," *Monterey Peninsula Herald*, n.d.
[106] "Carmel Presbyterian Church Completes 1st Decade," *Monterey Peninsula Herald*, 23 March 1964.
[107] "All Saints' Episcopal Church: Carmel-by-the-Sea, California," *Architect and Engineer*, December 1952.
[108] "All Saints Church Grew with Carmel," *Monterey Peninsula Herald*, 23 March 1964.

swimming, fishing, hiking, and riding in the area. Local shopkeepers felt free to put up a "gone fishing" sign anytime the mood struck. In addition to fishing, swimming, and picnics on the beach there were also more organized opportunities that played important roles in the social life of Carmelites. Many of these organizations also contributed to the arts and cultural development of the community, and will be discussed in Chapter 6.

The Bathhouse, completed in 1889, was probably the first of the recreational institutions constructed in Carmel. Besides providing towel and suit rentals to sea bathers, it was the site for many club meetings, dances, and church outings. In 1906, James Machado opened the Carmel Bowling Alley on Ocean Avenue, which also offered "Pool, Cigars, and Tobacco." Formed in 1905, the Manzanita Club was responsible for bringing the first moving pictures to Carmel in 1916. The club was incorporated in 1925 and the clubhouse was constructed in 1926. The Manzanita Club was responsible for many plays, outdoor athletic events, and a summer camp.

The Arts and Crafts Club sponsored festivals, parades, street fairs, and fundraisers such as the Dutch Market and Sir-Cuss Day. These events were enjoyed by all segments of the community—artists, writers, craftsmen, business owners, police and firemen, and their families.

Carmel's first and only golf course was located south of the village on Point Loeb (Carmel Point). Designed by Philip Wilson, who settled in Carmel in 1905, the golf course was abandoned during World War I. Wilson also kept a fleet of 20 rowboats that he rented to tourists during the spring and summer months. After the first World War, informal softball games were organized and played at a rough field on Carmel Point near Inspiration Avenue. The games led to the formation of the Abalone League in 1921, the first softball league in the western United States. Whole families joined in the Sunday double-headers. League rules required that at least one woman and one child be on each team. In time the league moved its games to Tortilla Flat in Carmel Woods at a triangular shaped area bordered by Camino del Monte, Serra, and Portola. The league lasted until 1938.

Clubs organized for young people included the Carmel Boys Club, the Boy Scouts and the Girl Scouts. The Boy Scouts in Carmel began with a visit from Sir Baden-Powell in 1910. Baden-Powell stayed at the Presidio of Monterey and camped with a group from the presidio and some of the members of the Boys Club of Carmel. All the boys and their leader, John Neikirk, became official scouts, with the help of Douglas Greeley, Sr. and Fred Leidig. The Scouts raised funds to build a clubhouse at Mission and Eighth. The clubhouse was built by M.J. Murphy. According to city directories, local Boy Scout Troop 86 was active through at least the early 1960s and still based in the same clubhouse. Organized by Mrs. Eva Douglass in 1922, Carmel's Girls Club specialized in cooking and other homemaking activities. In 1923, this group officially became Carmel's first Girl Scout Troop. City directories list the "Girl Scout House" on the corner of Sixth and Lincoln which served as home for the Scouts in the 1950s and 1960s.[109]

Nurtured for many years by artists Josephine Culbertson and Ida Johnson, the Boys Club provided opportunities for boys to learn parliamentary law, hear interesting talks from learned men who were visiting in the area, as well as hiking, camping, and picnics on the beach.

The Carmel Youth Center was established in October 1949 and received a home soon thereafter. Designed by architect Robert Jones, construction began on the Carmel Youth Center in 1949. The idea for the Youth Center was conceived by Bing Crosby, then a resident of Pebble Beach. Crosby was responsible for the organization of over 200 private non-profit youth centers across the country. Of all

[109] Polk City Directory.

Crosby's operations, the Carmel Youth Center is the sole remaining privately operated outfit.[110] The Youth Center is still extant on the corner of Fourth and Torres and in operation today.

The Carmel Woman's Club was an outgrowth of informal salons held in the home of Anne Martin on Mission and Eleventh. Martin, a suffragette who ran for senate in 1918 and was Vice Chair of the National Woman's Party, moved to Carmel in the early 1920s.[111] Martin was a friend of Mary Austin and Carol Steinbeck. Immediately after her arrival, Martin's home became the center for Carmel's nexus of progressive women. Martin served as the western regional director for the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom from 1926 through 1931, provoking discussions of local concerns, including spillage of sewage into Monterey Bay, unnecessary tree cutting, poor city planning policies, and the killing of local wildlife.[112] The Carmel Woman's Club was officially founded in the 1940s. The Carmel Woman's Club entertained local women with card games, reading groups, cocktail parties, and afternoon teas.[113] The Woman's Club building is located at San Carlos and Ninth Avenue and the club continues to meet.

The American Legion Post 512 was organized after World War II in 1934 and set up its hall in the former Manzanita Club on Dolores and Eighth Avenue. The Legion Post 512 hall is still extant and the organization is active. Additional postwar social clubs consisted of the Carmel Pistol Club on San Carlos near Ocean Avenue, Cypress Club on Lincoln near Seventh Avenue, and the High Twelve Club on Lincoln near Seventh Avenue.

Additional benevolent or civic organizations active between 1940 and 1965 include the following: Carmel Masonic Club on Lincoln between Seventh and Eighth Avenue; Catholic Daughters of Carmel in Court Number 1496 on Sixth and Lincoln; American National Red Cross on Dolores near Eighth; Carmel Foundation on Lincoln near Eighth Avenue; Carmel Lodge Number 680 on Lincoln near Seventh Avenue; Carmel Lions Club on Dolores near Ocean Avenue; and Carmel Rotary Club on Camino Real and Eighth Avenue.

Artistic organizations in operation between 1940 and 1986 were: Artists Guild of America, Inc. on Monte Verde and First; Carl Cherry Foundation northwest of Guadalupe and Fourth Avenue; Carmel Craft Studios, Inc. on San Carlos near Ocean Avenue; Monterey Peninsula Chapter of the American Federation of Arts on Lincoln near Ocean Avenue; and Carmel Bach Festival, Inc. on San Carlos near Ocean Avenue. Created in 1927, The Carmel Art Association at Dolores Street between Fifth and Sixth Avenues, continues to be active today.[114]

4.5 Associated Resource Types

4.5.1 Identification

The following property types have been identified with the context of Government, Civic and Social Institutions:

- Properties associated with civic and public services

[110] From "A Brief History of the Carmel Youth Center" distributed at the Anniversary Open House on 26 April 2008.
[111] "Nevada Woman to Run for Senate," *New York Times*, 4 March 1918.
[112] John Thompson, "Turn-of-the-Century Feminist: Anne Martin," (accessed online) 2006.
[113] Daisy Bostick, Carmel Today and Yesterday, 1945.
[114] Carmel Art Association Website: https://carmelart.org/.

- Schools and churches
- Social and recreational property types

4.5.2 Description

Properties associated with civic and public services

This property type includes buildings and other resources that have served public functions. Examples may include buildings that served as City Hall, post offices, library, police departments and firehouses. Also included here would be other resources that represent public works and services. Resources associated with this theme also include the homes of individuals who played significant roles in civic affairs or were employed in positions that influenced the development of the city. Such individuals would include, for example, mayors and council members, city attorneys, the Chief of Police, Fire chief, postmaster or mistress.

Newspapers also played an important role in civic development. The *Carmel Pine Cone* has had a continuing role in reporting local events, as well as taking editorial stands on the development of community character. Competing, although shorter lived, newspapers were important in that they often presented views in opposition to the *Carmel Pine Cone's* editorial position on civic issues. Resources include not only buildings where newspapers had their offices and printing facilities, but also the homes of newspaper editors or publishers.

Utilities, whether private or public, are resources associated with this theme. Resources that represent the development of water management, electrical and gas service, and waste management are important in the full understanding of a community's history. Resources associated with the development of communication include telephone and telegraph services, as well as post offices and newspapers.

Healthcare is also an important aspect of community development. Associated resources include hospitals, clinics, sanitariums. Resources also include the homes or offices of prominent local physicians, dentists, and other types of healthcare providers.

Schools and churches

A number of schools and churches were established in Carmel before 1940. Resources in this category include surviving residences or buildings that were used as schools, as well as buildings specifically constructed to serve as private and public schools. Also included are resources that represent particular developments in the history of local education, such as kindergartens, nursery schools, and the Arts and Craft summer school programs. The Sunset School, opened in 1906 and now part of the Sunset Center, is a significant resource associated with this theme.

Churches and resources associated with religious institutions include Mission San Carlos Borromeo del Rio Carmel, previously discussed in Chapter 2, as well as churches established since 1903, such as the Christian Science Church, All Saints Episcopal Church, the Church of the Wayfarer and the Presbyterian Church. In addition to church structures, buildings that served other religious functions or served as residences for the pastor should be considered under this property type.

Social and recreational property types

The people of Carmel led active social lives and were involved in a variety of community activities. This property type would include buildings that served as club houses or that were associated with important social events that are not included under other contexts. This property type would also include resources

associated with recreational and athletic activities. Certainly, this would include any extant resources associated with the Abalone softball league.

4.5.3 Significance

From its inception the residents of Carmel were active in the civic, educational and social life of the community. Property types associated with this theme are important in reflecting this aspect of the community's character. The significance of these resources would depend not only on the association with significant aspects of community life and its high degree of integrity, but also on the quality of the impact the activity had on the social life of Carmel residents.

5.0 ARCHITECTURAL DEVELOPMENT IN CARMEL (1888-1986)

5.1 Environmental and Cultural Influences on Architecture

Carmel is located in the angle formed by two ranges of hills, one running in a generally east-west direction, forming the backbone of the Monterey peninsula, and the other at a right angle to it, forming the natural barrier between the Carmel Bay and the Carmel River (Rio Carmelo). In this angle a forest of pine trees has grown. East of the town along the Carmel River lies the Carmel Valley, a strip of rich alluvial soil thirty miles long and from one-half to two miles wide. West of the town is the Pacific Ocean, the water of which is rarely colder than fifty-five degrees nor warmer than sixty-five degrees. The Carmel Valley acts as an equalizing factor by furnishing currents of warmer or cooler air whenever the land and ocean temperatures differ. For that reason, Carmel's temperature is moderated to a range of twenty degrees lower or higher than the ocean's temperature.

Carmel as viewed by Spanish explorers or even as observed later by European settlers differs significantly from today's landscape. The most obvious sign of human intervention, of course, is the town itself. Devendorf inherited Duckworth's county-approved map of Carmel City with its conventional grid pattern. He continued to use it, but did not hesitate to curve roads around trees or topographical features in later additions. His respect for the natural environment was in contrast to many developers who flattened hills and cleared trees. Devendorf also encouraged the planting of trees so much that an illusion has been created of an area more wooded than originally. A reporter for the *Oakland Tribune* described how Devendorf "drove up and down and crosswise in a buggy drawn by a white horse, planting trees as he went along. When he sold a lot, he threw in a few trees for good measure. If he actually got cash for the lot—which rarely happened—the buyer might have had a whole grove presented to him as a bonus."[115] Early photographs show open meadows or coastal scrub with few trees west of Monte Verde except in natural canyons or near water courses. The efforts of Devendorf and others who followed have created a more forested character for Carmel-by-the-Sea.

The other important influence in the development of Carmel was the Arts and Crafts Movement. A reaction against the impersonal production of the Industrial Revolution and the loss of pride of craftsmanship, the movement had its roots in England during the last half of the nineteenth century reaching its zenith in 1888 when the Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society was founded in London by the young members of the Royal Academy. These individuals were frustrated by the institutional definition of art in terms of the fine arts only, relegating the applied and decorative arts to a position of second place.

[115] Harold and Ann Gilliam, Creating Carmel: The Enduring Vision, p. 69.

In the United States, the Arts and Crafts Movement gained momentum from the 1893 Columbian World's Exposition in Chicago, which preceded an expansion of trail-blazing developments in building techniques. After 1893 dozens of arts and crafts societies were formed across the nation. The years between the 1901 Pan-American Exposition in Buffalo, NY, and the outbreak of World War I in1916 are often referred to as the "Craftsman Movement." The movement was named after the *Craftsman* magazine, which was the voice of a generation of designers who established a severe geometric style of furniture and ornamentation and the rise of the Prairie school of architecture. Architecture in California, moving away from the Queen Anne style of the late Victorian period, was seeing the influence of young eastern architects. Ernest Coxhead and his young protégé, Bernard Maybeck, were designing simple, shingle-clad houses in San Francisco and Berkeley. Dedicated to the work of Maybeck, Charles Keeler wrote in The Simple Home in 1904, "The ideal home is one in which the family may be most completely sheltered to develop love, graciousness and individuality, and which is at the same time most accessible to friends, toward whom hospitality is as unconscious and spontaneous as it is abundant."[116] This statement surely describes Carmel's architecture and society during this formative period.

By the 1940s, Carmel was comprised of a conglomeration of architectural styles, and the village was known world-wide for the uniqueness of its building stock. Yet, despite a history of local acceptance of designs wrought by quirky individualism, the Modern movement was initially met with resistance. By 1950 Modern architectural styles had gained enough visibility in Carmel to draw both scorn and acclaim from village citizens. A press release from September of that year summarized the extent of the distaste for the movement in its title, "Modern Style in Carmel Brings Cries of Anguish."[117] Even local poet, Robinson Jeffers, chimed in: "Motors and modernist houses usurp the scene."[118] Those who were accustomed to Carmel's distinctive pitched roofs and vernacular construction considered the horizontality and manufactured materials of the Modern design vocabulary an affront to tradition. Merchants, especially, were hyper-conscious of the power that story-book-style buildings had in luring tourists through their doors; to these shopkeepers, Modern architecture was a potential impediment to business. Conversely, in the spirit of a village known for avant-garde thought, many residents welcomed the novelty and ingenuity of Modern buildings. To these residents, the practical functionality and minimalism of designs provided a welcome respite from the buildings that dated to earlier periods in Carmel's history. Either way, Modernism was triumphant, as Carmel saw the construction of an incalculable number of Modern-style buildings between the years of 1940 and 1986.

5.2 Geographic Development and Expansion

As related in Chapter 3, Carmel City was the vision of Santiago Duckworth who purchased part of Las Manzanitas Rancho from Honoré Escolle in 1888. Located in the northeastern portion of Carmel-by-the-Sea, Duckworth subdivided 164 acres bounded by Monte Verde, Pescadero Canyon and First Street, Monterey Street, and Ocean Avenue. The 1888 grid overlaid small lots across slopes, canyons, and forests. In 1902, Devendorf and Powers took over the unsold land from Duckworth and formed the Carmel Development Company, which re-subdivided the Carmel City tract. Powers also brought up a number of adjoining tracts owned by Honoré Escolle, V.D. Moody, portions of the Mission Ranch from the Martin heirs, the P.H. Sheridan property, 702 lots from Dr. Saunders, and land previously owned by the San Francisco Pacific Glass Works. People often purchased multiple lots.

The early subdivision maps greatly influenced the later character of Carmel. The 1888 grid overlaid slope, canyons, and forests, and street routes were adjusted to fit the topography and to avoid trees. Drainage systems and the street layout were designed in a non-urbanized manner.

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[116] Keeler is quoted in Robert Judson Clark's *The Arts and Crafts Movement in America 1876-1916*, p. 81.
[117] "Modern Style in Carmel Brings Cries of Anguish," *Monterey Peninsula Herald,* 9 September 1950.
[118] Harold and Ann Gilliam, Creating Carmel: The Enduring Vision, 1992.

In the 1920s, many cities across the nation responded to the City Beautiful Movement by instituting city planning measures. Having formed a Planning Commission in 1922, Carmel was in the forefront of this movement. The original members of this commission were Dr. Alfred Burton, Susan Creighton, Thomas B. Reardon, Charles Sumner Greene, and Jessie A. Botke. In 1923, the first rudimentary zoning ordinances were passed by the city. The city adopted its first comprehensive zoning ordinance on March 2, 1925, which was the first ordinance to prohibit most non-residential uses from the residential zone. At this time fewer than 500 cities in the country had adopted zoning ordinances and it was not until 1926 that zoning was upheld as constitutional by the U.S. Supreme Court. On June 5, 1929, a new simpler zoning plan was adopted that began with the now famous preamble by City Attorney Argyll Campbell: "The City of Carmel-by-the-Sea is hereby determined to be primarily, essentially, and predominantly a residential City wherein business and commerce have in the past, and now, and are proposed to be in the future, subordinated to its residential character." This ordinance defined the commercial district and helped shape and sustain Carmel's unique character.

As the population of the town increased, the lands adjoining the original subdivisions were supplemented by a number of additions made between 1905 and 1922:

> Addition #1, 1905, generally bounded by Monte Verde Street, Santa Lucia Avenue, San Antonio Avenue, and Ocean Avenue (formerly the Sheridan property)
> Addition #2, 1916 (surveyed 1906), bounded by Mission Street, Santa Lucia Avenue, Casanova Street, and Twelfth Avenue (the northern portion of John Martin's Mission Ranch)
> Addition #3, 1907, bounded by Monte Verde Street, Ocean Avenue, San Antonio Avenue, and Second Avenue (a portion of the Murphy ranch purchased by Powers in 1904)
> Addition #4, 1908, generally bounded by Junipero Avenue, Third Avenue, Monte Verde Street, and a zig-zag line beginning at the intersection of Monte Verde and Second and continuing northeast in block increments to Alta Avenue
> Addition #5, 1910, known as the Eighty Acres, generally bounded by Forest Road, Eleventh and Twelfth Avenues, Junipero Avenue, and Ocean Avenue
> Addition #6, 1910, bounded by San Antonio Avenue, Santa Lucia Avenue, Scenic Road, and Eighth Avenue
> Addition #7, about 1911, part of the Martin Ranch that included Point Loeb (Carmel Point), bounded by Carmelo, Santa Lucia, and Scenic Drive (outside Carmel's southern city limits)
> Addition #8, 1922, generally bounded by San Antonio Avenue, Eighth Avenue, Del Mar Avenue, and Ocean Avenue

Other subdivisions included Paradise Park, between Forest Avenue and the City limits, which was subdivided in 1918 but remained undeveloped until the 1940s. Del Monte Properties opened the Carmel Woods area for development in the 1920s. The Walker Tract adjacent to the Eighty Acres was subdivided in the 1920s. On September 3, 1950 the City Council purchased the beach and lagoon that stretched from the end of the city limits to the Carmel River.[119]

A resource for tracking development patterns is Sanborn Fire Insurance maps published by the Sanborn Fire Insurance Company. In addition to earlier maps, Carmel was surveyed by the Sanborn Company in 1910, 1922, 1930, and 1962. For the most part, the areas to the east of Junipero Avenue were not surveyed by the Sanborn Company; the exception was a rectangular section bounded by Third Avenue to the north, Ninth Avenue to the south, Junipero Avenue to the west and Guadalupe Street to the east. Despite the thirty-two-year gap, a comparison of the 1930 and 1962 maps is important in understanding how the city grew during those three decades. In 1930, most blocks were only partially developed, with

[119] Sydney Temple, Carmel-by-the-Sea from Aborigines to Coastal Commission, 1987.

the exception of the Ocean Avenue commercial district where nearly all parcels contained a building. The 1922 subdivision north of Third Avenue was the least developed, with an average of seven residences per block. The residences north of Ocean Avenue were generally small, square or rectangular dwellings of a single story in height. South of Ocean, the residences were larger and had more irregular footprints.

Remarkably, the majority of homes extant in 1931 were still standing in 1962. Approximately sixty-seven residential buildings and twenty-five commercial or institutional buildings disappeared, either through demolition or accidental loss – a very low average for such a lengthy span of time. Most of the residences were located near Ocean Avenue and were replaced by commercial buildings. Equally notable, Carmel experienced vigorous development during this period with the addition of over six-hundred residences. In 1962 almost every parcel was developed, and many parcels had been subdivided to allow the construction of additional residences. The subdivision north of Third Avenue was still sparsely developed and the parcels were generally larger than those in other areas. Many new residences were constructed with detached guest houses or outbuildings.

5.3 Builders and Architects

The tradition of designer-builders began with Delos Goldsmith, who was responsible for the construction of many of the buildings in Carmel before the turn of the century. However, M.J. Murphy and Hugh Comstock were responsible for giving Carmel its unique architectural character.

When Devendorf and Powers took over the development of Carmel, prefabricated cottages from San Francisco were offered as a low-cost housing alternative. After materials for one hundred cottages failed to show up in 1904, Devendorf hired Michael J. Murphy to take charge of the building for the Carmel Development Company. Murphy went on to become the most prolific designer-builder in the history of Carmel, with the Pine Inn, Highlands Inn, La Playa Hotel, Sundial Lodge, Harrison Memorial Library, several notable commercial buildings, and about 350 houses to his credit. He also worked with Robinson Jeffers on the Tor House. It is estimated that about 80% of the homes in Carmel were designed or constructed by Murphy by the 1930s.[120] Never a proponent of a particular style, Murphy designed buildings to suit his client's taste, often in currently popular styles. His earliest homes were late Victorian cottages and Craftsman bungalows. Born June 26, 1885, in Mendon, Utah, Murphy first came to Carmel on a visit in 1900. In 1914 he established M.J. Murphy Inc., an enterprise which sold building supplies, provided rock crushing services and concrete work, and operated a lumber mill and cabinet shop located between San Carlos and Mission. When Murphy retired in 1941, Carmel lost its first and most important master builder.

Earl Percy Parkes was a building contractor who moved to Carmel in 1919; he worked as a contractor, designer and builder and kept an office in the Parkes Building on Dolores Street south of Ocean Avenue. Parkes is credited as the builder of the Seven Arts Building southwest of Ocean Avenue and Lincoln Street, the Mary Dummage Shop southwest of Ocean and Dolores, and several other commercial buildings and residences, many of which were designed in the Spanish Colonial Revival style.[121] He built a residence for Jo Mora on San Carlos 3 southwest of First Avenue, and a home for Charles Sumner Greene on Monte Verde between Thirteenth and Santa Lucia Avenues.[122]

Hugh Comstock developed the "Fairy Tale" style with which Carmel has become closely identified. Born in Evanston, Illinois, in 1893, Comstock moved to Santa Rosa with his family in 1907. In 1924, he came to Carmel to visit his sister, artist Catherine Seideneck, where he met and married Mayotta Brown. The

[120] Carmel Inventory of Historic Resources.
[121] Janick, Richard N. *Percy Parkes Building* (DPR523 Form), 2002.
[122] *Carmel Pine Cone*, 7 April 1921, p.1; *Carmel Pine Cone*, 18 March 1920, p.3.

newlyweds decided to remain in Carmel where Mayotta had a successful doll-making business. Comstock's career as a designer-builder began when his wife asked him to build a cottage for her dolls. The "Doll's House" became the first of many Fairy Tale style cottages he would design and build. Several commercial buildings, including the Tuck Box on Dolores and the old Monterey County Trust on Dolores near Seventh (now the China Art Building), remain as good examples of his work. Comstock also designed buildings in many of the traditional styles of the 1920s and 1930s. After World War II, Comstock developed the post-adobe system of construction, which he described as "simplified adobe construction combining a rugged timber frame and modern stabilized adobe."[123] Though never having received a degree in architecture, Comstock was described by the *Monterey Peninsula Herald* as one of Carmel's most influential architects.[124]

Carmel's most famous resident architect, Charles Sumner Greene, who made significant contributions to California architecture in the early part of the century, moved to Carmel in 1916. Greene, along with his brother Henry Mather Greene, established the architectural firm of Greene and Greene in Pasadena in 1893. Together, the brothers developed and refined the Craftsman style of architecture into high art. D.L. James engaged Charles Greene in 1918 to design a home on a rocky bluff overlooking the Pacific Ocean south of Carmel; a year later he began a gradual withdrawal from the firm Greene and Greene and eventually made Carmel his permanent residence.[125] After building his own home and studio on Lincoln Street, Greene worked on commissions in Pebble Beach and the Fleishacker house in Woodside. He did the extensive remodeling of Spindrift, the Martin Flavin house in Carmel Highlands, and several homes in Carmel, since demolished. Greene also designed the War Memorial Arch on Ocean Avenue at San Carlos.

Robert Stanton was one of the few academically trained architects to practice in Carmel. A graduate of the University of California School of Architecture, he designed many notable buildings in the Monterey and Santa Cruz areas. He was born in Torrance, California, and worked for the architect Wallace Neff as a traveling superintendent until 1934. At that time, he moved to Pebble Beach, having developed a liking for the area during his honeymoon at the Highland Inn twelve years earlier. Establishing his office in Carmel on the northeast corner of Lincoln and Ocean, his first local commission was the Salinas County Courthouse in 1935. He also designed sixteen hospitals and forty schools. His projects in Carmel include the Normandy Inn and All Saints Episcopal Church. His office later became Merle's Treasure Chest on the southeast corner of Lincoln and Ocean.

Other builders and contractors active in the early decades of the twentieth century included Artie Bowen, George Mark Whitcomb, A.C. Stoney, Meese and Briggs, Percy Parkes, Fred Bigland, Lee Gottfried, Perry Newberry, and Donald Hale. Dene Denny and Hazel Watrous constructed seven houses in Carmel Woods. Most of the builder/designers lived in Carmel and were also active in other aspects of the village's development. Prominent architects who worked in Carmel include C.J. Ryland, who designed the Sunset Center, Milton Latham, Albert Farr, Mark Daniels, Guy O. Koepp, Bernard Maybeck, Willis Polk, and William Wurster.

Though Modern-style buildings were the most likely designs to appear between 1940 and 1986, other styles appeared as well. Notable examples include George Whitcomb's Tudor Revival Etting House on Camino Real and Sixth Avenue that was designed in 1941; a Cape Cod bungalow at Carpenter Street and Fifth Avenue was designed in 1951; a post-adobe residence, the L.L. Spillers Guest Cottage at Carpenter Street and Third Avenue, was designed in 1951 by William Cranston; the Ranch-style Ernest Bixler

[123] Hugh W. Comstock, *Post-Adobe*.
[124] Dorothy Stephenson, "Carmel's Architecture Both Interesting and Livable," 1 June 1970.
[125] Note that D.L. James always went by D.L.; Daniel James was his son.

House at Sixth Avenue and Forest Road was designed in 1954; and the Spinning Wheel Restaurant on Monte Verde Street south of Ocean Avenue was designed in the Monterey Revival style in 1952.

As a strong testament to the prominence of the Modernist architectural idiom that emerged in Carmel in the post-war era, some of the movement's most recognized names designed buildings locally. Frank Lloyd Wright designed a house on the coast for Mrs. Clinton (Della) Walker, which was completed in 1952.[126] Premier Bay Region architect, Gardner A. Dailey designed a home for himself on Ocean and Forest Road in 1945. William Wurster of the San Francisco firm Wurster Bernardi and Emmons designed the Nelson Nowell House on Scenic between Tenth and Eleventh in 1947-48 and the Dr. Albert K. Merchant House on Scenic and Eleventh in 1961-62. Though not necessarily recognizable on the national stage, architects well-regarded in California also designed buildings in Carmel. Albert Henry Hill, promoter of the Second Bay Region Tradition, designed multiple homes in Carmel, including the following: Chazen Residence on Scenic between Ocean and Eighth in 1948; a second house for himself and his family on Lopez Avenue in 1961; the Mr. and Mrs. Irving Fisk House on Lopez in 1961 (with partner John Kruse); the Vivian Homes House on Mountain View and Santa Fe in 1962 (with John Kruse); and the Vivian Homes II House on Torres and Ninth in 1963. Mark Mills, a Taliesin Fellow in the 1940s, designed the Mills House on Mission and Thirteenth in 1952-53; the Walker Spec House on Rio Road and Junipero in 1951-52; and the Mr. and Mrs. William Junk House on San Carlos and Thirteenth in 1965. Additional notable architects who designed buildings in Carmel between 1940 and 1965 include Hugh Comstock, Jon Konigshofer, Clarence Mayhew, and Marcel Sedletzky.

Prominent architects and designers who worked in Carmel in the post-war era include Carl Bensberg, Will Shaw, Walter Burde, William L. Cranston and Thomas S. Elston, Olaf Dalhstrand, Gardner Dailey, Lee Gottfried, Roger Gottfried, Albert Henry Hill, James Heisinger, Sr., Robert Jones, Jon Konigshofer, Fred Keeble, John 'Jack' Kruse, Frank Lloyd, Rowan Maiden, Clarence Mayhew, Mark Mills, James Pruitt, Guy Rosebrook, Marcel Sedletzky, Edwin Lewis Snyder, Robert Stanton, Robert A. Stephenson, George Thomson, George Willox, Frank Wynkoop, and landscape architect Thomas Church. Some architects spanned the pre- and post-war era such as William Wurster. This was also true for builder Miles Bain and contractor George Mark Whitcomb. Father and son, Richard Bixler and Ernest Bixler were prominent builder/contractors in Carmel in the 1940s and 1950s.

It is worthy of note that a number of prominent Carmelite architects, designers and builders created homes for themselves in Carmel-by-the-Sea, including but not limited to: Ernest S. Bixler, Gardner Dailey, Albert Henry Hill, Frank Lloyd, William A. Smith, Robert A. Stephenson, and Helen T. Warren. See Appendix 9.9 for biographical information on architects working in Carmel, 1940-1986.

5.4 Architectural Styles

This section has been augmented to include both a narrative presentation of the primary architectural movements that developed in Carmel-by-the-Sea and to develop an analytical framework for evaluating buildings constructed between 1935 and 1986. After a brief discussion of commercial architectural styles, the various architectural movements affecting residential design are presented. The final section presents an analysis of Carmel architectural styles from 1935 to 1986 and includes photographs, lists of character defining features and representative examples.

Commercial Architectural Styles

[126] PAST Consultants, LLC, *Mrs. Clinton Walker House, National Register of Historic Places Registration Form*, 2017, 6. The Keeper of the National Register formally listed the building in 2017.

Commercial buildings in the business district display wide architectural variations. Generally, buildings are one to two stories in height and form contiguous street faces, interrupted by frequent courtyards. Intercommunication between courtyards is possible in several places. Commercial uses occupy the ground levels, with upper stories frequently used for office or residential space. Window boxes, decorative paving, and other urban design amenities are frequently employed.

The oldest buildings in the business district, although remodeled, retain features associated with the Italianate and commercial false front styles typical of late nineteenth and early twentieth century American "Main Street" vernacular. These include second-story bay windows, double-hung sash windows, remnants of board-and-batten and tongue-and-groove siding, quoins, and paneled and glazed doors. The building housing the Carmel Bakery, located on the south side of Ocean Avenue between Lincoln and Dolores Streets, exhibits these characteristics. However, it was the construction that took place in the 1920s, under the influence of architectural revival styles, which left the most lasting imprint on the character of the business district. Both the Spanish Colonial Revival and the Tudor Revival were widely employed. Beyond the usual Spanish stylistic trademarks of stuccoed exteriors or tiled roofs, Carmel's many Spanish styled buildings feature ornate wrought iron and carved wood detailing, generous use of colorful glazed tile for staircase risers, dados, fountains, planters, and backsplashes, patios and courtyards spaces, arcades, and towers. Tudor Revival buildings typically feature characteristic half-timbering and gabled rooflines.

Residential Architectural Styles

Carmel is essentially a residential community with single-family homes as the most prevalent property type. Residential neighborhoods surround the business district and display a wide architectural variety due to age, aesthetic and architectural preferences, lot size, building siting, and the subordination of buildings to nature. Architects' and builders' response to Carmel's unique location, with its hilly and wooded terrain facing the Pacific Ocean, has continuously resulted in creative approaches to the placement of the building within its environment. No tracts of similar homes were constructed in Carmel, and not one block was constructed in a single period of time. Early in the City's development, a taste for simplicity, often articulated by the use of shingles or board-and-batten siding, transcends the divisions of time and architectural fashions. Other features which regularly appear regardless of architectural style include "Dutch" doors, which can be opened on the top and left closed on the bottom, and the use of the local chalkrock or Carmel stone for chimneys, paving, garden walls, and exteriors. An adjunct to many houses figuring prominently in the streetscapes of Carmel is a detached single garage, usually front-gabled, sided with board-and-batten, entered via an arched vehicular door, and set close to the street.

Many of the earliest homes built in Devendorf's and Powers' Carmel-by-the-Sea were one story cottages typical of turn of the century housing elsewhere in the country. A hipped roof and box-like proportions are the hallmarks of this genre. They could be sided with narrow or medium clapboard, shingles, or clear heart redwood board and batten. Typical features include bay windows on the front or sides, porches attached to the façade or tucked into one corner, and double-hung or fixed sash windows with decorative patterns of muntins in the smaller upper sash. Details of such cottages related them either to the Victorian era Queen Anne style, the Colonial Revival style (enclosed soffits, frieze and endboards) or the Craftsman style (exposed rafters in the eaves, tripartite windows). Turn of the century cottages of these types were built through the first decade of the twentieth century.

The Craftsman style was an expression of the philosophy of the Craftsman movement, with the American adaptation of the English Arts and Crafts Movement, which had crystallized around William Morris in the second half of the nineteenth century. Popularized in this country with Gustav Stickley and his *Craftsman* magazine, and in California by the work of architects such as Bernard Maybeck, Julia Morgan and the brothers Charles and Henry Greene. Craftsman homes were characterized by horizontality of

proportions, seen in the spreading lines of low-pitched, overhanging gable roofs and informal building plans; reliance on the honest use of materials such as wood, brick, and stone and undisguised structural elements such as exposed beams, braces, and rafters for architectural beauty; and enjoyment of the natural setting through porches, outdoor spaces, and the clustering of windows into horizontal bands. The architectural precedents for Craftsman homes were the wood traditions of Japan and India, as well as past styles such as the American Colonial and the English Tudor. Typical features of Craftsman homes in Carmel include stucco or shingle siding, "L: or "U" shaped plans which enclose a patio, and windows—either sliding, hinged casement, or double-hung sash in operation—which are framed by extended lintels and sills. The heyday of Craftsman building in Carmel lasted from about 1905 into the early 1920s.

Both the aesthetic characteristics of the Craftsman style, and its philosophical underpinnings, which linked it to progressive political, social, and artistic movements in the early twentieth century, made it popular with Carmel's academic, literary, and artistic residents. The Craftsman style and the emerging popularity of architectural revivals, particularly those based on medieval England, set the stage for a burst of individualism and creativity in Carmel during the 1920s. Hugh Comstock, with his fanciful Tudor cottages, was the most visible manifestation of this period. Steep gables, decorative half-timbering set on stuccoed surfaces, and diamond-paned windows were some of the characteristics of this deliberately picturesque mode of design. Some builders expressed themselves through their choice of materials—clothing an entire building in bark or the local Carmel stone—while others whimsically combined features associated with several styles on a single home to create a unique and eclectic whole. For example, heavy wooden lintels that suggest adobe construction would be incorporated into a home whose other details were derived from an English manor.

In the 1920s and 1930s a taste of revivalism in architecture swept the country. The English, French, Spanish, Italian, and early American countryside were explored for architectural inspiration. This fashion coincided in Carmel with an increase in building of summer homes by the well-to-do, as well as with new demands for traditional amenities by year-round residents. Most of Carmel's larger homes date from this era. English homes were inspired by a variety of precedents. Tudor homes were usually stuccoed, half-timbered, and gabled. Cotswold houses mimicked thatched roofs with rolled eaves and shingled surfaces. English Revival homes could be sided with stucco, shakes, or even board and batten or Carmel stone and usually had at least one arched opening, often a front door. The French Revival could be distinguished from the English by the use of hipped roofs and the occasional incorporation of turreted bays. Spanish and Italian Revival houses adhered to the Mediterranean customs of stucco sheathing, tile roofs, and arched opening. American Colonial Revival homes could look to the Cape Cod tradition of New England, with side gabled volumes faced with shingles and pierced by a symmetrical arrangement or neatly framed opening. Regionally popular styles such as the Monterey Revival, usually recognized by a second story balcony across the façade, or the Pueblo Revival, characterized by flat-roofed, cubic massing, were also occasionally attempted.

Simplified traditional styles during the 1930s and into the onset of the World War II include the Minimal Traditional style (1935-1950), which emerged during the years of the Depression as the Federal Housing Administration established national criteria for inexpensive homes. Houses built in this style generally reflect traditional forms but lack decorative detailing or enrichment. Roof pitches tend to be low or intermediate rather than steep, and eaves are narrow rather than overhanging. Built nationwide in great numbers before World War II up until circa 1950, in Carmel these houses are commonly wood-framed and wood-clad, with a brick or Carmel stone chimney. Regional architects such as Edwin Lewis Snyder, Robert Stanton and Julia Morgan experimented in the style, with several examples listed on the City's Historic Resources Inventory.

Characteristics of the California Ranch style (1935-1970), which originated in California, include asymmetrical single-story forms, low-pitched roofs, wide overhanging eaves, and modest traditional

detailing, typically decorative iron or wooden porch supports, ribbon windows and decorative shutters. Period detailing can include elements of the Spanish Colonial- and Monterey Colonial-revival styles, such as partially enclosed courtyards or patios, or a continuous front veranda on plain or decorated columns. The private outdoor living areas to the rear of the house are a direct contrast to the large front and side porches of most late nineteenth and early twentieth century styles. In Carmel, the California Ranch style is also expressed using the Post-adobe construction method pioneered by Hugh Comstock in the late 1940s.

Buildings in postwar modernist styles migrate to Carmel largely from the San Francisco Bay Area and Southern California, as architects received commissions to design vacation or second homes for their urban clients. A visual presentation of these styles follows this section and includes examples of some of the City's most unusual residences. Carmel's unique topography and climate has resulted in many idiosyncratic examples of modernist styles, such as the Bay Region Modern and Organic styles. Constraints derived from Carmel's narrow hillside and/or wooded lots have resulted in singular examples by leading modernist architects, designing in the Bay Region Modern, Organic and Expressionist styles.

The Bay Region Modern style represents Carmel's unique development of the Second and Third Bay Region styles. This warmer and rustic variation of the colder and more austere Modern styles has been described under multiple labels: Bay Area, Bay Area Regionalism, San Francisco Bay Regionalism, Bay Region, post-war Bay Region and Bay Tradition. The style was not officially named until October 11, 1947, when Lewis Mumford, author of the New Yorker column *Skyline*, described a new phenomenon occurring on the West Coast:

> I look for the continuous spread, to every part of our country, of that native and humane form of modernism, which one might call the Bay Region Style, a free yet unobstructed expression of the terrain, the climate, and the way of life on the Coast.[127]

In its infancy, Bay Region was little more than a movement or an "attitude" rather than a formal style. Architectural historian David Gebhard qualifies three loosely defined schools of the Bay Region style: The principle adherents of the First Bay Tradition, also identified as the Arts & Crafts or Craftsman Style, (1890-1930) were A. Page Brown, Ernest Coxhead, Bernard Maybeck, Willis Polk, and John Galen Howard, among others. The principals of the Second Bay Tradition (1930s-1959) were William Wurster, Joseph Esherick, John Dinwiddie, and Gardner Dailey. Charles Moore and his contemporaries defined the Third Bay Tradition (1960 onward). For purposes of defining Carmel's modernist architectural styles, the Second and Third Bay traditions have been classified into a single style, the Bay Region Modern style, that has been continuously developed into the 1980s.[128]

The Bay Region Modern style became somewhat formalized when this loosely-knit group of architects in California's San Francisco Bay Area redefined Modern designs to include natural, local materials. The plentiful stock of redwood in Northern California made this an obvious choice for structural and aesthetic elements. The result was a softer expression of Modernism that was sensitive to California's unique natural setting, yet still incorporated key principles of the Modern movement, such as clean lines, strong horizontals, and open and airy designs. For proponents of Bay Regionalism, the site – topography, vegetation, viewshed – drove both the form and materials of the building. A Bay Region building was viewed as an organic extension of nature. Large expanses of glass window walls, sliding doors and

[127] David Gebhard, Roger Montgomery, Robert Winter, John Woodbridge, and Sally Woodbridge. *A Guide to Architecture in San Francisco & Northern California,* 1973.
[128] David Gebhard, Roger Montgomery, Robert Winter, John Woodbridge, and Sally Woodbridge. *A Guide to Architecture in San Francisco & Northern California,* 1973.

partitions, and lofty ceilings allowed the outdoors to flow flawlessly into the interior living spaces. In a place like Carmel where the natural environment reigned supreme, the Bay Region was a perfect fit.

Bay Region Modern buildings in Carmel share similar characteristics, such as irregular-shaped plans; sharp, angular forms and irregular massing; vertical board and batten, shiplap, or shingle cladding; local stone cladding; plate-glass window walls; skylights; flat, low-pitched gable or shed, A-frame, or inverted, butterfly-shaped roofs; wind screens; terraces and decks; and ample gardens and garden courts. The use of traditional materials within a Modern architectural vocabulary is common. The integration of house, setting and landscape is a critical consideration.

Another variation of the Modern architectural style appeared in Carmel in the late 1940s and early 1950s. The Wrightian Organic style, was realized in Carmel by adherents of Frank Lloyd Wright, and includes architects Mark Mills (a Taliesin fellow), Albert Henry Hill, Rowan Maiden, Jon Konigshofer and Olaf Dahlstrand. The most recognizable characteristic of Wrightian architecture found in Carmel is dramatic roof forms sheltering buildings constructed of natural materials. Influenced by Frank Lloyd Wright's Organic design principles, Carmel architect Jon Konigshofer pioneered the "hillside house," a residence designed specifically to fit into a hilly, wooded lot. A typical design would place the driveway at the top of the site, with an integrated carport serving as the building's entrance. Living spaces would be developed downhill, with open views out to the landscape. In the absence of a flat site, the hillside house utilized substantial, cantilevered decks to provide private outdoor space.

Leading shelter magazines, including *Sunset Magazine, The Architectural Record and House Beautiful* featured stories on the hillside house. On the West Coast, the hillside house became a distinct type of house design, as promoted by the shelter magazines. In the 1950s, *Sunset Magazine* published *Sunset Ideas for Hillside Homes*, an architectural pattern book featuring designs of hillside homes by leading West Coast architects. Jon Konigshofer's typical hillside design, as evidenced by the 1948 Keith Evans House (on the Historic Resources Inventory), was featured in several editions of this publication.[129]

Initially, locals pondered the unusual designs; however, Carmel's modernist buildings received favorable regional and national reviews. Popular shelter magazines, such as *Sunset, Good Housekeeping* and the *Architectural Record* began featuring Carmel's modern buildings. A 1948 newspaper article noted: "Carmel architecture is holding the spotlight in a number of publications of nation-wide circulation these days…Sunset magazine has already featured the Konigshofer residence and has a layout on the Ford home scheduled soon."[130]

Continuing into the 1970s and 1980s, architects such as Walter Burde, Will Shaw and Mark Mills designed buildings in various modernist styles, including the Organic and Bay Region Modern styles. More recent architects, such as John Thodos updated the Bay Region Modern style by incorporating transparent rooms of glass, with mitered corners to almost completely merge interior and exterior space.

[129] The 1956 printing of *Sunset Ideas for Hillside Homes* features the Keith Evans House on page 5.
[130] Dorothy Stephenson, "Carmel Architecture Gets Wide Publicity," *Monterey Peninsula Herald*, 5/29/48.

5.4.1 A Visual Presentation of Architectural Styles: 1935 - 1986

A visual presentation of Carmel architectural styles from 1935 to 1986 appears below and covers prewar styles such as Minimal Traditional and California Ranch, as well as modernist architectural styles that continue to be employed today.[131] Seven architectural styles are represented by this time period:

1. Minimal Traditional Style (1935-1950)
2. California Ranch Style (1940-1970)
3. Bay Region Modern Style (1940-1986)
4. Postwar Modern Style (1945-1960)
5. Wrightian Organic Style (1945-1986)
6. Regional Expressionist Style (1945-1986)
7. Post-Adobe Style (1948-1970)

For each architectural style, photographs of typical examples are provided, along with character defining features and representative buildings. Whenever possible, buildings listed on the Historic Resources Inventory have been featured. However, not all pictured or "representative" buildings are listed, as some styles are not yet well represented on the Inventory. The inclusion of a property in the Historic Context Statement does not automatically indicate it will be listed on the Inventory.

[131] The date ranges provided for various styles are general rather than absolute ranges.

Minimal Traditional Style (1935-1950)



Minimal Traditional house (1935) at Guadalupe Street and Sixth Avenue.



Pope House (1940) by Julia Morgan at 2981 Franciscan Way.



Minimal Traditional house (1944) at Santa Fe Street and First Avenue.



Alta R. Jensen House (1947) by Edwin Lewis Snyder at Torres Street 5 NE of Eighth Avenue.

Introduction

To stimulate the faltering housing industry during the Depression, the Federal Housing Administration (FHA) released several publications for the development of inexpensive and easily constructible homes. A typical Minimal Traditional house bears a rectangular plan, a simple gable or hipped roofline, sparse ornamentation, a small wood porch on square columns, multi-pane windows and wood siding. In Carmel, the style may also feature gable-on-wing in massing, a well-crafted brick or Carmel-stone chimney, and may contain exposed knee braces and corner windows in anticipation of the Modern movement.

Character Defining Features

- Single-story rectangular plan
- Side-gable, hipped or gable-on-wing massing
- Wood clapboard, board-and-batten or shingle wall cladding
- Small front porch on square columns or Modernist knee braces
- Multiple-light wood-sash windows; may contain corner windows
- Some examples may feature a Carmel stone or brick chimney

Representative Buildings

- Dr. Emma W. Pope House, Julia Morgan (1940)
- Paul Stoney House (1940)
- Alta R. Jensen House, Edwin Lewis Snyder (1947)
- Harry Turner Jr. House (1948)

California Ranch Style (1935-1970)



California Ranch house (1947) at 2960 Santa Lucia Avenue.



California Ranch house (1961) at 25985 Ridgewood Road.

Introduction

The California Ranch style became the ubiquitous postwar style in the United States. The style occurs in large numbers in the California suburbs, where vast swaths of farmland were redeveloped into housing. Popular trade journals, such as *Sunset Magazine*, presented architect-designed ranch houses that extolled the benefits of combined indoor and outdoor living. In Carmel, California Ranch houses utilize the typical street-facing horizontal ranch form and turn it within the lot to take advantage of the city's narrow-but-deep lot configuration. Earlier Carmel ranch houses are designed with Monterey- or Spanish Revival detailing. Carmel Ranch houses may be constructed using adobe walls or the post-adobe construction method.

Character Defining Features

- Low-slung, single-story, horizontal massing
- Gable, hipped or flat roofs, often with incorporated porch
- Wood-framed and sheathed, post-adobe, or adobe wall construction
- Carport or garage (attached or detached)
- Fenestration may consist of wood, aluminum, or steel-framed windows
- Wide brick, adobe or Carmel stone chimneys
- Applied ornamentation in period revival styles (Spanish, Colonial and Monterey Colonial styles)

Representative Buildings

There are early examples of the California Ranch style throughout the Village, including several in the vicinity of Ridgewood Road and Lausen Drive, where development followed Suburban design principles. However, the style is not yet well represented on Carmel's Inventory of Historic Resources. The Inventory does list the Bauman House (1950).

Bay Region Modern Style (1940- 1986)[132]



Merchant House (1962) by William Wurster at Scenic Road and Eleventh Avenue.



Esther M. Hill House (1964) by Marcel Sedletzky at Scenic Road and Thirteenth Avenue.



Reflections (1968) by David Allen Smith for Burde Shaw & Associates at Dolores Street and Franciscan Way.



Golub House by Albert Henry Hill (1972) by Albert Henry Hill at San Antonio Street near Fourth Avenue.



Light House (1982/1997) by John Thodos on Scenic Road between Ocean and Eighth Avenue.[133]



Thodos House (2006) by John Thodos at Torres Street 3 SE of Third Avenue.[134]

[132] Note the Bay Region Style in ongoing; however, this document does not include a study of the post-1986 period.
[133] Photo by Wayne Thom, used with permission. The Light House was constructed in 1982, burned in 1994, and was rebuilt in 1997.
[134] Photo by Patrick Tregenza, used with permission.

Introduction

The Bay Region Modern style includes the Second and Third Bay Region styles as they migrated from the San Francisco Bay area through individual designs by important regional architects and subsequently practiced by Carmel's local architects. The Second Bay Region style departed from the rigid expression of the International Style's "box within a landscape" and expressed volume using the vernacular forms of California's agricultural buildings – primarily sheds, barns and ranches – what William Wurster called "Soft Modernism." Modernist design principles, such as integration of the building within the landscape, wide expanses of glass and exposed structural framework were expressed using wood for structure, and particularly, exterior wall cladding.

Third Bay Region architects used the design idiom of the Second Bay Region, but expressed them in vertically oriented buildings with complex roof forms. In Carmel, Third Bay Region buildings prioritize views and often contain projecting shed-or flat-roofed volumes with decks or terraces. The Bay Region Modern style continued into the 1990s, with architects like John Thodos. Most examples are singular designs by leading regional architects. Buildings in this aesthetic continue to be designed today.

Character Defining Features

- Building integrated with surrounding landscape
- Landscape may be designed by a significant landscape architect
- Horizontal massing with low-pitched gable, hip or nearly flat roofs; or
- Vertical massing with flat or shed roofs
- Projecting shed or boxy volumes
- Exposed structural elements
- Wide expanses of glass set within wood frames
- Wood siding as exterior wall cladding

Representative Buildings

The Carmel Historic Resources Inventory (HRI) contains a number of buildings in the Bay Region style. Listed and significant examples include:

- Nelson Nowell House, William Wurster (1948)
- Merchant House, William Wurster (1961)
- Weekend House and Kruse House, Albert Henry Hill (1961)
- Esther M. Hill House, Marcel Sedletzky (1964)
- Reflections, David Allen Smith for Burde Shaw and Associates (1968)
- Golub House, Albert Henry Hill (1972)
- Thodos House, John Thodos (2006)

Postwar Modern Style (1945-1960)



Postwar Modern House (1948) at Torres Street 3 SE of Eighth Avenue.



Postwar Modern House (1952) at San Carlos Street 3 SE of Thirteenth Avenue.

Introduction

The Postwar Modern Style was a favorite of builders following World War II, when the American dream of home ownership became available for millions of returning veterans. In Carmel the flat-roofed version of the building type was the most prevalent. Building developer Frank Lloyd hired two architect veterans, Thomas Elston & William Cranston to draw plans for his firm. Elston & Cranston would become one of the major architectural firms in Carmel after 1950. The building form was an economic subtype of the American International Style, which was introduced to California in 1920s Los Angeles by Richard Neutra and Rudolph Schindler. Buildings resemble the International Style with flat roofs, and boxy massing, clad with wood, brick or stone. Almost always one-story, many have attached carports.

Character Defining Features

- Low-slung, single-story massing
- Low-pitched shed or gable roof, or flat roof, with wide eaves throughout
- Open roof overhangs
- Minimal exterior decoration
- Fenestration consisting of wood- or aluminum-framed windows
- Attached, flat- or shed-roofed wood carports common

Representative Buildings

A concentration of this house type occurs along Torres Street, where the firm of Elston & Cranston designed variations of the style. Other examples can also be found scattered about the City. However, the style is not yet well represented on Carmel's Inventory of Historic Resources. The Inventory does list the Thomas Elston House by Elston & Cranston (1948).

Wrightian Organic Style (1945-1986)



Keith Evans House (1948) by Jon Konigshofer at 2969 Franciscan Way.[135]



Mark Mills' Walker Spec House (1951) at Rio Road and Thirteenth Avenue.



Mrs. Clinton (Della) Walker House (1952) by Frank Lloyd Wright at Scenic Dr. near Santa Lucia Avenue.



Wells Fargo Bank (1965) by Olof Dahlstrand at San Carlos Street between Ocean and Seventh Avenues.

Introduction

In his 1939 book, *An Organic Architecture – The Architecture of Democracy*, Frank Lloyd Wright described his "organic" style, which dictated the harmony of the building with its natural environment; the use of regional and natural materials to relate the building to its setting; designs with low-pitched overhanging roofs to provide protection from the sun in the summer and to provide some weather protection in the winter; and the integration of interior and exterior space through expanses of glass and exterior decks or patios. In Carmel, Wrightian architects such as Mark Mills and Jon Konigshofer used these techniques to construct modernist buildings of local materials that take advantage of the hilly, wooded Carmel landscape.

[135] Photography courtesy of Google Street View, 2019.

Character Defining Features

- Irregular plans and asymmetrical composition
- Geometric, low-pitched roof expressions with wide overhangs and exposed structure
- Use of modernist construction methods but with natural and local materials
- Wide expanses of glass in wood or metal frames
- Clerestory windows
- Wood- or metal-framed fenestration
- Integrated landscape features of local materials
- Landscape may be designed by significant landscape architect

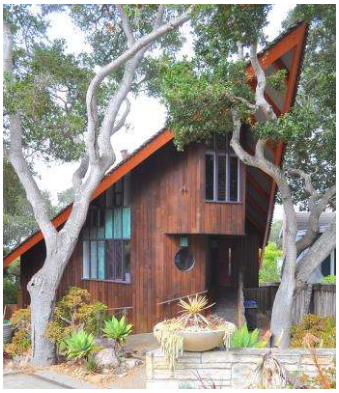
Representative Buildings

- Keith Evans House, Jon Konigshofer (1948)
- Dorothy Green Chapman House, Rowan Maiden (1949)
- Robert A. Stephenson House, Robert Stephenson (1949)
- Walker Spec House, Mark Mills (1951)
- Mills House, Mark Mills (1951)
- Mrs. Clinton (Della) Walker House, Frank Lloyd Wright (1952)

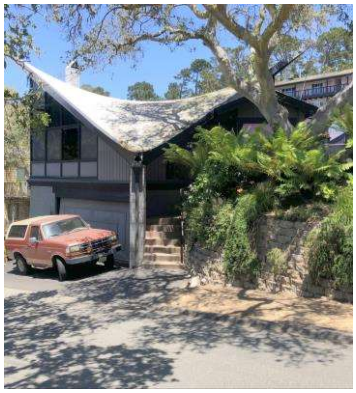
Regional Expressionist Style (1945-1986)



Butterfly House (1952) by Frank Wynkoop, at Scenic Road and Stewart Way.[136]



Cosmas House (1961) by Albert Henry Hill at Lopez Street between Second and Fourth Avenues.



Hofsas House (1965) by Ralph Stean, at Dolores Street and Fourth Avenue.

Introduction

Regional Expressionism applies new technologies and construction techniques to design modernist buildings that are attuned to Carmel's regional topography, geology and climate. With advances in concrete and metal technologies, rooflines soar with space-age forms, including butterfly, arched, serrated, airplane and parabolic. The structures beneath were expressed boldly and employed wide expanses of glass to view Carmel's varied and natural landscape.

Character Defining Features

- Irregular plans and forms addressing the immediate setting & its environment
- Soaring rooflines in butterfly, arched, serrated, airplane or parabolic shapes
- Exposed steel or wood structural system
- Wide expanses of glass in wood or metal frames
- Concrete and cement-block walls, integrated with patio and landscape features
- Landscape may be designed by a significant landscape architect

Representative Buildings

- Butterfly House, Frank Wynkoop (1952)
- Cosmas House, Albert Henry Hill (1961)
- Hofsas House, Ralph Stean (1965)

[136] Note that the Butterfly House is south of the City limits but within the Carmel-by-the-Sea sphere of influence and is pictured here to illustrate the Regional Expressionist Style.

Post-Adobe Style (1948-1970)



Post-Adobe house (1950) at Vizcaino Avenue and Flanders Way.



Post-Adobe House (1950) at Scenic Road and Eighth Avenue.



Carmel Village Inn (1954) by James Pruitt at NE Ocean and Junipero Avenues.



Carmel Red Cross Headquarters (1954) at SE Dolores Street and Eighth Avenue.

Introduction

Post-Adobe is both a building style and method-of-construction. Conceived by Carmel master builder Hugh Comstock in the late 1930s in anticipation of World War II building materials shortages, Comstock began constructing adobe homes while experimenting with waterproofing methods for his bricks. By 1940 he had developed a wall-framing method of Redwood posts infilled with waterproof adobe bricks, which also allowed for internal wiring and other infrastructure to be accommodated within the adobe walls. In Carmel and the region, the construction method was well suited for the California Ranch-style. In 1948, Hugh Comstock published his construction manual, *Post-Adobe: Carmel by the Sea*, detailing the construction method and offering a number of house plans for constructing the buildings.

Character Defining Features

- Building forms in Postwar architectural styles, notably Postwar Modern and California Ranch styles
- Roof forms may be gable, hip or flat
- Waterproof adobe bricks framed between redwood timbers; also used for adobe chimneys
- Fenestration includes either metal- or wood-framed casements or sash

Representative Buildings

- L.L. Spillers Guest Cottage, Elston & Cranston (1951)
- Carmel Village Inn, James Pruitt (1954)
- Carmel Red Cross Headquarters (1954)

5.5 Public and Domestic Landscaping

The garden was one of the most important contributions of the Arts and Crafts Movement to creating natural, unpretentious, and harmonious environments. According to the tenets of the movement, gardens were intended to express regional character, built from local materials and simple plants. They were meant to be used as outdoor rooms and places for growing productive plants. Ideally, Arts and Crafts gardens had an irregular path system through the landscape and conformed with the natural topography avoiding trees and natural rock outcrops. Bernard Maybeck and Charles Sumner Greene were important exponents of this type of garden.

The influence of the Arts and Crafts movement combined with the Carmelites' appreciation and enjoyment of the natural coastal environment is expressed in the prevalence of gardens, courtyards, and informally landscaped open space throughout the city. Most homes have some sort of outdoor living space, be it a paved terrace nestled between wings of the house or an area carpeted with pine needles set in amongst the trees. Pines, oaks, cypress, and other trees punctuate the lots, and flowers and vines grow, seemingly unchecked on and around them. No front lawns or sidewalks separate the properties from the streets; rather, garden fences of pickets, stakes, or stone blend in with the landscape. Since Carmel homes do not have addresses, signs with the owner's or the house's name are attached to fences, walls, or posts. Daisy F. Bostick and Dorothea Castelhun in their affectionate description of Carmel in 1925 state "The true Carmel garden knows no straight line nor conventional symmetry of arrangement."[137]

Public landscaping projects were promoted by Devendorf and Powers. Powers was a nature lover who took delight in planting trees in the village and often made gifts of seedlings to friends. Trees were not always planted in a random fashion, especially on commercial streets. In 1904, Devendorf had his Japanese work crew plant Monterey pine trees down the middle of Ocean Avenue and a boardwalk was built on both sides, affording some relief to shoppers from the dust in the summer and the mud in the winter. Two years later Scenic Road and San Antonio Avenue were planted with cypress trees. Devendorf also gave children a one-cent piece to plant seedlings.

In 1921, a group of prominent citizens lobbied the city to purchase 15 acres of dunes from James Devendorf to preserve it for the future. The price was set at $15,000 and the voters approved the purchase by the city. The purchase included the dunes and beach and Block 69, now Devendorf Park. For a considerable time Block 69 served a multitude of uses—polo field, horseshoe pit, campground, and fairground. Unfortunately, most of the time it was either a dust bowl in summer or a quagmire in winter. By 1928, it became apparent that beautification could be realized through the support of the clubs and organizations. The development of Devendorf Park was accomplished by the city in 1932.[138]

In the early 1940s, a City Council with a majority of Carmelites from the "artistic element" voted to abolish parking on the median of Ocean Avenue. Nationally renowned landscape architect Thomas Church redesigned the median with stone walls, shrubs, and flowers.[139]

One of the leading American modernist landscape architects active from the 1930s to the 1970s, Thomas Church is known for his pioneering modern garden designs that were appropriated to the local environment and climate. His design approach influenced the next generation of landscape architects, including Garrett Eckbo, Robert Royston, Lawrence Halprin, Theodore Osmundson, and Douglas Baylis,

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[137] Daisy F. Bostick and Dorothea Castelhun, *Carmel at Work and Play*, p. 30.
[138] Sharron Hale, *A Tribute to Yesterday*, p. 55.
[139] Harold and Ann Gilliam, Creating Carmel: The Enduring Vision, 1992.

acknowledged as pioneers of the "California Style" of landscape design.[140] Church was educated at the University of California, Berkeley, and Harvard, where he became fascinated with issues of California's climate and outdoor living. [141] By 1930 Church had established his own practice in San Francisco, the neoclassical style was the prevailing approach in landscape and city planning design. Church's unique approach towards unifying building and landscape with particular attention towards climate context and lifestyle gave birth to modern landscape design and planning. Some of Church's most notable works include the residential design of Donnell Gardens in Sonoma County, California, and the innovative middle-income housing development of Parkmerced in San Francisco. Church and William Wurster, of Wurster, Bernardi and Emmons, were close friends and collaborated on many house and garden projects.[142]

One of the most significant open space additions to Carmel-by-the-Sea occurred following purchase of 17.5 acres of the Doolittle Property at the wooded southeast corner of town and the 14.9-acre Flanders Estate in 1972. The combined properties became Mission Trail Park, the largest open space located within the city limits. The two land acquisitions were widely popular and viewed as a major victory for locals and environmentalists, as a large-scale residential development was in competition for the land.[143]

As a village in the forest, Carmel has a continuous history of environmentalism. In 1979, the Piccadilly Nursery, located on the west side of Dolores Street between Ocean and Seventh Avenues went out of business. Disputes ensued within the City Council, which was debating developing the vacant site or making it a city park. In 1980, Carol Stratton and Jean Mitchell formed the Carmel-by-the-Sea Garden Club. They quickly made saving the site for a park their top priority. City Councilmember Helen Arnold, a champion of environmental and residential rights, wrestled with the male-dominated City Council and became a vocal advocate for the creation of Piccadilly Park. She was reelected to the City Council in 1980 and battled mayor Barney Laiolo, who sought commercial development, for the park's creation. The combined work of these women, particularly Helen Arnold's voice within the Council led to the delightful open space within the dense commercial blocks of the commercial core. Piccadilly Park opened in 1996 with a plaque honoring its founders and Councilmember Helen Arnold.[144]

5.6 Associated Resource Types

5.6.1 Identification

Within the context of Architectural Development in Carmel the following resource types have been identified:

- Single family houses
- Commercial buildings
- Landscaping and public art

5.6.2 Description

Single family houses

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[140] Corbett, 19.
[141] Marc Treib, editor. *Modern Landscape Architecture: A Critical Review*, Cambridge, MIT Press, 1992, 169.
[142] Corbett, 12.
[143] "The 70s: A Decade in Review," *Carmel Pine Cone*, 1/24/80. Gualtieri and Momboisse, 12.
[144] Gualtieri, Kathryn, "The Fight over Whether or Not to Construct Piccadilly Park (unpublished research paper)," 6/10/22.

Carmel has always been a residential community and has consciously resisted efforts to develop and urbanize in defiance of economic pressures. Therefore, a substantial percentage of Carmel's residential properties were developed prior to World War II and constitute the bulk of the historically significant resources in the city. Described in detail in Section 5.4, architectural styles include the simple vernacular cottages from the earliest period, craftsman bungalows, and the revival styles popular during the 1920s and 1930s. Many Carmel residences also represent the work of notable architects and designer/builders.

Commercial buildings

Commercial construction which took place under the influence of the architectural revivals of the 1920s has left the most lasting imprint on the character of the business district; however, buildings that represent earlier building periods should also be considered for preservation. In 1903, the Carmel Development Company constructed the first "fireproof" commercial building of concrete blocks made to look like stone. Formerly the Carmel Development Company's office, the People's Market, and Holman's Hardware store, this building is still standing at the northwest corner of San Carlos and Ocean.

Both the Spanish Colonial Revival and the Tudor Revival styles are well represented in the business district. Beyond the usual Spanish stylistic trademarks of stuccoed exteriors and tiled roofs, the Spanish styled buildings feature ornate wrought iron and carved wood detailing, generous use of colorful patterned tile for staircase risers, dados, fountains, planters, and backsplashes, patios and courtyard spaces, arcades, and towers. The courtyard complexes, Las Tiendas (1921) and El Paseo (1927), are among the best exponents of this genre of commercial construction.[145] Other notable Spanish buildings include the China Art Center (1929) on Dolores and the Mediterranean Market (1932) on the corner of Ocean and Mission. Hugh Comstock's Tuck Box (1926-29) on the east side of Dolores Street between Ocean and Seventh Avenues symbolized Carmel's love affair with the quaint and the picturesque to many visitors. Like his residential "doll houses," the Tuck Box employs steep gables with uneven rakes, rolled eaves, and a capricious combination of shingles, bricks, Carmel stone, stucco, and wooden half-timbering. Other Tudor Revival commercial buildings such as the Amelia Gates Building at the southeast corner of Ocean and Monte Verde were more conventional in their use of half-timbering, vari-colored brick, and multi-paned casement windows.

Landscaping and public art

Regardless of building use, architectural style, or period of construction, Carmel's neighborhoods reflect a love of nature, expressed in terms of gardens, window boxes, and trees. In addition, civic improvements such as street trees, the island on Ocean Avenue, the street pattern which is especially noteworthy when it bends and curves to accommodate a tree, and stone-lined curbs and culverts do much to shape the character of the built environment. Picadilly Nursery/Park, the Church of the Wayfayer's Biblical Garden, and the War Memorial Arch designed by Charles Sumner Greene are also prominent landscaping and public art examples.

5.6.3 Historic Significance and Integrity

Nearly every commercial building on Ocean Avenue and Dolores Street contributes to the character of the historic business district. Other commercial properties in the city may also be eligible for listing if they were constructed more than 50 years ago, are good representatives of a given architectural style and that

[145] Architect Bertram Goodhue's buildings for the 1915-16 California Pacific International Exposition in San Diego are said to have inspired Spanish style buildings in the 1920s in California, particularly in Santa Barbara, and beyond.

possess sufficient historic integrity. Since it is the nature of commercial buildings that storefronts are frequently remodeled, such modifications do not necessarily compromise a building's integrity. Historic associations enrich the significance of most buildings in the business district as well, and may outweigh a lack of architectural integrity in the application of the criteria for listing.

Significant single family residences are those that are related to Carmel's architectural chronology as described in Section 5.4 above; that reflect Carmel's pronounced taste for individualism; or that represent the work of a master builder or architect. Residences should be considered for individual merit or contribution to potential historic districts on the basis of architecture (in addition to or in lieu of any historic associations with notable residents). Architectural integrity should be substantially intact and based on individual evaluation of each building based on the above lists of character defining features for each architectural style. Where there are many representatives of a particular style or examples of a master's work, the property should retain a high degree of physical and architectural integrity.

Significant landscape and garden resources are those that characterize the Arts and Crafts ideal of integrating the natural environment into the overall ambiance of the building site, streetscape, neighborhood, or district.

The following table summarizes the National Register-, California Register- and Carmel-by-the-Sea Inventory of Historic Resources criteria for historic significance.

Ntl / CA Register	**Carmel Municipal Code §17.32.040**	**Significance**	**Analysis for Carmel Inventory of Historic Resources**
A/1	1	Events, Patterns Trends	Should support at least one historic theme listed in the historic context statement.
B/2	2	Persons	Should be associated with significant persons that contributed to the City through economic development, government, civic, cultural, artistic or social institutions.
C/3	3	Architecture, Construction Method	Buildings designed by a significant architect, landscape architect, or a significant builder; buildings designed by unrecognized architect/builder, but being a good representative of an architectural style listed in this context statement. Individual examples, which contribute to diversity in the community, need not have been designed by known architects, designer/builders or contractors. Rather, rare styles and types that contribute to Carmel's unique sense of time and place shall be deemed significant
D/4	4	Information Potential	Confined primarily to archaeological or subsurface resources that contribute to an understanding of historic construction methods, materials, or evidence of prehistoric cultures.

National Register Bulletin 15: How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation defines **historic integrity** as "the ability of a property to convey its significance." Historic properties either retain their integrity or they do not. To retain integrity, a resource will always retain several and usually most of the seven aspects of integrity:

1. **Location:** the place where the historic property was constructed or the place where the historic event occurred.
2. **Design:** the combination of elements that create the form, plan, space, structure, and style of a property.
3. **Setting:** the physical environment of a historic property.
4. **Materials:** the physical elements that were combined or deposited during a particular period of time and in a particular pattern or configuration to form a historic property.
5. **Workmanship:** the physical evidence of the crafts of a particular culture or people during any given period in history or prehistory.
6. **Feeling:** a property's expression of the aesthetic or historic sense of a particular period of time.
7. **Association:** the direct link between an important historic event or person and a historic property.

After establishing the property's historic significance, the evaluator assesses integrity using *National Register Bulletin 15*'s four-step approach:

1. Define the **essential physical features** that must be present for a property to represent its significance.
2. Determine whether the **essential physical features are visible** enough to convey their significance.
3. Determine whether the property needs to be **compared with similar properties**. And,
4. Determine, based on the significance and essential physical features, **which aspects of integrity** are particularly vital to the property being nominated and if they are present.

National Register Bulletin 15 emphasizes that "ultimately, the question of integrity is answered by whether or not the property retains the **identity** for which it is significant."[146]

To use the above four-step approach when a building has not been previously evaluated, consult the list of architectural styles and character defining features to determine what the essential physical features of the building are (step one); determine if sufficient character defining features are present (step two); compare the building to others of similar style (step three); and determine if sufficient historic integrity is present (step four).

The following two lists provide Minimum Eligibility Requirements and Integrity Thresholds for determining if a given building maintains sufficient historic integrity. These lists should be used in conjunction with the architectural style photographs and lists of character defining features.

Minimum Eligibility Requirements

- Retains sufficient character defining features to represent a given architectural style.
- Retains original form and roofline.
- Retains the original fenestration pattern.
- Retains original exterior cladding (or original cladding has been replaced in-kind).

Integrity Thresholds

[146] U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, *National Register Bulletin 15: How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation*. Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, 1997, 44-49 (bold in original).

- Carmel's Modernist buildings primarily use local and natural materials. Retention of original construction materials (or in-kind replacement) is essential.
- Carmel buildings with garages constructed contemporaneously with the residence enhance a site's historic integrity.
- Additions/alterations are acceptable provided the alterations meet the *Secretary of the Interior's Standards for Rehabilitation.*

6.0 DEVELOPMENT OF ART AND CULTURE (1904-1986)

6.1 Arts and Crafts Movement

As previously discussed, the Arts and Crafts Movement was very influential in many aspects of Carmel's physical and cultural development. The movement promoted the pride of craftsmanship and had particular influence on the decorative arts and architecture of the period. However, Arts and Crafts ideals permeated all aspects of American society as can be seen in the changes in dress and fashion, home management and patterns of living, trends in education, and in social reform. The philosophy of the Arts and Crafts Movement was spread through popular literature and periodicals, as well as through the establishment of clubs, societies, and schools.

The Arts and Crafts Club in Carmel was established in 1905 by Elsie Allen, former editor of *Harper's* magazine and faculty member of Wellesley College, Jane Powers, Louis Slevin, and a number of other like-minded citizens. Arts and Crafts were broadly defined to include all the visual and decorative arts, literature, music, domestic arts, and drama. The club also established a natural history museum, sponsored fund-raising events, mounted exhibitions of the members' artwork, and promoted civic improvements. In the following years a number of more specialized art, music, literature, and drama clubs and associations were formed. In 1910, the Arts and Crafts Club organized its first summer school, called Cedar Croft, offering classes in botany, drawing and painting, pottery, china painting, art needlework, dramatic reading, music, and art metal, in addition to tutoring in Latin, English, and mathematics. The school operated until the mid-1920s, giving students from around the country the opportunity to work with nationally recognized artists as well as noted local artists.

The art community continued to grow in the 1940s, but by the 1950s concerns mounted over the dearth of artists living in Carmel in relation to the growing number of art galleries catering to tourists. The "art for art's sake" folk were forced out not only by the skyrocketing price of real estate, but also by artists who began to create art purely for profit. Yet again a rift formed between the artistic and business elements. For gallery owners, the commodification of art was good business, as tourists' appetites for art proved voracious. To the artistically inclined old guard, the popularity of art galleries was yet another threat to community character; Carmel was on its way to becoming less of an artistic getaway and more of an attraction for tourists. Local artist and art teacher, John Cunningham warned, "Carmel is going to destroy itself as an art center by too many galleries that are selling too much schlock."[147]

The Carmel Art Association maintained its status as the largest art organization in the community with a working membership of 175 and an overall membership of 800 in 1945.[148] (See Appendix 9.5.1 for a list of artists who were members of the Carmel Art Association and were working in Carmel, 1940-1965.) Founded in 1937, the Carmel Art Institute was bought by John and Pat Cunningham in 1939, whereby it was moved to the Court of the Golden Bough and then the Flanders mansion. The Art Institute was a center of the art-education community in Carmel for the decades to follow.

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[147] Harold and Ann Gilliam, Creating Carmel: The Enduring Vision, 1992.
[148] Daisy Bostick, Carmel Today and Yesterday, 1945.

The Carmel Art Gallery, a non-profit organization first listed in city directories in the early 1950s continued to feature work by local artists. The Carmel Art Gallery was in operation on Dolores between Fifth and Sixth Avenues through at least the early 1960s. The Carl Cherry Foundation gallery at Fourth and Guadalupe, housed in the home of Jeanne D'Orge (nee Lena Yates), was a notable bohemian salon. In the late 1940s, the talented abstract artist and poet converted her home into a gallery and theater where she showcased her and other artists' work and hosted experimental plays. At her house and gallery, Jeanne D'Orge hosted the avant-garde set for nearly two decades until her death in 1964.[149] The Foundation is now the Carl Cherry Center for the Arts.

In 1958 the City Council, under the encouragement of Gunnar Norberg, voted to create an Arts Commission. The Arts Commission was composed of representatives from each of the arts. In 1967 the Commission was reorganized into the Community and Cultural Commission.[150] Additional arts organizations that were active during this period include the Carmel Camera Club, the Carmel Adult School, the New Group Gallery, and the Carmel Music Society.

6.2 Artist and Writer Colony

6.2.1 Artists

The Mission San Carlos Borromeo del Rio Carmelo (known to locals as the Carmel Mission) and the breath-taking landscape of the surrounding area has made Carmel a popular destination for artists since the 1870s. Coupled with the discounted lots and agreeable terms offered by the Carmel Development Company, many artists decided to make Carmel their home. The remodeled barn of Jane Gallatin Powers, an accomplished artist and wife of Frank Powers, is considered to be the first art studio in Carmel. Mrs. Powers persuaded many San Francisco artists to relocate their studios to Carmel, after the 1906 earthquake. Other studios were soon established, including those of Mary DeNeale Morgan, Arthur Vachell, Laura Maxwell, Jessie Frances Short and William Silva.

By 1911, James Devendorf reported that over 60% of the residents of Carmel were devoting their lives to work connected with the "aesthetic arts." Although Carmel was a thriving artist's colony by the 1920s, there were no galleries except for the clubhouse of the Arts and Crafts Club, which was used for other functions as well. Even this limited gallery space disappeared when the Club ceased to hold its annual exhibition in 1922, and it sold the clubhouse to the Abalone League in 1927. Many artists displayed their work in their home studios. That strategy proved to be unsuccessful, however, as potential buyers, mainly tourists, often had a difficult time finding the studios, given the lack of addresses and street lighting. This problem was resolved in 1927 by the formation of the Carmel Art Association. Members paid dues of one dollar per month to the association which would provide exhibition space, hire a curator, and make sales. Twenty-five percent of sales went to the curator, five percent to the association and the rest to the artists. Meetings were held at "Gray Gables," the home of Josephine Culbertson and Ida Johnson. The group first rented commercial space in the Seven Arts Building, designed by Herbert Heron, at Lincoln and Ocean. Through the assistance of Barnet Segal, the association purchased Ira Remsen's old studio on Dolores Street in 1934 and expanded it in 1937.

Three particularly active members of the Carmel Art Association were Mary DeNeale Morgan, William Ritschel, and Armin Carl Hansen. Born in San Francisco in 1868, DeNeale Morgan attended the California School of Design from 1888 to 1890. She later exhibited throughout the United States. She had previously come to Carmel in 1903 with her mother and brother Thomas and helped run the Pine Inn

[149] Harold and Ann Gilliam, Creating Carmel: The Enduring Vision, 1992.
[150] Harold and Ann Gilliam, Creating Carmel: The Enduring Vision, 1992.

for a little more than a month for Frank Devendorf. Morgan returned the following year and occupied a cottage on Monte Verde near the Pine Inn. Six years later she established her permanent home and studio in the former Sidney Yard studio on Lincoln near Seventh. An avid painter in tempera and oils, DeNeale Morgan was also active in the Forest Theater Society and All Saints' Church.

William Ritschel and Armin Carl Hansen were two of five members of the Carmel Art Association to be admitted into the National Academy of Design, one of the highest forms of recognition for artists. Marine landscapes artist Ritschel was born in Nuremberg, Bavaria in 1864. He came to the United States in 1895 and settled in New York City. Having later visited Carmel, he returned in 1918 to have his "Castle" built in the Highlands with the help of a Spanish stone mason. Born in San Francisco on October 23, 1886, Hansen studied art at the California School of Design and later in Stuttgart, Germany. He was a painter and etcher who was noted for his portrayals of the Spanish and Portuguese fisherman of Monterey Bay.

In 1937 Hansen and Paul Whitman, an etcher, founded the Carmel Art Institution as a school where all branches of art were taught. Their studios were in the Seven Arts Buildings on Lincoln. Two years later, however, Hansen became ill and asked another active member of the Carmel Art Association, John Cunningham to take over. Cunningham—and his wife Pat, an oil painter and muralist—moved the institute first to the Court of the Golden Bough and then to the city-owned Flanders Mansion. Closed after Cunningham's retirement, the Institute was a vital part of Carmel's art scene for decades; among its faculty were such internationally-famed artists as Fernand Leger and Alexander Archipenko.

Carmel also attracted a number of cartoonists. In the early years, Gene Byrnes, creator of "Reg'lar Fellers," was named by *Literary Digest* in 1923 as one of the seven big cartoonists of the United States. Bill O'Malley, creator of the cartoon, "The Little Nuns" was a Carmel resident. Other cartoonists that have made their homes in Carmel include Jimmy Hatlo, Hank Ketcham, Gus Arriola, Eldon Dedini, and Bill Bates.

The natural beauty of the area has also attracted photographers. Arnold Genthe, a native of Prussia with academic training, came to San Francisco in the early part of the century. Here he discovered photography and began specializing in informal portraits and landscapes. As a member of the Bohemian Club and a friend of poet George Sterling, he first visited Carmel in 1905. Attracted by the easy terms offered by the Carmel Development Company, he built a house and studio in Carmel on Camino Real between Tenth and Eleventh avenues, where he lived periodically for ten years. It was here that he took the first color photographs of "the cypresses and rocks of Point Lobos, the always varying sunsets, and the intriguing shadows of dunes offered a rich field for color experiments."[151] In 1911 he displayed one of the first exhibitions of color photographs in the United States. Other photographers included Edward Weston, Lewis Josselyn, Johann Hagemeyer and George Seideneck. Edward Weston maintained a second floor studio at the southeast corner of Ocean Avenue and Monte Verde between 1929 and 1937. This influential photographer helped establish the West Coast Tradition of fine art photography and was a prolific interpreter of the Carmel Valley, Point Lobos and Big Sur environments. One of the most important local photographers was Louis Slevin. A man of many facets, Slevin was a shopkeeper, postmaster, writer, and stamp collector, collector of rare books, and maritime historian. Ranging from 1899 to 1935, Slevin's photographs provide important documentation of the changes as the Monterey Bay area developed. The businesses of Louis Slevin and Dale Hale's Camera Shop supported local photographers by selling the tools of the trade.

Craftsmen of every type found a home in Carmel. Ruth Kuster kept a weaving shop in her husband's Court of the Golden Bough. Catherine Seideneck specialized in hammered brass and copper, leather work, and hand-made jewelry. Mayotta Brown Comstock fashioned handmade dolls, and Ida Johnson

[151] Franklin Walker, *The Seacoast of Bohemia*, p. 24

produced fine pottery. J.J. Wright established the Press in the Forest where he wrote, set the type, printed and bound each volume by hand. Also notable were artist/blacksmith Francis Whitaker and Charles Sayers, a master woodcarver.

6.2.2 Literature

Arriving from 1901 to 1907, the earliest writers to come as full or part-time residents were David Starr Jordan, Hal Lewis (later Sinclair Lewis), and Frederick Bechdolt. The author of *Blood of the Nation*, *The Higher Sacrifice* and *The Strength of Being Clean*, Jordan first visited the Carmel area in 1880 while taking the U.S. Census. Short story writer Jimmy Hopper, editor of *Commonweal* Michael Williams and his wife Peggy, and Grace MacGowan Cooke and her sister Alice MacGowan also settled in Carmel in the early years of the century.

Jimmy Hopper moved to Carmel permanently after the San Francisco earthquake in 1906. First renting a cottage on Dolores and Ninth, he later took over George Sterling's house at Torres and Eleventh, which was destroyed by fire in 1924 and rebuilt on the same site. Hopper wrote more than four hundred short stories and several novels for popular magazines such as *Collier's* and *The Saturday Evening Post*.

Born on July 27, 1874, in Mercersburg, Pennsylvania, Frederick Ritchie Bechdolt went from placer mining in the Klondike, to cow punching, to rubbing shoulders with criminals at San Quentin and Folsom. When he first arrived in Carmel in 1907, he rented a cottage in the Eighty Acres until he met and married Adele Hale. His novels include *When the West Was Won*, *The Hard Rock Man*, *Tales of Old Timers* and *9009* in collaboration with Jimmy Hopper. He also wrote for various newspapers including the *Seattle Star* and *Los Angeles Times*. In addition to being a prolific writer, Bechdolt served as postmaster, city council member and police commissioner. He died in 1950.

Alice MacGowan and Grace MacGowan Cooke moved to Carmel in 1908 to join the literary colony. They had already achieved wide popular success with their novels, short stories, essays, and poems, a success that began as early as 1888 with the publication of Grace's first magazine stories. They bought a two-story, shingled house located on a cliff above the beach at what came to be known as "Cooke's Cove." They were also active in the Forest Theater Society from its founding in the spring of 1910.

Soon after the MacGowan sisters arrived in Carmel, they wired twenty-three-year-old Sinclair "Hal" Lewis to join them as their secretary and collaborator. The three had met at Helicon Hall, a utopian writer's colony in New Jersey established by Upton Sinclair. For a little over a year Lewis lived in the house of Josephine Foster on the beach near the MacGowan house; that spring he shared his modest quarters with friend William Rose Benet. During the summer, the two young men were hosts to *The Nautilus* editor Elizabeth Towne and her husband, William E. Towne.

The cut-rate prices for building lots offered by Devendorf made Carmel a magnet for the Bohemian writers of San Francisco. George Sterling had moved to California in 1890 from Sag Harbor, Long Island. He studied for the priesthood for three years, then left to work for his uncle, Frank Havens, as a realtor. He married Carrie Rand and settled in Piedmont. During his fifteen years as a businessman he made a point of meeting most of the literary figures of San Francisco, and he gradually came to think of himself as a poet instead of a realtor. Eventually Sterling became the center of a group of artists and writers that met at Coppa's, a San Francisco restaurant. About the same time Sterling joined the Bohemian Club, San Francisco's refuge for playful businessmen, and received the title "King of Bohemia." His friend, writer Ambrose Bierce, helped him publish his first collection of poems in 1903. In 1905, Sterling and author Mary Austin visited Mission San Carlos Borromeo del Rio Carmel. Soon thereafter, each decided to make Carmel their permanent residence. The Sterlings built a house in the

Eighty Acres, on Torres Street between Tenth and Eleventh. Jack and Chairman London were frequent guests.

Born on September 9, 1868, in Carlinville, Illinois, Mary Austin was a prolific writer who published some thirty-two books and approximately two hundred periodical articles. Austin had moved to a ranch near Bakersfield with her family when her father died in 1888. Married to Stafford Wallace Austin in 1891, Austin eventually left her husband to devote herself to her intellectual interests. After a prolonged visit to Italy, Austin returned to Carmel in 1912. Always unconventional, Austin had San Francisco architect Louis Mulgardt design a quaint redwood cabin and a studio platform around the limbs of an oak on her North Lincoln property. Austin called the studio her "wick-i-up" and spent many hours there writing about nature and women's rights. By 1924 she had established herself in Santa Fe where she fought for the preservation and rehabilitation of Native American and Spanish art and handicrafts.[152]

The circle of writers and artists around Sterling began to crumble in 1910 when he made the first of what came to be regular summer trips back to his family home on Long Island. His marriage to Carrie Rand, which had been shaken many times by his infidelity, broke up in 1914 as the result of a particularly flagrant affair. He left Carmel for good the following year, settling in Greenwich Village where he hoped to begin a new and more successful career. Despondent over the death of his friend Jack London and the estrangement with his wife, Sterling committed suicide in 1926.

Robinson Jeffers was Carmel's most original poet. Sterling's enthusiastic, lyrically descriptive letters describing Carmel and its isolated inhabitants, struck a chord with Jeffers. He rented a house on Monte Verde near Ocean in 1914. After his marriage to Una Call Kuster, the Jeffers purchased land on Carmel Point and hired Michael J. Murphy to build a house in 1918. Constructed of native granite, they called it "Tor House" because the treeless, windswept lot facing the ocean reminded them of the tors in England. Observing the stone masons' techniques during the construction of "Tor House," Jeffers later built "Hawk Tower" himself. Robinson Jeffers continued to live in Tor House until his death in 1962. In 1941 he produced the play *The Tower Beyond Tragedy* for the Forest Theater. The play starred Judith Anderson. In 1950 Robinson's wife, Una, passed away from cancer. Jeffers' poetry became retrospective in his grief. When the Carmel Master Plan was published in 1956, Jeffers' learned that his famous house and property were planned to house the "Jeffers Memorial Library," a plan that he knew nothing about. Jeffers was furious and out of revenge sold a portion of his property for a subdivision.[153] Although Jeffers did not replace Sterling as the center of Carmel's bohemian society, he was not the hermit many have made him out to be. Indeed, he attracted many friends and visitors to his home including Lincoln Steffens and his young wife, Ella Winter.

Son of a wealthy Sacramento dry goods merchant, Lincoln Steffens became a "muckraking" reporter, holding several editorial positions with magazines that included *McClure's Magazine* and *American Magazine* before he wrote *The Shame of Cities*. Steffens and Winter moved into a cottage on San Antonio near Ocean Avenue in 1927, where Steffens wrote his autobiography. Steffens also took an active interest in the affairs of the town, in its politics and schools. He also edited the *Pacific Weekly* and wrote a regular column for the local weekly, *The Carmelite*, edited by his wife. During this period, Steffens was host to many of the world's *literati* and politically important people. In 1929, Ella sued Steffens for divorce amid much gossip. After the divorce was final in 1931, Steffens remained in Carmel until his death in 1936.

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[152] Austin's place of residence during this time alternated between Europe, New York Carmel and Santa Fe with various sources contradicting the actual time periods. One source has her moving back and forth between Europe and New York from 1903 until she moved to Santa Fe in 1918. Another source has her living in either Carmel or New York between 1911 and 1918 until she moved permanently to Santa Fe in 1924.

[153] Harold and Ann Gilliam, Creating Carmel: The Enduring Vision, 1992.

6.2.3 Drama and Theater

Drama in Carmel was pursued in close conjunction with the other arts. The first theater in Carmel was created by Herbert Heron, a professional actor with the Belasco and Morasco Stock Company in Los Angeles. He first visited Carmel in July 1908 and returned a year later to build a home at Guadalupe and Mountain View. He selected a site for an open air theater in the Eighty Acres which Devendorf gave to him on a long term lease without rent to build a stage and seats. Devendorf was so excited about the idea that he tossed in the remainder of the block and two workmen to help clear the grounds. By 1910 there were enough interested individuals living in Carmel to form the Forest Theater Society. Its motto was "to produce plays by local writers, and to give local writers the opportunity and experience of writing, producing, acting and directing as well as stage and costume design." The first production was the play *David*, written by Constance L. Skinner and directed by Garnet Holmes, which took place on July 9, 1910. Most of the town's residents played a role in this and following productions or were part of the audience.

Perry Newberry and a group broke away from the Forest Theater for a time and formed the Western Drama Society in 1912. Later, in 1919, the two groups were reunited and merged with the Carmel Arts and Crafts Club, the Forest Theater Society becoming its theater wing. The Arts and Crafts Club constructed an indoor theater on Monte Verde near Ninth Avenue in 1924. During the Depression Era productions at the Forest Theater were halted, and the facility was deeded to the City of Carmel so that the Public Works Administrative could rebuild the stage and continue its upkeep. For almost a decade, from 1937 through 1947, the Forest Theater was dark. From 1939 to 1940, the Theater was reconstructed by the Works Progress Administration under direction of local architect Hugh Comstock. Rock was used to re-face the concrete dressing rooms and original stage, the plain wood benches were replaced with redwood plank seating, and a new fence was built around the property. In 1941, the Theater opened briefly for its first original production, Robinson Jeffers' play *The Tower Beyond* Tragedy starring actress Judith Anderson, before closing during World War II due to blackout regulations. [154] Historian Kevin Starr writes, "The very elaborateness of [Forest Theater] productions, which called for the cooperative effort of hundreds of Carmelites, testified to the coherence of the Carmelite identity among its permanent summer residents."[155] The Theater opened briefly in 1947 for Dan Totheroh's play, *The Distant Drum*.[156] In 1949 after being dark for nearly a decade, the city-owned theater sought a sponsor. Founder Herbert Heron met with Cole Weston, son of famed photographer Edward Weston, and twenty villagers; together, they formed the Forest Theater Guild, which was charged with the Theater's financial oversight. Cole Weston directed several plays at the Forest Theater through the early 1960s when the popularity of the outdoor venue dimmed.

A prominent figure in the development of theater in Carmel, Edward J. Kuster came to the village in 1919 from Los Angeles where he had been a lawyer for twenty years. He gave up the legal profession to study theater arts with a former client, Ruth St. Denis. He was first cellist with the Los Angeles Philharmonic, and an amateur bicyclist. He then spent two seasons in Berlin and Munich, moving to Carmel in 1920 to work with the Forest Theater Society as its president and director. Next he went to New York to study classical and medieval architecture and later enrolled in the San Francisco School of Theatre. Again he returned to Carmel, and decided to build a state-of-the-art indoor theater. He opened the Theatre of the Golden Bough on Ocean Avenue at Monte Verde on June 3, 1924. Constructed for experimental drama, the Golden Bough featured a projecting semicircular platform connected to the main stage by a flight of wide shallow steps, indirect lighting and small balconies. Costing $100,000, the theater resembled an old

[154] Harold and Ann Gilliam, Creating Carmel: The Enduring Vision, 1992.
[155] Kevin Starr, The Dream Endures: California Enters the 1940s, 1997.
[156] Michael Whitcomb, Carmel: The Architectural Spirit, 1978.

pagan temple and was praised nationwide by critics, not only for the quality of the production, but for its comfort and beauty.

The Theatre of the Golden Bough opened with a summer session in 1924 with Maurice Brown's original play, *The Mother of Gregory*, based on an old Scot legend of Annie of Lochroyan. Theater productions in Carmel had usually been plays involving almost the entire community from small children to elders in every aspect of its production. While great community involvement, fun, and satisfaction was evidenced, Kuster felt a more disciplined professional product was necessary.

During the Depression, Kuster leased the theater as a movie house. He also took over the old Arts and Crafts Theater from the Abalone League, which he renamed The Studio Theater of the Theatre of the Golden Bough, and leased it out as well. In 1935, he began bringing back live theater. On May 17, the play *By Candlelight* opened and two days later the theater burned, leaving only a portion of the lobby intact. After the fire, the theater was moved to the old Arts and Crafts Theater (near Monte Verde and Ninth) and renamed the Golden Bough Playhouse. It became Carmel's first art movie house—Carmel Filmarte.

Kuster continued to present theater productions and summer workshops. He was called "The Starmaker" because Hollywood scouts would attend his productions to find promising young actors. Some of the actors he nurtured include Rosemary de Camp, Ruth Warshawsky, Robert Ryan, Nanette Fabray, and Donnon Jeffers, son of Robinson Jeffers.

The Golden Bough Playhouse was damaged by fire in 1949 while again running *By Candlelight*. A new Golden Bough Theater was built at this site on the Monte Verde side, and The Circle Theater of the Golden Bough was built behind it on the Casanova side. When rebuilding was completed by a newly organized corporation, Kuster was hired as manager. He retired in 1956 and moved to Switzerland in 1961, where he died an untimely death. The Circle Theater continued to offer productions until 1969 when it was purchased by United Artists.

The team of Watrous and Denny were active participants in the cultural life of Carmel. Hazel Watrous was a supervisor for the Alameda school system, and also had experience as a stage designer. She moved to Carmel in 1924 with her companion, Dene Denny, whom she had met at Berkeley. During 1927 and 1928 they leased the Golden Bough Playhouse from Kuster and presented eighteen plays.

The Studio Theater, a dinner theater, presented plays by local thespians; it was located on Dolores Street between Ocean and Seventh.

6.2.4 Music

From the early days of Carmel, informal groups of music lovers gathered in homes to hear resident or visiting artists play or sing. Sally and Teresa Ehrman, Mrs. Lawrence Strauss, and Mabel Gray Young formed the nucleus of the musical colony. Young is believed to have been the first trained musician to settle in Carmel. She often gave concerts in San Francisco and was said to be teaching piano to most adults in Carmel.

The Norwood Music Colony established in 1917 had eleven cottages where many eminent musical artists lived. A large number of notable musicians spent some time in Carmel. Cellist Frederic Preston Search worked with local organizations. Concert Pianist Katherine Vander Roest Clarke held informal Sunday afternoon musicals in her Carmel home. Others included Thomas Vincent Cator, Henry Cowell, Antonio DeGrassi, Edward Johnson, Betty Lawrence, Nathan Firestone, Marina Ralston, Evadna Lapham, Louis Persinger, George H. Richardson and his wife, and David Alberto.

Denny and Watrous were responsible for organizing the most important musical events and venues in Carmel. They founded the Carmel Music Society in 1926 which hosted chamber music concerts. Later the two became professionally involved in music management and promotion. They opened the Denny-Watrous Gallery on Dolores which hosted informal recitals and exhibitions. They also sponsored concerts in other cities as well. In 1935 they organized the Carmel Bach Festival. Although envisioned as a venue for local talent, it achieved national recognition, featuring noted professional musicians. Presented in the Sunset School Auditorium and at the Mission, the festival originally consisted of five concerts, two organ recitals, and a series of lectures on related musical subjects. Each series was concluded by the *Mass in B Minor*, sung in the Carmel Mission by the full chorus accompanied by a full orchestra. The conductors were Ernst Bacon, followed by Michael Penha until 1939, and then Gatson Usigli from 1938 to 1955. The Festival's first permanent conductor, Usigli was born in Venice and was known as an inveterate perfectionist with a fiery temper. Sandor Salgo took the reins as conductor of the Bach Festival from 1955 through 1992. The company was made up of approximately 60 musicians and a chorus of 50 singers. One of the more important supporters of music and especially the Bach Festival was Noel Sullivan, the nephew of James D. Phelan, mayor of San Francisco, state senator, and builder of Saratoga's Villa Montalvo. The Festival was suspended for three summers during World War II.[157]

The City acquired the Sunset School on 30 June 1965 with the intention of developing the complex into a cultural center. The school cost $550,000 and was purchased after a bond measure was passed.[158] Renamed the Sunset Center, it housed 733 in its auditorium and quickly became the Monterey Peninsula's regional theater and the permanent home of the Bach Festival. The buildings surrounding the auditorium space housed a photography gallery, pottery and dance studios, and workshops for the arts.

6.3 Academia and Science

Dr. David Starr Jordan was the first of the college professors to settle in Carmel. He first visited the area while taking the U.S. Census in 1880. In 1904, Jordan, then president of Stanford, purchased three lots on the northeast corner of Camino Real and Seventh where he built a "comfortable and stately" house in 1905. Soon after, many professors, no doubt responding to a brochure they received from Devendorf inviting "school teachers of California and other brain workers at indoor employment," began to populate Carmel-by-the-Sea. Starr's colleagues from Palo Alto such as Vernon Kellogg, George Pierce, Karl Rendtorff, and Guido Marx soon followed. Since most of them bought lots on Camino Real south of Ocean, that section of town became known as "Professors' Row." Professors from the University of California at Berkeley tended to build homes in other parts of Carmel. For example, John Galen Howard, Dean of the School of Architecture, purchased lots on Monte Verde between Thirteenth Avenue and Santa Lucia while George Boke, Dean of the School of Law, settled on the northwest corner of San Carlos and Santa Lucia.

Among the professors and scientists who had permanent or vacation homes in Carmel were plant ecologist William S. Cooper; Professor James Worthington, a fellow of the Royal Astronomical Society of Great Britain and conductor of eclipse expeditions; Dr. Alfred E. Burton, former dean of Massachusetts Institute of Technology; Drs. Fenner and Stillman, early experimenters with vitamins; zoologist Professor Vernon Kellogg; and Dr. J.L. Fish, engineering expert. Dr. Karl G. Rendtorff, a professor of Germanic languages, came with his family and built a house in 1910 and subsequently became very active in village life. Dr. O. V. Lange was a professor at the University of California. The home of Professor Guido Marx at Ninth and Camino Real became the Holiday House.

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[157] Harold and Ann Gilliam, Creating Carmel: The Enduring Vision, 1992.
[158] Nancy Hills, "City Showed Foresight in Buying Sunset Center," *Carmel Pine Cone*, 21 September 1989.

The Department of Botanical Research of the Carnegie Institute, locally known as the Coastal Institute, was located at the east end of Twelfth Street at Junipero. The Lab brought many members of the scientific community to Carmel. Institute staff included Dr. Daniel T. MacDougal, who served as director of botanical research for thirty years; Dr. Beverly Clark, authority on photosynthesis; Professor Benjamin M. Duggar, physiological pathologist; Dr. Forest Shreve, known for his map of North America; and Professor Francis E. Lloyd, a botanist who specialized in the study of carnivorous plants.

6.4 Influence of Women

From its earliest years, Carmel has attracted intelligent, creative and independent women from all walks of life. Whether artists, writers, community activists, healthcare advocates, politicians, philanthropists, or builders, women were unusually visible and dynamic participants in the creative and physical development of Carmel. The early social structure of the village allowed women to challenge typical gender roles and lifestyles and to fully exercise their talents in business, art, and politics, while in other localities women were still engaged in the struggle for recognition and autonomy.

The organization and activities of the Arts and Crafts Club was dominated by women. Elsie Allen served as the first president. She was followed in office by Josephine Foster and Mary E. Hand. Hand led the group for sixteen years, organizing fundraisers and overseeing the construction of the Arts and Crafts Theater in 1922. Fannie Yard (Mrs. Sidney Yard) was the director of the Cedar Croft School, a position she held for many years.

Many female artists who made Carmel their home took an active role in the community. A good friend of James Devendorf, Mary DeNeale Morgan first came to Carmel in 1903 with her family. A painter in oil and tempera, she had graduated from the California School of Design in 1890 and exhibited her work throughout the United States. She was a founding member of the Arts and Crafts Club, the Forest Theater, All Saints Church, and the Carmel Art Association. She also taught drawing and painting in the Cedar Croft school, and led the 1921 campaign for the city purchase of the Sand Dunes.[159] and Block 69.

Morgan's good friends, artists Josephine Culbertson and Ida Johnson, came to Carmel in 1906 and were active in the development the community. Both gifted artists, Culbertson painted in oils and Johnson was a potter. Culbertson was also a talented organist who played in the Arts and Crafts orchestra as well as at the Community Church. They organized "The Dickens Club" for the young men of the village. Miss Culbertson also had a hand in the organization of the Carmel Art Association in 1927. Ida Johnson was the chairwomen and curator of the "Museum of Yesteryear," sponsored by the Arts and Crafts Club. Both ladies were active in the Carmel Library Association, founded in 1904. Miss Johnson served as the Association's president in 1911-1912. The contributions of Dene Denny and Hazel Watrous have already been discussed. Both were very influential in the development of art, music, and drama in Carmel. Daisy Bostick, co-author of *Carmel at Work and Play* with Dorothea Castelhun, wrote for many years for the *Carmel Pine Cone*.

Women were involved in local politics from the date of city incorporation in 1916. Eva K. DeSabla was a charter member of the city's board of trustees. She was reelected to a second term on April 12, 1920 and appointed president of the board. Saidee Van Brower was first elected city clerk in 1920 and won every bid for reelection thereafter. A dance instructor in Berkeley, Van Brower was one of the many artistic-minded people who moved to Carmel in 1907. She performed in the Forest Theater productions as well as directed the corps de ballet, as did her niece Jeanette Hoagland Parkes, who married Percy Parkes.

[159] Devendorf gave Block 69 to the City as part of the Sand Dunes sale.

The contributions of other influential women have been discussed in the foregoing sections, i.e., Abbie Jane Hunter, Jane Powers, and Mrs. E.A. Foster (Section 1.5); Mrs. Dominga Doni de Atherton, Ann Murphy, Emma Otey and Emma Maugh (Section 3.1); Dene Denny and Hazel Watrous (Section 3.2, 5.3 and 6.2); Grace Deere Velie Harris (Section 4.2); Emma Williams, Helen Jaquith and Ella Reid Harrison (Section 4.3); Josephine Culbertson and Ida Price (Section 4.4 and 6. 2); Elsie Allen and Jane Powers (Section 6.1 and 6.2); and Mary DeNeale Morgan, Ruth Kuster, Catherine Seideneck, Mayotta Brown Comstock, Mary Austin, Alice MacGowan, Grace MacGowan Cooke, Mabel Gray Young, Sally Ehrmann and Katherine Vander Roest Clarke (Section 6.2). Other women who were active in community life or made significant contributions in their fields of endeavor include Laura Maxwell, Ivy Basham, Agnes Signor, Daisy Bostick, Mary Goold, Josephine Foster, Marie Gordon, Nora May French, and Eunice Gray.

6.5 Associated Resource Types

6.5.1 Identification

Properties associated with context of Development of Art and Culture include:

- Homes and studios
- Art galleries
- Theaters

6.5.2 Description

Homes and studios
The homes of artists, writers, dramatists, photographers, musicians and others who shaped Carmel's identity as an art cultural center between 1905 and 1940 are easily distinguishable from their neighbors, perhaps due to the strong individualism of their inhabitants and their expression of personal creativity. Studios and other types of work spaces would also be important resources associated with this context.

Art galleries and shops
The Carmel Art Association building and numerous art galleries are focal points of this context throughout the business district. Many craftsmen kept retail shops to sell the products of their art.

Theaters
Historic theaters in Carmel include the open-air Forest Theater and the Arts and Crafts Community Theater, now the Pacific Repertory Theater (also known as the Golden Bough Theatre, on Monte Verde south of Eighth Avenue). In addition, remnants of the Kuster's Theatre of the Golden Bough on Ocean and Monte Verde exist in the Court of the Golden Bough. The Sunset Center is significant within this context for the role it played in the community as an auditorium for cultural events since 1934. Designed by C.J. Ryland, the Sunset Center has been the venue of many cultural activities and performances, including pottery classes, dance recitals, painting studios, and lecture and meeting rooms. Other resources include the American Legion Hall and the Woman's Club at Ninth and San Carlos, which each include a large hall with a stage.

6.5.3 Significance
The registration requirement for a property associated with this context would be the role the resource played in the development of art or culture, and its integrity to the period of significance, i.e., the occupation of the person in question and his or her productive years, or with the period of significant activity. Commercial buildings significant under this context include those which were associated with notable artists and craftsmen or promoters of art and culture.

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9.0 APPENDICES

This section contains supplemental information to the Context Statement. Reference to any specific property, place name, address or individual within the Appendices is not a determination of historical significance of a particular property at the present time, rather it is a reference to a historical contribution. Designation of a property as a historic resource is determined on an individual basis, after a survey and evaluation process.

9.1 Elected Officials of Carmel-by-the-Sea

Charter Members of the Board of Trustees and Elected Officials, 1916

A.P. Fraser, President
Peter Taylor
G.F. Beardsley
Eva K. DeSabla
D.W. Johnson
L.S. Slevin, Treasurer
J.E. Nichols, Clerk

President of the Board of Trustees, 1916-1928

A.P. Fraser, 1916-1920
Eva K. DeSabla 1920 (resigned)
William Kibbler 1920-1922 (appointed to replace DeSabla)
William Maxwell 1922 (resigned)
Perry Newberry 1922-1924 (appointed to replace Maxwell)
William Kibbler 1924-26
John B. Jordan, 1926-1928

Mayors, 1926-1992

A.P. Fraser, 1916-1920
Eva DeSabla, 4/12-9/29/1920
William T. Kibbler, 1920-1922
William L. Maxwell, 4/10-5/29/1922
Perry Newberry, 1922-1924
William Kibbler, 1924-1926
John B. Jordan, 1926-1928
Ross E. Bonham, 1928-1932
Herbert Heron, 1930-1932 and 1938-1940
John C. Catlin, 1932-1934
James H. Thoburn, 1934-1936
Everett Smith, 1936-1938
Keith B. Evans, 1940-1942 (resigned)
Percy McCreery, 1942-1946
Frederick M. Godwin, 1946-1950
Allen Knight, 1950-1952
Horace D. Lyon, 1952-1958
John S. Chitwood, 1958-1960
Frank Putnam, 1960-1962
Eben Whittlesey, 1962-1964
Herbert B. Blanks, 1964-1966
Steve Grant, 1966-1968
Bernard Laiolo, 1968-1972
Bernard Anderson, 1972-1976
Eugene Hammond, 3/2-9/7/1976
Gunnar Norberg, 1976-1980
Bernard Laiolo, first elected Mayor, 1980-1982
Charlotte Townsend, 1982-1986
Clint Eastwood, 1986-1988
Jean Grace, 1988-1992
Kennedy White, 1992-2000
Sue McCloud, 2000-2012
Jason Burnett, 2012-2016
Steve Dallas, 2016-2018
Dave Potter, 2018-current

Members of the Board of Trustees, 1916-1950

A.P. Fraser, 1916-1920
Peter Taylor, 1916-1920
G.F. Beardsley, 1916-1918
Eva K. DeSabla, 1916-1920 (resigned)
D.W. Johnson, 1916-1918
William T. Kibbler, 1918-1926
Courtland J. Arne, 1918-1922
T.B. Reardon, 1920-1924
Fred Bechdolt, 1920 (resigned)
Michael J. Murphy, 1920-1922 (appointed to replace Bechdolt)
George M. Dorwart, 1920-1922 (appointed to replace DeSabla)
William Maxwell, 1922-1924
Helen Parkes, 1922, 1926
Perry Newberry, 1922-1924
John Dennis, 1924-1928
Henry Larouette, 1924-1928
C.O. Goold, 1924-1926
John B. Jordan, 1926-1934
George Wood, 1926-1930
Alfred K. Miller, 1926 (resigned)
Fenton P. Foster, 1926-1928 (appointed to replace Miller)
Ross E. Bonham, 1928-1932
Vassamine Rockwell, 1928-1932
Lavon E. Gottfried, 1928-1930
Herbert Heron, 1930-1934 & 1938-1941 (resigned)
Clara Kellogg, 1930-1934; 1936-1940
John Catlin, 1932-1936
Robert A. Norton, 1932-1936
Bernard Rowntree, 1934-1938 & 1944 (died)
James H. Thoburn, 1934-1938
Joseph A. Burge, 1934-1938
Everett Smith, 1936-1938
Gordon Campbell, 1938 (resigned)
Hazel Watrous, 1938-1940 (appointed to replace Campbell)
Keith Evans, 1940-1942 (resigned)
Frederick M. Godwin, 1940-1942 & 1946-1950
Arthur Hill, 1941-1942 (appointed to replace Heron)
Fred U. McIndoe, 1942-1943 (died)
L.L. Dewar, 1942-1944 (appointed to replace Evans)
Fred J. Mylar, 1943-1944 (appointed to replace McIndoe);
1945 (appointed to replace Rowntree) (Resigned)
H.E. Hefling, 1944-1948
Allen Knight, 1944-1952
Charles M. Childers, 1945-1946 (appointed to replace Mylar) & 1946-1948
Donald M. Craig, 1946-1952
Andrew Martin, 1948-1952
Gene A. Ricketts, 1948-1952

9.2 Members of the Arts and Crafts Club of Carmel

Founding Board, 1905

Elsie Allen, President
Mary Braley, Recording and Responding Secretary
Mrs. Frank Powers, Vice President
Louis Slevin, Treasurer

Second President, 1906

Josephine Foster

Fundraising Committee, 1906

Mary E. Hand
Fannie Yard
Dr. J.E. Beck
Carrie R. Sterling
Sidney Yard
William E. Wood
Arthur Vachell

Cedar Croft Staff, 1910

Sidney Yard, Director and dramatic reading
Helen Parkes, botany
Mary DeNeale Morgan, drawing and painting
Etta Tilton, pottery, china painting and art needlework
Carrie Carrington, music

Museum of Yesteryear

Ida Johnson, Chairwoman and Curator

Civic Committee

Thomas Reardon
Dr. Alfred E. Burton
Jessie Arms Botke
Susan Creighton Porter
Charles Sumner Greene

9.3 Founding Members of the Forest Theater Society

Joseph and Mary Hand
Helen Parkes
George and Carrie Sterling
Lucia Lane
Maud Lyons
Stella Vincent
Jessie Francis Short
George Boke
Virginia Smiley
Mary DeNeale Morgan
Fred and Clara Leidig
Saidee Van Bower
J.E. Beck
Thomas Reardon
Nellie Murphy
Ferdinand Burgdorff
Frederick Bechdolt
Helen Cooke
Alice MacGowan
Perry and Bertha Newberry
Herbert Heron

9.4 Charter Members of the Carmel Free Library Association

Edmund Arne
George Beardsley
Annie Gray
Mrs. F.H. Gray
Helen Jaquith
Annie Miller
Miss Parmele
Mrs. Franklin Powers
Franklin Powers

9.5 Founding Board Members of the Carmel Art Association

Pedro Lemos, President
Henry F. Dickenson, First Vice President
Josephine Culbertson, Second Vice President
Ida Maynard Curtis, Secretary
W. Seivery Smit, Treasurer
Sarah Deming
Homer Emmons
Jo Mora
George Seideneck
Edgar Alwyn Payne
Barnet Segal

9.5.1 Artists Working in Carmel, 1940-1986

Martin Baer
Clancy Bates, sculptor
Dudley Carter, sculptor
John Catlin, sculptor
William Chase, painter
John Cunningham
Patricia Cunningham, painter
Ida Maynard Curtis, painter
Eldon Dedini, cartoonist
Linford Donovan, painter
Leslie Emery, painter
Nora Grabill
Armin Hansen, painter
Jimmy Hatlo, cartoonist
Edda M. Heath, painter
Austin James, sculptor
Charles Chapel Judson, painter
Hank Ketcham, cartoonist
Bill O'Malley, cartoonist
John O'Shea
Paul Kirtland Mays, painter
David Ligare, painter
Alec Miller, sculptor
Frank Moore
Jo Mora, sculptor
Philip Nesbitt, illustrator
Lee Randolph
William Ritschel, painter
Catherine Seideneck, sculptor
George Seideneck, landscape painter
Celia Seymour
William Silva, painter
Howard Smith, painter
Vaughan Shoemaker, cartoonist
Alison Stilwell, painter
Donald Teague, illustrator
Edward Timmons
Gerald Wasserman, painter
Brett Weston, photographer
Edward Weston, photographer
Alexander Weygers, sculptor
Clifton Williams

9.6 Notable Architects, Designers and Builders in Carmel, 1940-1986

Architects

Frank Ashley
Richard Barrett
Carl Bensberg
Walter Burde
George Brook-Kothlow
Thomas Church
William L. Cranston
Olaf Dahlstrand
Gardner Dailey
Gordon Drake
Thomas S. Elston
Albert Farr
John Gamble
Donald Goodhue
Charles Sumner Greene
Albert Henry Hill
Robert Jones
Paffard Keatinge-Clay
Fred Keeble
Guy Koepp
Jon Konigshofer
Jack Kruse
Milt Latham
Frank Lloyd
Rowan Maiden
Bernard Maybeck
Clarence Mayhew
Charles Moore
Julia Morgan
Mark Mills
Louis Mulgardt
Athanese Nastovic
Willis Polk
James Pruitt
Guy Rosebrook
C.J. Ryland
Marcel Sedletzky
Will V. Shaw
David Allen Smith
Edwin Snyder
Robert Stanton
Ralph Stean
Robert A. Stephenson
John Thodos
George Thomson
Helen Warren
George Whitcomb
George Willox
Frank Lloyd Wright
William Wurster
Frank Wynkoop
Joseph Henry Wythe

Designer/Builders

Miles Bain
Frederick Bigland
Ernest Bixler
Delos Goldsmith
Lee Gottfried
Donald Hale
Percy Parkes
Frank Ruhl
A. C. Stoney

Richard Bixler
Daisy Bostick
Artie Bowen
Hugh Comstock
James Heisinger, Sr.
C.H. Lawrence
Meese & Briggs
M.J. Murphy
Hazel Watrous
George Mark Whitcomb

9.7 Historical Chronology of Carmel

1542 Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo sails by Monterey Bay, inhabited by Native Americans for thousands of years prior to Spanish exploration.

1595 California coast mapped by Sebastian Rodriguez Cermeno, who calls Monterey Bay "Bahia de San Pedro."

1602 Sebastian Vizcaino also maps coast and names Monterey Bay after the viceroy of New Spain, names Point Pinos and "El Rio Carmelo."

1769 Captain Gaspar de Portola and Franciscan padre Junipero Serra set out to establish a chain of missions and presidios in Alta California.

1770 On June 3, Mass is celebrated by Father Serra and founds a mission on the shores of Monterey Bay as the second of the Alta (Upper) California Spanish missions.

1771 Father Serra moves the mission near the ocean mouth of the Carmel River; he plants a cross to designate site of Mission San Carlos Borromeo, the 'Carmel Mission.'. In August work begins on the first buildings, log structures with thatch roofs surrounded by a stockade.

1773 Father Francisco Palou joins Serra and begins building a larger church at Carmel Mission.

1784 Father Serra dies and is buried at the Carmel mission.

1793 Construction begins on new stone church which is completed in 1797. Manuel Estevan Ruiz, a Mexican stonemason, is the designer.

1803 Father Fermin Francisco de Lasuén, who had taken over from Father Serra as the head of the missions, dies. Decline of missions begins.

1822 Control of Alta California passes from Spain to Mexico.

1833 Secularization of the missions.

1835 Richard Henry Dana visits Monterey and records his impressions in *Two Years Before the Mast*.

1848 California ceded to the United States by Mexico by the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo.

1849 The first Constitutional Convention is held in Monterey.

1850 California becomes the thirty-first state in the Union. Its first capital is San Jose.

1861 Mission San Carlos Borromeo described as a complete ruin.

1880 Southern Pacific Railroad opens resort hotel in Monterey, later called the Del Monte, and a mission restoration fund begun. Actual restoration not completed until fifty years later by Harry Downie, a San Francisco cabinetmaker.

1888 Development rights of 324 acres of the Las Manzanitas Ranch, owned by Honoré Escolle, pass to Santiago Duckworth.

Santiago Duckworth files map of "Carmel City" at county seat in Salinas. Plans resort development and builds Hotel Carmel at the intersection of Junipero (then Broadway) and Ocean. Two hundred lots sold and some cottages built before the 1890s depression.

1892 Duckworth is joined in his venture by Mrs. Abbie J. Hunter founder of the Women's Real Investment Company of San Francisco. Mrs. Hunter's uncle-in-law, Delos Goldsmith, builds bath house in 1889 at the foot of Ocean Avenue.

1902 James Franklin Devendorf purchases land in Carmel from agent Santiago Duckworth. Frank Powers becomes his partner and the two formed the Carmel Development Company with Devendorf as the on-site manager. Hotel Carmelo moved four blocks down Ocean to present location and re-named the Pine Inn.

1903 Brochure, addressed to "the School Teachers of California and other Brain Workers at Indoor Employment" distributed by Devendorf in May. Pine Inn officially opens on July 4.

1904 Stanford president David Starr Jordan builds at the northeast corner of Camino Real and Seventh. His assistant Vernon Kellogg also builds cottage. Camino Real just south of Ocean becomes known as "Professor's Row."

1905 Poet George Sterling moves to Carmel. His house becomes the nucleus of a literary colony.

Arts and Crafts Society organized.

1910 Forest Theater founded by Herbert Heron and Forest Theater Society formed. Open air facility opens July 9, 1910, with a production of "David."

1912 Forest Theater improved with larger stage with dressing rooms beneath. Electricity installed a year later. Western Drama Society breaks away from the Forest Theater Society and also begins producing plays. Arts and Crafts Society becomes third producer.

1913 Permanent population 550 by unofficial count with several thousand summer visitors. Devendorf issues another promotional brochure.

1914 Robinson and Una Jeffers arrive in Carmel from Monterey.

1915 Carmel Highlands subdivided by Devendorf and Highlands Inn completed in 1917.

1916 Carmel incorporates.

1928 Robinson and Una Jeffers begin building Tor House on Carmel Point.

1919 Three societies producing plays at the Forest Theater reunite.

1922 City purchases Devendorf Park and the Sand Dunes from James Devendorf.

1923 Opening of the Bank of Carmel by State bank charter.

1927 Carmel Art Association organized.

1929 Residential character of Carmel-by-the-Sea proclaimed by ordinance.

Bath house sold by City to Mrs. W.C. Mann who dismantled it.

1937 Highway 1 opened down the coast of California.

1930s Perry Newberry suggests building a fence around Carmel and charging a toll to enter.

1940 Carmel High School opened.

1941 Town experiences nightly blackouts during World War II. Carmelites rally to support troops through recycling programs, donations, and entertainment in the form of USO entertainment at Fort Ord.

1946 Monterey County Symphony founded, housed at Sunset Auditorium.

Village Corner constructed on NE corner of Dolores Street and Sixth Avenue.

Hugh Comstock appointed to Planning Commission.

1947 Planning Commission delivers a statement of policy that outlines a strict adherence to "Carmel tradition," from which there should be "*no* departure."

Home prices skyrocketed after war. Home on Casanova that sold for $8,500 in 1946 sold for $14,000 in 1947.

1948 Hugh Comstock launches "Dream Houses for the Common Man" project.

1948 Anti-rooming house law upheld in court.

Newspaper article claims anti-progress/modernization sentiments still strong. Carmel fought gas and electricity and in 1948 refuses to own its utilities. No numbers on homes or mail delivery. Community bulletin board used by all.

Buildings in commercial district could not exceed two stories. Bowling alleys, pool halls, or major industries not permitted in town.

1949 City purchases All Saints' Church for use as a City Hall annex.

1949 Founded by Bing Crosby, the Carmel Youth Center, a recreational center for teenagers is established.

1949 Construction began on Carmel Youth Center, designed by Robert Jones.

1950s City Council issued an ordinance stating that any Carmelite over 10 had to be clothed "from shoulder to knee."

City made plans to purchase 600-feet-long beach strip Santa Lucia to the Walker House.

New post-War architectural development boom.

Mark Mills moved to Carmel from San Francisco (where he lived briefly after living at Taliesin West).

City employees sign non-Communist oath.

1950 Chamber of Commerce established (Carmel merchants participated in Monterey Peninsula Chamber of Commerce). Residents opposed.

Carmel's telephone central office building completed.

Carmel Foundation, a group dedicated to elderly and the maintenance of Town House, a social center for elderly, founded.

1950 Ground broken for new All Saints' Episcopal Church on White Cedar tract, which was purchased from Mrs. Margaret Hitchcock for $12,000. Church designed by Robert R. Jones.

1950 City Hall expands into adjacent former All Saints' Church building.

1952 Della Walker House (designed by Frank Lloyd Wright in 1949), completed on West side of Scenic Road and Santa Lucia.

1953 First worship service for Carmel Presbyterian Church held in Carmel Woman's Club.

1954

Carmel Ballet Academy Building, designed by Elston and Cranston, constructed on Mission Street between Seventh and Eighth Avenues.

1954 Carmel Presbyterian Church formally organized with 70 charter members.

1955 One-hour-parking signs installed on Ocean Avenue.

1955 Forest Theater Workshop inaugurated.

New shopping center proposed at corner of Ocean and Junipero, which was at this time occupied by Murphy's lumberyard and the San Carlos Canning Company. Property owned by Leslie Fenton.

1955 Newly constructed Carmel Presbyterian Church dedicated.

1956 Robinson Jeffers sells a portion of his property for subdivision. More is sold after his death in 1962.

1956 Citizen's committee recommended closing Ocean Avenue to traffic and discontinuing additional parking at beach for tourists.

City Council purchased parking lot across street from post office for $45,000 and Murphy Lumber Yard lot on Ocean for $117,000.

1958 City Council instituted an Arts Commission, which was particularly charged with operation and maintenance of the Forest Theater.

Forestry Commission instituted to conserve trees and guide reforestation. City Council embarks on monthly special tree tour meetings.

1959 State of California gifted half-block-long strip of Ocean Avenue between Carpenter and Highway 1 to Carmel.

Carmel General Plan adopted.

Carmel Citizens' Committee formed with membership of 600.

1960 Carmel Plaza, designed by Olaf Dahlstrand, opens.

1962 First official Carmel Sand Castle contest held.

50 gift shops, 20 art galleries, 24 restaurants, 50+ hotels/motels.

Shell Oil Station, designed by Burde, Shaw, and Associates, constructed on SE corner of San Carlos Street and Fourth Avenue.

1964 Citizens approve a $575,000 bond measure to purchase Sunset Center and its two-block site.

1965 Sunset Center purchased by the City.

1965 Wells Fargo Bank, designed by Olaf Dahlstrand, constructed on E side of San Carlos between Ocean and Seventh Avenues.

1966 Vocal city council member Gunnar Norberg chairs Carmel's Golden Anniversary celebration, marking the 50-year anniversary of Carmel's incorporation.

1966 New Carmel police station, designed by Burde, Shaw and Associates, completed on Junipero and Fourth.

1968 Carmel Plaza additions approved despite public controversy.

1969 Carmel passes emergency ordinance regulating the use of public property.

1970 Council member Gunnar Norberg leads successful fight to save the Forest Theater.

1971 California Supreme Court strikes down the 1969 public property ordinance.

1972 Northern California Savings and Loan building, designed by Burde Shaw Associates constructed on Dolores and Seventh.

1972 City of Carmel purchases the Flanders Estate, including 14.9 acres of land, eventually developed into Mission Trail Park.

1972 California voters pass Proposition 20, creating the California Coastal Commission.

1973 The *Carmel Pine Cone* publishes the first cartoon by artist Bill Bates.

1976 Gunnar Norberg selected as mayor and serves two terms until 1980.

1976 Carmel citizens group Old Carmel, and former *Carmel Pine Cone* editor Frank Lloyd fight for and save Hugh Comstock's Village Corner restaurant.

1976 California State Legislature adopts the California Coastal Act of 1976.

1976 First architectural survey of Carmel's Significant Buildings conducted by Richard Janick, architectural historian. The survey concluded with a Proposed Carmel Significant Building list published in the *Monterey Peninsula Herald* in 1978.

1978 Carmel citizens pass an ordinance to make the mayor an elected position.

1978 First major study of Carmel's significant historic buildings conducted by architectural historian and Monterey Peninsula College instructor Richard Janick. A list of 112 structures was published in the *Monterey Peninsula Herald*.

1980 Former Carmel mayor Barney Laiolo (having served from 1968-1972) becomes Carmel's first elected mayor.

1982 Charlotte Townsend becomes second female mayor in Carmel's history.

1982 Mayor Charlotte Townsend wins a second consecutive term.

1984 Carmel passes new general plan.

1984 Improvements to M. J. Murphy's 1913 All Saints Episcopal Church updated and improved in an effort to modernize City Hall.

1984 Marjory Lloyd, local Carmel historian and advocate, forms the Carmel Heritage Society.

1985 Mayor Townsend's Beach Task Force completes Phase One of Carmel beach/bluff stabilization and the installment of new drainage infrastructure, in response to the 1983 winter storm.

9.8 Who's Who in Carmel

*The purpose of this appendix is to provide a biographical information on historic figures in Carmel's history, especially the creative people from all disciplines who shaped Carmel's character. It is in no way intended as a complete list, but rather a synopsis of information collected during the preparation of this report. Exclusion from this appendix does not diminish the significance of any individual historic person. Elsie Allen – Founding president of the Arts and Crafts Club of Carmel, Allen was a former editor of *Harper's* magazine and retired faculty member of Wellesley College.

Mary Austin – Born on September 9, 1868 in Carlinville, Illinois, Austin was a prolific writer who published some thirty-two volumes in addition to approximately two hundred articles in periodicals. Austin moved to a ranch near Bakersfield with her family when her father died in 1888. Married to Stafford Wallace Austin in 1891, she gave birth to a daughter the following year who was later found to be mentally retarded. She separated from her husband and moved to Carmel in 1906. Unable to afford the construction of a house on the lot she had purchased, she rented a cottage and later stayed in the Pine Inn. San Francisco architect Louis Mulgardt designed a studio platform around the limbs of an tree on her North Lincoln property. Austin called it her wick-i-up and spent many house there writing about nature and women's rights. In 1908, thinking herself hopelessly ill, she went to Italy to study prayer and mysticism with the Blue Nuns. Her book, *Christ in Italy*, was a product of her experience there. In 1912 she returned to Carmel and finally built a cottage beside her tree house. In 1924 she established herself in Santa Fe where she fought for the preservation and rehabilitation of Indian and Spanish arts and handicrafts.

Leonard Bacon – Bacon moved to Carmel in the 1920s. He wrote the satirical verse "Guinea Fowl", "Lost Buffalo" and others for *Harper's Weekly*.

Raymond Stannard Baker (AKA David Grayson) – Journalist, Pulitzer Prize winning biographer and essayist, Baker was born in Lansing, Michigan on April 17, 1870. From 1892 to 1897 he was a reporter for the Chicago Record. He moved to New York with his wife and children in 1898 to work for *McClure's Magazine* of which he served as associate editor until 1906. Baker then joined in the purchase of American Magazine, of which he was one of the editors until 1915. He was asked by Woodrow Wilson to edit his papers. Baker received the Pulitzer Prize for biography in 1940 for *Woodrow Wilson: Life and Letters*. He died in 1946.

Frederick Ritchie Bechdolt – Born on July 27, 1874 in Mercersburg, Pennsylvania where he received his formal education, Bechdolt later went from placer mining in the Klondike, to cow punching, to rubbing shoulders with criminals at San Quentin and Folsom. When he first arrived in Carmel in 1907, he rented a cottage in the Eighty Acres until he met and married Adele Hare. His novels include *When the West Was Won, The Hard Rock Man, Takes of Oldtimers* and *9009* in collaboration with James Hopper. He also wrote for various newspapers including the *Seattle Star* and *Los Angeles Times*. In addition to being a prolific writer, Bechdolt served as postmaster, city council member and police commissioner. He died in 1950.

William Rose Benet – Poet and novelist, Benet was born on February 2, 1886. He was on the staff of Century Magazine from 1911 to 1918. From 1919 and 1920 Benet was assistant editor of the Nation's Business, and went from there to the *Literary Review of the New York Evening Post*, from which the *Saturday Review of Literature* grew. In 1942, he received the Pulitzer Prize for *The Dust Which Is God*, an autobiographical verse narrative. Benet shared a cottage in Carmel with his former Yale classmate Sinclair Lewis.

Geraldine Bonner – Bonner moved to Carmel after the San Francisco earthquake. She was a writer for the *San Francisco Argonaut* and author of *The Pioneer* and *The Emigrant Trail*.

Daisy Bostick – Daisy Fox Desmond Bostick first came to Carmel from San Jose as a guest of the Newberrys in 1910. She moved to the village permanently in 1918, pursuing a variety of activities including managing the Hotel Carmel with her husband Lou Desmond and writing a column for the *Carmel Pine Cone*. An acute observer of life in Carmel, she co-authored *Carmel at Work and Play* with Dorothea Castelhun in 1925.

Arthur (Artie) Bowen – Born in Sotoville in January 1887, Bowen moved to Carmel from San Jose. He built a cottage for himself on the east side of Casanova between Ninth and Tenth where he resided until his marriage in 1906. He worked for Devendorf for six years and later went into contracting and remodeling. He died in 1969.

Van Wyck Brooks – Literary historian and novelist, Brooks arrived in Carmel for a short period in 1911. He was the author of *The World of H.G. Wells* and *America's Coming of Age*. Although he was critical of the lifestyle of the bohemians in Carmel, he returned for extended visits during the 1930s and 1940s.

Davenport Bromfield – In April of 1888 W.C. Little and Bromfield were commissioned to survey Carmel City for Santiago Duckworth. Bromfield, Little's apprentice, ended up doing most of the work while living in a small cottage he built for himself on the east side of Carpenter Street between Second and Third.

Ferdinand Burgdorff – Born on November 7, 1881 in Cleveland, Ohio. Burgdorff first came to Carmel in 1908 to visit his friend and fellow Bohemian Club member, Charles Rollo Peters. He soon returned and rented a small portion of the kitchen belonging to the Arts and Crafts Club, which he used as his first studio while often swapping notes with Sidney Yard. He later built a home on Boronda Road in Pebble Beach. Burgdorff died in 1975.

Argyll Campbell – Born on December 2, 1892 in San Jose, Campbell was the city attorney and responsible for drafting many of Carmel's first zoning laws and ordinances. He is best remembered for writing Carmel's "Magna Carta": The City of Carmel-by-the-Sea is hereby determined to be primarily, essentially, and predominately a residential city wherein business and commerce have in the past, are now, and are proposed in the future to be subordinated to its residential character.

Dorothea Castelhun – Castelhun moved to Carmel from Massachusetts during the 1920s. She published the series of stories for girls, *The Penelope Books*, and co-authored *Carmel at Work and Play* with Daisy Bostick.

Father Angelo Casanova – Casanova, a priest at San Carlos Church, was responsible for the partial restoration of the Carmel Mission in 1884, which involved putting a roof on the church to protect it from the elements.

Lena Cherry – Cherry was a poet and artist who moved to Carmel in 1920 with her first husband M.I.T. professor, Dr. Alfred E. Burton. Six years later she left him and their three children for inventor Carl Cherry. They purchased Delos Goldsmith's house which was constructed between 1892 and 1894. After her husband died, Cherry created the Carl Cherry Foundation and remodeled their house into a gallery and theater.

Hugh Comstock – Hugh Comstock developed the Fairy Tale style of architecture with which Carmel has become closely identified. Born in Evanston, Illinois in 1893, Comstock moved to Santa Rosa with his

family in 1907. In 1924, he came to Carmel to visit his sister and met and married Mayotta Brown. The two decided to remain in Carmel as Mayotta had a successful doll making business. Comstock's career as a designer-builder began when his wife asked him to build a cottage for her dolls. The "Doll's House" became the first of many Fairy Tale style cottages he would design and build. Comstock's interest in architecture eventually changed, however, to the development of the post-adobe system of construction.

Josephine Culbertson – Culbertson came to Carmel in 1906 with her friend and companion, Ida Johnson. Soon they opened a studio to display their art and built a home at Lincoln and Seventh, known as "Gray Gables." They helped organize the Carmel Art Association, of which Culbertson was the founding vice-president. In addition to their artistic endeavors, they established The Dickens Club, a local boys club.

John Cunningham – Cunningham originally appeared in Carmel in 1926 with a cast of amateur actors from Berkeley. He stayed on for a few months painting sets for the Forest Theater. A decade later he returned with his wife, Pat, and set up permanent residence. In 1939, the Cunninghams bought the Carmel Art Institute from Armin Hansen and Paul and Kit Whitman.

Pat Cunningham – Cunningham, an oil painter and muralist, was the first woman president of the California Art Association. She and her husband, John, bought the Carmel Art Institute from Armin Hansen and Paul and Kit Whitman in 1939.

Dene Denny – born in Callahan, California, Denny acquired a degree from the University of California at Berkeley. She moved to Carmel in 1924 with her companion, Hazel Watrous. They first built a studio on Dolores near First, which Watrous also designed. From 1927 to 1928 they leased the Golden Bough Playhouse from Edward Kuster and presented eighteen plays. They formed the Denny-Watrous Gallery in 1928 which sponsored concerts and art exhibitions. They also co-founded the Bach Festival in 1935.

Eva K. DeSabla – DeSabla was first elected to public office as a City Trustee October 31, 1916 when Carmel-by-the-Sea incorporated. She was reelected April 12, 1920 and appointed president, but resigned from office September 29, 1920. She came to Carmel from Marysville, where she was known as Eva K. Couvileau.

Frank Devendorf – Born April 6, 1856, Devendorf left his native town of Lowell, Michigan at sixteen to join his mother who lived in San Jose. He later established himself in the real estate business there and in Stockton. In 1902 he acquired Carmel City from Santiago Duckworth and the following year established the Carmel Development Company with Frank Powers. He set the stage for the development of Carmel-by-the-Sea and became its unofficial mayor. He and his wife Lillian had four daughters Edwina, Marion, Myrtle and Lillian.

Paul Dougherty – An artist who achieved fame as a seascapist, Dougherty was a National Academician who settled in Carmel Highlands in 1928. He served as president of the Carmel Art Association in 1940.

Harry Downie – Downie was a cabinetmaker from San Francisco. He was commissioned by Monsignor Philip G. Scher of San Carlos Church to restore the Carmel Mission in 1931. He died March 10, 1980 and was buried alongside the mission.

Santiago Duckworth – In 1888, Santiago J. Duckworth purchased 324 acres of land from Honoré Escolle and filed a subdivision map for Carmel City. The area was surveyed by W.C. Little and generally bounded by Monte Verde on the west, Forest Road on the east Twelfth Avenue on the south and First Avenue on the north. Duckworth, already established in the real estate business in Monterey, planned on developing Carmel City as a summer resort for Catholics, akin to the Methodist retreat already established

in Pacific Grove. He opened the Hotel Carmelo on the northeast corner of Ocean Avenue and Broadway (Junipero) in 1889.

Louise Norton Drummage – A native of Illinois, Louise came to California in 1897 to work at the Agnew State Hospital in San Jose. While taking a holiday in Pacific Grove in 1899, she met and later married Melvin Norton, proprietor of the Cash Package Grocery. The couple first visited nearby Carmel in June 1903 where they bought property and established the village's first restaurant. They built a house at Seventh and San Carlos, which was later moved to Ninth and San Carlos. In 1906, Louise opened a bakery, and later built the Tel and Tel Building, constructed by Percy Parkes, which was razed in 1957. She later married William T. Drummage.

William T. Drummage – Drummage was sent to Carmel in 1892 as the resident agent for Abbie Jane Hunter. He and his mother moved from San Jose to Carmel in 1898 to a house he built on the lot bounded by San Carlos, Mission and Fourth streets. In 1899, Abbie Jane Hunter sold Drummage a portion of her Carmel holdings. He was Carmel's first plumber. He later married the widow Louise Norton.

Amos Engle – A landscape artist, Engle moved to Carmel during the 1920s.

Nora May French – A gifted poet and protégé of George Sterling, French came to Carmel in 1907. Sterling built a cabin for her in the Eighty Acres so she would have a place to write. She later committed suicide.

Delos Goldsmith – Born in Painsville, Ohio on September 3, 1828, Goldsmith moved to San Francisco at nineteen where he worked as a carpenter. He moved to Carmel in 1888 and began constructing homes. He was the uncle of Wesley Hunter, husband of Abbie Jane Hunter.

Lee Gottfried – A builder responsible for numerous homes and commercial buildings, alone and as half of the partnership of Gottfried and Hale, Lee Gottfried was active in village life, helping to organize the Abalone League of softball teams and the building and loan society.

Eunice Gray – Gray moved to Carmel during the 1920s and lived in one of the first beach cottages, "The Barnacle." She wrote *Cross Trails* and *Chaparral*.

Charles Sumner Greene – Greene, along with his brother Henry Mather Greene, established the architectural firm of Greene and Greene in Pasadena. Together the brothers developed the Craftsman style of architecture into a high art. D.L. James engaged Charles Greene in 1918 to design a home on a rocky bluff overlooking the Pacific Ocean in the Carmel Highlands. Charles Greene Charles Greene left Pasadena and settled in Carmel, where he built his own home and studio on Lincoln Street. Greene was a member of the Civic Committee of the Arts and Crafts Club and in 1921 designed the War Memorial Arch at San Carlos and Ocean Avenue. He was also one of Carmel's first Planning Commissioners. His daughter Bettie built stables on Junipero and Fifth streets which were razed in 1958.

Arnold Genthe – Prussian Arnold Genthe had originally intended to become a teacher in his homeland. He came to Carmel via San Francisco, where he became a member of the Bohemian Club and a fledgling photographer, not long after his friend George Sterling. He built a redwood home on Camino Real near Eleventh and continued to develop his skill and his reputation as a portrait and landscape photographer. While living in Carmel, he took his first color photographs. In San Francisco in 1911, he displayed one of the first exhibitions of color photographs in the United States.

Armin Carl Hansen – Born in San Francisco on October 23, 1886, Hansen studied art at the California School of Design and later in Stuttgart, Germany. He was a painter and etcher who was noted for his portraits of Spanish and Portuguese fisherman of the Monterey Bay. A National Academician, he was an organizer of the Carmel Art Association—of which he was later president—and the Carmel Art Institute. He died April 23, 1957.

Ella Reid Harrison – Ella Reid Harrison can be considered the most generous supporter of Carmel's library. Harrison bequeathed a large portion of her estate including bonds, land, books and furniture to the city on the condition that they be used to build a public library in memory of her late husband, California Supreme Court Justice Ralph Chandler Harrison.

Herbert Heron – Heron was born in 1883 in New Jersey. He had been a professional actor with the Belasco and Morasco Stock Company in Los Angeles and first visited Carmel in July of 1908. Returning one year later, Heron built a home at Guadalupe and Mountain View. The following year he formed the Forest Theater Society. Heron also opened the first genuine book shop in 1918 in the Eighty Acres. It was later moved to the Seven Arts Building on the corner of Lincoln and Ocean which he built in 1925, and sold in 1940. In later years he served on the city council and as mayor from 1930 to 1934.

James Hopper – Hopper was born in Paris on July 23, 1876. His first book, *Caybigan*, was published in 1906. He taught school in the Philippines for a while, but returned to the United States to dedicate himself to writing. He wrote more than four hundred short stories and several novels for popular magazines such as *Collier's* and *The Saturday Evening Post*. He moved to Carmel permanently after the San Francisco earthquake in 1906. First renting a cottage on Dolores and Ninth, he later moved into George Sterling's house. After it burnt down, he built a new home on the same site. His first wife, Mattie, was particularly active in raising funds for the development of Devendorf Park. In 1938, Hopper married Elayne Lawson of Monterey, and died in 1956. His daughter Janie married actor Richard Boone and Herb Vial.

Abbie Jane Hunter – Hunter founded the Women's Real Estate and Investment Company in 1892. She acquired partial interest in the development of Carmel City and sponsored the Carmel Bathhouse (built by Delos Goldsmith). She is credited with coining the name Carmel-by-the-Sea.

Robinson Jeffers – Jeffers was born in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. He studied various fields including forestry and medicine before deciding to become a poet. Initially considered to have an unpromising career, his genius blossomed during the 1920s. His principal work, *Roan Stallion, Tamar and Other Poems*, was published in 1925. Jeffers and his wife, Una, began renting a house on Monte Verde near Ocean in 1914. Several years later they purchased land on Carmel Point and hired Michael J. Murphy to build a house. Constructed of native granite, they called it "Tor House" because the treeless, windswept lot facing the ocean reminded them of the tors in England. Observing the stone masons during the construction, Jeffers later built "Hawk Tower."

David Starr Jordan – The first president of Stanford University, Jordan built a house at the northeast corner of Camino Real and Seventh in 1905. That section of the street later became known as "Professor's Row." Jordan was also the author of *Blood of the Nation, The Higher Sacrifice* and *The Strength of Being Clean*.

William Keith – California's best known landscape artist, Keith was born in Aberdeenshire, Scotland on November 21, 1838. he was a prolific artist, however, 2,000 of his paintings, sketches and studies were destroyed in the San Francisco fire of 1906. He died April 13, 1911.

Harry Lafler – Literary editor of the *Argonaut*, Lafler moved to the Carmel area after the San Francisco earthquake. He actually lived down the coast most of the time and wrote for local papers. He also worked on the publication of poems by Nora May French after her death.

Father Fermín Francisco de Lasuén – The building at Mission San Carlos de Borromeo was begun in 1793 under the direction of Father Lasuén.

Sinclair Lewis – The first American to win the Nobel Prize for literature in 1930, twenty-three year-old Lewis joined the MacGowan sisters in Carmel in 1908 to act as their secretary and collaborator. The three had met at Helicon Hall, a utopian writer's colony in New Jersey established by Upton Sinclair. For a little over a year Lewis lived in a house on the beach near the MacGowan house; that spring he shared his modest quarters with friend William Rose Benet. He worked off and on as a reporter before becoming a novelist. He won the Pulitzer Prize in 1926 but refused it saying he did not believe in prizes. His principal works include: *Elmer Gantry, Main Street, Babbit* and *Arrowsmith*.

W.C. Little – In April of 1888 W.C. Little and Davenport Bromfield were commissioned to survey Carmel City for Santiago Duckworth.

Grace and Alice MacGowan – The MacGowan sisters moved to Carmel in 1908 to join the literary colony. They had already achieved wide popular success with their novels, short stories, essays and poems. They bought a two-story, shingled house located on a cliff above the beach at what came to be known as "Cooke's Cove." They were active in the Forest Theater Society from its founding in the spring of 1910.

Xavier Martinez – Martinez was born in Guadalajara, Mexico on February 7, 1874. He moved to San Francisco in 1893 to study art and in 1895 went to Europe for six more years of study. Martinez returned to San Francisco where he taught at the California School of Arts and Crafts. Most of his impressionist paintings are of the Piedmont hills where he lived; however, he spent summers teaching at the Arts and Crafts Club School and made frequent trips to Carmel to visit friends and sketch. He died January 13, 1943. His house at Carmelo and Sixteenth was occupied by his wife and daughter until 1989.

Laura Maxwell – Maxwell was born in Carson City, Nevada on October 13, 1887. She moved to Carmel permanently in 1918 and opened her first studio at Carmelo and Santa Lucia. She died August 7, 1967.

Joseph Mora – Sculptor, painter and writer, Mora was born in Uruguay and came to the United States as a child. He studied art in New York and Boston. After World War I, he moved to Carmel, purchasing a full block at San Carlos and First where he built his home and studio. Soon after his arrival he was commissioned to do the Serra Cenotaph for the Carmel mission which was completed and dedicated in 1924. Shortly afterward he sold his property in town and moved to Sunridge Road in Pebble Beach. Other notable works by Mora include a monument to Cervantes at Golden Gate Park, the Bret Harte Memorial at the Bohemian Club, and the Memorial Fountain at the Salinas County Courthouse.

Mary DeNeale Morgan – Born in San Francisco in 1868, DeNeale Morgan attended the California School of Design from 1888 to 1890. She later exhibited her art throughout the United States. She visited Carmel briefly in 1903 with her family who helped run the Pine Inn for a little more than a month for Frank Devendorf. Morgan returned the following year and occupied a cottage on Monte Verde near the Pine Inn. Six years later she established her permanent home and studio in the former Sidney Yard studio on Lincoln near Seventh. An avid painter in tempera and oils, active in the support of the Forest Theater and All Saints Church, and one of the founders of the Carmel Art Association, she died in October 1948.

Michael J. Murphy – Born June 26, 1885 in Mendon, Utah, Murphy first came to Carmel in 1902. Two years later Frank Devendorf hired him to do the building for the Carmel Development Company. Murphy went on to become the most prolific designer-builder in the history of Carmel, with the Pine Inn, Highlands Inn, La Playa Hotel, Sundial Lodge, Tor House, Harrison Memorial Library, and numerous houses to his credit. In 1924 he established M.J. Murphy Inc., which sold building supplies, did rock crushing and concrete work and operated a lumber mill and cabinet shop located between San Carlos and Mission.

M.M. Murphy – Murphy moved to Carmel during the 1920s and lived at Twelfth and Casanova. He was an author, paleontologist and Navajo Indian Reservation official.

Perry Newberry – Perry Newberry came to Carmel with his wife, Bertha, in 1910. He was formerly on the art staff of the *San Francisco Examiner*. He became the assistant editor of the *Carmel Pine Cone* and later its owner until he sold it in 1935. In 1922, he successfully ran for the Board of Trustees and became the fifth mayor of Carmel. Newberry fought to preserve the unique and rural quality of Carmel before passing away in 1938.

Helen Parkes – Helen Parkes was one of the multi-faceted women who pepper the early history of Carmel. Her accomplishments include stints on the city council and the first planning commission, service as assistant postmistress, botany instructor at Cedar Croft, and reader of the Christian Science Church. She was one of the first members of the Forest Theater Society, and wrote and produced one of its plays, *The Columbine*. In many of her activities she was joined by her lifelong friend, Stella Vincent.

Earl Percy Parkes – One of the early builders of Carmel, Parkes counted among his commissions the Seven Arts Building erected for Herbert Heron, the Corner Cupboard or Drummage's Drive-in Market, and Monte Verde Inn. He also built a residence for Jo Mora on San Carlos 3 southwest of First Avenue, and a home for Charles Sumner Greene on Monte Verde between Thirteenth and Santa Lucia Avenues.

Ralph Pearson – Pearson, a noted etcher, moved to Carmel from New Mexico during the 1920s.

Charles Rollo Peters – Born in San Francisco on April 10, 1862, Peters left the insurance business to become an artist in 1885. Following five years of study in San Francisco and Paris, he settled on the Monterey Peninsula. Peter's home was a gathering place for other artists when he was not working. He died in 1928.

Frank Powers – Generally credited as one of the founders of Carmel, Powers and James Franklin Devendorf became partners in the Carmel Development Company in 1903. An attorney, Powers loved nature and the arts. He maintained the old Murphy property on San Antonio as a vacation home for his family.

Jane Gallatin Powers – Married to Frank Powers, Jane Powers was a painter and a founding member of the Arts and Crafts Club. She was the daughter of one of California's wealthiest industrialists, Albert Gallatin, and the sister-in-law of Ernest Seton Thompson.

Ira Remsen – An artist, Ira Remsen was a New Yorker who had studied painting in Paris. His studio on Dolores Street became the permanent home for the Carmel Art Association in 1933, five years after the artist himself had committed suicide. During his residency in Carmel (on the Highlands), Remsen was active in the Arts and Crafts Club, the Carmel Art Association, and the Forest Theater.

William Ritschel – Marine landscape artist Ritschel was born in Nuremberg, Bavaria in 1864. He came to United States in 1895 and settled in New York City. Having later visited Carmel, he returned in 1918

to build his "Castle" in the Highlands with the help of a Spanish stone mason. Ritschel was a founder the Carmel Art Association and a National Academician. His second wife was Elanora Havel.

Dane Rudhyar – Musician and philosopher, Rudhyar moved to Carmel during the 1920s.

Frederick Preston Search – An accomplished cellist and composer, Search and his wife established their home on the corner of Thirteenth and Monte Verde in 1914. From 1920 to 1933 he directed the orchestra at the Del Monte Hotel. Later he lived on Jamesburg Road in the Carmel Valley.

Catherine Comstock Seideneck – Seideneck was the daughter of Nellie Comstock, the patron of the Carmel Art Institute, and the sister of Hugh Comstock. She taught leather work at the School of Fine Arts at the University of California at Berkeley and later at the Carmel Arts and Crafts Summer School.

George Seideneck – Seideneck was born in Czechoslovakia in 1885. He moved to Chicago as a young man where he studied at the Art Institute and later became a commercial illustrator. Upon moving to California, Seideneck was a long time staff artist with the coastal laboratories of the Carnagie Institute as well as photographer and artist of landscapes and portraits. He belonged to the group which formed the Carmel Art Association and became its first president. His other cultural activities included the Carmel Music Society. Seideneck designed the walls and corners of Devendorf Park. He and his wife Catherine opened their studio in the Studio Building on Ocean Avenue August 17, 1922 and built their home in the Carmel Valley.

Father Junipero Serra – Serra was born in Petra on the Isle of Mallorca on November 24, 1713. He entered the Order of Saint Francis at a young age. At thirty-six, he was sent to Mexico where he was a missionary for nineteen years before being sent to California to establish a chain of missions. He arrived on the shores of the Monterey Bay in 1770 with the Portola exhibition and established the Carmel Mission. Serra went on to establish seven more missions and died on August 28, 1784.

William Posey Silva – An artist, Silva built the Carmelita Gallery on San Antonio north of Ocean Avenue.

Louis Slevin – An avid photographer, Slevin held the first of many posts in Carmel. A man of many facets, Slevin was a shopkeeper, postmaster, city treasurer, writer, and stamp collector, collector of rare books, and maritime historian. Ranging from 1899 to 1935, Slevin's photographs provide important documentation of the changes in the Monterey Bay area.

Robert Stanton – Carmel architect Robert Stanton was the designer of many notable buildings in the Monterey and Santa Cruz area. A native of Torrance, California, Stanton worked for the architect Wallace Neff as a traveling superintendent during the early 1930s. In 1934, he moved to Carmel which he had developed a liking for during his honeymoon at the Highland Inn twelve years earlier. His first commission in the area was the Salinas County Courthouse in 1935. He also designed some sixteen hospitals and forty schools.

Lincoln Steffens – Political writer and social critic, Steffens was born on April 6, 1866 in San Francisco. He received a Ph.D. from the University of California. He became a "muckraking" reporter and held several editorial positions with magazines including *McClure's Magazine* and *American Magazine*. He and his wife, Ella Winter, moved into a cottage on San Antonio near Ocean during the 1920s where he wrote his autobiography and edited the *Pacific Weekly*.

George Sterling – Poet George Sterling came to California in 1890 from Sag Harbor Long Island. He studied for the priesthood for three years, then left to work for his uncle, Frank Havens, as an insurance

agent. He married Carrie Rand and settled in Piedmont. His friend, Ambrose Bierce, helped him publish his first collection of poems in 1903. Jack London introduced him to Mary Austin who in turn introduced him to Carmel in the summer of 1905. He built a house in the Eighty Acres on Torres between Tenth and Eleventh. Sterling committed suicide in 1926.

Joyce Stevens – An artist, architect and environmentalist, Joyce Stevens worked as a watercolorist before earning an architecture degree at the University of Washington. After working for several firms in Alaska, she designed a building at Ladd Air Force Base near Fairbanks. She arrived in the Monterey Area in 1962, designing several buildings at Fort Ord. By 1964, she resided in Carmel, designing a modernist home for herself. A devoted Conservationist, Joyce Stevens coauthored the book, "Coastal California's Legacy: the Monterey Pine Forest," in 2011 as part of her decades-long effort to preserve the area's native pine forests. She succeeded and in 2014, the Monterey Peninsula Regional Park District purchased the 851-acre Rancho Aguajito property and dedicated it as the Joyce Stevens Monterey Pine Forest Preserve.[160]

Saidee Van Brower – Saidee Van Brower was first elected city clerk in 1920 and won every bid for reelection thereafter. A dance instructor in Berkeley, Van Brower was one of the many artistic-minded people who moved to Carmel in 1907. She performed in the Forest Theater productions as well as directed the corps de ballet.

Stella Vincent – Like her close friend Helen Parkes, Stella Vincent was prominent in several aspects of village life. Librarian from 1911 until 1915, she was assistant postmistress during the tenure of I.E. Payne and assumed the principal post in 1918, serving until 1929. She was one of the founding members of the Forest Theater Society, was an officer of the Bank of Carmel established in 1923, and was an early member of the Christian Science Church.

Grace Wallace – Wallace moved to Carmel during the 1920s and lived at "Wee Gables" on Camino Real near Thirteenth. She was known for her plays *Sun Gazers* and *Poorest of the Poor*.

Hazel Watrous – Watrous was a supervisor for the Alameda school system. She moved to Carmel in 1924 with her companion Dene Denny, who she met at Berkeley. They first built a studio on North Dolores, which Watrous also designed. From 1927 to 1928 they leased the Golden Bough Playhouse from Edward Kuster and presented eighteen plays. They formed the Denny Watrous Gallery in 1928 which sponsored concerts and art exhibitions. They also co-founded the Back Festival in 1935. In addition to being active in drama, music and art, they designed thirty-six houses in Carmel. Watrous also served on the city council.

Florence Wells – Wells came to Carmel in 1908. She was one-time president of San Francisco Women's Press Club. Wells owned and built the first house on the Point, "The Driftwood."

Edward Weston – A nationally recognized photographer, Weston moved to Carmel in 1929 and established a small studio to support his children. In 1932 Weston, along with Ansel Adams, was one of the seven founding members of the F/64 Club which promoted straight photography as a true art form. Weston is best known for his interpretations of the natural environment (Point Lobos, Big Sur, Carmel Valley and the Southwest) and for his insightful portraiture. In 1937 he relocated to a small cabin built by his son above Wild Cat Creek in Big Sur.

George W. Whitcomb – Born in 1898, Whitcomb was one of the builders who shaped early Carmel. Like many of his contemporaries in Carmel, he was not formally trained as an architect; rather, he had been an

[160] "Ninety Years of Life – and 60 Years of Conservation," *Carmel Pine Cone*, 1/27/2017.

instructor in mechanical drawing and manual training in Minnesota before coming to Carmel. His first local project was the Hagemeyer studio and home, now the Forest Lodge on Mountain View, in the 1920s.

Paul and Kit Whitman – The Whitmans helped found the Carmel Art Institute in 1937.

Michael Williams – One-time city editor of the *San Francisco Examiner*. Williams moved to Carmel after the San Francisco earthquake. He was noted for his collaboration with Upton Sinclair on two books in 1908 as well as his own books, *The Little Flower of Carmel* and *The Little Brother Francis of Assisi*.

Harry Leon Wilson – Author of *The Spenders* and *The Lions of the Lord* and contributing editor of the *Puck* in New York, Wilson was one of the first writers to move to Carmel along with George Sterling. His home, known as "Ocean Home," was located near Sterling's in the Eighty Acres.

Fannie Yard – The wife of Artist Sidney Yard, she was the director of Cedar Croft, the Arts and Crafts Club Summer School.

9.9 Biographical Information on Architects Working in Carmel between 1940 and 1986

Miles Bain - Designer/builder Miles Bain is best known for building Frank Lloyd Wright's Walker House and the Nathaniel Owings House. Bain arrived to Carmel in the 1920s to work as an estimator for contractor George Mark Whitcomb.[161] In the 1930s, Bain earned his own contractor license and constructed a number of houses in Carmel. After WWII, Bain and Whitcomb partnered up again to work for Bechtel Corporation, building oil-pumping stations in Saudi Arabia. Upon his return to Carmel, Bain received building commissions for the residences of Frank Lloyd Wright, Nathaniel Owings, Ansel Adams, and Neil Weston. Bain's Carmel office was listed in 1963 City Directories.

Richard Barrett - Born in 1943, Richard Barrett received a Master of Architecture degree from Yale University and worked for the San Francisco office of Skidmore Owings & Merrill for several years and moved to Monterey, where he was employed for Hall & Goodhue (now HGHB Architects). While employed at Hall & Goodhue, he designed the Roman House on Junipero Avenue in 1973. In 1976 he established his own practice in Carmel-by-the-Sea and continues to practice in 2022. His modernist designs reflect his principle that modern buildings should harken to past romantic movements and should not all reflect the harshness of the International Style. More recent houses utilize modern interpretations of buildings from the English Arts & Crafts Movement. Additional commissions in Carmel include The Sweeney House (1976) on Mission Street south of Thirteenth Avenue, and the MacKenzie House (1979) on Eight Avenue north of Santa Fe Street.[162]

Carl Bensberg - An architect, is shown in City Directories as residing in Carmel from 1947 through 1963.

Ernest and Richard Bixler - Ernest Bixler (1898-1978) was a prominent builder/contractor in Carmel in the 1940s and 1950s. Bixler was introduced to the contracting business from his father and was trained as a carpenter in Oakland.[163] He began working as a builder in Carmel and Pebble Beach in 1940 while serving as Carmel's Postmaster. After WWII, Bixler served on Carmel's Planning Commission at a time when the community's zoning standards were in a state of flux. He retired from contracting in 1966. His own residence in Carmel is a hipped roof, California Ranch style building. Bixler is listed in City Directories as residing in Carmel at the southwest corner of Eleventh Avenue and Junipero from 1947 to 1963.

George Brook-Kothlow – A Minnesota native, George Andrew Brook-Kothlow (1934-2012) graduated from the University of Colorado, Boulder with a degree in architecture. Following graduation, he trained for several years with Frank Lloyd Wright's granddaughter, Elizabeth Wright-Ingraham, and with San Francisco architect Warren Callister. He moved to Big Sur in 1966 and designed his first home there in what would be termed "Bohemian Modern," a design idiom that emanated from the Beat movement in the 1960s/1970s that emphasized a return to the land via handmade houses of natural materials that embraced the natural environment. His typical houses were designed under Wrightian Organic architectural principles combined with the use of exposed structural elements and Redwood sheathing. His buildings would be constructed "from the ground up," using salvaged and on-site materials, such as reclaimed wood taken from demolished railroad trestles. An example of his Carmel designs is a house on Seventh Avenue east of Forest Road.[164]

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[161] Department of Parks and Recreation, Building, Structure, and Object Record, Mary D. Crile House, 2.
[162] *Carmel Modernism*, Exhibit by the Monterey Area Architectural Resources Archive (MAARA), Carl Cherry Center for the Arts, Carmel-by-the-Sea, 2017. "Richard Barrett (Biography)," MAARA archives.
[163] Department of Parks and Recreation, Building, Structure, and Object Record, Ernest Bixler House, 2.
[164] "George Andrew Brook-Kothlow (obituary)," *Monterey Peninsula Herald*, 9/23/2012. Richard Olsen, "In Memory of George Brook-Kothlow, Architect.

Burde, Shaw & Associates –Walter Burde (FAIA) graduated from the Miami University (Ohio) School of Architecture in 1934 and began his career locally designing hospitals and residences in the Toledo, Ohio area. Following World War II, he began his private practice in 1950, as chief designer for Robert Jones, AIA, aiding design in the award winning Monterey Airport. Walter Burde has won numerous architectural awards, including the American Institute of Architects (AIA) National Honor Award (1969), the Governor's Design Award (1966), the Monterey Bay Chapter Awards of Merit (1959 and 1976), and became a Fellow at the American Institute of Architects in 1987. His work has been published in numerous architectural journals. Walter Burde was active in the local community and held every office in the Monterey Bay Chapter of the AIA, receiving the Robert Stanton, FAIA award in recognition of his outstanding service. He designed numerous commercial, civic and residential buildings in the region and collaborated with fellow architect Will Shaw under the firm name Burde Shaw Associates.[165]

Born in Los Angeles in 1924, William Vaughn Shaw (FAIA) received his Bachelor of Architecture at the University of California, Berkeley in 1950. Shortly thereafter, he moved to Carmel, where he established his own firm. Will Shaw was admitted to the American Institute of Architects in 1957, served as president of the local Monterey Chapter in 1964 and was awarded his fellowship to the AIA in 1984. Will Shaw was active in local community development and served in various civic capacities. In 1978 Will Shaw, along with Ansel Adams and Fred Farr, founded the Big Sur Foundation, dedicated to the preservation of the Big Sur coastal environment.

Walter Burde joined Will Shaw's practice in Carmel, California in 1953 when the latter renamed the firm Burde, Shaw and Kearns, Associates (later Burde Shaw Associates). The partners developed a symbiotic partnership, with Walter Burde reportedly being the more artistic of the two partners and Will Shaw the pragmatist. The firm designed numerous successful and significant commercial, civic and residential projects in the greater Monterey Peninsula area. In Carmel, significant commercial buildings include the Palo Alto-Salinas Savings and Loan Association building on the corner of Dolores Street and Seventh Avenue (1972); and the Shell Oil Gas Station on the corner of San Carlos Street and Fourth Avenue (1963). The latter project received a Governor's Design Award in 1966 for its outstanding design.[166] In 1969, the partners split the two firm offices, with Walter Burde retaining the Carmel office; and Will Shaw retaining the Monterey office. However, the two continued to collaborate both professionally and in their various civic endeavors.

Thomas Church - One of the leading American Modernist landscape architects active from the 1930s to the 1970s, Thomas Church is known for his pioneering Modern garden designs that were appropriated to the local environment and climate. His design approach influenced the next generation of landscape architects, including Garrett Eckbo, Robert Royston, Lawrence Halprin, Theodore Osmundson, and Douglas Baylis, acknowledged as pioneers of the "California Style" of landscape design.[167] Church was educated at the University of California and Harvard, where he became fascinated with issues of California's climate and outdoor living. [168] By 1930 Church had established his own practice in San Francisco, the neoclassical style was the prevailing approach in landscape and city planning design. Church's unique approach towards unifying building and landscape with particular attention towards climate context and lifestyle gave birth to Modern landscape design and planning. Church and William

[165] Janick, Richard and Kent Seavey, *Celebrating Walter Burde, F.A.I.A.*, unpublished manuscript, MAARA archives; Walter Burde, FAIA Nomination Application, 1987, MAARA archives.
[166]. "Architects Saluted for Design," Monterey Peninsula Herald, 12/26/66. "Architect Association Honors 2 Peninsulans," Monterey Peninsula Herald, 4/18/84.
[167] Corbett, 19.
[168] Marc Treib, editor. *Modern Landscape Architecture: A Critical Review*, Cambridge, MIT Press, 1992, 169.

Wurster, of Wurster, Bernardi and Emmons, were close friends and collaborated on many house and garden projects throughout their careers.[169]

Elston and Cranston (Thomas S. Elston and William L. Cranston) - The architectural firm of Elston and Cranston made significant contributions to the post-WWII architectural character of Carmel with their Modernist residential work that reflect the Bay Area regionalist styles popular during their time.[170] Born in Manila, Philippines and educated in the U.S., William L. Cranston (1918-1986) received his architectural degree from Princeton University.[171] After World War II, Cranston arrived to Carmel and worked for developer Frank Lloyd designing speculative housing. In 1948, Cranston partnered with Thomas S. Elston, a fellow speculative housing designer. Cranston was President of the Monterey Bay Chapter of the American Institute of Architects and a member of the Carmel Valley Master Plan Committee.[172] The firm is also known for their school designs in the region. Their design for the Carmel Middle School won the Northern California AIA Merit Award in 1963.[173] Examples of Cranston's work in Carmel include the L. L. Spillers Guest Cottage and the house for Dr. and Mrs. Chester Magee.[174] Cranston is listed in City Directories as residing in Carmel from 1947 to 1963.

Olof Dahlstrand (1916-2014) –Born in Wisconsin, Olof Dahlstrand graduated with a degree in architecture from Cornell University in 1939. After designing buildings for the defense industry during World War II, he relocated to the San Francisco Bay area where he designed seven buildings in the Wrightian Organic idiom for individual clients. He established his architectural practice in Carmel in 1960, designing residences, schools and commercial buildings, including the 1966 Carmel Valley Shopping Center and the Wells Fargo Savings Bank (1964), extant on Dolores Street in Carmel and an example of Frank Lloyd Wright's Organic architectural style. Dahlstrand was an active participant in Carmel's community, having served on both the planning commission and city council. He retired in 1984, but he continued to do renderings for other architects in the latter part of his career.[175]

Gardner Dailey – Daily was educated at the University of California, Berkeley, Stanford University, and Heald's College of Engineering. Dailey established his practice in San Francisco in 1926, embracing many of the stylistic tenets of the Bay Area traditions exemplified in his design of the Miller House in Carmel. One of the leading architects in the region at that time, Dailey reviewed building plans for Samuel Morse and the Del Monte Corporation of Pebble Beach.[176] His work was featured in *House and Home* in February 1954 in which the Dailey's three design guidelines, verticality, rhythm and outdoor enclosure, were upheld as the lessons to make "any house more livable." In Carmel Gardner Dailey designed his own house on Ocean Avenue near Carpenter Street.[177]

Gordon Drake (1917-1952) – Born in Childress, Texas in 1917, Gordon Drake graduated with an architecture degree from the University of Southern California in 1941. His early influences were the work of Harwell Hamilton Harris and Carl Birger Troedsson. He designed his first structure as a U.S. Marines combat leader during World War II and worked at designing affordable houses for veterans following the war. The latter effort was an attempt to develop an architectural training and construction

[169] Corbett, 12.
[170] Department of Parks and Recreation, Building, Structure, and Object Record, L. L. Spillers Guest Cottage, 2.
[171] Department of Parks and Recreation, Building, Structure, and Object Record, L. L. Spillers Guest Cottage, 2.
[172] Department of Parks and Recreation, Building, Structure, and Object Record, L. L. Spillers Guest Cottage, 3.
[173] Department of Parks and Recreation, Building, Structure, and Object Record, L. L. Spillers Guest Cottage, 3.
[174] Department of Parks and Recreation, Building, Structure, and Object Record, Dr. & Mrs. Chester Magee, 2.
[175] Olaf Dahlstrand biography, *Carmel Modernism*, 2017. "Olaf Dahlstrand (obituary), *Monterey Peninsula Herald*, 7/22/2014. "Olaf Dahlstrand (1916-2014)," Environmental Design Archives, University of California, Berkeley: https://archives.ced.berkeley.edu/collections/dahlstrand-olof.
[176] Department of Parks and Recreation, Building, Structure, and Object Record, Gardner A. Dailey House.
[177] *House & Home*, February 1954, 124-129.

school for World War II veterans that designed simple houses along modernist design principles. When he relocated to northern California in 1951 he planned to develop the training program in earnest; however, he died in a skiing accident in 1952.[178]

John H. Gamble – John Howard Gamble began his design career in Monterey California in 1948. During his lifetime he created hundreds of designs for homes and commercial structures on the Monterey Peninsula. A licensed California architect, his work has been featured in *Architectural Digest* and many other architectural periodicals. John moved his offices to Carmel, California in 1957, where he formed John Gamble and Associates with John Cocker, a Pebble Beach architect. His son, John Beeson Gamble continues to design in the region today. John H. Gamble's homes were designed along modernist styles, includin g Wrightian Organic and Regional Expressionist styles, modern, rarely varying from this paradigm. His Carmel projects include the Jerome Politzer House on Mission Street northeast of Tenth Avenue and the Lillian Lim House (1965) on Dolores Street at the SE corner of Second Avenue.[179]

Donald Goodhue (FAIA) – Donald Goodhue received his Masters Degree from Harvard University in 1956. Following graduation, worked for the San Francisco office of Skidmore Owings and Merrill before moving to Carmel to work under Olof Dahlstrand from 1958 – 1959. In 1960, Donald Goodhue opened his own firm, teaming with cofounder Gordon Hall, forming the firm of Hall and Goodhue (later Hall Goodhue Haisley and Barker, or HGHB) in Monterey. Donald Goodhue was director of the Monterey Bay Chapter of the American Institute of Architects in 1970 and 1975. He was awarded Fellow of the American Institute of Architects in 1987. The firm worked extensively on the Monterey Peninsula, developing master plans and architectural designs for a diverse client base. Architectural projects include the Carmel Center Shopping Center, the Monterey Savings and Loan Building (Salinas), and the Customs House Urban Renewal Plan. In Carmel-by-the-Sea, the firm designed the Harrison Memorial Library annex.[180]

Roger and Lee Gottfried - Roger Gottfried, an architect, is listed as a resident in Carmel City Directories from 1947 through 1963.

Albert Henry Hill (1913-1984) – Hill is a prominent figure in California architectural history for his contributions towards the emergence of the Second Bay Tradition style, which combined elements of the International Style with regional and vernacular influences.[181] Born in England and educated at University of California, Berkeley, and Harvard University, Hill studied under Bauhaus proponents, Walter Gropius and Marcel Breuer.[182] Hill worked with John Ekin Dinwiddie and Eric Mendelssohn in San Francisco in the late 1940s prior to establishing his private practice in Carmel and San Francisco. His partnership with architect Jack Kruse produced a number of "weekend houses" in Carmel, characterized by sharp and angular forms, use of traditional materials, and integration of the house into its local setting.[183] The partnership lasted until Hill's death in 1984.[184] Hill moved to Carmel in 1971, designing numerous homes throughout the region and serving on Carmel's planning commission.[185] Hill's Carmel modernist houses

[178] MAARA archives and "Drake, Gordon (1917-1952)," Environmental Design Archives, University of California, Berkeley: https://archives.ced.berkeley.edu/collections/drake-gordon.
[179] "John H. Gamble (obituary)," *Monterey Peninsula Herald*, 11/6/1997.
[180] Seavey, Kent and Richard Janick, *Donald Goodhue, FAIA* (Unpublished Manuscript), Monterey Area Architectural Resources Archives (MAARA).
[181] Dave Weinstein, "Flamboyant modernism: Henry Hill's stellar taste and love for the arts is reflected in the homes he designed," in *San Francisco Chronicle*, 11 June 2005.
[182] Department of Parks and Recreation, Building, Structure, and Object Record, Henry Hill House, 2.
[183] Progressive Architecture, "Three Weekend Houses," August 1962, 120-125.
[184] Progressive Architecture, "Three Weekend Houses," August 1962, 120-125.
[185] Monica Hudson, *Images of America: Carmel-by-the-Sea*, Arcadia Publishing, 2006, 122.

include the three "Weekend Houses" (Vacation, Kruse and Cosmas houses - 1962) on Lopez Avenue north of Fourth Avenue, the Vivian Homes House (1962) on Mountain View Avenue, the Vivian Homes II House (1963) on Torres and Ninth, and the Golub House (1972) on San Antonio Avenue.

Robert Jones (1911-1989) –A Carmel architect for 50 years, Robert R. Jones designed numerous residences and commercial buildings in the Monterey region Born in Berkeley in 1911, he was educated at the University of California, Berkeley before locating on the Monterey Peninsula to work for architect Robert Stanton. Jones opened his own architectural practice in 1939 designing house plans for war housing and FHA apartments. By the war's end, Jones opened additional offices in Merced and Oxnard. On the Peninsula, his firm designed 27 canneries and reduction plants, as well as public buildings in Carmel and Pacific Grove, including an addition to the Pacific Grove Library. Jones designed several buildings the Monterey Peninsula Airport. His modernist design for the Monterey Airport Administration Building was considered won a major design award from the Smithsonian Institute. He also designed the Elk Lodge in Monterey. In Carmel, he designed the All Saints Episcopal Church and the Carmel Youth Center. Jones also designed a number of houses in the region and developed a signature, flat-roofed Modern style.

Paffard Keatinge-Clay (Born 1926) – Born in England in 1926, Paffard Keatinge-Clay moved to the United States, where he apprenticed with several important architects, such as Frank Lloyd Wright, Le Corbusier and the firm of Skidmore Owings and Merrill. His modernist designs in the San Francisco Bay area include an addition to the San Francisco Art Institute and the Student Union Building at San Francisco State University. As a Taliesen apprentice with Frank Lloyd Wright in Arizona, Keatinge-Clay designed the 1952 meditation room at the Carl Cherry Center for the Arts in Carmel.[186]

Jon Konigshofer (1906-1990) – Konigshofer began his career in the office of local designer, M.J. Murphy, a practitioner of the more traditional styles popular in Carmel during the first half of the twentieth century.[187] Konigshofer was an adherent of Frank Lloyd Wright and applied Wright's philosophies to the houses he designed in Carmel. Through the use of inexpensive materials and effective budgeting, Konigshofer eventually became known for the minimalism and affordability of his designs, and is regarded as one of the foremost pioneers of Modernism in Carmel. The *Monterey Peninsula Herald* described Konigshofer – along with M.J. Murphy and Hugh Comstock – as having "influenced house design [in Carmel] more than any other." Similar to Frank Lloyd Wright and Hugh Comstock, Konigshofer was neither licensed nor degreed in architecture, yet his buildings, according to the *Herald*, "attracted as much comment and praise in the architectural world as those designed by many a high ranking degreed architect."[188] Jon Konigshofer's buildings include the Robert Buckner House (1947), the house at Thirteenth and Scenic (Kip Silvey), the house at Santa Lucia and Casanova (E.S. Hopkins), the Sand and Sea development (1941) on San Antonio Avenue, and the Keith Evans House (1948) on Franciscan Way.

John ('Jack') Walter Kruse (1918-2000) - Formed a partnership with prominent Carmel architect Albert Henry Hill in 1948 after having worked together in the San Francisco office of influential European Modernist architect, Eric Mendelssohn. Hill was known to have been the principal designer and Kruse the engineer.[189] The firm of Hill and Kruse was based in San Francisco and designed over 500 commercial and residential buildings. His partnership with architect Henry Hill produced a number of residences in Carmel, characterized by sharp and angular forms, use of traditional materials, and integration of the

[186] Seavey, Kent. *Carl Cherry Center for the Arts* (DPR523 Form), 2001, 4. Kent Seavey, *Paffard Keatinge-Clay* (unpublished manuscript), MAARA archives.
[187] "Modern Style in Carmel Brings Cries of Anguish."
[188] "Carmel's Architecture Both Interesting and Livable."
[189] Monica Hudson, *Images of America: Carmel-by-the-Sea*, Arcadia Publishing, 2006, 123.

house into its local setting, an example being Walter Kruse's house, one of three designs by Hill and Kruse on Lopez Avenue.[190] The partnership lasted until Hill's death in 1984.[191]

Frank Lloyd - Local builder Lloyd and his family arrived in Carmel in 1911 at which time his family bought a block of property along San Carlos Street. Lloyd was educated at McGill University in Montreal, Canada where he received his Bachelor of Arts. Upon returning to Carmel in 1934, Lloyd decided to permanently settle there and built a house on his family's property. Lloyd held various jobs throughout the 1930s and 1940s from fisherman to writer for local newspapers. He constructed 12 houses in Carmel after WWII, some designed by himself, and others designed by the architectural firm of Elston and Cranston. An active member of the community, Lloyd was a member of the Carmel Citizens Committee, an environmentalist, and elected official to the Carmel City Council.[192]

Rowan Perkins Maiden (1913-1957) – An architect and student of Frank Lloyd Wright, Maiden apprenticed at Taliesen West from 1939 to 1941. He settled in New Monterey on Huckleberry Hill in 1948 and designed several residences for artists in the area. Although steeped in Wright's Organic architectural philosophy, he designed modernist homes in his own vision of the style. His design in Carmel for Dorothy Green Chapman (on the Inventory of Historic Resources) was featured in *Sunset Magazine* in 1952 and *House Beautiful* in 1957. Maiden's most visible work is his design for Nepenthe Restaurant in Big Sur, completed just before his untimely death after falling off a roof in 1957. His Carmel commissions include the Chapman House (1949) on San Antonio Avenue southeast of Fourth Avenue.[193]

Clarence Mayhew - Born in 1907, Mayhew was educated at the University of California, Berkeley.[194] He was employed in the San Francisco office of prominent early twentieth century architects, Miller and Pflueger, before opening his own private practice in 1934. Some of his most significant work was designed from 1934-1942. Some of his inspirations derived from the traditional craftsmanship of Japanese architecture, which led him to write the article, "The Japanese Influence," for the 1949 catalogue of the "Domestic Architecture of the San Francisco Bay Region" exhibit.[195] In Carmel, Mayhew designed the Helen Proctor House (1948) on Scenic Road near Eleventh Avenue. Mayhew retired in 1955.[196]

Mark Mills (1921-2007) - A native of Arizona, Mills completed his Bachelor of Science in architectural engineering at the University of Colorado prior to working in the offices of Frank Lloyd Wright as a Taliesin Fellow from 1944-1948.[197] As a Taliesin Fellow, Mills worked on such projects as the Johnson Wax Building in Wisconsin. Mills eventually moved to San Francisco to work for the firm of Anshen + Allen. Other pioneering works of Modernism include his dome house in Cave Creek, Arizona designed with architect Paolo Soleri and the Eichler homes for Anshen + Allen architects in San Francisco in 1950. Mills' designs for the Marcia Mills House (1952) and Fairfield House (1953) on Mission Street and Rio Road in Carmel demonstrate Wrightian influences in the use of local building materials, an abstract plan, and landscape setting. His sculptural design of a residence for an artist in Carmel, featuring intersecting

[190] Progressive Architecture, "Three Weekend Houses," August 1962, 120-125.
[191] Progressive Architecture, "Three Weekend Houses," August 1962, 120-125.
[192] Department of Parks and Recreation, Building, Structure, and Object Record, Frank Lloyd House, 3.
[193] "Rowan P. Maiden (obituary)," *Carmel Pine Cone*, 1/17/1957. "Mrs. Chapman Works to Preserve Carmel," *Monterey Peninsula Herald*, 4/9/1964.
[194] Department of Parks and Recreation, Building, Structure, and Object Record, Helen I. Proctor House, 2.
[195] Department of Parks and Recreation, Building, Structure, and Object Record, Helen I. Proctor House, 2.
[196] Department of Parks and Recreation, Building, Structure, and Object Record, Helen I. Proctor House, 2.
[197] NorCalMod, 282.

barrel vaults and a sprayed Gunite exterior, was widely published and praised in 1972. Mills remained in Carmel and worked until his death in 2007.[198]

Charles Willard Moore (1925-1993) – Born in Benton Harbor, Michigan, Charles Moore received a bachelor's degree in architecture from the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor in 1947. He traveled extensively, first in Europe, then in Japan while he served in the Army Corps of Engineers during the Korean conflict. He earned a master's degree and fine art doctorate from Princeton in 1957, writing his master's thesis on Monterey Adobe architecture. Moore relocated to the San Francisco Bay Area where he became a partner in the firm Moore, Lyndon and Turnbull – famous for their Third Bay Region residential designs at Sea Ranch (1966) in Sonoma County, which won numerous awards, both locally and from the American Institute of Architects. He designed numerous residential and commercial buildings, many steeped in a Bay Region modernist style. His final design was for the Dart Wing addition to the Monterey Museum of Art at La Mirada in 1992. Steeped in an understanding of architectural history, Moore spoke often about not replicating historic architectural designs, noting that such a practice gives a "movie set air" to the region's genuine historic buildings. Charles Moore traveled and taught extensively throughout his career and served as chair of the architecture department at the University of California, Berkeley from 1962 to 1965. He also taught at Yale, Princeton and UCLA. The American Institute of Architects awarded him a Gold Medal in 1991. In Carmel, Moore designed the Warren Saltzman House (1966) on Palou Avenue.[199]

Athanase Nastovic (1888-1965) – A native of Belgrade, Serbia, Athanase N. Nastovic taught at the architecture department of Moscow University. He immigrated to Oakland, California with his wife, Olga in 1924 where the architect began designing commercial and residential buildings, including an apartment building on Kempton Avenue, where he resided. In 1927, the *Monterey Herald* noted the architect's design of a number of buildings in the Hatton Fields area of Carmel in period revival styles. He received contracts for the design/build of additional Monterey-peninsula buildings, but he went bankrupt during the Great Depression. The last known West Coast reference to the architect's work appeared in the *Los Angeles Times* in 1932, where his work was being displayed in a local exhibit. He passed away in Flushing Grove, New York in 1965 and is buried in Cedar Grove Cemetery.

Guy Rosebrook - Trained as an architect in various firms in San Francisco before obtaining licensure, Rosebrook worked for many years as the supervising architect of Standard Oil of New Jersey before returning to California during the Depression. In 1940, he moved to Salinas, where he designed Moderne style commercial buildings. One of his more notable works was a Spanish Revival style house for Maria Antonio Field on Highway 68. Many of Rosebrooks' residential designs in Carmel are extant, though have been altered.[200]

Marcel Sedletzky - Known for a design aesthetic that reflected his Modernist European training and exposure to the forceful Modernism of Le Corbusier, as well as the effects of the natural environment that characterized the Craftsmen and Bay Area Traditions. Born in Russia, Sedletzky lived most of his life in Monterey, California and Mexico.[201] In addition to his practice, Sedletzky played an important role in the architectural department at Cal-Poly, San Luis Obispo, and helped to establish the university's reputation

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[198] "Mark Mills (obituary)," *Monterey Peninsula Herald,* 6/20/2007. Janey Bennett, *The Fantastic Seashell of the Mind: The Architecture of Mark Mills* (ORO Editions, 2017).

[199] Muschamp, Herbert, "Charles Moore, Innovative Post-Modern Architect, is Dead at 68," *New York Times*, 12/17/1993; "Architect Charles Moore Dies," *San Francisco Examiner*, 12/17/1993; Steve Hauk, "The Man Who Made Architecture Fun," *Monterey Peninsula Herald*, 1993. See also: Charles Moore Foundation: Biography, http://www.charlesmoore.org/who.html.

[200] Department of Parks and Recreation, Building, Structure, and Object Record, Frances C. Johnson House, 2.

[201] http://www.architectureweek.com/2003/0625/next_week.html, accessed 28 March 2008.

as a top architectural school on the West Coast.[202] His design for the Esther M. Hill House in Carmel is the only known example of Sedletzky's work in Carmel, and a representative example of the Third Bay Region Style.

David Allen Smith (Born 1935) – Born in 1935 in Detroit, Michigan, David Allen Smith earned an architecture degree from the University of Southern California. After working for several firms in Los Angeles, he moved to Carmel in 1956 to work for Burde Shaw and Associates. After opening his own firm, he designed numerous Bay Region-style modernist residences in Carmel and the Monterey Peninsula region, many of them published in architectural journals. His Garcia House in Carmel won an AIA Honor Award in 1976. His design for Reflections (1972) is a recent example of the Bay Region style constructed in Carmel.[203]

Edwin Snyder (1888-1969) - Born in Stockton, California, Edwin Lewis Snyder was educated at the University of California, Berkeley and the Ecole des Beaux Arts in Paris. Prior to establishing his own firm in Berkeley, Snyder worked in the offices of Day and Weeks, then one of the prominent San Francisco firms of the early twentieth-century, and the large real estate firm of Mason-McDuffie designing period revival homes. Snyder represented that group of architects who continued the traditional as opposed to modernist trends in design, as is evidenced in his Monterey Colonial Revival style design for the Spinning Wheel Restaurant in Carmel. [204]

Robert Stanton - Trained as a contractor, Stanton arrived to Carmel in 1925. He was trained in the southern California office of architect Wallace Neff before returning to Carmel in 1936 to set up his own practice, housed in a Tudor Revival style French Norman chalet.[205] Stanton had a profound influence in the region, training a generation of local architects. He helped establish the Monterey Bay Chapter of the American Institute of Architects in the 1950s, of which he was the first fellow.[206] His many other community activities included serving as board member and president of the Monterey Peninsula Community Chest, president of the Monterey History and Art Association, the Monterey County Symphony Association, and the Monterey Peninsula Museum of Art.[207] One of Stanton's notable works in Carmel includes the Church of the Wayfarer on Lincoln and his own residence. Stanton is listed as residing in Carmel according to 1963 City Directories.

Ralph L Stean – Born in Massachusetts, Ralph Leo Stean (1918-2004) was leading building contractor for the Carmel Valley Fire District Station in 1948. Stean resided in Carmel Valley and constructed a number of post-adobe houses in the Carmel Valley region. Stean was the contractor for the hyperbolic-roofed Donna Hofsas House (1960) and resided at the property in the 1970s where he ran for City Council in 1976.[208]

Robert A. Stephenson – Born in Findley, Ohio, Robert Anderson Stephenson, AIA (1917-2012) studied architectural drafting at the University of Southern California and became a civilian draftsman for the United States Navy following graduation. Stephenson moved to Carmel in 1947 to work for the architect Robert Stanton and for Hugh Comstock briefly in the 1950s. He subsequently opened R.A. Stephenson Building Design, where he worked until his retirement in 1998. He was active in Carmel politics as a

[202] Department of Parks and Recreation, Building, Structure, and Object Record, Esther M. Hill House, 2.
[203] "David Allen Smith (unpublished biography)," MAARA archives.
[204] Department of Parks and Recreation, Building, Structure, and Object Record, Spinning Wheel Restaurant, 2.
[205] Monica Hudson, *Images of America: Carmel-by-the-Sea*, Arcadia Publishing, 2006, 84.
[206] Monica Hudson, *Images of America: Carmel-by-the-Sea*, Arcadia Publishing, 2006, 84.
[207] "Stanton to be honored by fellow architects," *Carmel Pine Cone, Carmel-by-the-Sea, Calif.*, 24 August 1972.
[208] Richard Janick, *Donna Hofsas House (DPR523 Form)*, 2002. "Wilder Files for Carmelo District; Three for Tularcitos," *Carmel Pine Cone*, 3/14/52; "Twelve Candidates Vie for Three Seats," *Carmel Pine Cone*, 2/26/76.

member of the Planning Commission and later a City Council member. He was also active in Carmel's music community and supported the Monterey County Symphony and the Carmel Bach Festival. Stephenson designed homes in Carmel including his own residence at Forest Street and Eighth Avenue.[209]

John H. Thodos (1934 - 2009) –The son of Greek immigrants, John Harry Thodos earned a degree in architecture from the University of Oregon in 1960 and established his own firm in Portland, Oregon after working with Northwest Regional-style architect William Fletcher and Skidmore, Owings, and Merrill (SOM). He also served on the Portland Design Review Commission and the city's Metropolitan Arts Commission. In the mid-1970's, after rejecting a move back to his native Greece, he purchased a home in Carmel, despite having never visited previously, to use as a design studio, allowing him to get away one week per month from his Portland office. A few years after that, he purchased an empty lot on Scenic Road between Ocean Avenue and Eighth and proceeded to design and build a glass and wood home which eventually became known as the "Light House" that was widely published and won an AIA Honor Award. In 1989, Thodos moved his office to Carmel to live and work here full time. He was a modernist architect known for fitting buildings onto challenging sites and connecting indoor spaces to the outdoors with expansive, light-filled spaces. As a Carmel architect, John Thodos designed numerous award-winning houses, as well as, commercial work in Carmel and the Monterey Peninsula area, winning 15 awards from the American Institute of Architects. His Carmel designs include the "Light House" on Scenic Road and the design for his private residence on Torres Street. These are excellent examples of his unique architectural style and can be seen as part of the Bay Region Modern-style idiom, taking the historical precedents of the Second- and Third- Bay Region influences a step further. In 2010, he was posthumously inducted into the AIA College of Fellows for design excellence.[210]
George Thomson - Prior to forming his partnership with Joe Wythe, George Thomson worked in the offices of influential modernists Frank Lloyd Wright and Bruce Goff.[211]

Helen Warren - Although not an architect or designer by profession, Helen Warren's design for her own house in Carmel illustrates the tradition of women working in the architectural profession in post-World War II Carmel.[212] Most were not designers but real estate entrepreneurs and builders, such as Dene Denny and Hazel Watrous, contractors who designed approximately thirty residences in Carmel in the 1920s.[213] Although not much information is available on Warren's contribution to the architectural character of Carmel, her work is reflective of the times and demonstrates knowledge of using vernacular materials in the contemporary design traditions.

George Whitcomb – An architect, Whitcomb is listed in City Directories as a resident of Carmel from 1947 to 1963.

George Willox – An architect, Willox is listed in City Directories as a resident of Carmel from 1947 to 1963.

Frank Lloyd Wright (1867-1959) - Considered one of the founding fathers of Modernism, Frank Lloyd Wright has influenced generations of architects through his early Prairie Style houses, exemplified by the Robie House in Chicago, and later with his design philosophy of "organic" architecture, exemplified by

[209] Department of Parks and Recreation, Building, Structure, and Object Record, Robert A. Stephenson House, 2. "Robert Anderson Stephenson (1917-2012) Obituary," *The Salinas Californian*, 2/27/12.
[210] Thodos, Diane, "Remembering John Thodos, Award Winning Architect – 1934-2009," MAARA archives. "John Harry Thodos Obituary, http://www.tributes.com/obituary/show/John-Harry-Thodos-87248601; AIA Monterey Bay Arts and Architecture Lecture Series: Creating the Architecture of the Monterey Peninsula: John Thodos, FAIA presented by Erik Dyar, AIA (September 23, 2021). https;// https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jyUcqKXzjAk
[211] Department of Parks and Recreation, Building, Structure, and Object Record, Norman Rial House, 2.
[212] Department of Parks and Recreation, Building, Structure, and Object Record, Helen T. Warren House, 2.
[213] Department of Parks and Recreation, Building, Structure, and Object Record, Helen T. Warren House, 2.

Fallingwater in Bear Run, Pennsylvania. Wright's extensive body of work included a number of building types, including schools, museums, offices, and hotels. In addition to these, Wright was also known for his design of interior features including furniture and stained glass windows. Other high-profile works throughout the U.S. include the Johnson Wax Headquarters building and the Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum. The Walker House (1952) in Carmel is a representative example of Wright's concept of "organic" architecture, with its use of native wood and stone materials, window patterns and careful siting. Wright influenced numerous Carmel architects, including Mark Mills and Jon Konigshofer.[214]

William Wurster (1895-1973) - Born in Stockton, California, William Wurster has been widely recognized as the father of "Everyday Modernism," utilizing the vernacular architectural forms and materials of the California landscape in novel ways, particularly his residential designs in the 1930s to the 1950s.[215] Educated at the University of California, Berkeley, Wurster began his career in the New York office of Delano and Aldrich, and subsequently in the San Francisco office of John Reid. He founded his own practice in 1924, and was later joined by Theodore Bernardi in 1934 and Donn Emmons in 1945. In addition to his practice, Wurster taught at MIT and the University of California, Berkeley. Wurster returned to California in 1950 and held the post of Dean of Architecture at U.C. Berkeley until 1963, where he is most well known for combining the architecture, landscape architecture and city and regional planning departments to create the College of Environmental Design. William Wurster, Theodore Bernardi, and Donn Emmons were named Fellows of the AIA and Wurster received the coveted AIA Gold Medal Award for lifetime achievement in 1969. The Dianthe Miller House, Nelson Nowell House, and Albert Merchant House in Carmel are representative examples of Wurster's design aesthetic, mixing natural materials and new technologies. In Carmel, Wurster designed two houses on Scenic Rd.: the Nelson Nowell House (1947) and the Merchant House (1961). The Nelson Nowell House was featured in the First Museum Exhibition of Domestic Architecture of the San Francisco Bay region held at the San Francisco Museum of Art in 1946.[216]

Frank Wynkoop - Born in Denver, Colorado, Frank Wynkoop is known primarily for his school and public building designs and in the mid-twentieth century, had established offices throughout California, including San Carlos, San Francisco, Fresno, Bakersfield, and Carmel. Wynkoop's best known work in Carmel was his sea house on Carmel Point. At the time of its construction in 1952, the building was the subject of much controversy with its U-shaped plan, lack of chimney and flue, and inverted, butterfly-shaped roof.[217]

Joseph Henry Wythe (1920 - 2019) – Raised in San Jose and a graduate of the University of California, Berkeley with a degree in architecture, Joseph Wythe apprenticed under Bruce Goff at Oklahoma University before moving to Monterey in 1951. Following a meeting with Frank Lloyd Wright, Wythe became interested in the master's Organic architectural designs and designed residences in partnership with George Thomsen. His best-known architectural design in Carmel is the Rial House at Lincoln Street and Fourth Avenue in 1963.[218] Wythe also taught architecture at Monterey Peninsula College. After his marriage with Idaho native, Lois Renk, the couple relocated to Sandpoint, Idaho in 1977.

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[214] Department of Parks and Recreation, Building, Structure, and Object Record, Mrs. Clinton Walker House, 4.
[215] Department of Parks and Recreation, Building, Structure, and Object Record, Helen Nelson Nowell House, 3-4.
[216] Department of Parks and Recreation, Building, Structure, and Object Record, Helen Nelson Nowell House, 3-4.
[217] Pete Gilman, "New Carmel Point House Has Many Novel Features," 10 April 1952; https://digital.lib.washington.edu/php/architect/record.phtml?type=architect&architectid=410&showall=0&lname=Wynkoop&lcity=&lstateprov=&lcountry=&bionote=&award=&family=&nationality=United+States&birthdate=&deathdate=; accessed 31 March 2008.
[218] "Joseph Wythe biography, "*Carmel Modernism* (2017 exhibit at the Cherry Center for the Arts; Joseph Wythe obituary: https//lakeviewfuneral.com/obituaries/joseph-wythe/179/.

9.10 Decision-Making Criteria

Section 17.32.040 of the City of Carmel-by-the-Sea's Historic Preservation Ordinance establishes the eligibility criteria for listing on the City's Inventory of Historic Resources. Of particular importance is Section 17.32.040.D, which addresses the criteria for properties that qualify under California Register Criterion 3 only. For consistency between the Historic Context Statement and the Historic Preservation Ordinance, Section 17.32.040 shall serve as the primary decision-making criteria when evaluating the eligibility of individual properties for the Inventory of Historic Resources. The information contained in the Significance sections (2.4.3, 3.4.3, 4.5.3, 5.6.3, and 6.5.3) at the end of each Theme is provided to supplement the decision-making criteria found in the Preservation Ordinance.

CITY OF CARMEL-BY-THE-SEA
HISTORIC RESOURCES BOARD
Staff Report

May 20, 2024
PUBLIC HEARINGS

TO:	Historic Resources Board Commissioners
SUBMITTED BY:	Katherine Wallace, Associate Planner
SUBJECT:	**HE 24042 (Dunham):** Consideration of a preliminary determination of historic ineligibility for the property located at Santa Fe Street 5 northwest of 3rd Avenue. APN: 010-102-005-000.

RECOMMENDATION:

Issue a preliminary determination of historic ineligibility (**Attachment 1**) for the property located at Santa Fe Street 5 northwest of 3rd Avenue.

BACKGROUND/SUMMARY:

BACKGROUND AND PROJECT DESCRIPTION

On February 13, 2024, applicant and property owner Thomas Dunham submitted a Phase I Initial Historic Evaluation application (HE 24-042, Dunham) to determine whether the property located at Santa Fe Street 5 northwest of 3rd Avenue is eligible for the Carmel Historic Inventory. The property had not been evaluated previously.

On February 24, 2024, City-contracted historic consultant Margaret Clovis prepared a Phase I Initial Historic Evaluation for the property (**Attachment 2**), and determined that a Phase I Intensive historic evaluation was not recommended due to loss of integrity (**Attachment 3**). Per CMC 17.32.060.B.2/3, *If a property appears to meet the criteria for the inventory or, if based on the initial assessment, a definitive determination of eligibility or ineligibility cannot be made, a qualified professional under contract to the City must prepare an intensive survey of the property.* Based on the initial assessment, City staff issued a Preliminary Determination of Ineligibility on March 1, 2024.

The single-story residence was constructed in 1925 (per Building Permit #957, April 1925) on Junipero 3 SW of 5th Avenue (Block 58, Lot 13, 15, APN 010-098-004). The 1930 Sanborn map identifies the home as a one-story building. The original designer/builder of the home is unknown, though original owner and then-contractor, Roy Fraties, is known to have worked for Carmel master builder, MJ Murphy, and may have built the home.

In 1951 a second story was added, and in 1953 the home was moved from Junipero between 5th and 6th to its current location on Santa Fe Street. In 2001, rear additions resulted in the expansion of both the first and second stories. The 2001 project also included new first and second-story rear decks, various fenestration

changes, some in-kind replacement windows, a larger chimney on the front elevation, and a new 200-square-foot detached garage located at the southwest corner of the property. The 2001 remodel project received Planning entitlements in 2000, just before the City's Historic Preservation Ordinance was adopted in 2001.

Per CMC 17.32.060.D.2., the Historic Resources Board has 10 days from the date of the staff decision/circulation to "call a determination of ineligibility up for review by the Board by filing a written request with the Department during the appeal period." Karyl Hall, Historic Resources Board member, submitted a request to staff on March 4, 2024, to agendize the Dunham application for discussion. City staff recommends the Historic Resources Board issue a Preliminary Determination of Ineligibility due to the loss of overall integrity, primarily caused by the addition of a large second story.

STAFF ANALYSIS

Staff concurs with the Phase I Initial historic assessment which concluded that there was not sufficient evidence to warrant a subsequent intensive survey, and the property should be deemed ineligible for the Inventory. This property maintains a special history, but does not meet the criteria for listing on the historic Inventory.

Eligibility for Listing on the Carmel Historic Inventory

Pursuant to CMC 17.32.040, to be eligible for the Carmel Inventory, historic resources:

- Should be representative of at least one theme included in the Historic Context Statement.
- Shall retain substantial integrity.
- Should be a minimum of 50 years of age.
- Shall meet at least one of the four criteria listed below for listing in the California Register at a national or Statewide level of significance or at a regional or local level of significance:
    - Is associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of local or regional history or the cultural heritage of California or the United States;
    - Is associated with the lives of persons important to local, California or national history;
    - Embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, region, or method of construction, or
    - Represents the work of a master, an important creative individual, or possesses high artistic values (see CMC 17.32.040.D for additional criteria); or
    - Has yielded, or has the potential to yield, information important to the prehistory or history of the local area, California or the nation.

The subject property does not meet the second criterion: *shall retain substantial integrity*. Because the second criterion contains the language, "shall," this means integrity **must** be maintained in order for the resource to be eligible, regardless of whether the resource meets the other criteria (representing a Historic Context Statement theme, being over 50 years old, or meeting one of four California Register criteria). Because integrity has been lost, the subject property is ineligible for the Historic Inventory. Association with the lives of persons important to local history, alone, is not sufficient cause to list a property on the Inventory.

Integrity

City-contracted architectural historian Margaret Clovis completed an "Initial" historic evaluation with a preliminary assessment of the building's physical integrity. Her preliminary assessment is that the subject property no longer retains integrity, due to multiple documented and permitted changes. To be eligible for the Inventory, a property must retain most of the six relevant aspects of integrity (location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling), but it need not retain all. A detailed integrity assessment would be

completed as part of a Phase I Intensive Evaluation, which staff did not feel was necessary due to cumulative changes, the most impactful of which is the second story addition and the reconstructed chimney, both of which are highly visible from the public right of way and significantly impact the appearance of the facade.

The home does appear to display some original materials and workmanship, such as stucco cladding and exposed birdsmouth rafters in the eaves, but without original plans it is difficult to definitively identify original features. Additionally, it should be noted that the apparent in-kind replacement of some original wood windows in 2001 was carried out in a manner consistent with the Secretary of the Interior's Standards for Rehabilitation. Original plans are not available, but according to the property owner who oversaw the window replacement, and based on staff's visual assessment, the windows at the front of the home appear to have been replaced in kind, matching the muntin design and profile of original wood windows and even using single-pane wavy glass. However, fenestration elsewhere throughout the home is likely modestly altered, based on a memorandum written in 2000 by the City Building Official which noted "numerous minor window and door changes." Because original plans have not been uncovered, staff cannot determine at this time the full extent of the fenestration changes. There is no specific number or percentage of windows/doors that must remain intact for integrity to be preserved. Fenestration changes should be considered cumulatively alongside other factors. Regardless of the precise scope of fenestration alterations, there are other more impactful changes that have cumulatively resulted in a loss of overall integrity.

As previously described, the home is no longer in its original location, having been moved in 1953 to its current lot. The California Register allows properties to be listed if they were moved for the purposes of preservation: "A moved building, structure, or object that is otherwise eligible may be listed in the California Register if it was moved to prevent its demolition at its former location and if the new location is compatible with the original character and use of the historical resource. A historical resource should retain its historic features and compatibility in orientation, setting, and general environment." City records do not include information about why the building was moved. Per the National Register, "structures that have been moved from their original locations [...] shall not be considered eligible for the National Register." From a local perspective, Carmel does have a handful of historic buildings that have been moved from their original location. The relocation of the subject property and its relative impact on integrity should be considered by the Board cumulatively alongside other known additions and alterations.

In 1951, a second-story addition was constructed atop the single-story home. The builder is unknown, and the addition has not gained significance in its own right. The second story is highly visible from the public right of way, and sits largely atop the original single-story cottage. Stylistically and in terms of massing, the second-story addition is not "differentiated" from the original home, as required by Standard 9 of the Secretary of the Interior's Standards for Rehabilitation. Preservation Brief 14 offers the following guidance regarding second story additions: "A new addition should always be subordinate to the historic building; it should not compete in size, scale or design with the historic building. An addition that bears no relationship to the proportions and massing of the historic building – in other words, one that overpowers the historic form and changes the scale – will usually compromise the historic character as well." "Constructing another floor on top of a small, one, two or three-story building is seldom appropriate for buildings of this size as it would measurably alter the building's proportions and profile, and negatively impact its historic character." "To preserve a property's historic character, a new addition must be visually distinguishable from the historic building." If the second-story addition were to be proposed today, Staff would not recommend approval. The size, placement, and style of the second story addition - in the view of City staff - is the primary factor in the loss of home's overall integrity.

In 2001, rear additions at the first and second story further altered the building footprint, massing, and roofline of the building; however, these additions are not visible from the public right of way and, when viewed alone, would not result in loss of integrity. Similarly, first and second story rear decks constructed in

2001 are not responsible for loss of integrity. The removal of the decks in the future may partially restore some aspects of integrity, but would not restore overall integrity. Regardless, the staff's assessment is based on existing, current condition. A 200 square foot detached garage was constructed in 2001 and does not appear to negatively impact the physical integrity of the property.

In 2001, the front chimney was reconstructed to a taller height and clad with a new stone veneer. The changes to the chimney were necessary due to modern building code, to ensure the chimney rose at least 2' taller than the second story roofline. The changes are clearly visible from the public right of way and depart from the original chimney design in such a way integrity is negatively impacted. Although original plans are not available, the chimney height is substantially taller than it would have been originally. Following the second-story addition, the altered chimney - in the view of City staff - contributes to the loss of overall integrity.

Applicant Correspondence

Upon receipt of the Phase I Initial historic evaluation and Preliminary Determination of Ineligibility, the applicant and property owner, Thomas Dunham, provided a letter to City staff dated March 5, 2023, responding to the finding of ineligibility (**Attachment 4**). Mr. Dunham also sent the letter to the HRB via email on March 6, 2024, which prompted Board Member Hall to call up the application for consideration. In the letter, the applicant expressed an interest in having the Historic Resources Board review and reconsider the application. The applicant has not provided a second opinion from a qualified architectural historian, but has provided additional information (with cited sources) for the Board to consider. In summary, the applicant's position is that the house should qualify for listing on the Inventory based on the significance of prior owners and association with significant individuals. The applicant also believes the subject property retains overall integrity. As described in the letter:

Tom and Kim Dunham have owned the home since 1999. The home was likely built entirely or partially by Roy Christian Fraties (who was 24 years old in 1925) and his wife, Bliss. Roy worked for MJ Murphy, Carmel's most prominent builder in the early decades of the 20th century. Roy's mother, Carlotta Freitas (maiden name Machado), was the daughter of Christianno Machado who is credited with preserving the Carmel Mission and discovering the burial site of Junipero Serra. In 1932 Roy Fraties sold the property to Keith Baldwin Evans. Fraties joined the Carmel police department in 1936, and was appointed police chief in 1940. In 1950, Roy left Carmel to work for the FBI. Keith B. and Virginia Pope Evans purchased the property from the Fraties in 1932. Keith Baldwin Evans served as the first multiple term mayor in Carmel by the Sea, from 1940 to 1942. In 1946 Keith B. and Virginia Pope Evans sold the property to Joseph D. Hudder. Joseph and his wife, Katherine, added a second story to the single story home in 1951 (Permit #2206). The Hudders relocated the home from Junipero to the present Santa Fe location on November 19, 1953 (Permit #2533); no information has been uncovered regarding the reason for the move. The property was then sold to Edward A. Hegg. Hegg then sold the property in 1972 to Robert J. and Yvonne E Connelly, who then sold it in 1999 to the current owners, Tom and Kim Dunham. The Dunhams hired International Design Group to complete a 2001 remodel/restoration that included rear additions and detached garage.

Staff has reviewed the additional information summarized above and provided as Attachment 4, and Ms. Clovis has as well. Staff and Ms. Clovis agree that the receipt of additional information from the applicant does not appear to trigger a Phase I Intensive historic evaluation, due to the absence of overall physical integrity required by the Carmel municipal code. Additional staff analysis is provided below.

Roy Fraties did not own the subject property when he was the Carmel Police Chief. Fraties sold the property in 1942, and was appointed police chief in 1940. Roy's grandfather, Christianno Machado, is not associated with the subject property. Criterion B is generally restricted to those properties that *illustrate*

(rather than commemorate) a person's important achievements. Properties eligible under Criterion B are usually those associated with a person's productive life, reflecting the time period when he or she achieved significance. Properties that pre- or post-date an individual's significant accomplishments are usually not eligible.

Keith Evans bought the subject property in 1932 and served as Mayor of Carmel from 1940 to 1942. It is possible the property may be significant for this association. However, the fact that the home has lost integrity disqualifies it from listing on the Inventory, regardless of potential significance. Per CMC 17.32.040.B, *resources shall retain substantial integrity*.

Public Correspondence

On March 2, 2023, Shaheen Alnuaimi submitted a letter supporting a determination of historic significance for the subject property. This correspondence has been included as **Attachment 5**.

FISCAL IMPACT:

N/A

ATTACHMENTS:

Attachment 1 – Preliminary Determination of Ineligibility
Attachment 2 – Phase I Initial Evaluation
Attachment 3 – Site Photos
Attachment 4 – Applicant Correspondence
Attachment 5 – Public Correspondence

CARMEL-BY-THE-SEA

PRELIMINARY DETERMINATION

OF INELIGIBILITY

For the Carmel Historic Resources Inventory

On May 20, 2024, the Department of Community Planning and Building made a preliminary determination that the property identified below does not constitute an historic resource and is therefore ineligible for the Carmel Inventory of Historic Resources.

Assessor's Parcel Number: 010-102-005
Current Owner: Thomas R. Dunham
Block: 25, Lot: 9
Street Location: Santa Fe 5 NW of 3rd Ave.
Lot size: 4,000 sf
Original Date of Construction: 1925; moved to current location in 1953

The basis for this determination is:

- ☐ The property lacks sufficient age to be considered historic.
- ✓ The property has substantially lost its historic integrity through alterations, additions, deterioration, changes in the surrounding environment or other causes.
- ☐ The property does not relate to historic themes or property types established in the Historic Context Statement for Carmel-by-the-Sea.
- ☐ The property has no association with important events, people or architecture that are identified in the Historic Context Statement or that represent the historical/cultural evolution of Carmel-by-the-Sea.
- ☐ There are other better examples of the builder's work in the city.

This preliminary determination will be circulated for a 10 working day public review period beginning on May 21, 2024, and ending at 5:00 P.M. on June 4, 2024. If no appeals are received during this period, the determination shall become final and shall remain valid for a period of 5 years.

Katherine Wallace

Katherine Wallace, Associate Planner

DRAFT

HE24-042 (Dunham) Historic Evaluation

Date: 2/24/2024
Prepared by: Meg Clovis
Assessor's Parcel Number: 010-102-005
Current Owner: Tom & Kim Dunham
Santa Fe 5 NW of 3rd Ave.
Carmel, CA. 93921
Block/Lot: Block 25, Lot 9
Street Location: Santa Fe 5 NW of 3rd Ave.
Lot size: 4000 sq. ft.
Date of Construction: 1925; moved to current location in 1953

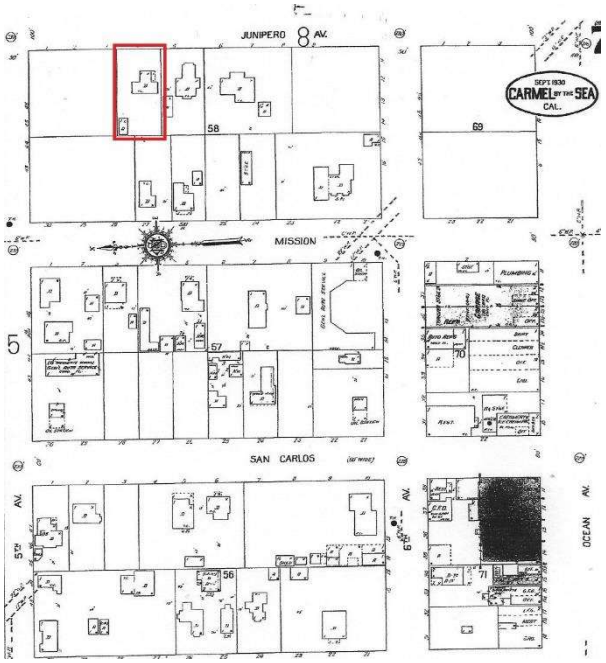
1. **Land Use & Community Character Element, Subdivision Chronology Map:** 1888

2. **Is the property listed on the Carmel Inventory?** No

3. **Has the property been reviewed previously for historical significance?** No

4. **Is the property located within the Archaeological Overlay Zone?** No

5. **Is the property identified on the Sanborn Maps?**
The property is identified on the 1930 Sanborn Map, before it was moved. It was originally a one-story house.



6. **Date of original building permit:** April 1925 (BP# 957)

7. Original and subsequent ownership:
    a) Roy & Bliss Fraties
    Roy Fraties headed the Carmel Police Department from 1940 to 1950. He is listed in Carmel's Historic Context Statement.
    b) Joseph Hudder: moved the house from Junipero between 5th and 6th in 1953
    c) Robert & Yvonne Connelly
    d) Tom & Kim Dunham

    None of the former owners except Fraties are listed in Carmel's Historic Context Statement.

8. Information on the original designer/builder: The designer/builder is unknown. Fraties was a carpenter before he joined the police force, and he may have built the house.

9. Alterations and changes to the residence/property:
    a) BP# 2206 (7/26/1951): Second story added while still located on Junipero St.
    b) BP# 2533 (11/19/1953): Move 2-story house from Block 58 (Junipero between 5th & 6th) to Santa Fe 5 NW of 3rd.
    c) BP#01-10 (1/10/01): Addition & remodel to include expansion of second floor bedroom and bath; add garden room on first floor, add decks, add and change windows, build a 200 sq. ft. single car garage

10. Conclusions:
    Roy Fraties is listed in Carmel's Historic Context Statement and homes of civil servants such as Police Chiefs can be considered significant per Carmel's Historic Context Statement. However, after Fraties sold the house in 1950, a second story was added and then it was moved to a new location. The second story, the move, and further additions in 2001 have resulted in a loss of integrity for the subject property. A Phase One evaluation is not recommended.

11. Current Photographs of Building (see next page):



Attachment 3



Santa Fe 5 NW of 3rd Avenue, looking northwest from Santa Fe. The second story dates to 1951 and 2001. The chimney was reconstructed to a taller height with new stone veneer in 2001. The garage was added in 2001.



Primary entry at south elevation.



Bank of windows on south elevation.



Rear (west) elevation, with first and second-story additions and decks dating to 2001, and second-story window converted to door out to deck.



Chimney has been reconstructed to taller height with new stone veneer.



Detached garage (2001).

LOBOS LONGVIEW COTTAGE HISTORY

DRAFT
March 5, 2024

History File Carmel
Current Owners: Tom & Kim Dunham (Since 1999)
Santa Fe 5th House NorthWest of 3rd
Current Home Location: Santa Fe, Block 9, Lot 25 APN:010102005000
Original Home Location: Junipero, Block 58, Lot 13&15 APN:010098004000

Lobos Longview Cottage History:

The cottage was built in 1925 (Permit #957 April 1925) Source: Carmel Record of Building Permits by (then future) Police Chief Roy Christian Fraties and his wife Bliss. Roy was 24 years old, when the cottage was constructed, quite likely by he himself.

Roy and Bliss (Raiford) of Monterey were married in 1921, They had two sons, Gail Roy, Arvid, and a daughter, Fordre (Wrongly shown as Sande in some census docs) . The home was built on Junipero Street on lot 13&15 block 58. (This is currently the parking lot for Forge-in-the-Forest and Carmel Realty.)

Note: We believe that the home is likely an M.J. Murphy home (from some of the design features and documents) and are trying to verify this. The permit #957 has not yet been found) . Also, according to the "Historic Context Statement" of the City of Carmel, nearly 80% of the homes "By 1930" were attributed to M.J.Murphy. It is also reasonable to assume this in that Roy worked for MJ Murphy for "most of the time" during his 16 years as a carpenter. Source:The Spectator, July 28,1950. It is also likely, given Roy was a carpenter, that Roy built the house himself, or at least a significant portion of it.

We believe Roy either bought, or was given, the property from a family member. There is a record of Roy applying for a Permit #629, in Aug of 1923, that shows the property owner as J Machado. Machado was Roy's mom, Carlotta's (Lottie's) Freitas maiden name. Carlotta was married to Juan Freitas at the San Carlos Mission on Aug. 2nd, 1891 though later divorced. Source:Geneology.com. It is Interesting to note that Carlotta's father, Christianno Machado, is credited with being a driving force behind saving the Carmel Mission and for discovering that Junipero Serra was buried there.

Roy was born Jan. 2, 1901 and was a resident of Carmel beginning in 1917. He was a carpenter for 16 years, working briefly for Fred Ruhl, a Pebble Beach contractor, and then spent the majority of his time with M. J. Murphy. In 1936 he joined the Carmel police department, and was then appointed police chief on Aug 7th, 1940 by the city council. Source: The Spectator, July 28,1950. His salary was $165.00 a month. This was $20.00 more per month than his patrolman's salary. Source: Carmel Cymbal Friday Aug 9, 1940. Roy left Carmel for the FBI on November 5, 1950. (Source: Roy's obituary). Roy was living in the house until 4/22/1932 when he sold it (Grantor Book OR Vol 331 Page 309) to (then future mayor) Keith Baldwin Evans. Keith went on to be the first multiple term mayor in Carmel-by-the-Sea's

history. Like Roy Fraties he worked for another notable individual, John C. Caitlin owner of the Forge-in-the-Forest and was later known as the "Blacksmith" Mayor of Carmel. Keith left as mayor to serve in World War II where he served in the infantry and attained the rank of Capitan. Keith married his childhood sweetheart Virginia Pope in Bathurst, Australia July 18, 1929. A side note is that Virginia, at 21 years old, boarded a freighter, from San Francisco to Australia, to re-connect with her childhood sweetheart, Keith Evans. Source: Virginias Obituary Keith & Virginia also started Plaza Fuel & Supply located where Bruno's market currently resides. The Evans ultimately sold the property to Mr. Joe Hudder on 3/1/1946 (Grantor book OR Vol 913 Page 437)

Joseph D Hudder and his wife Katherine B. Hudder (Maiden name Livesley), completed a 2nd story addition on July 26th, 1951. (Permit #2206) Joe Hudder was the owner of Beaux Arts Studio & Camera shop. It was located at Dolores and 6th as well as several other locations in town including the Pine Inn Garden. Joe was very active in the Lions Club and helping with town events. His wife Katherine died of esophageal cancer on 1/18/1950 leaving Joe and their daughter Linda Kay. Source:Carmel Pine Cone. He later married Carolyn LaFrenz in August of 1951. Source: Carmel Spectator

The house was physically moved, by Mr. Hudder, on November 19th, 1953 to it's current location: Santa Fe 5NW of 3rd (Permit #2533). No information has been found regarding why it was moved so soon after adding the second floor. We surmise it was because of the lovely view from the new lot, and possibly to get away from the commercial activity of that area of town. Joe Hudder passed away mid-November 1969 leaving a sister Marion Badore of Carmel Valley and a brother Frank Hudder of New York.

The home was then sold to Edward A. Hegg. Source:Monterey County Clerk Reel 673 Page 715 & Pg 719 Mr. Hegg was a music instructor and had a shop on Carmelo. Ed Hegg owned the home until Sept 13th of 1972 when he sold it to Robert J and Yvonne E Connelly of Los Altos for $34,000. The Connelly's were also residents of both Los Altos and Pebble Beach.

The Connelly's owned it until Kim and I purchased the property in December of 1999. Robert Connelly died on November 22, 1999, and Yvonne died on June 16, 2003. Yvonne was survived by a son, Robert J. Connelly Jr., of Gilroy (now deceased) , as well as a daughter, Christine Duncanson of Yorba Linda, CA, Source: Yvonne's Obituary.

Kim and I hired International Design Group (IDG), John Matthams, a noted designer, to aid our efforts to restore the home and yet keep much of the original construction as well as the Craftsman cottage look and feel. We restored it and added a back bedroom and a separate garage. We kept true to the original build, style, and design features of the home.

We engaged Larry Bennett construction to do the work. Larry was a well know builder, here in town, and was also on another major historic project for Alan Silvestri, who had bought the Kodak mansion.

Tom and Kim Dunham

Acknowledgements:

Katie O'Connell City Library Historian for help with sources.

Staff at the planning office window for tips on finding property documents.

Carmel-by-the-Sea

Katherine Wallace <kwallace@ci.carmel.ca.us>
Attachment 5

Historical Home Carmel

Shaheen Alnuaimi [redacted] Sun, Mar 3, 2024 at 2:42 PM
To: dpotter@ci.carmel.ca.us, brichards@ci.carmel.ca.us, kwallace@ci.carmel.ca.us
Cc: adramov@ci.carmel.ca.us, jbaron@ci.carmel.ca.us, kferlito@ci.carmel.ca.us, tomrdunham@yahoo.com, koconnell@ci.carmel.ca.us

To whom it may concern

Subject Official Challenge to City's determination on **HE 24 042** Santa Fe 5 NW of 3rd Ave March 10, 2024

I would like to formally go on record to both challenge and disagree, with the preliminary ineligible determination, regarding the above mentioned properties historical application

I believe, from first hand knowledge of the property, that the initial determination should be reviewed and overturned

My rationale is the following

1. The 1925 era cottage has been owned by both a long serving police chief, Roy Fraties and by one of Carmel's noted mayors, Keith Evans.
2. Mrs Fraties was the daughter of one of Carmels most notable individuals, Chritianno Machdo, who has been credited with playing a major role in the preservation of the Mission and the re-discovery of Father Junipero Serra long lost burial location.
3. The cottage was built by a long serving carpenter for MJ Murphy. Interesting in that it was the same Roy Fraties who went on to be police chief! As such, the home is almost without a doubt an M.J. Murphy home.
4. I know Mr. Dunham spent an inordinate amount of time and money keeping the original features intact and insuring any changes were painstakingly detailed in their execution.

I would beseech the city to do more than their cursory review on this matter.

Sincerely,

Shaheen Alnuaimi
Owner: Mission Bistro

CITY OF CARMEL-BY-THE-SEA
HISTORIC RESOURCES BOARD
Staff Report

May 20, 2024
CORRESPONDENCE

TO:	Historic Resources Board Commissioners
SUBMITTED BY:	Leah R. Young, Administrative Coordinator
SUBJECT:	PUBLIC CORRESPONDENCE: Public Hearings and/or other items appearing on the Agenda

RECOMMENDATION:

BACKGROUND/SUMMARY:

FISCAL IMPACT:

ATTACHMENTS:

CITY OF CARMEL-BY-THE-SEA
HISTORIC RESOURCES BOARD
Staff Report

May 20, 2024
CORRESPONDENCE

TO:	Historic Resources Board Commissioners
SUBMITTED BY:	Leah R. Young, Administrative Coordinator
SUBJECT:	PUBLIC CORRESPONDENCE: Additional items not associated with Public Hearings and/or other items appearing on the Agenda

RECOMMENDATION:

BACKGROUND/SUMMARY:

FISCAL IMPACT:

ATTACHMENTS: