HISTORIC CONTEXT STATEMENT
CARMEL-BY-THE-SEA

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

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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.

The 1997 Historic Context Statement has been updated by Architectural Resources Group of San Francisco (ARG) to extend and incorporate the 25-year period, 1940-1965. In accordance with *National Register Bulletin 24*, this updated document, like the 1997 version, covers a broad pattern of historical development in this community. This document expands on those early patterns of the development of the City that continued through the 1940-1965 period. In some cases, but not all, the themes of the first half of the 20th century covered in the 1997 document are relevant through 1965.

To update the Historic Context Statement, ARG's methodology has been as follows: undertake extensive documentary research and some fieldwork to review resources that relate to the development of the City between 1940 and 1965; conduct research at local libraries, archives and repositories. Typically, relevant permits would be researched as part of the process; however, building and new construction permits from the City of Carmel-by-the-Sea for the period 1940-1965 were not available for this 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 this update, though minor edits for clarity were made. The 1997 Historic Resources Survey and updated information relating to the 1940-1965 period is presented here as one volume.

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 ~~The purpose of a context statement is to provide a framework for identifying historic resources,~~ for identifying historic resources, determining their relative significance, and applying the criteria for listing in the National Register of Historic Places. ~~Specific examples referred to in this document are included solely to illustrate physical and associative characteristics of each theme and/or property type; exclusion from this report is not intended to diminish the significance of any individual historic resource or person.~~ 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-~~1940~~ 1965); Government, Civic and Social Institutions (1903-~~1940~~ 1965); Architectural Development (1903-~~1940~~ 1965); and the Development of Arts and Culture (1904-~~1940~~ 1965). 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. Non-White ethnic groups played a variety of roles in the society including that of laborers, fisherman, small business owners, firemen, and artists. Of course, the ethnic history of Carmel can be traced back to the Native American inhabitants of the region, the Ohlone Indians discussed in the second chapter of this report. The Ohlones played a pivotal role in the mission system by providing labor, including the construction of buildings which still stand. What marks they may have made independently on the landscape, however, were probably erased by successive waves of immigrants to the area, beginning with the Spanish. By the end of the nineteenth century, the Ohlone culture ceased to exist as a culturally identifiable group due to acculturation and disease.

According to the 1910 consensus, 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 workers, office managers, and craftsmen to clerical and sales workers.[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 owned 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 centuries preceding the "discovery" of California by Europeans, when there were some 300,000 Native Americans in the state. 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 Costanoans, the Coast people. They are also sometimes referred to as the Ohlones. 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

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[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.

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

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 accompanies 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 missions played two critical roles in the occupation process: the pacification of the Native Americans through conversion and Hispanicization and the establishment of an agricultural base. 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]

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[6] Cabrillo was actually of Portuguese descent, but acting on the orders of the Spanish viceroy of Mexico.

[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.

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.

Gradually, the Ohlones as well as neighboring tribes were converted to Christianity and incorporated into mission life. Indeed, those who accepted baptism became the *de facto* labor force in as much as neophytes were not permitted to leave the mission. They were trained to perform a variety of tasks at the mission including raising livestock, cultivating crops, and building construction. By 1973 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 Lasuen, who took over as "padre presidente" after Serra died on August 28, 1784. Unlike most of the missions in the chain, which 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.

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[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.

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. Any citizen, whether 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 Carmel River, consisted of 4307 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 lat 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 died 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 may include

- archeological sites
- mission structures and objects
- rancho hacienda buildings and features

2.4.2 Description

Archaeological Sites

Two Ohlone villages were apparently located near Carmel: one near the mission and the other hear the mouth of San Jose Creek (outside of the city boundaries). Specific natural features of locations also may hold strong associations and cultural meaning for the Ohlone people.

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 known 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 of 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. 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 shop, 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-~~1940~~ 1965)

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 19th 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 farm house 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 fisherman 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. But 1860 six Chinese fisherman lived in a 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 s 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 fisherman; 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

[11] Sandy Lydon, *Chinese Gold: The Chinese in the Monterey Bay Region*, pp. 138-139

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 additional 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, Mr. 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 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

[12] Pt. Lobos State Reserve, *The Whaler Cabin and Whaling State Museum.*

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 Business 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 Avenue and Broadway (Junipero) in 1889.[16] Abbie Jane Hunter, with her uncle, Delos Goldsmith, as builder, was responsible for the creation 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.

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[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.
[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 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 in 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 remodeled the old Murphy ranch house as a home for his family and a studio for his socialite wife Jane Gallatin. 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.

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.

[17] "This is Carmel 1957."
[18] "This is Carmel 1957."

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 the 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 516) 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 based 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 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

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[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.
[25] "This is Carmel 1957."

"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 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 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

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[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'."
[33] Lawrence Livingston, *Plan for the Conservation and Enhancement of Carmel-by-the-Sea and Environs*, 1956.

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 descendents of pioneer families. These decedents included Tom Doud, a cattle rancher from Monterey; Mary Goold, a descendent 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 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 post-war era.[37]

3.2.2 Ocean Avenue Business District

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, 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. 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

[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*.

purchased the Ira Remsen Building on the west side of Dolores Street in 1934 which was expanded in 1939. 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 Ocean Avenue Business District 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.

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 knickknacks; 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 the Ocean Avenue. In the early 1950s, rents for downtown shops and offices – monopolized by a small handful of families – ranged from $100 to $450.[38]

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.[39]

Two large-scale commercial development projects in the 1950s, markedly out of proportion to the existing buildings in the Ocean Avenue Business District, sparked one of Carmel's strongest anti-development movements in history. Carmelites opposed the Jade Tree Motel on Junipero Street 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.[40]

[38] *Polk City Directory.*
[39] Ibid.
[40] Harold and Ann Gilliam, *Creating Carmel: The Enduring Vision*, 1992.

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.[41] 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.[42]

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.[43] 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.'"[44] Nonetheless, as one newspaper reported, "almost everybody in Carmel rose in righteous wrath" against the formation of the chapter.[45] 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.[46] 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 parking meters were out of the question, so, in 1955, a one-hour parking zone was delineated around the Ocean Avenue Business District. In 1957 a newspaper complained,

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

"With little room to park in the business district and the ever-present threat of a ticket…visitors are increasingly discouraged from shopping [downtown]."[47]

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 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."[48] 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.

[47] "This is Carmel 1957."
[48] Kevin Starr, *The Dream Endures: California Enters the 1940s*, 1997.

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 paid by residents.[49] In 1957 shop keepers estimated that fifty percent of their sales were made by tourists.[50]

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.[51]

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 Casonova and Sixth;
- La Playa Hotel on Eighth and Camino Real;
- La Ribera Hotel on Lincoln and Sixth;
- Lobos Lodge 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.[52]

[49] "This is Carmel 1957."
[50] "This is Carmel 1957."
[51] *Polk City Directory.*
[52] *Polk City Directory.*

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).[53]

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

- 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).[54]

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.[55]

3.3 Transportation

From the Spanish period, there were two 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

[53] *Polk City Directory.*
[54] *Polk City Directory.*
[55] All information in these two paragraphs is summarized from the book *Pebble Beach Golf Links: The Official History* by Neal Hotelling,

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 proposal 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 Lodge. 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 busying 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-~~1940~~ 1965) include:

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 fisherman 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.[56]

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 does not 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.

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. Building 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

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

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 profession 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, stages 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 farmhouse 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-~~1940~~ 1965)

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 y ear 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 Saide 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 Buildings 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, 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 *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*.[57] 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 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

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

vehicular traffic on Ocean Avenue to create space for an open-air pedestrian mall.[58] After a series of revisions, the Carmel General Plan was adopted in 1957.

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.'"[59] 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."[60]

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.[61]

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 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, Mr. J.P. Staples, handed out the mail. Mr. 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. Slevein was followed by L. Payne, 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, was, and still is, 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.[62]

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[58] Harold and Ann Gilliam, *Creating Carmel: The Enduring Vision*, 1992.
[59] Steve Hauk, "Carmel Determined to Keep its Charm," *Monterey Peninsula Herald*, 1 June 1970.
[60] "Carmel Determined to Keep its Charm."
[61] Sydney Temple, *Carmel-by-the-Sea from Aborigines to Coastal Commission*, 1987.
[62] Sharon Lee Hale, *A Tribute to Yesterday*, 1980.

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 *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 with a second hand press in the room behind the post office, the *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 organ. There have been numerous competitors and other local news publications; however, none outlasted the *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 Carmleo.

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 Lost 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 Health Care

Carmel's first health care 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.[63] As stated above, the hospital is outside the boundaries of the City of Carmel, but it does serve the city's residents.

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

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

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 Jordon, 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; and Robert E. Smith from 1956 to 1965. [64]

In 1948 Carmel's police force was decidedly small and consisted of only eight men.[65] 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."[66] In 1967 a new police department station was completed at Junipero and Fourth Avenue, designed by Robert Jones.[67] 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 and Clyde P. Klaumann from the 1950s to 1975.[68]

4.3 Educational and Religious Institutions

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.[69] 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 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.

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

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[64] Sharon Lee Hale, *A Tribute to Yesterday*, 1980.
[65] Elmont Waite, "The Cities of America: Carmel, California," *The Saturday Evening Post*, 15 May 1948.
[66] "This is Carmel 1957."
[67] Sydney Temple, *Carmel-by-the-Sea from Aborigines to Coastal Commission*, 1987.
[68] Sharon Lee Hale, *A Tribute to Yesterday*, 1980.
[69] 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."

designer Franklin & Kump Associates with Hugh Comstock, the high school was completed in two phases in 1939 and 1941.[70] 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."[71]

By the 1940s Carmel School District had a population of 400 students.[72] In 1947 four 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.[73] 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."[74] 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.[75] 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.

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.[76] 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

[70] The twenty-two acre campus of Carmel High School is actually located outside the city limits.
[71] "Carmel High School, Carmel-by-the-Sea, California." *Pencil Points*, 1945.
[72] Daisy Bostick, *Carmel Today and Yesterday*, 1945.
[73] "This is Carmel 1957."
[74] Lawrence Livingston, *Plan for the Conservation and Enhancement of Carmel-by-the-Sea and Environs*, 1956.
[75] Nancy Hills, "City Showed Foresight in Buying Sunset Center," *Carmel Pine Cone*, 21 September 1989.
[76] 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.

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. 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.

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.[77] 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 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.[78]**

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 Women's Club. Located on Mountain View and Junipero, the Carmel Presbyterian Church building was dedicated on 11 September 1955. President and Mrs. Dwight D.

[77] The Christian Science Reading Room is now located at the church on Lincoln near Sixth.
[78] "Celebrate Oldest Protestant Church in Carmel," *Monterey Peninsula Herald*, n.d.

Eisenhower attended services on 26 August 1956. An educational building and parking lot were added in 1964.[79]

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."[80] 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.[81] 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.

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 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

[79] "Carmel Presbyterian Church Completes 1st Decade," *Monterey Peninsula Herald*, 23 March 1964.
[80] "All Saints' Episcopal Church: Carmel-by-the-Sea, California," *Architect and Engineer*, December 1952.
[81] "All Saints Church Grew With Carmel," *Monterey Peninsula Herald*, 23 March 1964.

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 bivouacked 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 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 a "Girl Scout House" on the corner of Sixth and Lincoln which served as home for the Scouts in the 1950s and 1960s.[82]

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 Crosby's operations, the Carmel Youth Center is the sole remaining privately operated outfit.[83] The Youth Center is still extant on the corner of Fourth and Torres and in operation today.

The Carmel Women'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.[84] Martin was a friend of Mary Austin and Carol Steinbeck. Immediately after her arrival, Martin's home became the

[82] *Polk City Directory.*
[83] From "A Brief History of the Carmel Youth Center" distributed at the Anniversary Open House on 26 April 2008.
[84] "Nevada Woman to Run for Senate," *New York Times*, 4 March 1918.

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.[85] The Carmel Women's Club was officially founded in the 1940s. The Carmel Women's Club entertained local women with card games, reading groups, cocktail parties, and afternoon teas.[86] The Women'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 1948 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 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 organization in operation between 1940 and 1965 were: Artists Guild of America, Inc. on Monte Verde and First; Cherry Carl Foundation on Guadalupe near 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.

Business-related operations active after 1940 were the Carmel Board of Realtors on Sixth near Lincoln Avenue and the Carmel Business Association based in City Hall. 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. The sole religious organization listed in city directories was the International Association of Religious Science Churches on Lincoln near Seventh Avenue.

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
- Schools and churches
- Social and recreational property types

4.5.2 Description

Properties associated with civic and public services

[85] John Thompson, "Turn-of-the-Century Feminist: Anne Martin," (accessed online) 2006.
[86] Daisy Bostick, *Carmel Today and Yesterday*, 1945.

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 *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 *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.

Health care 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 health care 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, 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-~~1940~~ 1965)

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 contract 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 that 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."[87] 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.

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[87] 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 Colombian 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 Pan-American Exposition and the outbreak of World War I, 1901-1916 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."[88] 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."[89] Even local poet, Robinson Jeffers, chimed in: "Motors and modernist houses usurp the scene."[90] 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 1965.

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. In 1902, Devendorf and Powers took over the unsold land from Duckworth and formed the Carmel Land 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.

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

The early subdivision maps greatly influenced the later character of Carmel. The grid overlaid slope, canyons, and forests with the long axis of the blocks offering the small lots exposure to the sun which contributed to the popularity of residential patios and outdoor living. People often purchase multiple lots, and lot lines were adjusted to fit the topography and the trees. Drainage systems and street layout was all done in a non-urbanized, environmentally friendly way.

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, Tomas B. Reardon, Charles Sumner Green, 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 3 September 1950 the City Council purchased from private owners the beach and lagoon that stretched from the end of the city limits to the Carmel River.[91]

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 1930 and 1962. For the most part, the areas to the east of Junipero were not surveyed by the Sanborn Company; the exception was a rectangular section bounded by Third to the north, Ninth to the south, Junipero to the west and Guadalupe to the east. Despite the thirty-two-year gap, a comparison of the two maps is important in understanding how the city grew during those three decades. In 1930, most blocks were only partially developed, with 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 builders 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, Tor House, Harrison Memorial Library, several notable commercial buildings, and about 350 houses to his credit. It is estimated that about 80% of the homes in Carmel were designed or constructed by Murphy by the 1930s. 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 Minden, Utah, Murphy first came to Carmel on 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 lumbermill and cabinet shop located between San Carlos and Mission. When Murphy retired in 1941, Carmel lost its first and most important master builder.

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

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 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."[92] Though never having received a degree in architecture, Comstock was described by the *Monterey Peninsula Herald* as one of Carmel's most influential architects.[93]

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. When Daniel L. James engaged the Greenes in 1914 to design a home on a rocky bluff overlooking the Pacific Ocean south of Carmel, Charles Greene took charge of the commission. A year later he began a gradual withdrawal from the firm and eventually made Carmel his permanent residence. 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 on 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 included Artie Bowen, George Mark Whitcomb, A.C. Stoney, Meese and Briggs, Percy Parkes, Fred Bigland, Lee Gottfried, 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.

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[92] Hugh W. Comstock, *Post-Adobe.*

[93] Dorothy Stephenson, "Carmel's Architecture Both Interesting and Livable," 1 June 1970.

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 in 1954. Premier Bay Region architect, Gardner A. Dailey designed a home for himself on Ocean and Forest Road in 1945. William Wurster of 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: the 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 Sedletsky.

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, Jack Kruse, Frank Lloyd, Rowan Maiden, Clarence Mayhew, Mark Mills, James Pruitt, Guy Rosebrook, Marcel Sedletsky, Edwin 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 between 1940 and 1965, including 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,1940-1965.

5.4 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. No tracts of similar homes were constructed in Carmel, and no one block was constructed in a single period of time. 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 or

double 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 county with Gustav Stickley and his *Craftsman* magazine, and in California by the work of architects Greene and 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 shingled 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 philosophic 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.

Like elsewhere in Carmel, commercial buildings in the business district also displayed wide architectural variations. Generally, buildings are one to two stories in height and form contiguous streetfaces, interrupted by frequent courtyards. Intercommunication between courtyards is possible in several places. Commercial uses occupy the ground levels, with upper stories used more frequently 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 falsefront 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, exhibits these characteristics. However, it was the construction which took place under the influence of the architectural revivals of the 1920s which left the most lasting imprint on the character of the business district. Both the Spanish Colonial Revival and the Tudor Revival were employed. Beyond the usual Spanish stylistic trademarks of stuccoed exteriors or tiled roofs, the 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.

The typical Modern-style building in Carmel can be categorized as belonging to the Bay Region sub-style. 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.[94]**

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 (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

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

Esherick, John Dinwiddie, and Gardner Dailey. Charles Moore and his contemporaries defined the Third Bay Tradition (1960 onward).[95]

The Bay Region 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 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 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 gabled 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, not entirely different in principle from Bay Regionalism, was realized in Carmel by adherents of Frank Lloyd Wright. Mark Mills was a Taliesin fellow for four years. Albert Henry Hill, Rowan Maiden, Jon Konigshofer and Olaf Dahlstrand were all influenced by Wrightian methods. The most recognizable characteristic of Wrightian architecture found in Carmel were dramatic roof forms sheltering buildings constructed of natural materials.

Modern style homes in Carmel continued along a historical trend and were of modest size and massing; the houses generally contained a maximum of two bedrooms. Local author Daisy Bostick described the feeling toward Carmel architecture in the mid 1940s:

> [The recently constructed houses] flagrantly proclaim their newness and are a matter of concern to some of the old-timers who regret the note of modernity insidiously being thrust upon us. But these new modern houses may become mellowed with time, the shrubbery and trees may soften the bright colors and sharp lines of the buildings and they will probably eventually fit better into the storybook quality of Carmel architecture.[96]

This appears to have been the case. In 1950, one visiting Iowan stated, the residences in Carmel were "low and unostentatious…dark, shrub-hidden."[97]

According to local lore, the only way architects could usher their Modern designs through the approval process was to "dress up their rendering with knickknacks."[98] In 1954 Carmel's

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[95] David Gebhard, Roger Montgomery, Robert Winter, John Woodbridge, and Sally Woodbridge. *A Guide to Architecture in San Francisco & Northern California,* 1973.
[96] Daisy Bostick, *Carmel Today and Yesterday*, 1945.
[97] Harlan Miller, "Carmel, As Seen By Visiting Iowan," *Des Moines Register*, 23 August 1950.

building inspector, Floyd Adams, permitted thirty new homes and three residential [apartment] buildings that, along with multiple remodels, totaled $770,765 in building costs.[99]

Though Modern-style buildings were the most likely designs to appear between 1940 and 1965, other styles appeared as well. Notable examples include George Whitcomb's Tudor Revival Etting House on Camino Real and Sixth Street that was designed in 1941. A Cape Cod bungalow at Carpenter and Fifth was designed in 1951. A post-adobe residence, the L.L. Spillers Guest Cottage at Third and Carpenter, was designed in 1951 by William Cranston. The Ranch-style Ernest Bixler House at Sixth and Forest was designed in 1954. The Spinning Wheel Restaurant on Monte Verde south of Ocean was designed in the Monterey Revival style in 1952.

Other Modern styles popular in Carmel in the post-war era include Minimal Traditional and Ranch. Also prolific throughout the rest of the country, these styles were used for houses that typically were relatively small, single story structures. The Minimal Traditional style (1935-1950) emerged during the years of the Depression. 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 close rather than overhanging. Built in great numbers before and after World War II, these houses are commonly built of wood, brick, stone or a mixture, as wall cladding materials.

Characteristics of the Ranch style ((1935-1975), which originated in California, include asymmetrical single-story forms with low-pitched roofs with a moderate or wide eave overhang and a modest amount of traditional detailing, typically decorative iron or wooden porch supports, ribbon windows and decorative shutters. Partially enclosed courtyards or patios, borrowed from Spanish house traditions, are a common feature. 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 19th and early 20th century styles. The style is loosely based on early Spanish Colonial precedents of the American Southwest modified by influences borrowed from Craftsman and Prairie modernism of the early 20th century.

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 garden had an irregular path system through the landscape and conformed with the natural topography avoiding trees and natural lock 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,

[98] "This is Carmel 1957, n. pag.
[99] "This is Carmel 1957, n. pag.

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."[100]

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 and 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.[101]

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.[102]

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.[103] Church was educated at the University of California and Harvard, where he became fascinated with issues of California's climate and outdoor living.[104] 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 throughout their careers.[105]

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[100] Daisy F. Bostick and Dorothea Castelhun, *Carmel at Work and Play*, p. 30
[101] Sharron Hale, *A Tribute to Yesterday*, p. 55
[102] Harold and Ann Gilliam, *Creating Carmel: The Enduring Vision*, 1992.
[103] Corbett, 19.
[104] Marc Treib, editor. *Modern Landscape Architecture: A Critical Review*, Cambridge, MIT Press, 1992, 169.
[105] Corbett, 12.

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

Carmel had 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 develope3d prior to World War II and will constitutes 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 which reached its acme in the 1920s in Santa Barbara. 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 Dolores 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 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 are property types which do much to shape the character of the build environment. This property type would also include Picadilly Nursery/Park, the Wayfayer's Church Biblical Garden, the War Memorial arch designed by Charles Greene, and the Serra Memorial designed by sculptor Joseph Mora.

5.6.3 Significance

Significant single family residences are those that are related to Carmel's architectural chronology as describe din Section 5.4 above; that reflect Carmel's pronounced taste for individualism; or that represent the work of a master builder or architect. Architectural integrity should be substantially intact, and 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). Where there are many representatives of a particular style or examples of an architect or master builder's work, the property should retain a high degree of physical and architectural integrity.

Nearly every commercial building on Ocean and Dolores 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. 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 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.

6.0 DEVELOPMENT OF ART AND CULTURE (1904-~~1940~~-1965)

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 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."[106]

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.[107] (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.

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.[108] 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 comprised of representatives from each of the arts. In 1967 the Commission was reorganized into the Community and Cultural Commission.[109]

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.

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[106] Harold and Ann Gilliam, *Creating Carmel: The Enduring Vision*, 1992.
[107] Daisy Bostick, *Carmel Today and Yesterday*, 1945.
[108] Harold and Ann Gilliam, *Creating Carmel: The Enduring Vision*, 1992.
[109] Harold and Ann Gilliam, *Creating Carmel: The Enduring Vision*, 1992.

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 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 beauties of the area have 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 East Camino Real between tenth and Eleventh, 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."[110] 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 established 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 facts, 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 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

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

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 writers 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.[111]

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, wind swept lot facing the ocean reminded them of the tors in England. Observing the stone masons' techniques during the construction "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.**[112] 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.

6.2.3 Drama and Theater

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[111] 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.

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

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 reminder of the block and two workmen to help clear the grounds. By 1910 there was 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. During World War II, the Theater was closed due to blackout regulations, but, in 1941, opened briefly for its first original production, Robinson Jeffers' play *The Tower Beyond* Tragedy, which starred actress Judith Anderson.[113] 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."[114] The Theater opened briefly in 1947 for Dan Totheroh's play, *The Distant Drum*.[115] 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 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 retuned 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

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

old 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 in tact. 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 taught worked with local organizations. Concert Pianist Katherine Vander Roest Clarke held informal Sunday afternoon musicales 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 accompanies 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.[116]

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.[117] 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.

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

Among the professors and scientists who had permanent or vacation homes in Carmel were included 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, and Drs. Fenner and Stillman, early experimenters with vitamins; zoologist Professor Vernon Kellogg; Dr. J.L. Fish engineering expert. Dr. and Mrs. 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.

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, director of botanical research, who was its director 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, health care advocates, politicians, philanthropists, or builders, women were unusually visible and dynamic participants in the creative and 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 groups for sixteen years, organizing fund raisers and overseeing the construction of the Arts and Crafts Theater in 1922. Fannie Yard (Mrs. Sidney Yard) was the director of the Cedarcroft 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 Cedarcroft school, and led the 1921 campaign for the city purchase of the Sand Dunes and Block 69.

Morgan's good friends, artists Josephine Culbertson and Ida Johnson, were also active in the development the community. They had come to Carmel in 1906. 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 on the *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.

The contributions of other influential women have been discussed in the forgoing 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 where they sold 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. 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.

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 constructed prior to 1940 which were associated with notable artists and craftsmen or promoters of art and culture.

7.0 ENDNOTES

The endnotes in this section have been converted to footnotes for purposes of formatting and clarity.

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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, President, 1916-1920
Eva K. DeSabla, President, 1920 (resigned)
William Kibbler, President, 1920-1922 (appointed to replace DeSabla)
William Maxwell, President, 1922 (resigned)
Perry Newberry, President, 1922-1924 (appointed to replace Maxwell)
William Kibbler, President, 1924-26
John B. Jordan, President, 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 directly elected Mayor, 1980-1982
Charlotte Townsend, 1982-1986
Clint Eastwood, 1986-1988
Jean Grace, 1988-1992
Kennedy White, 1992-2000
Sue McCloud, 2000-

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
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
Barney Segal

9.5.1 Artists Working in Carmel, 1940-1965

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, landscape and mural 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
Doanld Teague, illustrator

Edward Timmons
Brett Weston, photographer
Edward Weston, photographer
Alexander Weygers, sculptor
Clifton Williams

9.6 Architects, Designers and Builders in Carmel

Architects

Frank Ashley
Carl Bensberg
Walter Burde
Thomas Church
William L. Cranston
Olaf Dahlstrand
Gardner Dailey
Thomas S. Elston
Albert Farr
Charles Sumner Greene
Albert Henry Hill
Robert Jones
Fred Keeble
Guy Koepp
Jon Konigshofer
Jack Kruse
Milt Latham
Frank Lloyd
Rowan Maiden
Bernard Maybeck
Clarence Mayhew
Julia Morgan
Mark Mills
Louis Mulgardt
Willis Polk
James Pruitt
Guy Rosebrook
C.J. Ryland
Marcel Sedletsky
Will V. Shaw
Edwin Snyder
Robert Stanton
Robert A. Stephenson
George Thomson
Helen Warren
George Whitcomb
George Willox
Frank Lloyd Wright
William Wurster
Frank Wynkoop

Designer/Builders

Miles Bain
Frederick Bigland
Ernest Bixler

Richard Bixler
Daisy Bostick
Artie Bowen
Hugh Comstock
Delos Goldsmith
Lee Gottfried
Donald Hale
James Heisinger, Sr.
C.H. Lawrence
Meese & Briggs
M.J. Murphy
Percy Parkes
Frank Ruhl
A. C. Stoney
Hazel Watrous
George Mark Whitcomb

9.7 Historical Chronology of Carmel

1542 Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo sails by Monterey Bay.

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 3rd Mass is celebrated by Father Sierra on the shores of Monterey Bay and Carmel Mission is founded.

1771 Father Sierra plants cross to designate site of Mission San Carlos Borromeo, the second of the missions. 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 Lasuen, 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 Ave.

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 Carmleo 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 4th.

1904 Stanford president David Starr Jordan builds at the northeast corner of Camino Real and 7th. 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 and begin building Tor House on Carmel Point.

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

1916 Carmel incorporates.

1919 Three societies producing plays at the Forest Theater reunite.

1921 Bath house torn down.

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.

1937 Highway 1 opened down the coast of California.

1940s 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 and 6th.

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.

Walker House designed by FL Wright, constructed on N side of Scenic and Santa Lucia.

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' 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.

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

1954 No murders, no traffic fatalities, one assault, three burglaries.

Building inspector, Floyd Adams, authorized building permits for 30 new homes and three residential buildings. He also permitted 90 home remodels and 18 commercial remodels. Building expenditures totaled $770,765.

Carmel Ballet Academy Building, designed by Elston and Cranston, constructed on Mission between Seventh and 8th.

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 Carpenter and Highway 1 to Carmel.

Carmel General Plan adopted.

Carmel Citizens' Committee formed with membership of 600.

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 and 4th.

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 constructed on E side of San Carlos between Ocean and 7th.

9.8 Who's Who in Carmel*

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 189, 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 on an oak 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*

*** NOTE:** 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.

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 or *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 *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 drawing 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 a 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 1882.

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 alter 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 and 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 along side 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 baker, 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 Eagle – 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. When D.L. James engaged Greene in 1914 to design a home on a rocky bluff overlooking the Pacific Ocean, Charles Greene left Pasadena and settled in Carmel. Retiring in Carmel about 1916, 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. 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.

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. Returned 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 built the Carmel Bathhouse. 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, wind swept 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 Fermin Francisco de Lasuen – The building at Mission San Carlos de Borromeo was begun in 1793 under the direction of Father Lasuen.

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 Minden, 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 Pine Cone and later its owner until he sold it in 1935. He successfully ran for the Board of Trustees in 1938 and fought to preserve the unique and rural quality of Carmel.

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 life long 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.

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.

Dan 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 Carnage 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 y ears 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 the 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.

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 companions Dene Denny, who she met at Berkeley. They first built a studio on North Dolores, which Watrous also designed. From 1927 and 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 – 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, George 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 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 1965

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.[118] 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.

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.[119] 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.

Burde, Shaw & Associates – The prolific, award-winning local firm was headed up by Will V. Shaw, FAIA and Walter Burde, FAIA.

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.[120] Church was educated at the University of California and Harvard, where he became fascinated with issues of California's climate and outdoor living. [121] 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 Wurster, of Wurster, Bernardi and Emmons, were close friends and collaborated on many house and garden projects throughout their careers.[122]

Elston and Cranston - The architectural firm of Elston and Cranston made significant contributions to the post-WWII architectural character of Carmel with their Modernist residential

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[118] Department of Parks and Recreation, Building, Structure, and Object Record, Mary D. Crile House, 2.
[119] Department of Parks and Recreation, Building, Structure, and Object Record, Ernest Bixler House, 2.
[120] Corbett, 19.
[121] Marc Treib, editor. *Modern Landscape Architecture: A Critical Review*, Cambridge, MIT Press, 1992, 169.
[122] Corbett, 12.

work that reflect the Bay Area regionalist styles popular during their time.[123] Born in Manila, Philippines and educated in the U.S., William L. Cranston (1918-1986) received his architectural degree from Princeton University.[124] 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.[125] 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.[126] Examples of Cranston's work in Carmel include the L. L. Spillers Guest Cottage and the house for Dr. and Mrs. Chester Magee.[127] Cranston is listed in City Directories as residing in Carmel from 1947 to 1963.

Olaf Dahlstrand - An active participant in Carmel's community, having served on both the planning commission and city council. One of Dahlstrand's most notable works in Carmel is the 1964 Wells Fargo Bank building, greatly influenced by Frank Lloyd Wright's "organic" design concepts.

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.[128] 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."[129] Dailey is not listed as a resident of Carmel according to City Directories from 1947 to 1963.

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) 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.[130] Born in England and educated at University of California, Berkeley, and Harvard University, Hill studied under Bauhaus proponents, Walter Gropius and Marcel Breuer.[131] Hill worked with John Ekin

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[123] Department of Parks and Recreation, Building, Structure, and Object Record, L. L. Spillers Guest Cottage, 2.
[124] Department of Parks and Recreation, Building, Structure, and Object Record, L. L. Spillers Guest Cottage, 2.
[125] Department of Parks and Recreation, Building, Structure, and Object Record, L. L. Spillers Guest Cottage,, 3.
[126] Department of Parks and Recreation, Building, Structure, and Object Record, L. L. Spillers Guest Cottage, 3.
[127] Department of Parks and Recreation, Building, Structure, and Object Record, Dr. & Mrs. Chester Magee, 2.
[128] Department of Parks and Recreation, Building, Structure, and Object Record, Gardner A. Dailey House, 2.
[129] *House & Home*, February 1954, 124-129.
[130] 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.
[131] Department of Parks and Recreation, Building, Structure, and Object Record, Henry Hill House, 2.

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.[132] The partnership lasted until Hill's death in 1984.[133] Hill resided in Carmel from 1971, designing numerous homes throughout the region and served on Carmel's planning commission.[134] Some of Hill's other works in Carmel include the Howard Nieman House and the residence at Casanova and Ninth.

Robert Jones – architect of the Carmel Youth Center circa 1949, is listed as a resident in Carmel City Directories from 1947 to 1963.

Jon Konigshofer – began 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.[135] 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."[136] 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), and the Sand and Sea development.

Jack Kruse - 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.[137] 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 house into its local setting.[138] The partnership lasted until Hill's death in 1984.[139]

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.[140]

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[132] Progressive Architecture, "Three Weekend Houses," August 1962, 120-125.
[133] Progressive Architecture, "Three Weekend Houses," August 1962, 120-125.
[134] Monica Hudson, *Images of America: Carmel-by-the-Sea*, Arcadia Publishing, 2006, 122.
[135] "Modern Style in Carmel Brings Cries of Anguish."
[136] "Carmel's Architecture Both Interesting and Livable."
[137] Monica Hudson, *Images of America: Carmel-by-the-Sea*, Arcadia Publishing, 2006, 123.
[138] Progressive Architecture, "Three Weekend Houses," August 1962, 120-125.
[139] Progressive Architecture, "Three Weekend Houses," August 1962, 120-125..
[140] Department of Parks and Recreation, Building, Structure, and Object Record, Frank Lloyd House, 3.

Rowan Maiden – An architect and student of Frank Lloyd Wright, Maiden completed the design for Nepenthe Restaurant in Big Sur just before his untimely death.

Clarence Mayhew - Born in 1907, Mayhew was educated at the University of California, Berkeley.[141] 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.[142] Mayhew retired in 1955.[143]

Mark Mills - A native of Arizona, Mills completed his BS in architectural engineering at the University of Colorado prior to moving to working in the offices of Frank Lloyd Wright as a Taliesin Fellow from 1944-1948.[144] 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' design for the Marcia Mills House and Fairfield House in Carmel demonstrates the Wrightian influences in its use of local building materials an, abstract plan and landscape setting. His sculptural design of a residence for an artist in Carmel, featuring intersecting barrel vaults and a sprayed Gunite exterior, was widely published and praised in 1972. Mills is listed as a resident of Carmel in 1963 City Directories.

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.[145]

Marcel Sedletsky - 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, Sedletsky lived most of his life in Monterey, California and Mexico.[146] In addition to his practice, Sedletsky played an important role in the architectural department at Cal-Poly, San Luis Obispo, and helped to establish the university's reputation as a top architectural school on the West Coast.[147] His design for the Esther M. Hill House in Carmel is the only known example of Sedletsky's work in Carmel, and a representative example of the Third Bay Region Style.

Edwin Snyder - Born in Stockton, California, Edwin Lewis Snyder (1888-1969) was educated at the University of California, Berkeley and the Ecole des Beaux Arts in Paris. Prior to establishing

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[141] Department of Parks and Recreation, Building, Structure, and Object Record, Helen I. Proctor House, 2.
[142] Department of Parks and Recreation, Building, Structure, and Object Record, Helen I. Proctor House, 2.
[143] Department of Parks and Recreation, Building, Structure, and Object Record, Helen I. Proctor House, 2.
[144] NorCalMod, 282.
[145] Department of Parks and Recreation, Building, Structure, and Object Record, Frances C. Johnson House, 2.
[146] http://www.architectureweek.com/2003/0625/next_week.html, accessed 28 March 2008.
[147] Department of Parks and Recreation, Building, Structure, and Object Record, Esther M. Hill House, 2.

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,[148] as is evidenced in his Monterey Colonial Revival style design for the Spinning Wheel Restaurant in Carmel.

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.[149] 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.[150] 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.[151] 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.

Robert A. Stephenson - In addition to having designed homes in Carmel including his own residence at 8th and Forest, Stephenson was an active member of the community, having served time on the Carmel Planning Commission and the City Council.[152]

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.[153]

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.[154] 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.[155] 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.

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[148] Department of Parks and Recreation, Building, Structure, and Object Record, Spinning Wheel Restaurant, 2.
[149] Monica Hudson, *Images of America: Carmel-by-the-Sea*, Arcadia Publishing, 2006, 84.
[150] Monica Hudson, *Images of America: Carmel-by-the-Sea*, Arcadia Publishing, 2006, 84.
[151] "Stanton to be honored by fellow architects," in *The Pine Cone, Carmel-by-the-Sea, Calif.*, 24 August 1972.
[152] Department of Parks and Recreation, Building, Structure, and Object Record, Robert A. Stephenson House, 2.
[153] Department of Parks and Recreation, Building, Structure, and Object Record, Norman Rial House, 2.
[154] Department of Parks and Recreation, Building, Structure, and Object Record, Helen T. Warren House, 2.
[155] Department of Parks and Recreation, Building, Structure, and Object Record, Helen T. Warren House, 2.

Frank Lloyd Wright - Considered one of the founding father of Modernism, Frank Lloyd Wright (1867-1959)[156] 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 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, the Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum. The Walker House 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.[157]

William Wurster - Born in Stockton, California, William Wurster (1895-1973) 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.[158] 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. 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.[159]

Frank Wynkoop - Born in Denver, Colorado,[160] 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 1955, the building was the subject of much controversy with its U-shaped plan, lack of chimney and flue, and inverted, butterfly-shaped roof.[161]

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[156] http://www.franklloydwright.org/index.cfm?section=research&action=display&id=27, accessed 28 March 2008.

[157] Department of Parks and Recreation, Building, Structure, and Object Record, Mrs. Clinton Walker House, 4.

[158] Department of Parks and Recreation, Building, Structure, and Object Record, Helen Nelson Nowell House, 3-4.

[159] Department of Parks and Recreation, Building, Structure, and Object Record, Helen Nelson Nowell House, 3-4.

[160] 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.

[161] Pete Gilman, "New Carmel Point House Has Many Novel Features," 10 April 1952.

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.