HISTORIC CONTEXT STATEMENT

CARMEL-BY-THE-SEA, CALIFORNIA

East side of Dolores Street, between Ocean and 7th, circa-1931
(Source: Pat Hathaway Collection, Monterey County Historical Society)

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1 EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

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

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2 INTRODUCTION

2.1 PROJECT FUNDING BACKGROUND AND OBJECTIVES

The California Certified Local Government (CLG) program, the federal government and the City of Carmel-by-the-Sea (Carmel) jointly funded this 2024 Fourth Edition of the Carmel-by-the-Sea Historic Context Statement. The 1980 amendments to the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 created a CLG program to encourage local governments' direct participation in identifying, evaluating, registering and preserving historic properties and integrating preservation concerns into local planning and decision-making processes. California's CLG program is a partnership among local governments, the California Office of Historic Preservation (OHP) and the National Park Service (NPS), which administers the National Historic Preservation Program. The total project cost for this Historic Context Statement is $79,000. OHP awarded Carmel a $40,000 CLG grant for the 2023-2024 CLG funding year and Carmel contributed an additional $39,000 towards the project. The grant period for this project was December 1, 2023 through December 31, 2024.

2.1.1 PURPOSE OF HISTORIC CONTEXT STATEMENTS

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

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

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

National Register Bulletin Number 15: How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation defines **historic contexts** as "historical patterns that can be identified through consideration of the history of the property and the history of the surrounding area."[2] *National Register Bulletin 16A: How to Complete the National Register Registration Form* is more specific, defining a historic context as:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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these questions: What facet of history does the property type represent? Why is that facet of history significant? Is the property type important in illustrating the context? How does the individual property illustrate that facet of history?

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

2.1.2 Development of the Carmel-by-the-Sea Historic Context Statement

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

- First Edition, 1994, prepared by Teresa Grimes and Leslie Heumann, Leslie Heumann and Associates. This first edition provided the historical development for Carmel, dividing the context into five major areas: Prehistory and Hispanic Settlement (1542-1846), Economic Development (1846-1966), Government, Civic and Social (1903-1966), Architectural Development in Carmel (1888-1966), and Development of Art and Culture (1904-1966). This document called these five major developmental areas "themes" with the time periods listed after each theme. It should be noted that this approach to themes does not align with current OHP standards.
- Second Edition Update, 1996 (adopted 1997), prepared by Glory Anne Laffey, Archives & Architecture. This second edition expanded upon the contextual discussion introduced in the first edition.
- Third Edition Update, 2009, prepared by Architectural Resources Group. This third edition extended the document to 1965, expanding upon the preexisting contextual/thematic approach and introducing sections on associated property types within each contextual area.
- Fourth Edition Update, 2022, by PAST Consultants, LLC. This CLG grant-funded addition extended the historic time period to cover the years 1966 to 1986. The five major contextual areas of the original document were maintained. Recognizing that no evaluative methodology had been created yet, the Architectural Development chapter was enhanced with descriptions of Carmel architectural styles dating from 1935 to 1986. Character defining features, eligibility criteria and integrity thresholds for these architectural styles

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

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were incorporated as a means of introduction to the proper methodology for evaluating historic buildings according to OHP guidelines. The Fourth Edition, 2022 Carmel-by-the-Sea Historic Context Statement is archived and available at the Henry Meade Williams Local History Department of the Carmel Public Library.

Following the publication of the Fourth Edition in 2022, the City of Carmel-by-the-Sea, in collaboration with the State of California Office of Historic Preservation (OHP) decided to fund the preparation of this new Historic Context Statement. Major revisions include dividing the historic context into six themes with discrete, chronological time periods tied closely to the contextual and architectural developments of the city, with lists of associated property types, their architectural styles, character defining features, eligibility requirements and integrity thresholds. The report also includes the evaluative criteria of the National Register, California Register and the Carmel Inventory. The end date for this Historic Context Statement is 1986.

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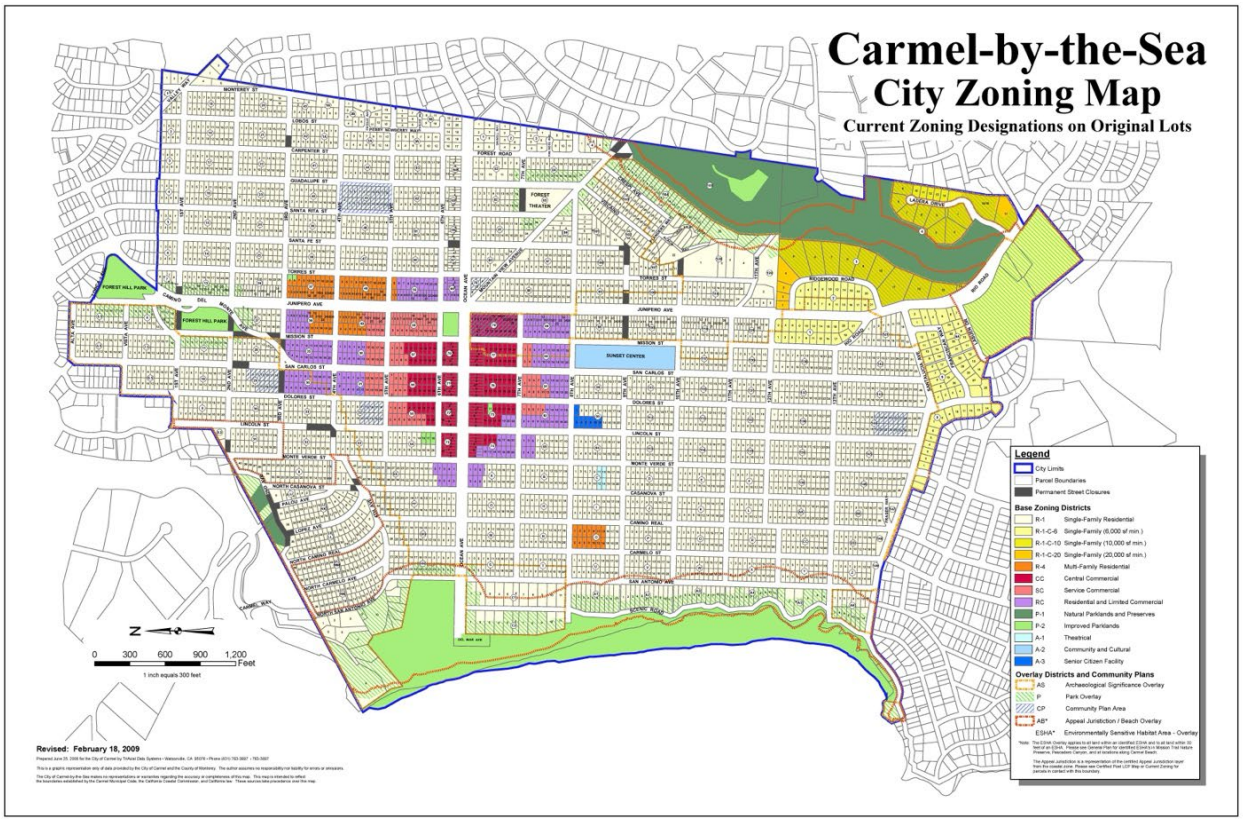
2.2 CARMEL-BY-THE-SEA: GEOGRAPHICAL AREA

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



Carmel-by-the-Sea Zoning Map (*Source: Carmel-by-the-Sea Community Planning and Building Department*)

2.3 PROJECT TEAM

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

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* Seth A. Bergstein and Kent L. Seavey meet the *Secretary of the Interior's Professional Qualifications Standards* in Architectural History and History.

2.4 PROJECT METHODOLOGY

PAST Consultants, LLC (PAST) adopted a three-part methodology to develop this historic context statement. First, PAST performed a review of the prior editions of the Carmel-by-the Sea Historic Context Statement. Second, the PAST project team undertook extensive research to develop a set of themes with discrete time periods that link Carmel's historical events with the built environment. Third, PAST conducted field reconnaissance to identify extant properties within Carmel city limits that illustrate the historic themes and associated property types. Architectural styles, eligibility criteria and integrity thresholds are provided for each property type.

Field Reconnaissance Survey

PAST conducted a reconnaissance survey of the entire Carmel-by-the-Sea Planning Area to: (1) locate properties and any potential concentration of properties, that represent the historic themes; (2) photograph properties that illustrate the architectural style within a given theme and (3) develop a set of eligibility criteria and integrity thresholds for each property type.

Photographs

Photographs used in the document rely primarily on current images taken during the field survey. When clear images were not possible, secondary sources were used. Historic images were gathered from secondary sources. All sources have been cited within the image caption. Unless otherwise cited, images were taken by PAST Consultants, LLC, in 2024. The U.S. Copyright Office allows the reproduction of secondary photographs provided they are used for "criticism, comment, news reporting, teaching, scholarship, and/or research. The following Historic Context Statement utilizes secondary photographs and maps as a means teaching, scholarship and research.

These images are cited and the source duly acknowledged.[7] Properties listed on the Carmel Inventory of Historic Places (Carmel Inventory) are featured for building photographs and as examples of architectural styles. To illustrate some architectural styles more thoroughly, photographs of properties not included in the above were used. Since Carmel does not use street numbers, captions indicate the property location using a descriptive directional method.

Historical Research

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

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

Field Reconnaissance Survey

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2.5 How to Use This Document

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

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

[7] United States Copyright Office, *Reproduction of Copyright Works by Educators and Librarians* (pdf document). Located at: https://www.copyright.gov/circs/circ21.pdf. Accessed 10/23/24.

comprehensible only to professionals in the field. Rather, historic context statements need to be direct, to the point, and easily understood by the general public.[8]

The establishment of historic themes and their associated property types is the accepted organizational manner in which the historic context statement is presented. This document is intended as a tool for city planners, historians, property owners and interested individuals for understanding Carmel's architectural development and as a guide to determining what buildings are significant and why they are significant.

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

1. Determine the construction date of the subject property using Carmel Planning Department and/or Monterey County Assessor records.

2. Consult the Carmel Inventory to determine if the property is currently listed; or has been previously evaluated.

3. Find the *historic theme* and associated time period spanning the date in which the subject property is constructed. This will be the potential historic theme for the subject property. Using the contextual narrative and *Historic Significance* table within the thematic time period (located after the *Associated Property Types*), determine if the property supports the historic context that defines the theme. The *Historic Significance* table presented at the end of the *Associated Property Types* will guide the evaluator regarding the significance of the property.

   Questions to ask are: Is the property associated with an important event within the time period? Is the property associated with an important person during this time period? Is the property's architectural design a significant representative of the time period? If the answer to any of these questions is affirmative, proceed to Number 4, below. If the answer is negative, the property is not significant.

4. Once historic significance has been established, return to the *Associated Property Type*s section within the thematic time period. Associated property types are grouped in the following manner: residential; commercial; civic and institutional; and cultural and religious. For the given property type, determine the subject property's architectural style by comparing it to the photographs given for each architectural style.

5. Compare the subject property's style and existing conditions with the character defining features listed in the style guide to determine if the subject property maintains most of these features. This is the first step in determining historic integrity.

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

6. Refer to the *Historic Integrity Considerations* page that follows the *Historic Significance* table. This page presents *Minimum Eligibility Requirements* and *Additional Integrity Considerations* that will guide the evaluator in establishing historic integrity. If most of the character defining features are present, the subject property maintains sufficient historic integrity. If most of the character defining features are absent, the subject property lacks historic integrity and is not historic.

7. The Carmel historic preservation ordinance (CMC 17.32.040) requires that a listed property (or one that has not been evaluated previously but has been determined to be potentially significant by the evaluator), be representative of at least one historic theme presented in this historic context statement.

2.6 ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This Historic Context Statement acknowledges the California Office of Historic Preservation's Certified Local Government (CLG) Program, which provided a generous grant to support the project. Remaining funding was matched by the City of Carmel-by-the-Sea. The authors also appreciate the efforts of Carmel Planning Department leadership and staff, including Assistant City Administrator/Acting Community Planning & Building Director Brandon Swanson, Principal Planner Marnie Waffle, and Associate Planner Katherine Wallace. Additional oversight provided by the Carmel-by-the-Sea Historic Resources Board is also appreciated. This report also acknowledges the contributions of Katie O'Connell, Local History Librarian, at the Henry Meade Williams Local History Room of the Harrison Memorial Library, who responded to various research requests quickly and efficiently.

This report also appreciates the contributions of architectural historian Kent L. Seavey. Kent has dedicated his professional life to the documentation and historic preservation of resources on the Monterey Peninsula and the Central Coast. He has won numerous honors and awards for his work (including the American Institute of Architect's Robert Stanton Award) and this report has benefitted from his extensive knowledge of Carmel's history. In 2022, the Monterey County Historical Society honored Kent as Preservationist of the Year for spearheading the acquisition of the *Pat Hathaway Collection of Early California Photography: 1850 – 1990*, a collection of over 550,000 images representing over 750 California photographers. The collection is a treasure trove of historical documentation, and a number of images are used in this document.

Lastly, this report honors Carmelites past and present. From the City's early Bohemian residents to its present mix of permanent residents and visitors, Carmelites have recognized and protected this unique Village in a Forest.

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3 IDENTIFYING AND EVALUATING HISTORIC RESOURCES

3.1 INTRODUCTION

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

3.2 HISTORIC PRESERVATION IN CARMEL

The City of Carmel-by-the-Sea evaluates historic resources according to the guidelines of the California Environmental Quality Act (CEQA), the California Register Program and the City of Carmel-by-the-Sea, under Municipal Code, *Chapter 17.32: Historic Preservation*. CEQA provides the framework for the evaluation and treatment of historic properties (Section 15064.5). CEQA defines a historical resource as: (1) a resource determined by the State Historical Resources Commission to be eligible for the California Register of Historical Resources (including all properties on the National Register); (2) a resource included in a local register of historical resources, as defined in Public Resources Code (PRC) Section 5020.1(k); (3) a resource identified as significant in a historical resource survey meeting the requirements of PRC Section 5024.1(g); or (4) any object, building, structure, site, area, place, record, or manuscript that the City determines to be historically significant or significant in the architectural, engineering, scientific, economic, agricultural, educational, social, political, military, or cultural annals of California, provided the lead agency's determination is supported by substantial evidence in light of the whole record.[9]

3.3 EVALUATION CRITERIA

3.3.1 NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES (NR)

The National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 authorized the Secretary of the Interior to create the National Register of Historic Places. Districts, sites, buildings, structures, and objects significant in American history, architecture, archeology, engineering and culture are eligible for listing if they meet at least one of four criteria.[10] Eligible resources are those:

A. That are associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history; or
B. That are associated with the lives of persons significant in our past; or
C. That embody the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction, or that represent the work of a master, or that possess high artistic values, or that represent a

[9] California Code of Regulations, 14 CCR § 15064.5.
[10] 16 U.S.C. 470, *et seq.,* as amended, 36 C.F.R. § 60.1(a).

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

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

Eligible resources must also retain sufficient integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association to convey the relevant historic significance.[11] The seven aspects of integrity are described in a separate section below.

3.3.2 California Register of Historical Resources (CR)

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

1. Is associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of California's history and cultural heritage.
2. Is associated with the lives of persons important in our past.
3. Embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, region, or method of construction, or represents the work of an important creative individual, or possesses high artistic values.
4. Has yielded, or may be likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history.[12]

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

The same seven aspects of integrity are considered when evaluating resources for listing in the National Register and California Register: location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association.

3.3.3 Historic Integrity

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

1. **Location:** the place where the historic property was constructed or the place where the historic event occurred.
2. **Design:** the combination of elements that create the form, plan, space, structure, and style of a property.
3. **Setting:** the physical environment of a historic property.
4. **Materials:** the physical elements that were combined or deposited during a particular period of time and in a particular pattern or configuration to form a historic property.

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

5. **Workmanship:** the physical evidence of the crafts of a particular culture or people during any given period in history or prehistory.
6. **Feeling:** a property's expression of the aesthetic or historic sense of a particular period of time.
7. **Association:** the direct link between an important historic event or person and a historic property.

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

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

National Register Bulletin 15 emphasizes that "ultimately, the question of integrity is answered by whether or not the property retains the identity for which it is significant." Identity of the historic resource is based on the essential physical features noted above. Commonly referred to as "character defining features," these features include the physical aspects of a historic resource, such as spatial relationships, massing, roofline, fenestration, materials and architectural detailing that establishes sufficient historic integrity.[13]

National Register Bulletin Number 15 also provides integrity assessment guidelines relative to historic significance criteria. For association with significant events and significant persons (Criteria A and B), the document states: "A property that is significant for its historic association is eligible if retains the essential physical features that made up its character or appearance during the period of its association with the important event, historical pattern, or persons. For association with significant architectural style or construction technique (Criterion C), the document states, "A property important for illustrating a particular architectural style or construction technique must retain most of the physical features that constitute a style or technique."[14]

[13] U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, *National Register Bulletin 15: How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation*. Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, 1997, 44-49 (bold in original).
[14] Ibid, p. 56.

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3.3.4 CARMEL-BY-THE-SEA MUNICIPAL CODE

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

A. Should be representative of at least one theme included in the Historic Context Statement.
B. Shall retain substantial integrity according to the Federal definition and evaluation methodology for historic integrity as detailed in *National Register Bulletin 15: How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation*.
C. Should be a minimum of 50 years of age and shall meet at least one of the four criteria for listing on the California Register at a national or statewide level of significance (primary resource) or at a regional or local level of significance (local resource) per CEQA Guidelines Section 15064.5(a)(3).
D. To qualify for the Carmel Inventory, an historic resource eligible under California Register Criterion No. 3 (subsection (C)(3) of this section) only, should:
    1. Have been designed and/or constructed by an architect, designer/builder or contractor whose work has contributed to the unique sense of time and place recognized as significant in the Historic Context Statement; or
    2. Have been designed and/or constructed by a previously unknown architect, designer/builder or contractor if there is substantial, factual evidence that the architect, designer/builder or contractor contributed to one or more of the historic contexts of the City to an extent consistent with other architects, designer/builders or contractors identified within the Historic Context Statement; or
    3. Be a good example of an architectural style or type of construction recognized as significant in the Historic Context Statement; or
    4. Display a rare style or type for which special consideration should be given. Properties that display particularly rare architectural styles and vernacular/utilitarian types shall be given special consideration due to their particularly unusual qualities. Such rare examples, which contribute to diversity in the community, need not have been designed by known architects, designer/builders or contractors. Rather, rare styles and types that contribute to Carmel's unique sense of time and place shall be deemed significant.

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

Archaeological properties are treated in a different manner, as stated in the Carmel Municipal Code, *Chapter 17.32.060: Determining Eligibility for the Carmel Inventory, Item E*, which requires a qualified archaeologist to follow the procedures under this heading of the Municipal Code.[15]

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

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3.3.5 CARMEL-BY-THE-SEA INVENTORY OF HISTORIC RESOURCES

The Carmel Inventory of Historic Resources

Carmel Municipal Code Chapter 17.32: *Historic Preservation* defines the Carmel Inventory of Historic Resources as:

E. "Carmel Inventory of Historic Resources" (also "Carmel Inventory" or "Inventory)" shall mean the ongoing collection of information for buildings, structures, objects, sites and districts surveyed by qualified professionals for the City and found to meet the criteria established in the City's GP/LUP. Properties included in the inventory have been surveyed in accordance with the requirements of California Public Resources Code (PRC) Section 5024.1(g), are recognized as historically significant as established in PRC Section 5024.1(k) and therefore meet the CEQA standard for a historical resource per CEQA Section 21084.1 and Guidelines Section 15064.5(a)(2).

F. "Carmel Register of Historic Resources" (also "Carmel Register") shall mean the historic resources designated by the City for public recognition and benefits. All surveyed historic resources that are significant at the national or State level are listed on the Carmel Register. All surveyed historic resources that are significant at the local or regional level may be listed on the Carmel Register upon request of the property owner and designation by the City. Properties included in the register are part of the Carmel Inventory and meet the CEQA standard for historical resources per CEQA Section 21084.1 and Guidelines Section 15064.5(a)(2). [16]

Carmel Municipal Code Chapter 17.32.060: *Determining Eligibility for the Carmel Inventory* outlines the procedures for review of a property and for determining potential eligibility for listing on the Carmel Inventory. For properties that have not been evaluated previously the procedures entail the following process:

1. The Carmel Municipal Code states: "Upon the filing of a preliminary site assessment application, development application, property owner request for determination or as initiated by the Department, an initial assessment of historic significance shall be conducted to determine whether the property may have historic resource potential sufficient to warrant conducting an intensive survey." If the initial assessment determines that the subject property is ineligible for the Carmel Inventory, no further investigation of the property is necessary.
2. If the initial assessment determines that the subject property will meet the criteria for listing on the Carmel Inventory, an intensive survey is then conducted. Similarly, if the initial assessment is unable to make a determination of eligibility, an intensive survey is conducted. It should be noted that intensive surveys, referred to as **Phase One Historic Assessments**, must be conducted by a qualified architectural historian under an on-call contract with the City. Carmel-by-the-Sea utilizes two qualified architectural historians to perform the intensive surveys. Intensive surveys include the preparation of State of

[16] Carmel-by-the-Sea Municipal Code, 17.32.230: *Definitions* for the list of definitions.

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California, Department of Parks and Recreation forms (DPR523 forms) for the subject property.

Carmel Municipal Code Chapter 17.32.060, C: *Determining Eligibility for the Carmel Inventory*, describes the procedure for an intensive survey as:

1. If an intensive survey is required it shall include a review of original research outlining the details of the property's history, a determination of the relationship of the property to the Historic Context Statement, and a finding as to whether or not the property meets the criteria for inclusion in the inventory. All properties determined to be historic shall be documented on a standardized inventory form as established by the State Office of Historic Preservation and shall become part of the Carmel Inventory after an administrative determination.
2. If the intensive survey determines that the property is ineligible for the inventory, then all provisions of subsection (D) of this section shall apply.
3. If the intensive survey determines that the property qualifies as an historic resource and is therefore eligible for the inventory, the survey also shall specify whether the property is a local resource or a primary resource.
   a. Primary resources include:
      i. Resources previously listed in the National Register at the national or Statewide level of significance.
      ii. Resources formally determined by the Keeper of the National Register or by SHPO as eligible for listing in the National Register at the national or Statewide level of significance.
      iii. Resources identified in the survey as eligible for listing in the National Register at the national or Statewide level of significance.
   b. Local resources include resources identified in the survey as eligible for listing in the California Register and/or for listing in the National Register at less than Statewide level of significance.
      i. Regionally significant shall mean resources that are important to the history and development of the Monterey Peninsula.
      ii. Locally significant shall mean resources that are only important to the history and development of the City.
4. The intensive survey shall identify to the degree practicable:
   a. Primary, contributing, component and noncontributing features or resources.
   b. Aspects of the setting important to retaining the qualities that make the property historically significant

Chapter 17.32.070: *Maintaining the Inventory* outlines procedures for listing a building on the Carmel Inventory:

A. Eligibility for the Carmel Inventory shall be established in conformance with the criteria and procedures in CMC 17.32.040, Eligibility Criteria for the Carmel Inventory, and 17.32.060, Determining Eligibility for the Carmel Inventory. Properties determined to be eligible by an administrative determination, or by the Historic Resources Board on appeal, shall become part of the inventory upon completion of an inventory form documenting the

resource and issuance of an administrative determination finding by the Department or adoption of a finding by the Board that the property meets the criteria for historic resources.
B. Resources included in the inventory shall be considered historic resources for purposes of CEQA.
C. Consistent with Public Resources Code Section 5029, staff shall within 90 days submit to the County Recorder for recordation, and the County Recorder shall record, the administrative determination that the property is an historic resource and document inclusion of the resource in the Carmel Inventory.

1. The resolution shall include the name of the current property owner, the designating entity (Department), the specific historical resources designation (inventory), and a legal description of the property.
2. A copy of the recorded resolution shall be mailed to the property owner.
3. The inclusion of a property in the inventory is not subject to appeal. Property owners that dispute the historic significance of their property shall follow the procedures for removal of a resource from the inventory.[17]

At present, the Carmel Inventory has 287 properties.[18]

Carmel Inventory of Historic Resources Database

The Carmel Inventory of Historic Resources Database contains the DPR523 forms for properties listed on the Carmel Inventory. These forms are the culmination of survey efforts initiated by Carmelite building contractor and preservationist Enid Sales, who was appointed to the Carmel Architectural Preservation Committee in 1988 by mayor Ken White. In 1989, with a $10,000 grant from the City, Sales led a team of volunteers that surveyed Carmel buildings as an initial step in developing the existing historic preservation ordinance. Initially, only buildings constructed before 1940 were to be surveyed. The City Council conferred preliminary historic designation of 13 properties in 1990.[19] The Carmel Heritage Foundation (initially titled the Carmel Preservation Foundation) maintained the survey research and held staff meetings at the First Murphy House. With Enid Sales' leadership, the group was able to obtain additional grants from local merchants, including Spencer's Stationery and Carmel Camera Center to carry out the survey. [20]

Beginning in 2001 and led by architectural historians Kent L. Seavey and Richard Janick, Carmel's commercial buildings and buildings constructed after 1940 (but still over 50 years old) were surveyed. California Department of Parks and Recreation (DPR) 523 Forms were created for each property in the survey, according to State of California historic documentation standards. The

[17] This information is summarized from portions of the Carmel-by-the-Sea Municipal Code. Consult the Carmel-by-the-Sea Municipal Code, Chapter 17.32.60: *Historic Preservation* for the complete requirements and procedures.
[18] The Carmel Inventory is available at https://ci.carmel.ca.us/post/historic-preservation.
[19] Hall, Isabelle, "Preservation Committee Proposes 300 Properties to be Designated," *The Weekly Sun*, 11/19/1992. The first 13 properties were: Frank Lloyd Wright's Walker House, the Grace MacGowan Cooke House, the J.S. Cone House (Bark House), the Charles Greene Studio, the Perry Newberry House (Dolores between 12th and 13th), the Arnold Genthe House, the Flanders Mansion, the Jimmy Hopper House, The Allen Knight House and Studio, Comstock's Hansel and Gretel, the Powers Studio, and the Orville Golub Guest House.
[20] Sales, Enid, "Historic Survey to Redefine Itself; It's Time to Become Incorporated," *Carmel Pine Cone*, 5/26/1994.

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2001/2003 historic survey recommended an additional 112 properties be added to the Carmel Inventory.[21]

Carmel Downtown Conservation District

While the city does not contain any historic districts, Carmel Municipal Code *Chapter 17.20.260 – 17.20.280: Downtown Conservation District* establishes and protects the historic buildings of the Ocean Avenue commercial core, which contains a high concentration of historic buildings. As stated in the Municipal Code:

> The purpose of the downtown conservation district is to protect the historic resources and the general design context that surrounds them and to implement the following General Plan/Local Coastal Land Use Plan policies:
>
> A. Recognize the qualities and attributes that make up the unique architectural character of Carmel. Retain these qualities in existing buildings and encourage the use of them in new structures (LUP Goal G1-3).
>
> B. Protect the special and unique character of Ocean Avenue and the surrounding commercial area. Ensure, through the administration of land use and design regulations, that the architecture, landscape, scale and ambience of this area are maintained (LUP Policy P1-63).
>
> C. Retain the scale and variety of design established in the retail core when considering changes to buildings that are not historic. Protect, preserve and rehabilitate historic commercial architecture that represents the character, ambience and established design context of the commercial area (LUP policy P1-66). (Ord. 2004-02 § 1, 2004; Ord. 2004-01 § 1, 2004).

Buildings within the Downtown Conservation District include those within the Ocean Avenue corridor between Junipero and Monte Verde streets; and 6th and 7th avenues within the same northerly and southerly boundaries.[22]

Building alterations within the Conservation District must conform to the *Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties*, listed in the next section.

3.3.5.1 PHASE ONE AND PHASE TWO HISTORIC ASSESSMENTS

As described in the previous section, a Phase One Historic Assessment, known as an intensive survey, establishes whether a property is historically significant at the federal, state and local levels. For properties over 50 years old that have not been evaluated previously, the Phase One

[21] A list was published in "Study Took Two Years to Complete; To Go to City Council Soon," *Monterey Peninsula Herald*, 2003 (Courtesy: California History Room, Monterey Public Library, Clippings File: Historic Houses – Carmel (exact date not indicated). The *Carmel DPR Historic Resources Database* is located at: https://ci.carmel.ca.us/post/historic-preservation.

[22] Carmel-by-the-Sea Municipal Code, Chapter 17.20.260 – 17.20.280: Downtown Conservation District. For the exact blocks/lots within the district, refer to Figure III-13 Downtown Conservation District.

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Historic Assessment will determine the property's eligibility for the Carmel Inventory. If Phase One Historic Assessment determines that the building is eligible for listing it will be placed on the Carmel Inventory.

If a permit is filed for a major alteration per CMC 17.32.160, a **Phase Two Historic Assessment**, will need to be prepared by a qualified architectural historian on-call with the City. Carmel Municipal Code, *Chapter 17.32.120: Alteration of Historic Resources*, outlines the procedures for altering resources listed on the National Register, California Register and the Carmel Inventory. According to Item A of this chapter:

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

A **Phase Two Historic Assessment** is the methodology required to satisfy Item A, above. The Phase Two Historic Assessment provides relevant property information, including location, physical description, building chronology and summary of the property's historic listing. The goal of this report is to provide an evaluation of the proposed building alterations for conformance with the *Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties*.[23]

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

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The Secretary of the Interior's Standards

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

- *The Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties*: Kay D. Weeks and Anne E. Grimmer, U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 2017; and
- *Preservation Brief 14, New Exterior Additions to Historic Buildings: Preservation Concerns*: Kay D. Weeks and Anne E. Grimmer, U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Technical Preservation Services, August 2010.

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

> In Rehabilitation, historic building materials and character-defining features are protected and maintained as they are in the treatment Preservation. However, greater latitude is given in the Standards for Rehabilitation and Guidelines for Rehabilitating Historic Buildings to replace extensively deteriorated, damaged, or missing features using either the same material or compatible substitute materials. Of the four treatments, only *Rehabilitation* allows alterations and the construction of a new addition, if necessary for a continuing or new use for the historic building.[24]

The ten *Standards* for rehabilitation are:

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

[24] *The Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties*: Kay D. Weeks and Anne E. Grimmer, U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 2017, 77.

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in design, color, texture, and, where possible, materials. Replacement of missing features will be substantiated by documentary and physical evidence.
7. Chemical or physical treatments, if appropriate, will be undertaken using the gentlest means possible. Treatments that cause damage to historic materials will not be used.
8. Archeological resources will be protected and preserved in place. If such resources must be disturbed, mitigation measures will be undertaken.
9. New additions, exterior alterations, or related new construction will not destroy historic materials, features, and spatial relationships that characterize the property. The new work shall be differentiated from the old and will be compatible with the historic materials, features, size, scale and proportion, and massing to protect the integrity of the property and its environment.
10. New additions and adjacent or related new construction will be undertaken in such a manner that, if removed in the future, the essential form and integrity of the historic property and its environment would be unimpaired. [25]

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

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

3.3.6 CARMEL ARCHAEOLOGICAL SIGNIFICANCE OVERLAY DISTRICT

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

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

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

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

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

Applications for new construction or additions, alterations and remodels involving excavation of undisturbed earth on properties located within an AS Overlay District are required to have an Archaeological Resource Management Report, written by a qualified archaeologist, prepared. Guidelines for this report are provided in Carmel Municipal Code 17.32.060.[26]

[26] Carmel-by-the-Sea Municipal Code, Article II. AS Archaeological Significance Overlay District, Chapter 17.20.020 – 17.20.060.

4 HISTORIC CONTEXT

4.1 INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY OF HISTORIC THEMES

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

- Prehistory and Hispanic Settlement (1542-1848)
- Carmelo (1849-1901)
- Seacoast of Bohemia (1902-1921)
- Village in a Forest (1922-1945)
- Postwar Development (1946-1965)
- The Carmel Dynamic Continues (1966-1986)

The following chapter introduces each theme with a contextual narrative that provides the primary historical patterns, significant events, social and political developments that shaped the built environment for a given thematic time period. Following the historical narrative, the thematic time period's architectural development is presented, which groups properties according to five use categories: residential; commercial; civic and institutional; cultural and religious; and parks and open space. The *Associated Property Types* describe the architectural styles for the thematic time period and include photographs and lists of character-defining features to define each style. Lastly, each thematic section presents the *Registration Requirements* for establishing whether a given property is historic or not. The registration requirements include a *Historic Significance* chart followed by a list of *Historic Integrity Considerations* to help determine the historic significance and historic integrity of a property type within a given theme.

Guide to Architectural Styles

Architectural styles are presented in a consistent manner within each theme: The style name, start and end date, and photographs are presented, followed by a summary description, a list of character defining features and a selection of buildings represented on the Carmel Inventory. Several styles, such as the Minimal Traditional and California Ranch styles, feature photographs of buildings that are not on the Carmel Inventory, due to lack of surveyed resources. The photographs are intended to illustrate the character defining features of the style, and do not preclude a potential future determination of ineligibility upon formal evaluation. Style start and end dates generally fall within a thematic time period. However, some styles (such as Minimal Traditional or Post-Adobe) preceed the start date or continue beyond the end date of a theme as the popularity of a given style continued. In Carmel, buildings continue to be constructed in seven primary styles to this day: Craftsman, Spanish Eclectic, Tudor Revival, Storybook, Monterey Colonial, California Ranch and the Bay Region Modern style. Due to the continuity of these primary styles, an end date of 1986 (the end date of the document) has been listed.

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4.2 PREHISTORY AND HISPANIC SETTLEMENT (1542 – 1848)

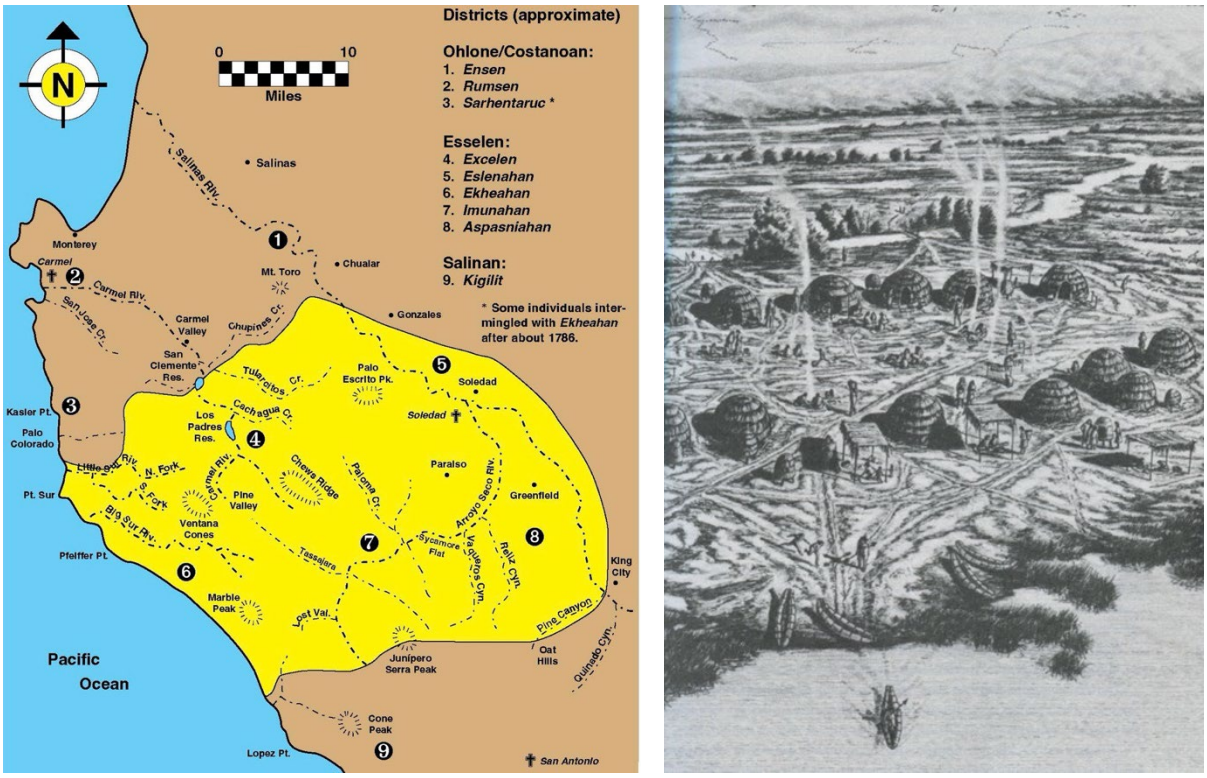
Image from a 1786 painting by Gaspard Duche de Vancy, showing the arrival of French explorer Jean Francois Galaup de la Perouse at the Carmel Mission. (*Source: Van Nostrand and Coulter, California Pictorial*).[27]

The Ohlones: The Region's Earliest Inhabitants

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

The Spanish called them "Costenos" ("people of the coast"), which changed to "Costanoan," but Ohlone is now the generally accepted name. The name may be a Miwok word for "western people" or a prominent village named "Oljone" which was located on the San Mateo coast. No Ohlone tribe or confederation existed. The Rumsen band occupied the Carmel area and were concentrated near the developing Carmel Mission and the Carmel River estuary. Locations of the different tribelets within Monterey County are mapped below.[28]

[27] Van Nostrand, Jeanne and Edith M. Coulter, *California Pictorial*, 5.
[28] Malcolm Margolin, Editor, *The Way We Lived: California Indian Stories, Songs & Reminiscences* (Berkeley: Heyday Books, 1993), 1, 6. Malcolm Margolin, *The Ohlone Way: Indian Life in the San Francisco-Monterey Bay Area* (Berkeley: Heyday Books, 1978), 1-3, 59, 62-63.



Left: A typical Ohlone Village (*Source:* Margolin, *The Ohlone Way*, 17). Right: Map showing Ohlone distribution, each dominated by a single tribelet (*Source: Monterey County Planning Department*).

The Ohlones were a lithic or Stone Age culture into the nineteenth century and did not have the tools normally used to prepare land for agricultural production. Rather, they lived a nomadic existence and relied on hunting and gathering to obtain food. During the rainy winter months a temporary village was erected near their coastal food supplies. Villages would relocate to the hills to hunt and reside during the warmer months. The tribelet would then return to their coastal location, construct the village and the cycle would begin again.[29]

The Ohlone diet was omnivorous and extensive. They harvested food from both coastal and hillside locations. Acorns were a dietary mainstay, with a preference for black and tanbark over live and valley oaks. They also consumed lizards, snakes, birds, moles, rabbits, raccoons, foxes, and larger game, such as deer, elk and coastal game, such as sea otters. During the spring and summer, families would gather in the coastal meadows to harvest grasshoppers. The hunting of deer was a ceremonial ritual for men, who prayed in groups in the sweat lodge for days before going out to the field. A typical Ohlone coastal village appears below.[30]

Ohlone houses were composed of tule and brush harvested nearby. According to archaeologist Gary Breschini:

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

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

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> The majority of the houses in the county were made by fixing small boughs into the ground in a six foot circle and binding them together at the top. This created a low ceilinged hut which was thatched with straw during the rainy season and left open during the rest of the year. The floor was of earth and a fire was probably built inside when needed, but cooking was done outside.[31]

Sweat lodges were an integral part of male Ohlone culture, as a center for purification, religious ritual and to prepare for the deer hunt. The building consisted of a low-formed hut, composed of brush and buried against a bank. The structure had only one opening and after the men entered, a fire was placed near the entrance. The low-formed structure and lack of any air passage caused considerable heat to develop within. Sweat would be wiped with a piece of wood and bone. When the effects became unbearable, the men would decamp and jump into a nearby stream to cool off.[32]

Since the Ohlones moved from coastal to hillside locations, remains of village sites are generally unknown. While previous research indicated that over 385 archaeological sites existed in Monterey County, archaeologist Gary Breschini estimate the number of sites to be closer to 1,000. The former sites typically are either a coastal village as shown above, a small campsite or a fishing station. Old Carmel Mission records list a village known as, "Ychxenta, located on San Jose Creek, south of the mission. This site was excavated and carbon dated, with results indicating that the remains were between 1800 and 2400 years old. When Sebastián Vizcaíno landed at Monterey in 1602, he noted a deserted Ohlone village on the bank of the Carmel River, likely a temporary fishing site.[33] Most of the fishing sites were located in rocky areas of the Monterey Coast and not along sandy beaches, as a greater abundance of food could be found near rocky locations. Between Carmel and Monterey, archaeologists have uncovered an estimated 133 fishing sites.[34]

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

[31] Breschini, Gary, *The Indians of Monterey County* 10.
[32] Margolin, *The Ohlone Way*, 26; Breschini, 27.
[33] Ibid, 10.
[34] Ibid, 21.

Engraving from a 1793 drawing by John Sykes, showing the Ohlone structures behind the early buildings of the Carmel Mission. The foundation for the landmark stone church can be seen at center left. (*Source: Van Nostrand and Coulter, California Pictorial*).[35]

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

> They are round and about six feet in diameter and four in height. Some stakes, the thickness of a man's arm, stuck in the ground and meeting at the top, compose the framing. Eight or ten bundles of straw, ill arranged over these stakes, are the only defense against the rain or wind; and when the weather is fine, more than half the hut remains uncovered, with the precaution of two or three bundles of straw to each habitation to be used as circumstances may require.[36]

The Carmel Mission attracted numerous Ohlone tribes, as the Spanish aimed to secularize as many as possible. In 1812, Spanish Secretary of Foreign Relations, Don Ciriaco Gonzalez Carvajal, sent questionnaires to all of the California Missions to understand their numbers and customs. The 1814 reply from Carmel Mission's representative, Fray Juan Amoros, notes the number of different Ohlone tribes at the mission:

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

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

> of them sufficiently understand and speak Spanish; the minority, though they can barely speak it, understand it somewhat."[37]

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

> The Indians are instructed how to live as rational individuals. Besides the communal lands and corn-fields, a parcel of land for a small kitchen-garden is allotted to some, to get them accustomed to individual effort. But the net result is that some day (sic) the woman in a fit of anger pulls out the shoots of corn, squash, etc., saying that she has planted them. Her husband does likewise. Therefore, in these matters they behave like children of eight or nine years, who as yet have not acquired a constant or steady disposition.[38]

These "instructions" amounted to the creation of a coerced labor society of Native Americans forced to convert to an entirely alien way of life. The Ohlones who didn't follow the strict rules of Mission society were cruelly punished. In his journals, French explorer Jean Francois de La Perouse writes, "Corporal punishment is inflicted on the Indians of both sexes who neglect the exercises of piety, and many sins, which in Europe are left to Divine justice, are here punished by irons and the stocks."[39]

Forced assimilation to a European lifestyle decimated the area's Ohlone population. It is difficult to imagine the level of psychological effect on a people whose entire way of life was being usurped by one so different than the Ohlone way. In 1972, archaeologist Gary Breschini writes, "The estimated Indian population in Monterey County in 1770 was about 7,000. In 1920, the population of the Salinan and Costanoan tribes (including those in the Bay Area) was 87 and the number of Indians today has dropped to a few dozen." As an example, Breschini notes the devastating impact of the Spanish missionary life on the Ohlone's religion when the missionaries forbade the Ohlone use of sweat lodges. The loss of this practice profoundly affected the Ohlone's spiritual practice, but also impacted their physical health, as the men developed "skin boils and itches (that) flourished until the Indians were allowed to use the sweat houses again. Another benefit of the sweat house was the relief from fatigue that it brought."[40]

Diseases, intermarriage and psychological stress from the Spanish missionary lifestyle were the primary culprits of the Ohlone's population decimation. Life in a California mission included unhealthy concentrations of people in one continuous location (the opposite of the Nomadic Ohlone way), the introduction of new foods and forced labor. The native people had no immunity from European diseases, such as measles, pneumonia, diphtheria, smallpox, scarlet fever, typhoid and syphilis. Intermarriage was encouraged by the Spanish missionaries, who understood it would control and absorb the remaining Ohlone population into a Spanish lifestyle.[41] As historian Kenneth Starr states, the missionaries that were sent to transform the ancient Native American cultures "were ordinary men as far as their talents and education were concerned; yet they were

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

dedicated to an extraordinary purpose, at least in their own eyes: the evangelization of the Native Americans of California, whether the Native Americans wanted to be evangelized or not."[42]

Spanish Period (1769 – 1822)

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

More than 160 years passed before the Monterey Bay area again caught Spain's attention in 1768, when the crown ordered protection for California's coast against possible English, Dutch and Russian threats. The governor of Baja California, Captain Gaspar de Portolá, led a 1769 expedition up the California coast by land and sea. Father Junípero Serra of the Franciscans of the Apostolic College of San Fernando in Mexico City accompanied him. The Portolá Expedition passed through the Monterey Bay Area several times, founding the Presidio of Monterey and the Mission San Carlos Borromeo in Monterey (later moved to Carmel) in 1770.[43]

Development of the Carmel Mission

The Mission San Carlos Borromeo del Rio Carmelo (Carmel Mission) was dedicated to Carlos Borromeo (1538-1584), the Cardinal Bishop of Milan, who was canonized as a progressive educator. After Father Junípero Serra's arrival at the Monterey location in 1770, he realized that it was not ideal for several reasons. First, to locate his "neophytes" (potential Native American converts) further away from the soldiers and their debauchery at the Presidio; and second, to have a more suitable location for the development of agriculture as a methodology to train and feed his neophytes. In a biography of Father Serra, Friar Kenneth M. King notes that Serra's decision to move the mission's location was because Serra "was sensitive to the beauty of nature and there is hardly a more beautiful spot to be found on earth than the green vale of Carmelo." Serra received permission for the mission's relocation in 1771, as well as ten new Franciscan friars sent by Spanish Visitador-General Galvez to develop a series of missions throughout California.[44]

Construction on the north side of the Carmel River began in 1771, with Father Serra moving into a hut on-site and directing a construction crew consisting of forty Native Americans and several Spanish soldiers. Serra soon left the construction of the mission's buildings to establish the chain of missions throughout California along the El Camino Real. By the time of Serra's death in 1784, the Carmel Mission land had been cleared sufficiently for modern agriculture to feed its population of 700 persons living at the Mission and surrounding rancheria. The site featured an irrigation canal that extended from the Carmel River to a pool for fish, 520 head of cattle, 82 horses and numerous pigs and sheep. The Mission church was an adobe structure (with Native Americans

[42] Starr, Kevin, *California: A History*, 36.
[43] Fink, *Monterey: The Presence of the Past*, 17-24, 30, 37, 40, 43.
[44] Temple, Sydney, *The Carmel Mission*, 14. The quote is from the 1956 biography by Kenneth M. King, *Mission to Paradise – The Story of Junipero Serra and the Missions of California*.

now trained to make adobe bricks) with a rush roof, associated living quarters, a three-room priest's residence, two barns, and thirty workshops surrounding an open space in the center. The outer rancheria surrounded the mission buildings and contained living quarters.[45]

The Carmel Mission's greatest period of growth occurred between 1784 and 1793 under Father Serra's successor and close friend, Fermin Francesco de Lasuen, who had accompanied Serra and Father Francisco Palou to establish the California mission system. Construction of the landmark stone church building (shown above) would begin in 1793, under direction of mason Miguel Esteban Ruiz, sent by Spanish governor Felipe de Neves. The building is constructed of local sandstone quarried in the Santa Lucia mountains and brought to the site by an Ohlone labor force. The cornerstone was laid on July 7, 1793.

Reproduction of the 1827 William Smyth watercolor, showing the completed Carmel Mission (*Source: Van Nostrand and Coulter, California Pictorial*). [46]

The foundation of the new stone church is visible in the 1793 John Sykes drawing shown previously in this chapter. Construction was completed in 1797.[47] The completed church was the subject of an 1827 watercolor by William Smyth (above) and provides an excellent representation of the various buildings.

[45] Temple, Sydney, *The Carmel Mission*, 35.
[46] Van Nostrand, Jeanne and Edith M. Coulter, *California Pictorial*, 25.
[47] Belleza, Robert A., *Missions of Monterey: Images of America*, 8, 20.

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The End of Spanish Rule over Alta California

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

However, as the Franciscan movement advanced north, it was met with the same Native American resistance. As historian Kevin Starr notes,

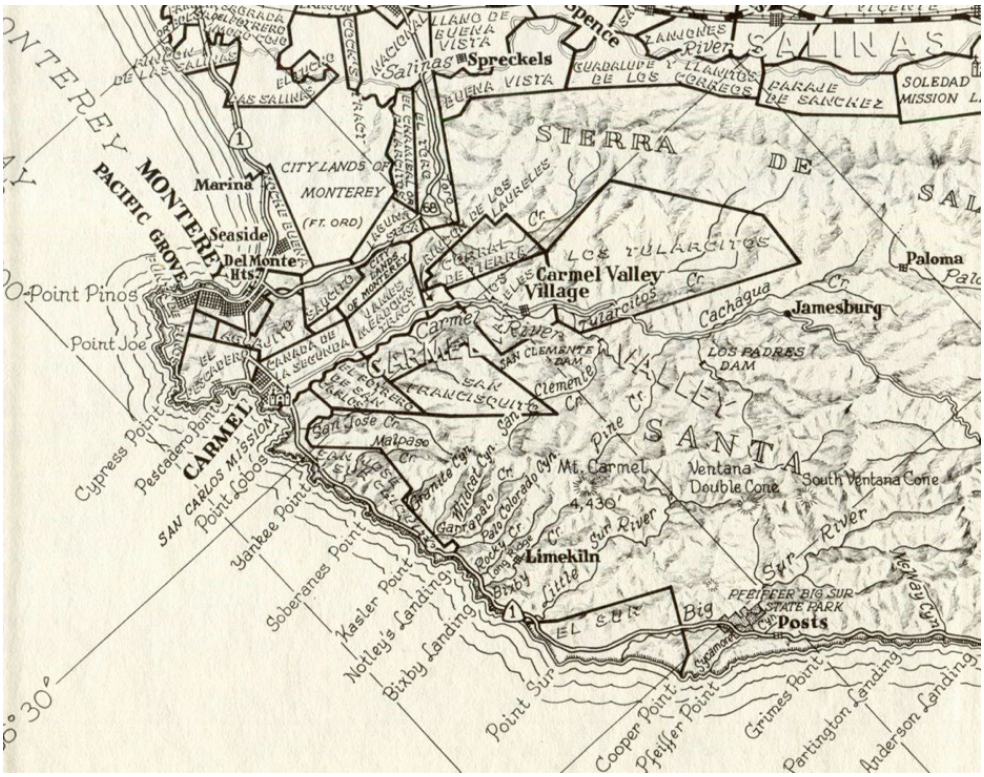
> For more than twenty-five generations, Native Americans had lived harmoniously in their own cherished places under the terms of the cultures they had evolved. They had their own myths and rituals, their own way of life, their own fulfillments and dreams. And now they were being forced from their homelands, brought into the mission system – frequently against their will – and treated as children not yet possessed of full adulthood, not yet people of reason. [48]

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

Mexican Period (1822 – 1847)

Mexico declared its independence from Spain in 1822 and secularized the missions in 1834, requiring an inventory of all Mission property. The Native American population was released from Mission authority; many fled east, others assimilated into regional society as little more than slaves to the wealthy new Mexican landowners. When explorer Charles Henry Dana visited Monterey in 1835, he observed, "Among the Mexicans, there is no working class, the Indians being practically serfs, and doing all the work – two or three being attached to the better houses."[49]
The 1834 Secularization Act divided the Carmel area into large land grants. Between 1836 and 1842, Juan Bautista Alvarado, the first native-born Governor of California, created the land grants from which Carmel-by-the-Sea would later develop.

[48] Starr, Kevin, *California: A History*, 41.
[49] Temple, Sydney. *The Carmel Mission*, 81.



Map of Carmel-area land grants (*Source: Augusta Fink, Monterey: The Presence of the Past*).[50]

Various ranchos established after secularization encompassed the land that would become Carmel. The area along the coast south of the *Rio Carmelo* was *Rancho San Jose y Sur Chiquito*, granted to Teodoro Gonzalez in 1835 and re-granted to Marcelino Escobar in 1835. The land north of the Carmel Mission, *Rancho El Pescadero*, included the Del Monte Forest, Cypress Point and Pebble Beach, was granted to Fabian Barreto in 1836. The 4,307-acre *Rancho El Potrero de San Carlos* on the south side of the Carmel River and part of the pasture lands of the Carmel Mission were granted to Fructuoso del Real in 1837. *Rancho Cañada de la Segunda* was granted to Lazaro Soto in 1839 and encompassed land east of the mission to *Rancho Cañada de la Segunda*.[51]

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

The primary source of economic activity during the Mexican Period was the trade in hides and tallow or melted animal fat. A cattle hide, known as a California Banknote, was used as currency. Hides could be exchanged for all forms of trade and were even used to pay the rancho taxes to the

[50] Fink, Augusta, *Monterey: the Presence of the Past*, frontispiece.
[51] Temple, Sydney, *Carmel-by-the-Sea*, 39-40.

Mexican government. A family based its wealth on the number of cattle owned, and the number of hides they could produce.[52]

For the Native Americans cast out of a Mission society that had usurped their entire way of life previously, most became indentured servants to the new Mexican royalty, or became *vaqueros*, skilled horseman that patrolled and cared for the vast herds of cattle roaming the ranchos. These Native American *vaqueros* would become some of the most skilled horseman in California at the time.[53]

Secularization brought ruin to the Carmel Mission. In 1844, Governor Manuel Micheltorena, the last California Governor sent by Mexico, decreed that all mission lands be sold off to private interests, with the proceeds serving the Mexican government's defense of Alta California. The Carmel Mission's buildings were sold in January of 1846, some of them to Monterey resident William Garner, who recycled the building materials, including timber framing and roof tiles for construction of new business buildings in Monterey.[54] The remaining buildings on the site were left in a state of arrested decay until the region's fortunes would change dramatically with California's admission into the United States in 1848.

[52] "Hide and Tallow Trade," Social Studies Fact Cards: California Ranchos: http://factcards.califa.org/ran/ranmenu.html. (Accessed October 3, 2024)
[53] Starr, Kevin, *California: A History*, 50.
[54] Temple, Sydney, *The Carmel Mission*, 92.

Prehistory and Hispanic Settlement (1542 – 1848): Associated Property Types and Registration Requirements

Aside from the Carmel Mission, Carmel retains one extant building constructed within this thematic time period, the Murphy Barn/Powers studio. Located at the north end of San Antonio Street, the structure was constructed by Matthew M. Murphy, a Boston sea captain, who operated a 9-acre farmstead on the site. Murphy's nephew, John Monroe Murphy, operated a dairy at the farmstead with his wife, Ann, between 1867 and 1871. The barn is the only remaining building dated from the farmstead's operational period, which formerly also contained a ranch house, stables, and a wagon shed.

John Monroe Murphy died in 1884; Ann Murphy remained at the property until 1901, when she leased it to the Carlton Land Company, a sand-mining operation. San Francisco attorney Frank Powers (see Seacoast of Bohemia thematic discussion) purchased the property in 1904 with his wife, Jane Gallatin Powers, an accomplished artist who was interested in preservation. She converted the barn into the first artist's studio in Carmel. Known as the Murphy Barn/Powers studio, the building remains extant, though altered on two elevations with substantial building additions.[55]

Matthew M. Murphy Barn (1846), pictured before the 1903 studio addition for artist Jane Gallatin Powers (seen at far right) (*Source: Carmel-By-the-Sea: Images of America*)

The restored and protected Carmel Mission buildings (National Historic Landmark No. 66000214), also remain to illustrate this theme. Because of their impermanent nature, Native American buildings, such as dwellings and sweat houses, are not present. Remains of Ohlone-

[55] Seavey, Kent L., *Murphy Barn/Powers Studio* (DPR523 Building, Structure and Object Record), 2002. Jane Gallatin Powers was instrumental in attracting artists to the village in the coming years. She helped found the Carmel Craftsman club in 1905.

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related occupation is in the form of archaeological deposits, mainly concentrated in the areas surrounding the Carmel Mission and in the wooded hillside locations on the northern and eastern boundaries of Carmel. The Monterey County, *Carmel Area Land Use Plan*, describes potential Native American archaeological locations as:

> The Carmel area shoreline from Carmel Point to Point Lobos Reserve contains one of the densest remaining concentrations of shellfish gathering activities in central California. Point Lobos Reserve supports one site considered to be a permanent village. These archaeological deposits have been identified as a highly significant and sensitive resource.[56]

Because of this possibility, the Carmel Archaeological Overlay Zone has been created. Properties within the overlay zone need to be reviewed when soil disturbance is anticipated within the overlay zone (see: *Chapter 3.3.6: Carmel Archaeological Significance Overlay District*). If any resources are discovered, a site within the Archaeological Overlay Zone may be significant for Information Potential (NR Criterion 4/ CR Criterion D).

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

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4.3 CARMELO (1849 – 1901)

Historic image of the circa-1894 Abbie Jane Hunter house (right) and the Augusta Robertson house (left, demolished) constructed by Delos Goldsmith, likely from pattern book designs (*Source: Carmel-By-the-Sea: Images of America*).[57]

The thematic time period from 1848 to 1901 represents the first American settlement of the Carmel region. "Carmelo" was the name given to the area by Sebastián Vizcaíno during his return voyage to the region. Accompanied by three Carmelite priests and a group of friars, Vizcaíno camped at Monterey Bay between December 17, 1602 and January 3, 1603. They chose their patroness, Our Lady of Mount Carmel, to protect the crew and deliver a safe voyage. Translated to mean "Mountain Land," Carmelo was an apt description of the undeveloped landscape, with its hillside pine forest rising from the Pacific and the dramatic backdrop of the Santa Lucia mountains. On the third day of the expedition, they traveled overland to the mouth of the Carmel River. When describing the Carmel River, Vizcaíno declared, "A river of very good water but little depth, whose banks are well peopled by poplars, very tall and smooth, and other trees of Castile; and which descends from high white mountains. It was called El Rio de Carmel because the friars of this order discovered it."[58]

By 1880 and with the completion of the Southern Pacific Railroad's terminus at Pacific Grove and the associated construction of the Del Monte Hotel, the Carmel region became a tourist destination. Having purchased the narrow-gauge Monterey & Salinas Valley Railroad in 1879, the Southern Pacific reconfigured the right-of-way for their broad-gauge extension of the line to Pacific Grove. By 1892, the railroad added lavish parlor cars for eager tourists to view their journey to the Del Monte Hotel. The connection of the region by railroad opened tourism as a primary economic engine that would drive the region's economy to this day. A significant component of the Del

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

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Monte Hotel was the development of the 17-mile Drive through Pebble Beach to the Carmel Mission, introducing a more positive audience to the historic ruins.[59]

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

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

Restoration of the Carmel Mission

When Robert Louis Stevenson visited the decayed Carmel Mission in 1879, he lamented at the loss of a landmark that could serve as beacon both for worship and tourism, he was puzzled that such a monument would be preserved in Europe and not left to deteriorate: "so piously, in these old countries, do people cherish what unites them to the past. Here, in America, on this beautiful Pacific Coast, you cannot afford to lose what you have." By time of the Stevenson's visit, the Carmel Mission was little more than a ruin, its roof tiles and its great timbers recycled to help build Monterey. The building was entirely open to the elements, weeds grew and cattle grazed within its walls. The surrounding adobe buildings had virtually returned to the earth.[60]

Circa-1880s image showing the ruins of Carmel Mission
(*Source: Pat Hathaway Collection, Monterey County Historical Society*).

Father Angelo Delfino Casanova took an interest in the Carmel Mission when he arrived at the Monterey parish in 1863; by 1879 he began charging tourists admission to view the ruins. With this money and additional local investment, he was able to reroof (albeit with an inaccurate roof

[59] Seavey, Kent L., *Pacific Grove: Images of America*, 52.
[60] Hudson, Monica, *Carmel-by-the-Sea: Images of America, 12.*

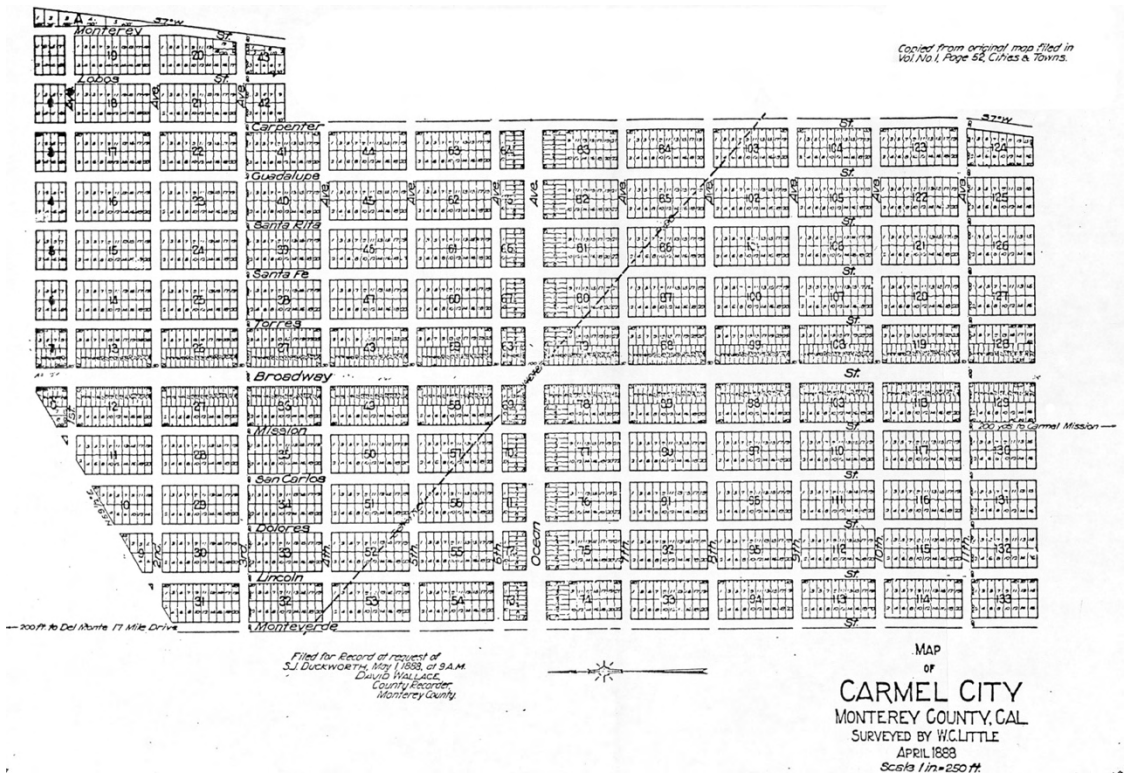
pitch) the building by 1884. By this time, the Carmel Mission had become a local stop for wealthy tourists on their regular tours from the Del Monte Hotel. Father Casanova officially rededicated the Carmel Mission on August 28, 1884, on the one hundredth anniversary of Father Junipero Serra's death. Reportedly, a crowd of about 500 people gathered for the dedication.[61]

C.W.J. Johnson photograph of the August 28, 1884 rededication ceremony for the Carmel Mission, showing the replaced roof of improper pitch, compared to the original design (*Source: Carmel: A History in Architecture*).[62]

Santiago J. Duckworth and the Creation of Carmel City

Witnessing the enthusiasm of the crowd at the 1884 Carmel Mission rededication, the brothers Santiago and Belisario Duckworth who owned a real estate company in Monterey, created the first vision for Carmel development – a Catholic retreat conceived along similar lines as the Methodist retreat in Pacific Grove.[63] Initially, their timing was excellent, as the newly completed transcontinental railroad and the Southern Pacific Railroad's Pacific Grove spur were creating a population and real estate boom in the region. The brothers created an agreement with landowner Honore Escolle, who raised cattle on the open hillsides east of the Carmelo pine forest, whereby they would survey, subdivide and lay out plots in the pine forest adjacent to the ocean, dividing profits between Escolle and the Duckworth Brother's Monterey real estate company. The various parties signed the agreement on February 8, 1888. Within a few months, the first subdivision of what would become "Carmel City" was recorded with the County of Monterey.

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



First survey and subdivision for Carmel-by-the-Sea, known as Carmel City, and dated 1888 (*Source: Monterey County Recorder's Office*).

The subdivision overlaid a grid pattern of streets on the hillside forest. Ocean Avenue is visible as the primary east-west arterial, with Broadway Street (to become Junipero Street) the north-south axis. The plan was conceived with Ocean Avenue and Broadway Street serving as the commercial arterials of the subdivision; the remaining lots being reserved as residential lots. In 1889, the first advertisements in local newspapers for "Carmel City," dubbed as a Catholic institution of learning, appeared in local newspapers. Lot sizes were 40 feet by 80 feet. By 1890, over two hundred residential lots were sold, primarily to outsiders from San Francisco, who endeavored to own a summer home in the new retreat. Despite the early lot sales and the marketing efforts of Santiago Duckworth, the national financial panic and subsequent recession of the 1890s squelched these first efforts to develop the city of Carmel. The Duckworth Brothers' vision for the Catholic retreat was not realized, but the lots would be purchased by a developer with a different vision: Abbie Jane Hunter.[64]

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

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

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

Hunter arrived in Carmel where her brother, the carpenter Delos E. Goldsmith, would be constructing the first buildings. Ocean Avenue was extended to the beach, where Goldsmith constructed a wood-framed bathhouse, the first social center for the fledgling city. He also constructed the first houses in Carmel, located at the northeast corner of Guadalupe Street and 4th Avenue (see previous photograph) in a modest Queen Anne style. The two houses are extant (but altered), the latter of which is now part of the Carl Cherry Center for the Arts. His carpenter shop – on what is now Carpenter Street – was the first business in Carmel. Goldsmith also constructed the Hotel Carmelo at the corner of Ocean Avenue and Broadway Street, the first hotel in Carmel.

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

As seen in the above image, Carmel City circa-1890 was an assemblage of dirt roads dotted with only a few wood-framed buildings set within the rolling pine-clad landscape. A San Francisco lawsuit against Abbie Jane Hunter's real estate company caused the company's decline, as she was arrested in San Francisco in 1895. This event, combined with the recession of the 1890s, concluded the "Carmelo" thematic time period.[65]

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

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Carmelo (1849 – 1901): Architectural Development

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

By the beginning of the 20th century Carmel's housing was basically wood-framed, working-class vernacular in type, reflecting the taste and budgets of its owner/builders. The earliest houses constructed in Carmel were either pattern book variants of the Queen Anne style or the Early Carmel Vernacular style. Field survey has not located many resources other than those listed on the Carmel Inventory.

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

Circa-1900 image of the Benjamin Turner House, showing its vernacular-styled gable-on-wing massing, albeit with brick, rather than wood, wall cladding (*Source: Henry Meade Williams Local History Department, Harrison Memorial Library*).

Carmelo (1849 – 1901): Associated Property Types and Registration Requirements

EARLY CARMEL VERNACULAR STYLE (1849-1901)

Murphy-Powers barn (1846), N. San Antonio St. between 2nd and 4th Avenues[66]

Santiago Duckworth House (1888), Carpenter St. 3 SW of 3rd Ave.

Alphonso Ramirez Cabin (1888), Santa Rita St. 3 NE of 3rd Ave.

Benjamin Turner House (1898), Monte Verde St. 3 SE of 5th Ave.[67]

[66] Taken from: Seavey, Kent L., *Carmel: A History in Architecture*, 2007, 21. While this building was constructed in 1846, it is grouped here as an early Carmel Vernacular building.
[67] Taken from: Seavey, Kent L., *Carmel: A History in Architecture*, 2007, 35. The original gable-on-wing vernacular form has been modified with a right side and porch addition.

Introduction

Early Carmel Vernacular buildings represent the first buildings constructed by Carmel pioneers. These buildings are wood-framed and wood-clad with board-and-batten, V-groove and occasionally half-log exterior wall cladding. Building walls may be single-wall construction. The buildings feature little to no decoration and no front porch, although front porch additions are common.

Character Defining Features

- Single-story rectangular or gable-on-wing plan
- Side-gable, gable or hipped roofs
- Minimal applied ornamentation
- Wood wall cladding, typically board-and-batten or rustic Redwood siding
- Single-or double-hung wood sash windows in single- or multi-pane configurations

Representative Buildings

- Murphy Barn/Powers Studio (1846)
- Santiago Duckworth House (1888)
- Alphonso Ramirez House (1888)
- Benjamin Turner House (1898)

QUEEN ANNE STYLE (1888-1901)

Abbie Jane Hunter House (1894), northwest corner of Guadalupe and 4th *(Source: Past Consultants, LLC, 2024)*

Introduction

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

Character Defining Features

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

Representative Buildings

- Abbie Jane Hunter House (1894)

Carmelo (1849 – 1901): Registration Requirements

Historic Significance

The following table analyzes the significance of buildings by synthesizing the criteria established by the National Register of Historic Places (NR), the California Register of Historical Resources (CR), and the Carmel-by-the-Sea Municipal Code (CMC).

Ntl / CA Register	Carmel Municipal Code (CMC) §17.32.040	Significance	Analysis for Carmel Inventory of Historic Resources
A/1	1	Events, Patterns Trends	Should support at least one historic theme listed in the historic context statement. These events should be related to the earliest building construction in Carmel associated with the Samuel Duckworth period of development.
B/2	2	Persons	Should be associated with significant persons that contributed to the City through economic development, government, civic, cultural, artistic or social institutions during the earliest development of the City. Significant persons should be related to building construction associated with the Samuel Duckworth period of development.
C/3	3	Architecture, Construction Method	For this time period, buildings designed by a significant architect, landscape architect, or a significant builder will likely not be found; buildings designed by an unrecognized architect/builder but being a good representative of the architectural styles listed in this thematic time period are appropriate. Individual examples, such as Early Carmel Vernacular-style buildings, which contribute to diversity in the community, need not have been designed by known architects, designer/builders or contractors. If located, these rare styles and types that contribute to Carmel's unique sense of time and place shall be deemed significant.
D/4	4	Information Potential	Confined primarily to archaeological or subsurface resources that contribute to an understanding of historic construction methods, materials, or evidence of prehistoric cultures.

Historic Integrity Considerations

The residential buildings within this earliest period of Carmel's physical development are rare, with most extant resources present on the Carmel Inventory. If buildings from this time period are encountered, they will likely contain physical alterations, particularly to front porches, original cladding and fenestration patterns.

For buildings associated with significant events or significant persons, integrity of location, setting, design, feeling and association are more important aspects of historic integrity. For buildings associated with architectural design and/or construction method, integrity of design, materials, and workmanship are the more critical integrity aspects. The following list outlines the Minimum Eligibility Requirements and Historic Integrity Considerations.[68]

Minimum Eligibility Requirements

- Retains sufficient character defining features to represent a given architectural style that dates to the thematic time period.
- Retains original form and roofline.
- Retains the original fenestration (window and doors) pattern, as expressed by the original window/door openings and their framing, surrounds or sills.
- Retains most of its original ornamentation.
- Retains original exterior cladding (or original cladding has been replaced in-kind).
- Alterations to buildings that meet the *Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties* are acceptable.

Additional Integrity Considerations

- For buildings associated with significant events or significant persons, integrity of location, setting, feeling and association are the primary aspects of historic integrity.
- Relocated buildings associated for architectural design or construction method should possess a high degree of historic integrity of design, workmanship and materials.
- Original windows and doors within the original fenestration pattern will elevate the building's historic integrity.
- Front porch replacements or modifications made that respect the scale, materials and design of the original building are considered acceptable. Porch additions/replacements with modern or incompatible materials are not.

[68] *National Register Bulletin 15: How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation* (1998), page 46, states: "A property that has lost some historic materials or details can be eligible *if* it retains the majority of features that illustrate its style in terms of the massing, spatial relationships, proportion, pattern of windows and doors, texture of materials, and ornamentation. These aspects comprise the Minimal Eligibility Requirements listed for each thematic time period.

4.4 SEACOAST OF BOHEMIA (1902 - 1921)

Shingle-style Philip Wilson real estate office (1905) at the northwest corner of Ocean Avenue and Dolores Street (*Source: Carmel: A History in Architecture, 2007*).

The Seacoast of Bohemia thematic time period established Carmel-by-the-Sea as a mecca for artists and intellectuals seeking commonality and a respite from urban living. This time period is dominated by the efforts of the Carmel Development Company, founded in 1902 by San Francisco attorney Franklin Powers and real estate broker James Franklin Devendorf. Their efforts to develop Carmel led to the incorporation of the city by 1916 and established Carmel as a center for artistic and Bohemian culture and as a piney, seaside tourist destination. The primary events that shaped Carmel's development during this thematic time period are:

- Formation of the Carmel Development Company in 1902 and sale of lots to "School Teachers and Brain Workers."
- The arrival of Michael J. Murphy, Carmel's most prolific builder, and the construction of the First Murphy House in 1902.
- Incorporation in 1916 and the establishment of city services.
- Development of commerce along Ocean Avenue.
- Residential construction primarily in the Craftsman and Carmel Vernacular styles.

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Formation of the Carmel Development Company

Before his arrival in Carmel, James Franklin Devendorf (1856-1934) had achieved considerable success in the Santa Clara Valley real estate market, where he was instrumental in the development of towns such as Morgan Hill and Alviso. Known for his practicality, humor and love of nature, Devendorf's approach to real estate development focused on community-building, rather than profit. In 1900, Samuel Duckworth approached Devendorf with an opportunity to purchase all of his Carmel holdings. Seeing the opportunity to develop a community dedicated to the arts and the environment, Devendorf considered the location ideal and commenced to look for financial backing to realize his vision. He would become the hands-on curator of the city's earliest development.

James F. Devendorf [69]

Born in Campo Seco (Calaveras County), California, Frank Hubbard Powers (1864-1920) was the descendent of a pioneering Gold Rush family. He attended public schools in Sacramento and received a law degree from the University of California at Berkeley. He married Jane Maria Gallatin (1869-1944), the daughter of wealthy Sacramento financier, Albert Gallatin, in 1891 – cementing his wealth that would provide the financial backing for the purchase of Duckworth's Carmel land holdings. Like his future partner, Frank Devendorf, Powers was a lover of nature and the American spirit. The partners founded the Carmel Development Company in 1902.[70]

Circa-1904 image of Ocean Avenue looking west at the Pine Inn, built in 1889 and relocated in 1903 from Ocean and Broadway (now, Junipero). Note the pine tree saplings planted in the median (*Source: Pat Hathaway Collection, Monterey County Historical Society*).

[69] Image taken from *Carmel Pine Cone: Centennial Edition*, 2/20/15, 10.
[70] Biographical information taken from Gilliam, Harold and Ann, *Creating Carmel: The Enduring Vision*, 57-65.

The two men complemented each other well. Powers provided the necessary financial capital and also handled all legal aspects of the company. Historical accounts describe him as hardworking, diligent and considered to be a great orator; however, he was present in Carmel only on select weekends. Known as "Frank" his entire life, James Franklin Devendorf was the driving force and creator of Carmel as a haven for teachers, artists, intellectuals and environmentalists. He personally supervised the sale of lots, the commercial development of the Ocean Avenue corridor, and greeted all guests at the Pine Inn, upon their arrival by stage from Monterey. In 1903, he supervised the relocation of the Hotel Carmelo (1889) from Ocean and Broadway (now, Junipero) to its present location on the north side of Ocean between Monte Verde and Lincoln, renaming it the Pine Inn.

Devendorf adopted the Monterey County-approved, 1888 Carmel Street Map (see previous section on "Carmel City"), but allowed nature to take precedence over the geometric plan. He would preserve larger trees by curving roads around them; streets would stop at the end of ravines and begin again on the other side. When trees needed to be removed for a street, he would plant another elsewhere. His reputation for the copious planting of trees became widespread, with an *Oakland Tribune* reporter noting that he "drove up and down 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."[71] He also planted trees in the median of Ocean Avenue.

Lots for "School Teachers and Brain Workers"

The Carmel Development Company advertised to teachers, artists and intellectuals for lot purchases. In 1903, Devendorf sent out a letter addressed "To the School Teachers of California and other Brain Workers at in-door employment." An excerpt illustrates the intentions of the developers:

> California is growing rapidly, that the time has come when the promoters of new towns can determine the general character of the residents. We want brain-workers (sic), because they enjoy the picturesque scenery and need a climate for a vacation place so equable that they can be out-doors the whole day long.[72]

Although tourists flocked to the Pine Inn in such large numbers that tents were erected to handle the demand, initial lot sales were low. This prompted Devendorf to price single lots at just fifty dollars, with a ten-dollar deposit. He was also known for allowing payments to lapse, or to offer equitable payment schedules to further attract the choice buyers. While these may not have been the most profitable business practices, Devendorf's tactics slowly achieved his desired results. By 1904, total lot sales reached $63,110, with purchases coming from the desired "Brain Workers," including Stanford University president, David Starr Jordan, and a number of his Stanford colleagues. Jordan constructed his house on the northeast corner of Camino Real and 7th Avenue (since demolished), and additional Stanford professors followed suit, establishing a "Professor's Row" on Camino Real between Ocean and 7th Avenue.[73] The Bohemians soon followed, particularly after the 1906 San Francisco Earthquake.

[71] Quote taken from Gilliam, Harold & Ann, *Creating Carmel: The Enduring Vision,* 69.
[72] Temple, Sydney, *Carmel-by-the-Sea*, 67.
[73] Seavey, Kent L., *Carmel: A History in Architecture*, 47; Gilliam, Harold & Ann, *Creating Carmel: The Enduring Vision,* 71.

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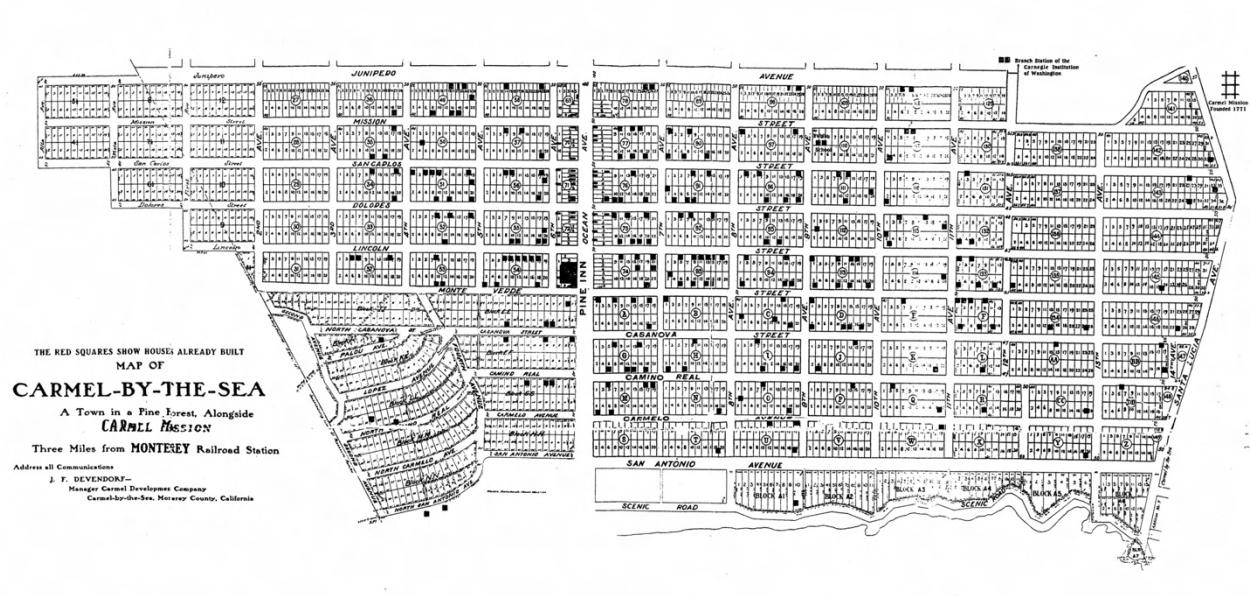
These early Carmel residents were some of the leading artists, writers, teachers and intellectuals of the Bay Area, including George Sterling, Mary DeNeale Morgan, Arnold Genthe, Mary Austin, James Hopper, and playwright Perry Newberry with his artist wife, Bertha. Los Angeles actor and recent Carmelite Herbert "Bert" Heron founded the Forest Theater in 1910, establishing a tradition in the theater arts that continues in Carmel today. Carmel Development Company partner Frank Powers and his wife, the accomplished artist Jane Maria Gallatin Powers, also attracted artists and thinkers to Carmel: Frank through his affiliations with the University of California, Berkeley; and Jane, with her extensive connections with the Bohemian Club of San Francisco. Jane Powers founded Carmel's Arts and Crafts Club in 1905 and purchased two lots on Casanova Street between 8th and 9th avenues for the construction of a clubhouse (1907), later demolished and replaced with the Golden Bough Playhouse.[74]

In 1913, the Carmel Development Company published a map as part of a brochure describing the amenities to be found in "A Town in a Pine Forest." The map indicated houses already built.



1913 map of Carmel-by-the-Sea (cropped) published by the Carmel Development Company. Shaded squares indicate buildings constructed (*Source: Kent L. Seavey Collection*)

By this date, the city boasted 375 dwelling houses, two hotels, several boardinghouses, a drug store, general store, butcher shop, barber shop and even a candy shop. The "Milkman's Census Method" estimated 400 permanent residents by this time.[75]

[74] List of Bohemians taken from Gualtieri, Kathryn and Lynn A. Momboisse, *A Village in the Pine Forest: Carmel-by-the-Sea*, 3-4. Details about specific artists and intellectuals can be found in the appendices to this document. Books by Gilliam and Temple also discuss the Bohemian period.

[75] Seavey, Kent L., *Carmel: A History in Architecture*, 40-41. For a history of the Milk Shrines, see Kent L. Seavey *Milk Shrine* (DPR523 Building, Structure and Object Record), 2001. The small, shingled structures contained compartments for each homeowner. One milk shrine remains, relocated to the First Murphy House and photographed in Dramov, Alissandra, *Historic Buildings of Downtown Carmel-by-the-Sea,* Arcadia Publishing Company, 2019, 20.

The inaugural edition of the *Carmel Pine Cone*, founded by William and Kathryn Overstreet who came to Carmel from San Francisco in 1910, was published on February 3, 1915. The paper would become a Carmel institution and has been considered must reading for Carmelites. The *Pine Cone* offices were originally located at the northeast corner of Ocean Avenue and Dolores Street (demolished), and then occupied the extant DeYoe Building (1924) on the east side of Dolores Street between Ocean and 7th avenues from 1924 to 1970. From 1970 to 2000, the *Pine Cone* offices were located in the extant Goold Building (1935) at the northeast corner of Ocean Avenue and San Carlos Street, before relocating to Pacific Grove.

City Expansion and Incorporation

Because of the gridiron layout of the city on sloping topography, erosion during the winter months was common. The Carmel Development Company hired Japanese laborers to both clear, and plant new trees for reforestation to reduce the problem as well as creating the "village in a forest" landscape setting. The Company also began annexing large parcels Frank Powers had purchased prior to and shortly after the company's incorporation and introducing contour grading by laying out streets along sloping terrain leading down to the beach. Carmel annexations within this time period include:

- 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 Frank 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).[76]

On November 1, 1916, the *Carmel Pine Cone* announced the incorporation of Carmel-by-the-Sea, stating, "The best little city in California is what a majority of voters of Carmel determined upon at last Thursday's incorporation election." The first City Hall was located within the Philip Wilson Building, constructed in 1905 and located on the northwest corner of Ocean Avenue and Dolores Street (extant). The city employed one police officer who patrolled the streets on horseback. The City's first Ordinance was published in the *Carmel Pine Cone*.[77]

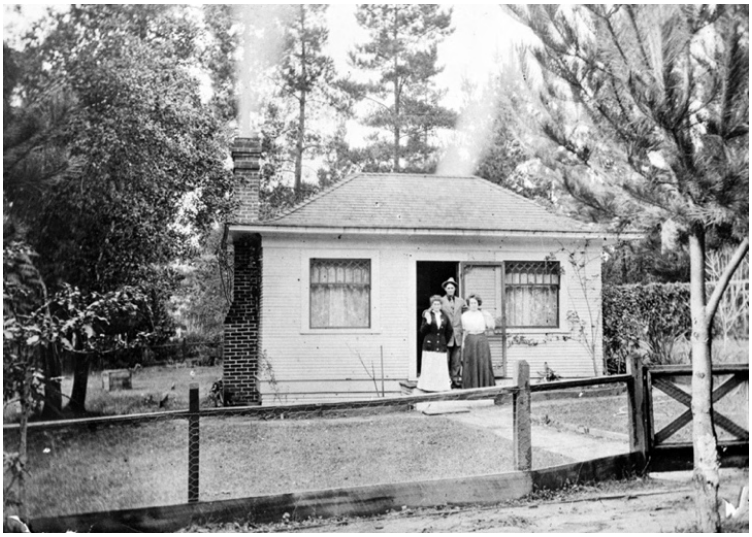
[76] This list was compiled based on a survey of the existing subdivision maps filed with the Carmel-by-the-Sea Planning Department.

[77] Gualtieri, Kathryn and Lynn A. Momboisse, *A Village in the Pine Forest: Carmel-by-the-Sea*, City of Carmel-by-the-Sea, 2016, 5; Temple, Sydney, *Carmel-by-the-Sea*, 117; "Ordinance No. 1," *Carmel Pine Cone*, 11/8/1916.

Influential members of the Bay Area artistic and intellectual community continued to arrive in the new city. The poet, Robinson Jeffers, and his wife, Una, arrived in 1914 and in 1919 began construction of Tor House (extant, located outside of Carmel City limits on Ocean View Avenue). California architect and one of the founders of the California Craftsman (or First Bay Region) style, Charles Sumner Greene, arrived in 1916 and constructed his hand-built brick and masonry home and studio on Lincoln Street, 4 southwest of 13th Avenue. In 1918, sculptor, painter and writer Jo Mora arrived in Carmel and purchased an entire block at San Carlos Street and Fifth Avenue, where he constructed his home and studio.[78]

Michael J. Murphy: Carmel's Prolific Builder

In 1900, Minden, Utah native Michael J. Murphy (1885 – 1959) arrived in Carmel. Without any previous architectural experience, he constructed his first house for his mother in 1902.



Michael J. Murphy, his wife, and mother standing in front of the First Murphy House (1902), relocated in 1990 to Lincoln Street northwest of 6th Avenue, and now the Carmel Heritage Society (*Source: Carmel: A History in Architecture).*

[78] The number and variety of artists, writers, actors, architects and other influential members of the creative community is vast and outside the scope of this document. Consult the appendices for biographies of the numerous contributors to Carmel's artistic and intellectual heritage.

Keenly aware of all things going on in the fledgling town, Frank Devendorf admired Murphy's design and hired him as builder for the Carmel Development Company in 1903. His design approach of using high quality local materials, along with his trademark diamond-pane window sash, was embraced by Carmel's burgeoning Bohemian population. In addition to Carmel Vernacular cottages, Murphy also designed and constructed a number of buildings in the Craftsman style. One early example among many is the c.1904 Craftsman bungalow designed for Stanford University's Reverend Charles Gardner at the northeast corner of San Carlos Street and Santa Lucia Avenue (extant).

In 1914, Murphy established his own contracting company and in 1924 he erected a lumber yard and building materials supply operation on the south side of Ocean Avenue and Junipero Street (the present site of Carmel Plaza). Over his career he would design and/or build over 300 buildings in Carmel, the most created by a single individual in the City's history. His design methodology utilized simplified drawings that were complete yet allowed for modifications and customizations by the owner. They ranged in type and style from simple redwood cottages to examples of the popular Romantic Revival forms of the 1920s: Tudor, Spanish, Mediterranean, etc. Murphy also designed many of the early Western false-front commercial buildings developed along Ocean Avenue. A number of his designs reflect the woodsy aesthetic of the Craftsman and Shingle styles (including his own house on the southeast corner of Monte Verde Street and 9th Avenue). While most of his structures were of his own design; later in his career, his firm, M.J. Murphy Inc. would build designs by leading regional architects such as the Bay Area architects Bernard Maybeck (Harrison Memorial Library) and Julia Morgan.[79]

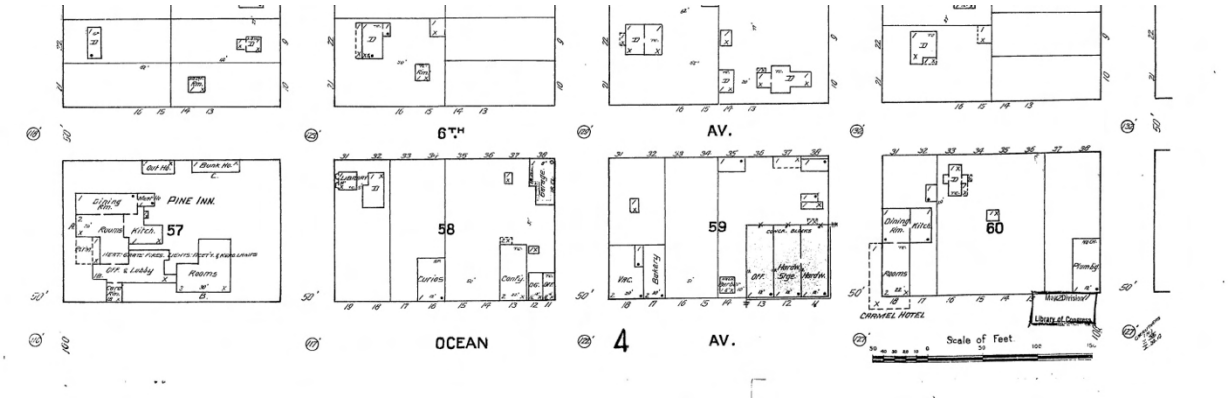
As Murphy's business grew, he added carpenters, stone masons, plumbers, electricians, plasterers and painters to his staff. This enabled him to supervise and control the variety of tradesmen required to erect a building. In the late 1920s, he published *Structures of the Period, Carmel-by-the-Sea, California, Compliments of M.J. Murphy, Inc.*, a 31-page book that celebrated his work in Carmel and the Monterey region. The book also featured numerous advertisements from various trades and suppliers. Examination of this volume reveals over thirty of his designs, in the Spanish Eclectic, Monterey Colonial and Tudor Revival styles, and is a testament to the scale and variety of his designs. The book opens with a quote from the builder: "This volume is respectfully dedicated to our many clients of the past and future. If the building of homes and various structures we have pleased and caused happiness and comfort… then we have accomplished our aim."[80]

[79] Seavey, Kent L., *Carmel: A History in Architecture*, 36, 48-51; Pavlick, John, Lillian Rasmussan, Rosalee Murphy Gladney, "M.J. Murphy – Pioneer Builder, Contractor." (Unpublished manuscript, Kent L. Seavey archives).

[80] Michael, J. Murphy, Inc., *Structures of the Period, Carmel-by-the-Sea, California, Compliments of M.J. Murphy, In.* The book is undated, but features an image of the Harrison Memorial Library, indicating it was published after 1927. The book is courtesy of the Kent L. Seavey archives.

Downtown Development Along Ocean Avenue

The Sanborn Map Company, known for producing detailed fire insurance maps, documented Carmel in 1910, 1924, 1930, and 1962. The 1910 map indicates a growing commercial area centered upon Ocean Avenue.



1910 Sanborn map showing the north side of Ocean Avenue between Monte Verde Street (far left) and Mission Street (far right). The extant Philip Wilson Building (the first City Hall- center) and the Carmel Development Company Building appear on Ocean Avenue (*Source: City of Carmel-by-the-Sea).*

As seen on the above image, by 1910 the expanded Pine Inn encompassed an entire city block at Ocean Avenue between Monte Verde Street and Lincoln Street. An additional hotel, the Carmel Hotel, occupied the northeast corner of Ocean Avenue and San Carlos Street. Commercial businesses included hardware and plumbing supply stores, a bakery, a curio shop, confectionary, a real estate office in the Philip Wilson building and a barber shop. The city's first library appears on the southwest corner of 6th Avenue and Lincoln Street. Only the Pine Inn (1889), the Carmel Development Company Building (1902), and the Philip Wilson Building (1905) remain extant.

Circa-1910 image of the north side of Ocean Avenue, looking west. The Pine Inn can be seen at the far west end of Ocean Avenue. The Carmel Development Company Building (extant) is at the center of the image (*Source: Henry Meade Williams Local History Department, Harrison Memorial Library).*

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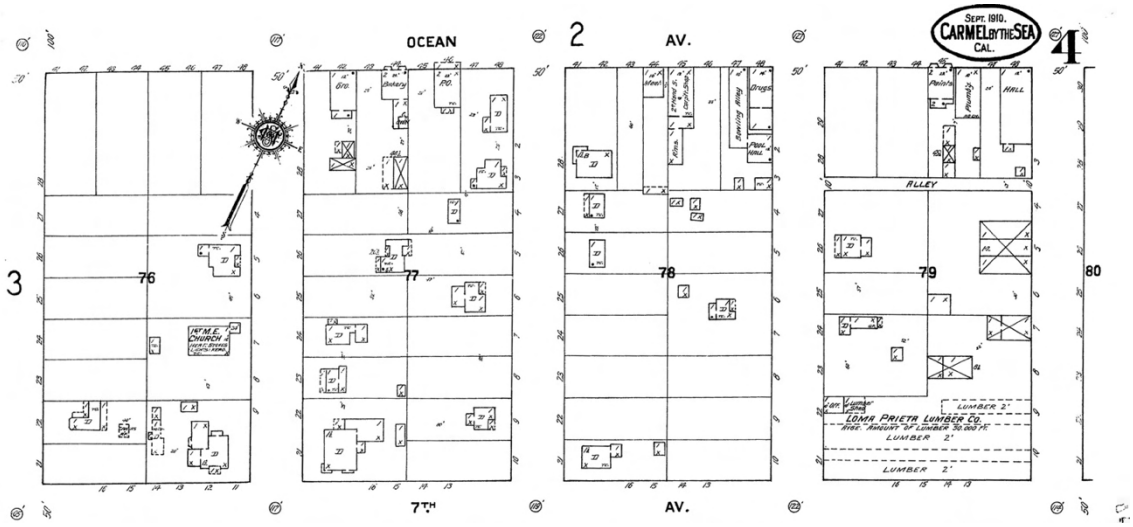
The 1910 Sanborn map (below) also shows burgeoning commercial development along the south side of Ocean Avenue, including a paint supply store, a drug store, grocery store and a butcher. Ocean Avenue also boasted entertainment, including a bowling alley and pool hall. Lumber was available at the Loma Prieta Lumber Co., located on the north side of 7th Avenue between San Carlos and Mission streets.



1910 Sanborn map showing the south side of Ocean Avenue between Monte Verde Street (far left) and Mission Street *(Source: City of Carmel-by-the-Sea)*.

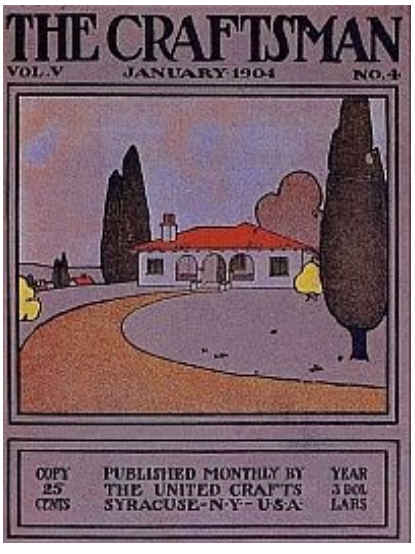
Circa-1910 image of the south side of Ocean Avenue, taken from the roof of the Pine Inn looking southeast. The Louis S. Slevin false front store (demolished) is at the center of the image, with the two-story Schweinger Building (extant, now the Carmel Bakery) to the right (*Source: Henry Meade Williams Local History Department, Harrison Memorial Library)*.

Seacoast of Bohemia (1902 – 1921): Architectural Development

Residential Properties

This thematic time period is defined primarily by residential development in the Craftsman style and the construction of modest "artist cabins" in the Carmel Vernacular Style. The Bohemian period established the city as primarily a residential enclave of houses within a pine forest, whose new inhabitants "with due regard for the prior rights of dignified pines and chummy oaks, they squeezed a little shack in among the tree trunks."[81] Houses were intended to be subordinate to the landscape and set within the hilly, pine-studded terrain, rather than dominating it. The earliest Carmel Vernacular-style buildings resembled their eastern Vernacular precedents and were purchased by the Bohemian set who desired a simple and economic home. It was the Craftsman style, however, that soon became the favored style, for it offered both a philosophical and environmental approach that dovetailed with the intellectual and artistic underpinnings of the Carmelite clientele.

The late 19th Century witnessed a convergence of various movements aimed at addressing the blight of post-Industrial Age Victorian cities that placed workers in unsanitary living conditions: the City Beautiful and Garden City movements. Emerging from England through the writings of John Ruskin, the architectural designs of Raymond Unwin and Barry Parker, and the creation of a workers' guild system by William Morris, the two movements aimed at providing better living conditions for the common worker and reducing the scourge of industrialization. By the late 1800s, these intellectuals spearheaded the Arts & Crafts Movement, a holistic approach to living that encompassed a person's occupation, the manner in which one lived, and the buildings and decorative arts in which one would inhabit and purchase. These three movements converged in a direct approach to combating urban squalor and were embraced in the United States.



While the term, "Arts & Crafts" was created as an expression of living in support of these urban reform movements, in the United States the philosophy of simple honest living was disseminated by the creation of Gustav Stickley's *Craftsman Magazine*. Published from 1901 until 1916, the periodical focused on the dissemination of the principles of the Arts & Crafts and urban reform movements. Articles from leading architects, educators, artists and intellectuals, as well as house designs of woodsy bungalows graced the magazine's pages, with regular entries from British luminaries, such as John Ruskin and William Morris. The influence of the *Craftsman* was nationwide and disseminated the philosophies and designs of the Arts & Crafts movement widely. Due to the magazine's influence, the term, "Craftsman," is often used to describe building design from this time period.

In the United States, additional periodicals focused on home design, including the *Ladies Home Journal* (1883), *House Beautiful* (1896) and *Suburban Life* (1902). On the West Coast, the

[81] Bostick, Daisy F. and Dorothea Castelhun, *Carmel at Work and Play* (reprint of 1926 edition), 1977, 19.

Craftsman was widely read; however, *Sunset* (1898) focused on architecture and design primarily from California, Oregon and Washington. *The Architect and Engineer* (1905) wrote extensively about developments in California architecture. Through these leading publications, the Craftsman aesthetic was widely disseminated to intellectuals, writers and artists in California.

In 1904, California, Bay Area writer, artist and intellectual Charles Keeler published *The Simple Home*, a uniquely "Californian" book to spread Craftsman ideals to a western audience. As President of Berkeley's Hillside Club, the book decried the ornate homes of the Victorian era and the mass-produced objects that filled their spaces. Following a chance meeting with architect Bernard Maybeck on the Berkeley ferry, Keeler designed his home in conjunction with Maybeck in 1895 – a wood-clad and rambling structure whose steep rooflines stepped back to blend into the hillside. Maybeck would design the neighboring houses as well, creating a "commune" of unique homes on Highland Place in the Berkeley hills. Meanwhile, the women-led Hillside Club, through the dissemination of "how to" pamphlets written by Keeler, would apply City Beautiful approaches to architectural design that resulted in the collection of homes that complemented and blended into the oak-studded landscape. Keeler and Maybeck would form a lasting friendship and they disseminated Craftsman design to Bay Area professors, artists and other intellectuals.

Circa-1900 photograph of the Highland Place "commune of homes" in Berkeley, California (*Source: Kenneth Cardwell archives*).[82]

[82] Included as part of the introduction to the 1979 reprint of *The Simple Home*, by Dimitri Shipounoff, 1979.

The *Simple Home* presented the house as the individual artistic expression of its owner. In his preface, Keeler describes the development of the California ethos:

> A movement toward a simpler, a truer, a more vital art expression is now taking place in California. It is a movement which involves painters and poets, composers and sculptors, and only lacks co-ordination to give it a significant influence upon modern life. One of the first steps in this movement, it seems to me, should be to introduce more widely the thought of the simple home – to emphasize the gospel of the simple life, to scatter broadcast the faith in simple beauty, to make prevalent the conviction that we must *live* art before we can create it.[83]

The remainder of the book outlines his Craftsman design aesthetic that dovetails with the philosophies of honest living. A chapter titled "The Building of the Home" emphasizes the honesty of structural expression as a means of ornamentation, with California wood as the chosen material because of its widespread availability and low-cost relative to brick or stone. The author also embraces the Craftsman tenet "of using every material in the manner for which it is structurally best adapted, and of handling it in a dignified style." The San Francisco Bay Area, particularly around the campuses of the University of California, Berkeley and Stanford University, embraced the Craftsman lifestyle and soon had wood- or shingle-clad structures built throughout these communities. As these "Brain Workers" (along with their designers and architects) migrated to Carmel, they applied Keeler's principles in their home designs.[84]

The *Simple Home* became the bible of the educated California home builder, as many of Carmel's Bohemians adopted Keeler's approach and designed their own homes. The Arnold Genthe house, with its use of redwood trees as posts, is an extant example.

Arnold Genthe House (1906) on Camino Real 2 NE of 11th. Note redwood trunks utilized as vertical structural supports (*Source: Morley Baer photograph, Monterey Area Architectural Resources Archive*)

[83] Keeler, Charles, *The Simple Home* (1979 reprint), xlv.
[84] Keeler, Charles, *The Simple Home* (1979 reprint), 52, 21.

The daily interaction with nature was emphasized by Keeler and his cadre of California Craftsman architects. A chapter in *The Simple Home* is devoted to the garden, an extension of the living space to the outdoors where communion with nature was essential to living the simple life. Houses should open to views of the garden, and "at least a portion of the space should be sequestered from public view, forming a room walled in with growing things and yet giving free access to light and air." His description accurately defines the Carmel garden, which remains a staple of the City's visual landscape today.[85]

In 1915, one of the founders of the California Craftsman movement and the creative force behind Pasadena's "ultimate bungalows," Charles Sumner Greene, of the brother-firm Greene & Greene, visited Carmel after attending the Panama Pacific International Exhibition in San Francisco. By this time, the firm of Greene & Greene was in decline, as both the taste and budget for their expensive houses waned. The architect had become disillusioned with his demanding Pasadena clientele, noting to a friend that he had been "prostituting his art." Greene moved his family to the city in 1916, first renting a house at the northeast corner of 13th Avenue and Carmelo Street. Determined to live a quiet life to pursue his writing and spiritual journey, he later noted the decision, stating "I pondered, talked it over with my wife – let's go to Carmel in the pine woods to find ourselves… She agreed and we have no regrets."[86]

In 1919, Charles Greene purchased 6 ½ lots on Lincoln Street, south of 13th Avenue and in 1921 he constructed a shed-roofed, U-shaped cottage with prefabricated board-and-batten walls that were lifted into place. The shed-roofed forms and wood siding were harbingers of the Second Bay Region style, employed by Carmel modernists such as William Wurster and Jon Konigshofer.

Charles S. Greene home on Lincoln Street (1921, demolished 1966) (*Source: Gamble House Foundation*)[87]

After constructing his home, Charles Greene completed his unique studio building on Lincoln Street in 1923. He recycled the exterior brick from the El Carmelo hotel in Pacific Grove and

[85] Keeler, Charles, *The Simple Home* (1979 reprint), 15.
[86] Quotes taken from Bosley, Edward R., *Greene & Greene*, 2000, 192.
[87] Seavey, Kent L., *Carmel: A History in Architecture*, 63.

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designed the interior featuring carvings in various Japanese and natural motifs by the architect. Greene also designed the War Memorial on Ocean Avenue (completed in 1924).[88]

Left: Charles Greene studio (1923) on Lincoln St., 4 SW of 13th Ave. (*Source: PAST Consultants, LLC, 2024*)
Right: Greene's War Memorial (1924) at Ocean Ave. and San Carlos St. (*Source: Cindy Lloyd, 2024*)

Unlike the eastern United States, where architectural styles relied on decorative traditions evolved primarily from European precedents, in California architects and designers broke away from tradition to design buildings suited to California's temperate climate and its varied and dramatic topography. Craftsman-style houses were designed by and for Californians, using the abundant local materials of wood and stone, with numerous windows to let in the temperate climate.

In Carmel, the Craftsman style is characterized by horizontality of proportions, seen in the spreading lines of low-pitched gable roofs with wide eaves and exposed structural supports; partial- or full-width front porches for communing with nature; the use of honest materials of wood, brick or stone; undisguised architectural elements, such as exposed beams, braces or rafters; and horizontal bands of wood-casement or wood-sash windows. Brick, Carmel stone or river-rock chimneys are a key component of Craftsman homes, as the fireplace was considered the primary gathering spot for friends and family. In some homes, the significance of the fireplace is elevated by the use of a separate room – or inglenook – for family and friends to socialize.

Carmel Vernacular-style homes would become more refined during this time period, particularly with the work of M.J. Murphy, who utilized the native materials of wood, brick and stone in his vernacular cottages. In 1902, M.J. Murphy purchased six lots on Monte Verde Street between 9th and 10th avenues. He constructed his family home on the southeast corner of 9th and Monte Verde in 1904 and the Carmel Vernacular-style Enoch A. Lewis house (1905). Like the relocated First Murphy house, Murphy's Vernacular-styled cottages were based on National Folk styles that migrated to the West Coast with the completion of the transcontinental railroad. The homes feature a pyramidal roof, a corner porch and narrow wood clapboards or shingle cladding. They had minimal decoration, except for porch columns rendered in Craftsman or Colonial Revival details,

[88] A discussion of Charles Greene's spiritual symbolism used in his studio appears in Bosley, Edward R., *Greene & Greene*, 2000, 205.

or Murphy's trademark diamond-pane upper window sash. Side-gabled Carmel Vernacular-style homes, based on Eastern precedents, were also built. These buildings also featured minimal ornamentation and were clad with clapboards, shingles or board-and batten. The homes were without porches, although small gable-roofed porches were often added later.

Left: Enoch A. Lewis House (1906) on Monte Verde St. 2 NE of 9th Ave. Right: Sinclair Lewis House (1905), Monte Verde 2 NW of 9th Avenue (*Source: PAST Consultants, LLC, 2024)*

Commercial Properties

Nearly all Ocean Avenue commercial properties from this time period have been demolished and redeveloped. Two of the early Victorian commercial buildings remain: the Adam Fox Building (1899-1910) and the Schweinger Building (1899-1910). Both two-story buildings are two-part commercial blocks, featuring Western false-front compositions with overhanging bay windows in the upper story. While the Adam Fox building was altered with stucco wall cladding, the Schweinger Building maintains its wood cladding and Victorian details.

Left: Adam Fox Building (c.1899-1910), south side of Ocean between San Carlos and Mission. Middle: Schweinger Building (c.1899-1910), south side of Ocean Avenue between Lincoln and Dolores. Right: Philip Wilson Building (1905), northwest corner of Ocean Ave. and Dolores St. (*Source: PAST Consultants, LLC, 2024)*

The two-story Philip Wilson Building (1905) was constructed as an office for the real estate developer Philip Wilson and was Carmel's first city hall from 1917 to 1927. The building is constructed in the Craftsman style, and its steeply pitched gable roofs, projecting boxy dormers,

wood shingle cladding and multi-pane windows resemble the buildings constructed by Bay Area architects, such as Ernest Coxhead, Willis Polk and Bernard Maybeck.[89]

Constructed in 1903, the Carmel Development Company building is considered to be the first modern commercial building in Carmel, primarily because of its expansive use of plate glass and cast stone wall cladding. Constructed by local builder T.A. Work, the three storefronts with recessed entries originally housed, from west to east, the Carmel Development Company offices (the Carmel Drug Store after 1910), the T.A. Work Hardware Store, and the Poeble Grocery.[90]

Early image of the Carmel Development Company Building (1903), northwest corner of Ocean Ave. and San Carlos St. (*Source: Pat Hathaway Collection, Monterey County Historical Society)*

The building utilized hollow-core, cast stone building blocks, made on-site with a portable concrete-block fabrication machine similar to the Wizard Face Down Concrete Block Machine sold at distributors like Sears and Roebuck. The concrete blocks were considered fireproof, a strong selling point for a town constructed within a pine forest.[91]

Carmel's primary hotel during this time period was the Pine Inn, relocated in 1903 from Ocean and Broadway (now, Junipero), with a one-story, hipped roof entrance, sunroom and dining room added by architect Thomas Morgan. The building was again remodeled in 1928 in the Spanish Eclectic style by San Francisco architects Blaine and Olson; Jon Konigshofer added the Modern-style storefronts and rooftop garden in the 1940s.[92]

[89] Janick, Richard N., *Schweinger Building* (DPR523 Building, Structure and Object Record), 2002; Janick, Richard N., *Wilson Building* (DPR523 Building, Structure and Object Record), 2002.
[90] Seavey, Kent L., *Carmel Development Company Building* (DPR523 Building, Structure and Object Record), 2002; Dramov, Alissandra, *Historic Buildings of Downtown Carmel-by-the-Sea*, 2019, 72.
[91] Seavey, Kent L., *Carmel: A History in Architecture*, 43-44.
[92] Janick, Richard N., *Pine Inn* (DPR523 Building, Structure and Object Record), 2003.

The Pine Inn (1889). (*Source: PAST Consultants, LLC, 2024)*

Civic and Institutional Properties

The Philip Wilson Building, which housed Carmel's first City Hall in 1917, remains extant from this early time period.

The Forest Hill School (1921 – converted to a private residence in 1997) began as an outdoor tent camp in 1920 and was constructed as a permanent schoolhouse in 1921 at the southwest corner of Mission Street and 1st Avenue. The schoolhouse was built in a Vernacular style, with Craftsman details that embraced the ideal that championed nature and the outdoors as a primary teaching motivation for children.[93]

Cultural and Religious Properties

Several churches were constructed during the Seacoast of Bohemia thematic time period. The first Methodist Church was built on the northwest corner of 7th Avenue and Lincoln Street in 1905; it was replaced in 1940 with a design by Carmel architect Robert Stanton, and renamed the Church of the Wayfarer.[94] In 1913, San Francisco architect Albert Cauldwell completed the hybrid Shingle- and Craftsman-styled, All Saints Episcopal Church on the east side of Monte Verde Street between Ocean Avenue and 7th Avenue. M.J. Murphy added the vestibule and bell tower shown below in 1928 (subsequently removed in 1953). Carmel-by-the-Sea purchased the building in 1946 as Carmel's City Hall and modified the building in 1953.[95]

[93] Seavey, Kent L., *Forest Hill School* (DPR523 Building, Structure and Object Record), 2002.
[94] Dramov, Alissandra, *Carmel-by-the-Sea: Past and Present*, 2022, 22.
[95] Dramov, Alissandra, *Carmel-by-the-Sea: Past and Present*, 2022, 22; Seavey, Kent L., *Carmel City Hall* (DPR523 Building, Structure and Object Record), 2003.

Left: Circa-1930 image of All Saints Episcopal Church (1913) after the M.J. Murphy additions *(Source: Kent L. Seavey Archives).* Right: 2024 image of City Hall *(Source: Past Consultants, LLC, 2024).*

Carmel's longstanding tradition as a place for the theater arts began in 1910 when Los Angeles actor Herbert Heron, following a visit to George Sterling's house in 1908, purchased a home site on Guadalupe Street and Mountain View Avenue. He lobbied James F. Devendorf for the creation of an outdoor theater. Excited about the prospect, Devendorf leased an entire block in the Eighty Acres tract, bordered by 7th Ave. to the north, Mountain View Ave. to the south; Guadalupe Street to the east and Santa Rita Street to the west. An outdoor theater was constructed and the Forest Theater Society was formed by interested Carmelites in 1910. The first play, *David*, written by Constance L. Skinner, was performed on July 9, 1910.[96]

Architects and Builders

The Bohemians and early developers of this time period saw the migration of carpenters and independent builders to the city, with some constructing buildings designed by their owners (such as Arnold Genthe) and others bringing down Bay Area architects, such as the San Francisco architect Albert Cauldwell, who designed All Saints Episcopal Church in 1913. Architects, such as Charles Sumner Greene, also chose to relocate to the city in 1916.

The two most prominent builders during this period were M.J. Murphy (see previous discussion) and Earl Percy Parkes (1884-1955). A native of Ohio, Parkes worked for the Rock Island Railroad Company until relocating to Los Angeles to study law in 1911. He left school and became a contractor in the Los Angeles area before moving to Carmel in 1919. While extant residences from this time period are rare, an example of his Craftsman style design is the Elizabeth H. Sullivan House (1927) listed on the Carmel Inventory of Historic Resources. He designed numerous buildings in various period revival styles as one of Carmel's most active builders in the 1920s – 1940s.[97]

[96] Gilliam, Harold and Ann, *Creating Carmel: The Enduring Vision*, 122-125.
[97] Seavey, Kent L., *Elizabeth H. Sullivan House,* (DPR523 Building, Structure and Object Record), 2002.

Seacoast of Bohemia (1902 – 1921): Associated Property Types and Registration Requirements

CARMEL VERNACULAR STYLE (1902-1945)

First Murphy House (1902), west side of Lincoln between 5th and 6th

Enoch A. Lewis House (1906), Monte Verde 2 NE of 9th

C.H. Gordinier House (1905), Dolores 4 NE of 10th

Sinclair Lewis House (1905), Monte Verde 2 NW of 9th

Anson House (1920), west side of Monte Verde between 5th and 6th

Jennie Coleman House (1921), Palou 3 NW of 4th

Introduction

Carmel Vernacular buildings are wood-framed and wood-clad, with square or rectangular plans containing gable, hip or pyramidal roof forms more common than the gable-on-wing variants. The pyramidal roof form (with or without dormers), with narrow Redwood drop siding, a brick chimney and corner porch epitomized the early vernacular buildings of M.J. Murphy. Ornamentation is minimal and may be revealed by corner porches with Craftsman – or Colonial Revival – style columns. Fenestration consists of Single- or double-hung wood sash or wood-casement windows, some with decorative, diamond-pane upper sash. Wood wall cladding varies from narrow redwood drop siding (used by M.J. Murphy), but may be shingles, horizonal-lapped or board-and-batten. Buildings with vernacular massing and roof configurations were also constructed with stone walls. Buildings constructed in the Carmel Vernacular style appear until the close of World War II.

Character Defining Features

- Single-story, square or rectangular plan most common
- Variants include gable-on-wing plans
- Side-gable, gable, pyramid or hip roofs are common
- Prominent Carmel stone, river rock or brick chimneys
- Wood wall cladding, typically narrow Redwood drop siding, but may be shingles, horizonal-lapped or board-and-batten.
- Single wall construction in some examples
- Stone wall construction on some examples
- Single- or double-hung wood sash or wood casement windows in multi-pane configurations or containing decorative upper sash
- Dutch doors common as entry doors
- Minimal exterior decoration

Representative Buildings

- First Murphy House (1903)
- C.H. Gordinier House (1905)
- Sinclair Lewis House (1905)
- Enoch A. Lewis House (1906)
- Anson House (1920)
- Jennie Coleman House (1921)

CRAFTSMAN STYLE (1902-1986)

Reverend Charles Gardner House (1904), northeast corner of San Carlos and Santa Lucia

M.J. Murphy House (1905), southeast corner of Monte Verde and 9th

Stone House (1906), south side of 8th between Monte Verde and Casanova

Arnold Genthe House (1906), Camino Real 2 NE of 11th

Gunnar Norberg House (1909), southeast corner of Carmelo and 10th

George F. Beardsley House (1909), southwest corner Casanova and 8th

Introduction

Craftsman buildings are characterized by horizontality of proportions, seen in the spreading lines of low-pitched gable roofs with wide eaves and exposed structural supports. The buildings are typically rectangular in plan, with partial- or full-width front porches. Front gable variants frequently contain a nested, gable-roofed partial front porch. Porches may feature natural Redwood-log, squared, or tapered columns. This style features minimal applied ornamentation and relies on expressed structural supports, such as exposed beams, braces or rafters, and horizontal bands of wood-casement or wood-sash windows to achieve an integrated composition. While wood wall cladding (drop siding, clapboards or shingles) is the most common, several brick and stone examples have been found. Brick, Carmel-stone or river-rock chimneys are a key component of Craftsman homes. Fenestration consists of horizontal bands of multi-pane, wood-sash or wood casement windows.

Character Defining Features

- Single- or two-story, rectangular plan
- Low-pitched gable roofs; occasionally with hip roofs
- Dormers with low-pitched shed roofs
- Wide roof overhangs, with exposed rafter tails or knee braces
- Structural expression as seen in exposed rafters, columns or wood connections
- Wood wall cladding, typically wood shingle, clapboards or redwood drop siding
- Some examples may be constructed with stone walls
- Horizontal bands of multi pane wood-sash or wood-casement windows
- Brick, stone or river rock chimneys
- Minimal applied exterior decoration

Representative Buildings

- Reverend Charles Gardner House (1904)
- M.J. Murphy House (1905)
- Arnold Genthe House (1906)
- Stone House (1906)
- Gunnar Norberg House (1909)
- George F. Beardsley House (1909)

Seacoast of Bohemia (1902 – 1921): Registration Requirements

Historic Significance

The following table analyzes the significance of buildings by synthesizing the criteria established by the National Register of Historic Places (NR), the California Register of Historical Resources (CR), and the Carmel-by-the-Sea Municipal Code (CMC).

Ntl / CA Register	Carmel Municipal Code (CMC) §17.32.040	Significance	Analysis for Carmel Inventory of Historic Resources
A/1	1	Events, Patterns Trends	Should support at least one historic theme listed in the historic context statement. These events should be related to building construction in Carmel associated with the Carmel Development Company or the creation of the earliest services in the newly established City.
B/2	2	Persons	Should be associated with significant persons that contributed to the City's economic, cultural, social or developmental history. While most properties associated with Carmel's artists, intellectuals, writers and social reformers have been documented, additional properties associated with significant Carmelites may be discovered. These buildings should be compared to other associated properties occupied by the person(s) to determine which location best represents the person(s) significant achievements.
C/3	3	Architecture, Construction Method	For this time period, buildings designed by a significant architect, landscape architect, or a significant builder (such as M.J. Murphy or Percy Parkes) should be strong examples of a particular architectural style and should possess sufficient historic integrity. Buildings designed by an unrecognized architect/builder but being a good representative of the architectural styles and types listed in this thematic time period are also appropriate, provided they maintain adequate historic integrity. Individual examples, such as Carmel Vernacular-style buildings, which contribute to diversity in the community, need not have been designed by known architects, designer/builders or contractors. If located, these rare styles and types that contribute to Carmel's unique sense of time and place shall be deemed significant.
D/4	4	Information Potential	Confined primarily to archaeological or subsurface resources that contribute to an understanding of historic construction methods, materials, or evidence of prehistoric cultures.

Historic Integrity Considerations

The residential buildings constructed within this time period of Carmel's physical development represent the adoption of the Craftsman and Carmel Vernacular styles by the City's Bohemian residents, with most extant resources present on the Carmel Inventory. If buildings from this time period are encountered, they will likely contain physical alterations, particularly to original cladding and fenestration (windows and doors).

For buildings associated with significant events or significant persons, integrity of location, setting, design, feeling and association are more important aspects of historic integrity. For buildings associated with architectural design and/or construction method historic integrity should be stronger, particularly the integrity of design, materials, and workmanship. The following list outlines the Minimum Eligibility Requirements and Additional Integrity Considerations.

Minimum Eligibility Requirements

- Retains sufficient character defining features to represent a given architectural style that dates to the thematic time period.
- Retains original form and roofline.
- Retains the original fenestration (window and doors) pattern, as expressed by the original window/door openings and their framing, surrounds or sills.
- Retains most of its original ornamentation.
- Retains original exterior cladding (or original cladding has been replaced in-kind).
- Alterations to buildings that meet the *Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties* are acceptable.

Additional Integrity Considerations

- For commercial buildings, first-floor storefront replacements are considered acceptable, provided that the character defining features of the upper floor(s) have been maintained.
- For residential buildings, front porch replacements or modifications made that respect the scale, materials and design of the original building are considered acceptable. Porch additions/replacements with modern or incompatible materials are not acceptable.
- Buildings that retain their original window sash and doors within the original fenestration pattern have a higher degree of historic integrity.
- Relocated buildings associated for architectural design or construction method should possess a high degree of historic integrity of design, workmanship and materials and should retain all of their original ornamentation.

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4.5 VILLAGE IN A FOREST (1922-1945)

East side of Dolores Street, between Ocean and 7th, circa-1929 *(Source: Henry Meade Williams Local History Department, Harrison Memorial Library)*

The Village in a Forest thematic time period represents a transformation of the Ocean Avenue commercial core to a unified architectural aesthetic of the Spanish Eclectic, Tudor Revival, and Storybook styles. Led by pioneers Edward Kuster and Hugh Comstock, the city's wood-clad Craftsman-style buildings gave way to the stucco-clad Period Revival styles. Commercial buildings from this time period represent the greatest number of extant buildings listed on the Carmel Inventory. In 1929, city government passed a zoning ordinance that defined Carmel as predominantly a residential city, with a distinct and limited commercial zone. As the city's popularity grew it became a magnet for tourists creating conflict between city residents and commercial development. The Carmel Dynamic defines this push-and-pull of Carmel politics and architectural development to this day. The primary events that shaped Carmel's development during this time period are:

- The mature development of the Ocean Avenue commercial core in Period Revival architectural styles.
- The efforts of Carmel builders/designers Lee Gottfried, Hugh Comstock, M.J. Murphy, Percy Parkes and others that transformed the city's aesthetic into one of "beauty and artistry."
- Establishment of the 1929 Zoning Ordinance, declaring Carmel-by-the-Sea to be "primarily, essentially and predominantly a residential city."
- Emergence of the Carmel Dynamic
- Residential construction primarily in the Spanish Eclectic, Tudor Revival, Storybook, Carmel Cottage and Minimal Traditional styles.

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Mature Development of the Downtown Commercial Core

In 1920, Los Angeles attorney Edward Kuster arrived in Carmel. At the age of 41, Kuster had achieved financial success as a lawyer and local success in the arts, including small parts played at the Los Angeles Majestic Theater, a cellist in the Los Angeles Symphony and a dancer at the Ruth St. Denis Company. Kuster chose to retire in Carmel because of its embrace of the arts, noting "the little village was simply boiling over with theatre-mindedness." In 1922, Kuster purchased lots on the southeast corner of Monte Verde Street and Ocean Avenue and hired Carmel designer and builder Lee Gotfried to design the Golden Bough Theater. Set back from the street and behind a courtyard, the theater influenced the development of a group of buildings in the Tudor Revival and Storybook styles. These stucco-clad buildings include the Carmel Weaver's Studio (1922), the Seven Arts Shop (1923) and Sade's (1925).[98] Together, this group of buildings form the landmark Court of the Golden Bough and were the impetus for the transformation of Carmel's architectural aesthetic – both commercial and residential – into the stucco-clad Period Revival styles that characterize much of the city's historic architecture today. While the Golden Bough Theater was destroyed by fire in 1935 (and relocated to Monte Verde Street 4 NW of 9th Avenue), the other courtyard buildings are extant.[99]

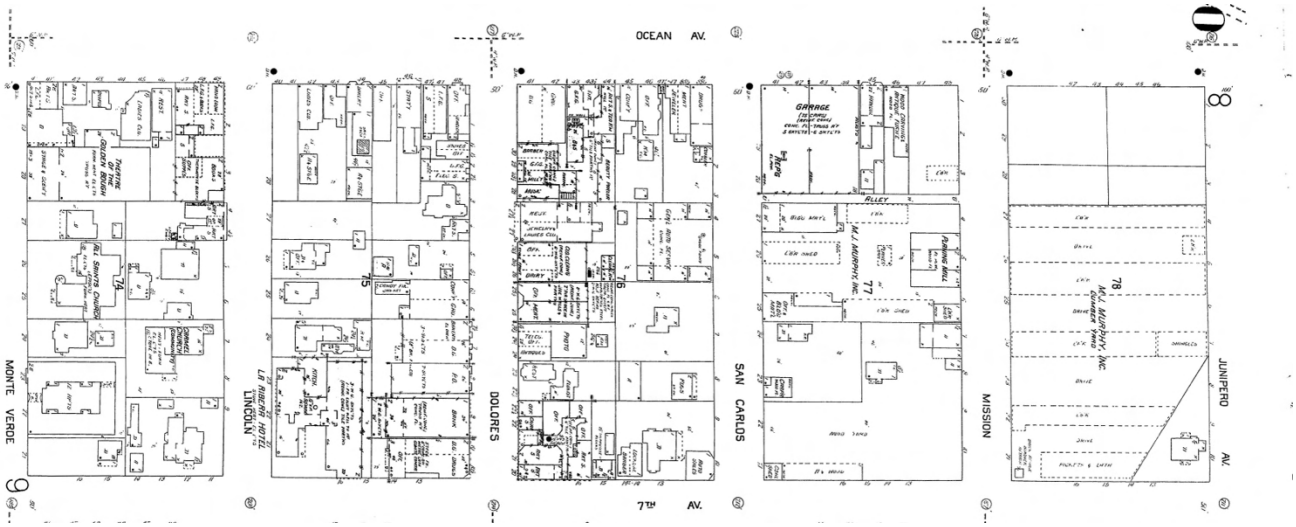
Circa-1925 image of the Carmel Weaver's Studio (1922) and Seven Arts Shop (1923) at the entrance to the Court of the Golden Bough *(Source: Pat Hathaway Collection, Monterey County Historical Society)*.

Writing in the *Carmel Pine Cone* in April 1924, author Daisy Bostick noted "In Carmel-by-the-Sea there is a group of little shops that might well be transferred to an artist's canvas and labeled 'A Bit of Old Europe.'" Carmel's champion of the arts and advocate for a "Village in a Forest," Perry Newberry, in his eulogy to Edward Kuster wrote "When Kuster began, in 1923, to design the plans for his Little Theatre he also designed at the same time a group of artistic shops." Newberry continued, "They met with public approval apparently for it was not long after this

[98] Sade's was relocated to Ocean Avenue, 3 SE of Monte Verde Street.
[99] Seavey, Kent L., *Sade's; Carmel Weaver's Studio, Seven Arts Shop* (DPR523 Building, Structure and Object Records), 2002; Gilliam, Harold and Ann, *Creating Carmel: The Enduring Vision*, 1992, 135.

until there were other little shops built in the same style. So, instead of the white front wooden buildings that are characteristic of every small town in the west, Kuster's dream – made into reality – has changed our main street into an Ocean Avenue of beauty and artistry." The Court of the Golden Bough entirely changed the commercial visage of Carmel-by-Sea and initiated a period of individuality and creativity in both commercial and residential design that persists to the present.[100]

Carmel's unique and picturesque location led to continued commercial and associated residential growth. The population grew from 638 permanent residents in 1920 to 2,248 by 1930, and 2,806 by 1940.[101] Combined with favorable press coverage of the city's picturesque seaside location and salubrious climate, tourists began arriving in greater numbers as well. As a result, the Ocean Avenue commercial core grew considerably during this time, as the 1930 Sanborn map (shown below) indicates.



1930 Sanborn map showing the south side of Ocean Avenue between Monte Verde and Mission streets. The commercial area expands to include the cross streets south to 7th Avenue. The Court of the Golden Bough is at the extreme left (*Source: City of Carmel-by-the-Sea).*

Comparison to the 1910 Sanborn map shown previously indicates substantial commercial growth, with the south side of Ocean Avenue and the cross streets between Ocean and 7th Avenues nearly fully developed. The completed Court of the Golden Bough is shown at Monte Verde Street and Ocean Avenue. Numerous commercial shops and restaurants line Ocean Avenue and the cross streets; the La Ribera Hotel (now the Cypress Inn) is completed at the northeast corner of Lincoln Street and 7th Avenue; and the east side of Dolores Street between Ocean and 7th avenues is built out with historic buildings that remain extant. M.J. Murphy's lumber yard occupies over half of the block bound by Junipero Street, Mission Street and 7th Avenue.

On the north side of Ocean Avenue, including the cross streets north to 6th Avenue, the 1930 Sanborn map also indicates extensive development. Commercial businesses and shops appear on

[100] Seavey, Kent L., *Studio, Seven Arts Shop* (DPR523 Building, Structure and Object Record), 2002.
[101] Population figures taken from *Carmel Pine Cone*, Vol. 108, No. 22, 6/3/2022.

Ocean and 6th Avenues; the Pine Inn indicates expansion of its facility; and the Harrison Memorial Library appears completed.

1930 Sanborn map showing the north side of Ocean Avenue between Monte Verde and Mission streets. The Harrison Memorial Library appears at the northeast corner of Ocean Ave. and Lincoln St. (*Source: City of Carmel-by-the-Sea).*

Commercial buildings were constructed in Period Revival styles, notably the Spanish Eclectic, Tudor Revival and Storybook styles. While these styles vary in their character defining features and architectural detailing, the buildings are all clad in stucco, are one or two stories tall and form a continuous street façade with the same setbacks. This creates a streetscape of uniform and decorative appearance. Typically, shops or other commercial enterprises were located on the first floor, with offices or apartments above.

The courtyard is another characteristic of the commercial district that flourished during this time period. Inspired by Kuster's Court of the Golden Bough, buildings face the street generally with the same setback but feature entrances that lead to rear courtyards with open space, shops and gardens. Examples of numerous courtyards that remain include the Court of the Golden Bough (1922-1925), the El Paseo courtyard on the northeast corner of Dolores Street and 7th Avenue (1927-1929), and the La Rambla courtyard on Lincoln St. 2 SW of Ocean Avenue (1929), all three of which are historic properties listed on the Carmel Inventory. The courtyards frequently contained staircases with wrought iron and decorative tile, and decorative tile floors.[102]

A substantial number of buildings created during this thematic time period remain extant in the downtown area and formed the impetus for the city's Downtown Conservation District. Examples appear on the next page.

[102] Perry Newberry wrote an article describing the El Paseo Building in *Architect & Engineer*, October 1928.

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Historic Buildings within the Downtown Conservation District

A selection of commercial buildings in the Downtown Conservation District appears below and on the next page. Refer to the architectural development section that follows for descriptions of the various styles.

Left: Court of the Golden Bough (1922-1925) on the south side of Ocean Ave. between Monte Verde and Lincoln. Right: The Tuck Box (originally "Sally's" - 1926) on Dolores 2 NE of 7th (*Source: PAST Consultants, LLC, 2024*).

Left: The Kocher Building (1927) at the northwest corner of Dolores and 7th. Right: Las Tiendas Building (1930) on the south side of Ocean between Dolores and San Carlos; the central arched opening leads to a rear courtyard (*Source: PAST Consultants, LLC, 2024*).

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Left: The Reardon Building or Carmel Dairy (1932) at the northwest corner of Ocean and Mission. Right: The Normandy Inn (1936) on the south side of Ocean between Monte Verde and Casanova (*Source: PAST Consultants, LLC, 2024*).

The most intact collection of historic commercial buildings on a single block includes the east side of Dolores Street between Ocean and 7th Avenues. All original buildings remain, evoking an iconic, circa-1930s image of historic Carmel.

East side of Dolores Street, between Ocean and 7th, circa-1931. From left to right: Isabel Leidig Building (1925); W.C. Farley Building (1927); Vining's Meat Market (Percy Parkes Building - 1926); De Yoe Building (1924); Tuck Box (1926); and a portion of the El Paseo Building (1928). *Source: Pat Hathaway Collection, Monterey County Historical Society.*

City Planning Efforts of the 1920s

Carmel's first form of government consisted of a Board of Trustees, which held legislative and executive powers. The Carmel Board consisted of five members, with two holding two-year terms and three holding four-year terms. The Board was responsible for electing a President, who served two terms. While the Carmel Board was elected publicly, the President was not publicly elected. This form of government remained in place until 1978, when the mayor became a position elected by the public, which officially occurred in 1980.

The efforts of activist, actor and writer Perry Newberry dominated early city politics. After achieving success in Chicago real estate in the 1880s, Newberry moved to San Francisco with his poet wife, Bertha, where he joined the art staff of the *San Francisco Examiner*. The couple moved to Carmel in 1910 and quickly became immersed in the city's artistic culture. He was active in the Forest Theater, serving as the theater group's president in 1913. He also was co-publisher of the *Carmel Pine Cone* in the 1920s, using the paper to advocate his anti-progress stance.[103]

In 1922, Perry Newberry was elected President to the Board of Trustees and helped establish the City's first planning commission. His leadership was instrumental in advocating and passing Ordinance 96 on June 5, 1929, declaring Carmel to be primarily a residential city:

> 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, are now, and are proposed to be in the future subordinated to its residential character; and that said determination is made having in mind the history and the development of said city, its growth and the causes thereof: and also its geographical and topographical aspects, together with its near proximity to the cities of Pacific Grove and Monterey and the businesses, industries, trades, callings and professions in existence and permissible therein.[104]

Ordinance 96 created two zones, designated residential and commercial. A distinct and limited commercial zone was established along Ocean Avenue (including 6th and 7th Avenues), between Junipero and Monte Verde streets. The remaining land was zoned residential. This two-zone system remains today.[105]

The Depression and War Years

In 1931, the Carmel Business Association was created to alleviate the effects of the Great Depression. In 1933, it created the "Carmel Dollar," designed by artists Jo Mora and Catherine Seideneck, to be used by Carmel merchants in an effort support the local economy. One thousand "Carmel Dollars" were printed and used to pay the unemployed to work on public works projects. Carmel merchants also agreed to accept the dollars at face value to pay for goods and services.

[103] Seavey, Kent L., *Perry Newberry Cottage* (DPR523 Building, Structure and Object Record), 2002.
[104] The text of Ordinance 96 is framed and hung in the City Council chambers. A note states: "Adopted by Ordinance 96 passed on the 5th day of June 1929."
[105] See Carmel Municipal Code 17.04.030 Residential Districts Established. This section states: "The primary goal of these districts is to preserve and protect the predominantly residential character of the City."

The procedure would allow a citizen to affix a 3-cent Unemployment Relief Stamp to one of the spaces printed on the dollar's back, which would be cancelled as "used" for each local transfer. When 36 stamps were gathered on the back of the note, the Carmel Dollar could be redeemed for one U.S. dollar in cash. While the approach was abandoned several years later it did serve its intended purpose of supporting the local community.[106]

World War II brought an enormous influx of personnel to Fort Ord, a location that trained thousands of personnel for deployment to the Pacific. While the nexus of this transient population growth impacted the better-located cities of Monterey and Pacific Grove, Carmel witnessed daily visitation to its downtown by soldiers on their leisure time. The Manzanita Club on Dolores Street near 8th Avenue became the USO Club. 418 Carmelites signed up for active duty.[107]

The Carmel Dynamic Emerges

The Carmel Dynamic refers to the conflict created by Carmelites' desire to maintain the city's artistic village atmosphere versus the demands of commercial growth. The prosperous 1920s led to significant increases in tourism, as the city added several major hotels and cottage courts. The 1905 studio and home of artist Christian Jorgensen, located on the southwest corner of Camino Real Street and 8th Avenue was purchased and expanded by Agnes "Alice" Signor, and operated as the La Playa Hotel in 1921. The La Ribera Hotel, located at the northeast corner of Lincoln Street and 7th Avenue was completed in 1929. Carmel architect Robert Stanton designed the Normandy Inn after constructing his Tudor Revival office on the west side of Monte Verde Street near Ocean Avenue in 1925. The remaining buildings of the Normandy Inn would be designed in the 1930s after Stanton earned his architecture license in 1934 and work with Los Angeles architects.[108]

Access to the city improved dramatically, with the completion of a road linking Monterey to Carmel via the Carmel Woods tract in 1930. California State Highway One was completed in 1937. The improvement in roads now provided easy access to Carmel from the State's major metropolitan areas, including the San Francisco Bay Area and Los Angeles.[109]

Even before these roadway links, Carmelites had resisted commercial development. Before election to the Board of Trustees, activist Perry Newberry spearheaded the anti-growth movement. One of the earliest conflicts between the village and progress was the proposed paving of Ocean Avenue in 1921. During heated discussions at City Hall, Perry Newberry was vehemently against it, declaring that the proposal would lead to "hurdy gurdys and peanut stands on our beautiful beach." Activists lost the battle and Ocean Avenue was paved in 1921. However, Newberry's passion got him elected as Board President in 1922.[110]

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[106] Temple, Sydney, *Carmel-by-the-Sea: From Aborigines to Coastal Commission*, 1987, 168. An image of the Carmel Dollar is shown on page 169 of this book.
[107] Gualtieri, Kathryn and Lynn A. Momboisse, *A Village in the Pine Forest: Carmel-by-the-Sea*, 2016, 8.
[108] Seavey, Kent L., *La Playa Hotel* (DPR523 Building, Structure and Object Record), 2002; Seavey, Kent L., *Normandy Inn* (DPR523 Building, Structure and Object Record), 2002.
[109] Gualtieri, Kathryn and Lynn A. Momboisse, *A Village in the Pine Forest: Carmel-by-the-Sea*:*1916-2016*, 8.
[110] "A Town's History, Captured in 5,221 Newspapers," *Carmel Pine Cone: Centennial Edition*, 2/20/2015, 8 CE.

Activists would win the next battle over the future of Carmel beach which ensued in 1922, when a large resort hotel was planned at the foot of Ocean Avenue. Newberry and a group of 40 residents met at the house of artist Mary DeNeale Morgan to oppose the development. The "Committee of 40" soon appealed to Franklin Devendorf, who agreed to sell the property to the city for $15,000. The purchase would include Block 69, added to the purchase at no charge, which is now Devendorf Park. Writing in the *Carmel Pine Cone*, Newberry celebrated the victory, declaring the decision "… says, more forcibly than any words that Carmel's first thought is not for the humbug of 'progress' but for the beauty, dignity, and reticence that mean character… that the placid homey life rather than 'good business' are the town ideals".[111] As discussed previously, Newberry spearheaded the passing of Ordinance 96 declaring Carmel to be primarily a residential city.

After Newberry became co-publisher of the *Carmel Pine Cone* in 1927, he used the paper to promote his anti-growth views. The next controversy occurred in 1929 when pro-business interests supported the City Council's proposal to widen both Carmelo and San Antonio Streets to accommodate an extension of State Highway One from Monterey, through Pebble Beach and into Carmel. The activist espoused his displeasure at the idea and campaigned against it heavily, declaring, "A shortcut from the Seventeen-Mile Drive to the San Simeon Highway is certainly not desirable in Carmel – anywhere." Newberry and the activists seeking to maintain Carmel's village atmosphere were successful in preventing the project. His efforts got him elected as President of the Board of Trustees for a second term in 1929.[112]

While Newberry was too infirm to run for the Board in 1938, an anti-growth contingent was elected, including playwright Herbert Heron, who previously developed the Forest Theater. Responding to the considerable growth of automobile traffic, the Board proposed an ordinance to remove parking in the median of Ocean Avenue – a proposal that was opposed by city merchants. However, the proposal was successful and the city hired noteworthy landscape architect Thomas Church to design the Carmel stone median and landscape plantings.[113]

The Carmel Dynamic would continue in the coming decades, with battles fought between advocates for the "Village in a Forest" and those seeking to prioritize development in the name of commerce. It is this push-and-pull that continues to characterize Carmel politics today.

[111] Gilliam, Harold and Ann, *Creating Carmel: The Enduring Vision*, 1992, 176.
[112] Ibid, 185.
[113] Ibid, 193.

Village in a Forest (1922 – 1945): Architectural Development

This thematic time period represents the blossoming of Carmel's architectural development. In fundamental aspects, Carmel's embrace of residential and commercial architecture in the "Mediterranean Mode" mirrored the national embrace of the romantic revival movements, with major cities constructing suburban neighborhoods in the Tudor, Spanish Eclectic and Storybook styles. In the 1920s, California embraced these architectural styles, particularly the Spanish Eclectic, a design idiom that was considered both historical and progressive by architectural critics. However, Carmel has always been known for its architectural creativity, if not eccentricity, as many "one-off buildings" exist. In the 1920s, the work of Hugh Comstock in the Storybook style would be one such example. While the following discussion does not describe every building and the myriad of variants for a given style, it focuses on the primary architectural developments.

Residential Properties

Residential properties were constructed primarily in Tudor Revival, Storybook and Spanish Eclectic styles, as Carmel – like many California locations – rejected the dour Craftsman aesthetic in favor of the romantic "Old World" styles of Europe. These styles also reflected the exuberance and economic prosperity of the 1920s.[114]

In 1905, Eugenia Mayberry, one of the earliest female architects in Carmel, designed what is considered Carmel's first Tudor Revival house for the McGowan sisters, featured in *House Beautiful Magazine*.[115]

Early image of Grace McGowan Cook House ("Locksley Hall")(1905) designed for the writer Grace McGowan Cooke and her sister Alice McGowan, extant on the north side of 13th Ave between San Antonio Street and Carmelo (*Source: Carmel: A History in Architecture).*

[114] Architectural historians have used several terms to describe the Spanish influence on American architecture, including Spanish Revival, Mediterranean Revival, Spanish Colonial Revival and Spanish Eclectic. Spanish Eclectic style will be used in this document.
[115] Seavey, Kent L., *Carmel: A History in Architecture*, 58-59.

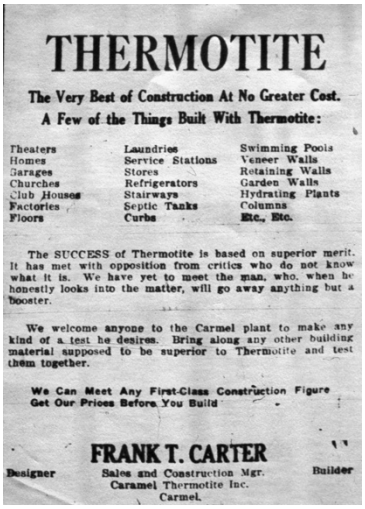
By 1920 and with precedents taken from English and French Medieval building traditions, the Tudor Revival style inspired Carmel architects and builders, including M.J. Murphy, who constructed his office on Monte Verde Street.

Left: M.J. Murphy office (1922) on Monte Verde Street 2 SE of 9th Avenue. Right: LaFrenz Garage/Studio (1934) on Camino Real 5 SW of 10th Avenue (*Sources: PAST Consultants, LLC, 2024*

The Tudor Revival style harkens back to the houses of the English and French countryside, rather than to the residences of English royalty. In Carmel, the style contains English and French variants, in single- and two-story homes, the English having gable roofs, the French having hip roofs. The style is characterized by complex roof massing, often with a prominent street-facing gable, steeply pitched roofs, false half timbering, gable-and shed-roofed dormers, dramatic masonry chimneys, and multi- or diamond-paned, wood-framed windows.

In 1925, real estate investor Paul Flanders hired San Francisco architect Henry Higby Gutterson to design his Tudor Revival manor house, "Outlands," on a prominent knoll in the recently purchased, 233-acre Hatton tract. Its steeply pitched and cross-gabled roof featured a rhythm of dormers containing multi-paned windows. Rather than the wood-framed walls clad in stucco that characterized the style, Gutterson utilized a Carmel innovation – Thermotite – fireproof concrete block made in molds created by the Carmel Thermotite Company.[116]

[116] Seavey, Kent L., *Outlands in the Eighty Acres* (National Register of Historic Places Registration Form, NRIS #89000228), 1989. Historic American Building Survey (HABS) photographs were completed by PAST Consultants, LLC in 2014 and are on file at the Carmel Planning Department.



Left: circa-1920s image of the Paul Flanders Mansion (1925) (*Source: Pat Hathaway Collection, Monterey County Historical Society*). Right an advertisement for the Carmel Thermotite Company (*Kent L. Seavey Archives*).

Hugh Comstock Introduces the Storybook Style

In 1924, another prolific and influential designer/builder would reshape the Carmel built environment by constructing his first home in the Storybook style. Born in Evanston, Illinois in 1893, Hugh Comstock (1893-1950) moved to Santa Rosa in 1907, at the age of 14. He shared a talent for drawing with his sister, Catherine Seideneck, an artist who was married to the Carmel artist George Seideneck. On a trip to Carmel to visit his sister, he was introduced to Mayotta Browne, the maker of the popular "otsy-totsy" dolls. Within one year, the couple was married.

Comstock's first house, "Gretel" (1924) was a small fairytale cottage where the newlyweds lived. In 1925, Mayotta asked Comstock to design a showroom for her otsy-totsy dolls creations; the resulting "Hansel" was a whimsical design that evoked the fantasy world of children's literature. Inspired by the English illustrator Arthur Rackham, "Hansel" features an undulating roofline finished with curved wood shakes, a prominent gable end with false half-timbering, a Carmel stone (chalk-rock) chimney in an irregular uncoursed pattern with an arched top and walls consisting of hand-troweled cement plaster over coarse burlap to create an uneven, textured finish. Multi-paned wood windows contained wood casework carved with a pocket knife. In 1925, he constructed his family home and office in the Storybook style on the northeast corner of Torres Street and 6th Avenue. His houses set the architectural tone for residential design, with builders and designers constructing homes throughout the village, as new residents wanted their own version of the Doll's house. Between 1924 and 1929, Hugh Comstock would construct about 20 of the fairytale houses in what would become known as the Storybook style.[117]

[117] Seavey, Kent L., *Hansel & Gretel* (DPR523 Building, Structure and Object Record), 2002.

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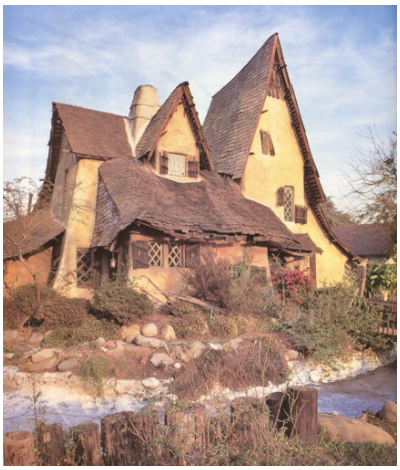
Left: Hugh Comstock's "Hansel" (1925) at Torres Street 4 SE of 5th. Right: Comstock House (1925) at the northeast corner of Torres Street and 6th Avenue (*Sources: PAST Consultants, LLC, 2024*).

The Storybook style originated in the Los Angeles area, emerging from the rise of Hollywood's popularity and the burgeoning movie industry. The growth of film in the prosperous 1920s brought a legion of artists, craftspeople and set designers to the region, as the complexity of set design demanded a high level of creativity. Soon set designers were becoming architects or builders and created the Storybook style to evoke the fantasy world of the silver screen.

The earliest Storybook designs were constructed by former studio art director Harry Oliver, who constructed his first Storybook house as offices and dressing rooms for a Culver City movie studio. In 1921 he completed what today is known as the Spadena House, after it was relocated to Beverly Hills in 1934. In 1923, Oliver would also design additions to the struggling Chanticleer Restaurant in north Los Angeles remodeling it with a dining room addition that contained all of the hallmarks of the Storybook style: undulating rooflines that appeared as thatch, projecting gable ends with steeply pitched and wavy rooflines, gable ends with false half timbering, irregular stucco wall surfaces and arched multi-pane wood windows. Oliver's remodel improved the restaurant's success significantly and the building remains today.



Left: Harry Oliver's relocated Spadena House (*Source: Douglas Keister Photograph in Storybook Style, 2001*). Right: Circa-1920s postcard for the Chanticleer Inn, renamed the Tam O'Shanter (*Source: Storybook Style, 2001*).[118]

By the middle of the 1920s, contractors began constructing suburban tracts lined with versions of the Storybook houses, such as the Hollywoodland subdivision, which featured both the Tudor and Storybook period revival styles. While the epicenter of Storybook construction was southern California, suburban tracts remain in the larger California cities.

Given their passion for the arts, Carmelites embraced the style with Hugh Comstock leading a group of local architects to conduct their own version of the Storybook house. Prolific Carmel architect Robert Stanton designed his office on Monte Verde Street southwest of Ocean Avenue in 1925 in the style. Building designer Frederick Bigland completed his handcrafted Storybook house on Mountain View Avenue in 1926.

Left: Robert Stanton Office on Monte Verde Street SW of Ocean Avenue. Right: Frederick Bigland House (1926) on Mountain View Avenue 2 SE of Santa Fe Street (*Source: PAST Consultants, LLC, 2024*).

Like major cities throughout California, Carmel embraced the Spanish Eclectic style following the 1915 Panama California Exhibition at San Diego's Balboa Park. New York architect Bertrand

[118] Gellner, Arnold and Douglas Keister, *Storybook Style*, 2001, 22 &24.

Goodhue was chosen as y architect and his integrated design for the exhibition's buildings established the Spanish Eclectic style as a modern and expressive style, and as a rejection of the formal Neoclassical style seen in American architecture of the early 1900s. The style was appropriate for California, a place of similar Mediterranean climate as Spain and a location that romanticized its Spanish and Mission roots. Following his travels to Mexico, Cuba and Panama, Goodhue developed a passion for Spanish Eclectic architecture. His designs at Balboa Park reflect his study of churches and civic buildings in these locations, as well as the Missions of California.[119]

1915 postcard from the Panama-California Exhibition in San Diego (*Courtesy: San Diego History Center*).[120]

The exhibition's influence fostered a wealth of designs in the Spanish Eclectic idiom, particularly in San Diego, Los Angeles and San Francisco. Soon the style would migrate to Carmel, with a stop in Santa Barbara and Pebble Beach along the way. In 1915, when Samuel Finley Brown (SFB) Morse became manager for the Del Monte Properties Company (DMPC - the forerunner of the Pebble Beach Company), he envisioned grand plans for making Pebble Beach attractive to affluent buyers by developing the area into a world-class residential golf community. Morse envisioned a controlled development of Pebble Beach residences in a signature style that was evocative of early California – the Spanish Eclectic style.[121] By 1925, design controls and draft restrictions were created as part of the sale of new lots, stipulating that construction would be in the Mediterranean Revival style. DMPC Council meeting minutes from January 17, 1925 described the controls:

> After some discussion of the Council, it was the consensus that the original draft, which specified that architecture must comply to the "Mediterranean type," as found in Spain, Italy and Southern France should be modified to provide that the architecture employed should be the types found in early California, Spain, Italy, Southern France or Mexico.

The Del Monte Properties Company hired leading architects such as Clarence Tantau, Lewis Hobart and Will H. Toepke, to prepare Spanish Eclectic house designs for new construction in the

[119] Amero, Richard W., "The Making of the Panama-California Exhibition: 1909 – 1915," *The Journal of San Diego History,* San Diego County Historical Society Quarterly, Volume 36, No. 1, Winter 1990.
[120] San Diego's Panama-California Exhibition: 1915-1916, GM220 Eno & Matteson Post Card. San Diego History Center: https://sandiegohistory.org/collection/photographs/list220/. Accessed August 29, 2024.
[121] Morse preferred the term Mediterranean Revival.

vicinity of the Pebble Beach Golf Links and the next developments around completed golf courses like the Monterey Peninsula Country Club.[122] A number of these architects would also design homes in Carmel in the 1920s and 1930s.

This development of the Spanish Eclectic style was occurring throughout California by the 1920s, with subdivisions constructed in the suburbs of Los Angeles and San Francisco. Following the disastrous Santa Barbara Earthquake of 1925, the city adopted similar architectural controls with many buildings designed by noteworthy architect George Washington Smith. The style also became embraced as emblematic of California by leading architectural journals, such as the *Architect and Engineer* and the *Pacific Coast Architect*. Writing for the *Architect & Engineer* in 1925, critic Irving Morrow described the romance of Spanish-inspired architecture:

> A Spanish influence has pervaded the architecture of California from the beginning. The country's first building was, indeed, definitely Spanish in inspiration and derivation; yet the psychological influences of pioneering and its physical necessities imposed on the art express an individual distinction. It was Spanish architecture, but it was not the architecture of Spain. Whatever its source, it had become one with California.[123]

Carmel embraced the style as well, constructing numerous commercial Spanish Eclectic-style buildings in the Ocean Avenue commercial corridor (see discussion of commercial properties in next section). Numerous houses embracing the style dotted the village throughout the 1920s.

Left: Robert A. Norton House (1928) on Monte Verde Street 5 NW of 4th Avenue. Right: Pearl Dawson House (1931) on Lincoln Street 3 SE of 10th Avenue (*Source: PAST Consultants, LLC, 2024).*

Carmel architects and builders also embraced the Monterey Colonial style for both residential and commercial design. A Monterey-regional style derived from eastern colonial roots combined with elements from California Missions and the Spanish-era adobes, the foundation for the Monterey Colonial style is the National Register-listed Larkin House (1834) on Calle Principal in Monterey.

[122] Page and Turnbull, Inc. *Pebble Beach Historic Context Statement*, 2013, 76-77.
[123] Morrow, Irving F., "The Riviera Revisited," *Architect & Engineer*, Volume 80, No. 2, February 1925. The website usmodernist.org has published every issue of the *Architect & Engineer*, and numerous architectural and design magazines. These periodicals provide a wealth of primary historical information regarding California's architectural development.

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1959 HABS photograph of the Larkin House (1834) in Monterey (*Source: Robert Johnson, Historic American Building Survey, 1959, Library of Congress*) [124]

The house features a two-story "Colonial Plan," which consists of public rooms downstairs and bedrooms upstairs. A shallow pitched hip roof shelters a continuous veranda on the upper floor, supported by squared columns and a simple balustrade. Multi-paned, double-hung wood sash windows are set within the stucco wall. Variants of this style would be constructed in Monterey and the region.[125] Carmel architects utilized the style in both commercial and residential projects.

Left: The Kluegel House (1922) on Camino Real 4 NE of Ocean (*Source: Kent L. Seavey Archives*). Right: E.H. Cox House (1930) on Scenic 2 NW of 9th Avenue (*Source: Historic Homes and Inns of Carmel-by-the-Sea*, *2016*).

In response to the epidemic of house foreclosures and the halt in new house construction during the Great Depression, the Federal Housing Authority (FHA) passed the National Housing Act of 1934. The legislation created the Federal Housing Administration which provided favorable mortgage terms and competitive interest rates for struggling American homebuyers seeking to purchase new homes; and established standards for new construction that were cost effective. Contractors used the terms of the 1934 National Housing Act to construct standardized and

[124] Historic American Buildings Survey, Creator, Thomas Oliver Larkin, and Robert Johnson. *Larkin House, 464 Calle Principal, Monterey, Monterey County, CA*. Monterey County Monterey California, 1933. Photograph source: https://www.loc.gov/item/ca0394/. Accessed September 1, 2024.
[125] Seavey, Kent L., and Richard Janick, *Architecture of the Monterey Peninsula*, 10.

simplified homes that were affordable to prospective homeowners and development companies. This stimulated both the economy and the construction of entire neighborhoods of new homes in the Minimal Traditional Style.

Leading periodicals, such as the *Architectural Record* and *Life Magazine*, responded to the housing crisis by sponsoring competitions to design the affordable home. Carmel's architects such as Hugh Comstock, Edwin Lewis Snyder, Robert Stanton and Julia Morgan experimented in the style, with several examples listed on the Carmel Inventory. Robert Stanton designed one of the first of the "modern" cottages, dubbed the "Honeymoon Cottage."

Two images of Robert Stanton's "Honeymoon Cottage" known as the Norman Reynolds House (1937) on the northwest corner of Dolores Street and 11th Avenue. Left: Dolores St. elevation. Right: 11th Ave. elevation (*Source: PAST Consultants, LLC, 2024*).

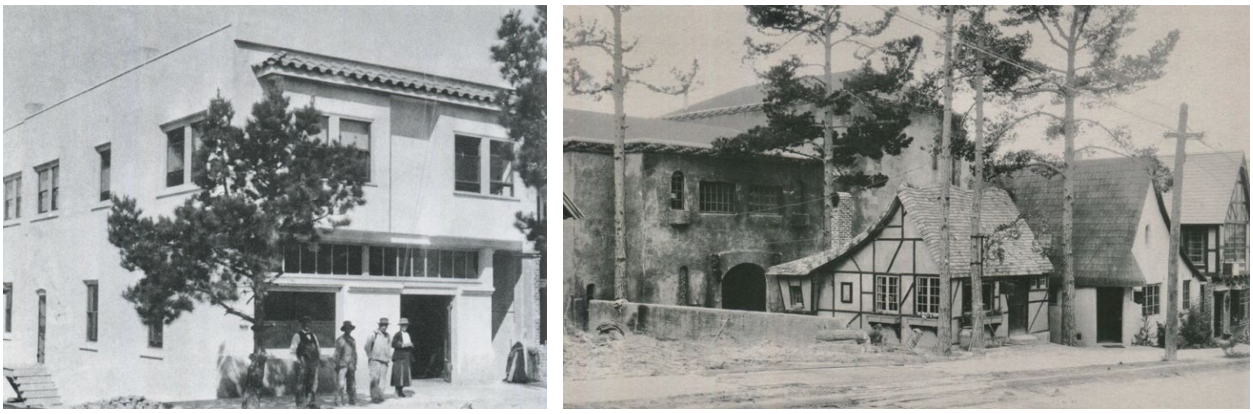
Built nationwide in great numbers before World War II up until circa-1950, in Carmel these houses are commonly wood-framed and wood-clad, with a brick or Carmel stone chimney. While the style is generally found scattered within the village, a loose concentration of homes is constructed on the north side and in the Carmel Woods tract. Houses built in this style generally reflect traditional forms but lack decorative detailing or enrichment. Roof pitches tend to be low or intermediate rather than steep, and eaves are narrow rather than overhanging.

In 1934, Hugh Comstock designed the Unit House (pictured on the next page) using standardized materials from regional member firms that included the latest heating technology, hardwood floors, standardized doors, windows and hardware. The house contained a special seam within the walls that would allow an entire portion (or unit) of the structure to be moved around the site. Since these building masses were standardized, additions could be easily constructed. With his Unit House, Comstock used modern standardized building components to create the affordable home.

Left: Unit House (1934) on Torres Street, 9 SW of Mountain View Ave. Right: Alta R. Jensen House (1940s) at Torres St. 5 NE of 8th Ave. (*Source: PAST Consultants, LLC, 2024*).

Commercial Properties

In the downtown, major buildings were constructed at the corners of Ocean Avenue and Mission, San Carlos, Dolores and Lincoln streets. The early homes facing Ocean Avenue and the remaining open lots were developed with buildings primarily constructed in Period Revival styles. This competition of styles continued throughout the 1920s and renewed itself following the Great Depression in the 1930s. The greatest number of buildings built within the Downtown Conservation District were constructed in the Tudor Revival and Spanish Eclectic styles, with several notable additions in the Storybook style. The buildings completed during this time period provide the historic feeling of time and place that is evocative of old Europe.



Left: Circa 1920s image of the Spanish-decorated T.A. Oakes Building (1922) on Dolores St. 4 NW of 7th Ave. (*Source: Carmel: A History of Architecture, 2007*). Right: Circa-1920s image of the Tudor Revival-style Court of the Golden Bough (1922-25) (*Source: Carmel-by-the-Sea Past & Present, 2022*).

One of the earliest buildings constructed downtown was the Thomas A. Oakes Building on Dolores Street, completed in 1922 (altered in 1997), built by Santa Cruz builder Thomas A. Oakes. The building, which contained the Post Office, City Hall, the Council Chambers and the Police Department into the 1930s.[126] Dolores Street between Ocean and 7th was completed largely in the

[126] Seavey, Kent L., *T.A. Oakes Building* (DPR523 Building, Structure and Object Record), 2002.

Spanish Revival style, whereas Ocean Avenue between Dolores and Monte Verde reflects the Tudor Revival style.

Left: Circa-1928 image of the south side of Ocean Avenue looking southeast, with the Tudor Revival Dr. Amelia Gates Building (1928) anchoring the southeast corner of Ocean Ave. and Monte Verde Street (*Source: Carmel-by-the-Sea Past & Present, 2022*). Right: Circa-1930s image looking north from 7th Avenue at the La Giralda Building (1927 – left) and the El Paseo Building (1928 – right) anchoring the corners. This block contains the greatest concentration of extant commercial buildings. The west side of the street also contains the Monterey County Trust and Savings Bank (1930) (now the China Arts Center), followed by the T.A. Oakes Building (1922), which housed City services (*Source: Carmel-by-the-Sea Past & Present, 2022*).

On the east side of Dolores Street between Ocean and 7th Avenues, M.J. Murphy contributed the Tudor Revival De Yoe Building (1922) and the Carmel Stone-clad W.C. Farley Building in 1927. Hugh Comstock designed his famous Tuck Box (1926). Also in 1926, Carmel designer/builder Earl "Percy" Parkes designed the Storybook-style Mary Dummage Shop on the west side of Dolores Street and Vining's Meat Market (the Percy Parkes Building) on the east side.

De Yoe Building (1922) on Dolores Street 3 NE of 7th, with the Tuck Box (1926)(originally, Sallys) and the Lemos Building adjacent at Dolores 2 NE of 7th. (*Source: PAST Consultants, LLC, 2024*).

In 1925, designer Albert B. Coats and builder Earl Percy Parkes utilized the locally made concrete block, "Thermotite," to construct the Seven Arts Building at the southwest corner of Ocean Avenue and Lincoln Street.[127]

[127] Seavey, Kent L., *Seven Arts Building* (DPR523 Building, Structure and Object Record), 2003.

Left: Percy Parkes's Thermotite-walled Seven Arts Building (1925), shortly after construction, at the southwest corner of Ocean Ave. and Lincoln Street. Right: Current image of the Seven Arts Building (presently, Carmel Bay Company and Carmel Valley Coffee Roasting) (*Source: PAST Consultants, LLC, 2024*).

Early Carmel modernism, both in exterior design and use of materials, arrived downtown with Swartz & Ryland's Art Deco Bank of Carmel. The blocky concrete-framed building originally featured a recessed entrance containing steel windows and glass blocks. Ryland commissioned Carmel artist Paul Whitman to design bas relief carvings depicting Junipero Serra.[128]

Left: The Art Deco Bank of Carmel (1938), on the northeast corner of Ocean Avenue and Dolores Street (*Source: Carmel: A History of Architecture, 2007*). Right: Current image (*Source: PAST Consultants, LLC, 2024*).

With the increase in tourism during the prosperous 1920s, Carmel added a significant number of hotels to its building stock. One of the most iconic is the La Playa Hotel (1905 – 1945), originally the residence of artist Chris Jorgensen, featuring a stone-clad corner tower constructed by Carmel mason Benjamin Turner. In 1915, owner Agnes Signor converted it to a boarding house, and later enlarged it into a 20-room hotel by 1922. After fire destroyed most of the building, M.J. Murphy was tasked with its reconstruction. Additions by Carmel architect Jon Konigshofer expanded the hotel considerably in the 1940s.[129]

[128] Seavey, Kent L., *Bank of Carmel* (DPR523 Building, Structure and Object Record), 2002.
[129] Seavey, Kent L., *La Playa Hotel* (DPR523 Building, Structure and Object Record), 2002.

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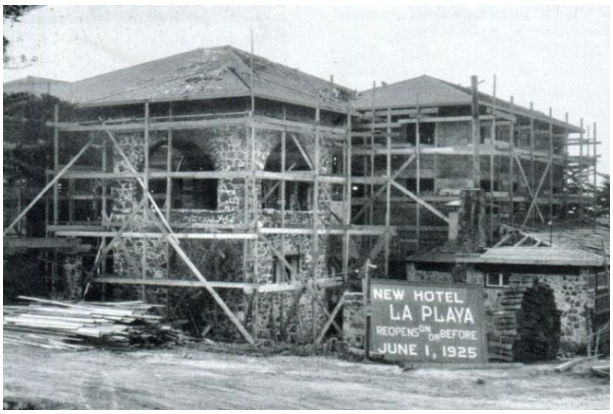


Left: M.J. Murphy's restoration of the La Playa Hotel in 1925 (*Source: Pat Hathaway Collection, Monterey County Historical Society*). Right: Current image of the La Playa Hotel (*Source: PAST Consultants, LLC, 2024*).

Other major hotels include the Spanish Eclectic-style La Ribera Hotel (1929 - now the Cypress Inn) by Oakland architects Blaine and Olson at the northeast corner of Lincoln Street and 7th Avenue; and the Normandy Inn, a complex of buildings on Ocean Avenue and Casanova Street with Tudor Revival- style additions by Robert Stanton in the 1930s.

Left: Cypress Inn (1929) at the northeast corner of Lincoln St. and 7th Ave, view of 7th Street elevation prior to second-story addition by Gardner Dailey at the southwest corner of the building, shown in current image at right. (*Source: PAST Consultants, LLC, 2024*).

Civic and Institutional Properties

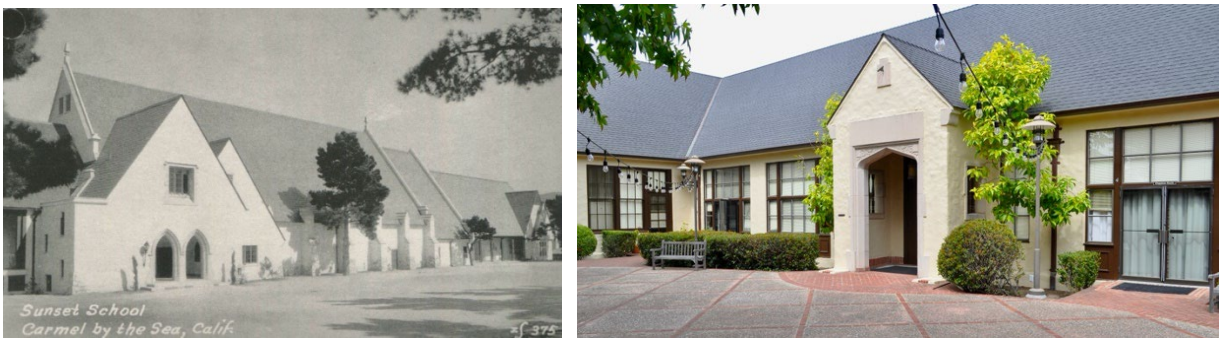
In 1936, Carmel architect Milton Latham designed and constructed the Carmel Fire Station on the south side of 6th Avenue between Mission and San Carlos streets. The building used Depression-era funds from the Works Progress Administration (WPA) to finance construction. M.J. Murphy assisted WPA building supervisor Bernard Rountree on the project.[130]

[130] Seavey, Kent L., *Carmel Fire Station* (DPR523 Building, Structure and Object Record), 2002.

Left: Carmel officials and firemen proudly pose in front of the 1936 Carmel Fire Station (*Source: Carmel: A History of Architecture, 2007*). Right: Current image (*Source: PAST Consultants, LLC, 2024*).

In response to the growing City population and the need for permanent classroom buildings, the Sunset School was constructed on two city blocks bounded by Mission Street & San Carlos Street and 8th & 10th Avenues. The original Tudor Revival style building (1925) was designed by Oakland architect John J. Donovan, who placed the rambling building with two projecting gable ends facing the north end of the site. In 1929, M.J. Murphy designed and constructed primary classroom additions as separate structures expressed as Carmel cottages, placing them on the southern side of the property (extant). The *Carmel Pine Cone* presented Murphy's design on the front page of the December 27, 1929 issue, noting "At the south end of the grounds, separated from the older children, will be two primary rooms… The so called "cottage type" will be used."[131]

Carmel architect C.J. Ryland added an auditorium annex in a dramatic Tudor Revival style in 1931. The City of Carmel-by-the-sea purchased the building in 1965; it was placed on the National Register in 1998. Architectural Resources Group designed extensive additions and renovations to the complex, which became the Sunset Center, Carmel's premier location for concerts and events, including the Carmel Bach Festival.[132]



Left: Sunset School photographed shortly after the 1931 C.J. Ryland addition (*Source: Carmel-by-the-Sea Past & Present, 2022*). Right: Detail of the 1931 Ryland annex incorporated into the Sunset Center (*Source: PAST Consultants, LLC, 2024*)

[131] Seavey, Kent L., *Sunset School Primary Classroom #18* (DPR523 Building, Structure and Object Record), 2003.
[132] Dramov, Alissandra, *Carmel-by-the-Sea: Past and Present*, 2022, 64-65.

Cultural and Religious Properties

The Manzanita Club was the first organized men's club in the village. Taking the name from *Las Manzanitas*, the original land grant on which Carmel is located, the Club was informally formed in 1905 and organized in 1916, occupying Honore Escolle's horse barn at the southwest corner of Ocean Avenue and Mission Street. In 1925, the club hired Carmel architect Guy O. Koepp and builder M.J. Murphy to design a new clubhouse in the Spanish Eclectic style, containing a large clubroom, dressing rooms and a kitchen. The building was expanded in 1931 by Koepp and Murphy and became the village's leading social center. The Manzanita Club hosted the first meeting of the American Legion in 1934. The building is now American Legion Post 512.[133]

In 1927, M.J. Murphy joined forces with another significant architect – Bernard Maybeck – to design the Harrison Memorial Library on Ocean Avenue. The pair were consulted after the Board of Trustees could not decide among the original nine applicants, noting "It was agreed that the Spanish-type building met with the most favor." [134]

Left: American Legion Post 512 (1926), on Dolores Street 2 SE of 8th Avenue. Right: Harrison Memorial Library (1927) at the northeast corner of Ocean Avenue and Lincoln Street (*Source: PAST Consultants, LLC, 2024*).

Ongoing Restoration of the Carmel Mission

Restoration of the Carmel Mission continued in earnest. On October 21, 1921, a cornerstone commemorating the year was laid in the exterior wall by Manuel Onesimo, a Native American descendent of Juan Onesimo who helped build the original building.

[133] Seavey, Kent L., *American Legion Post 512* (DPR523 Building, Structure and Object Record), 2002. A history of the Manzanita Club and its earlier members is provided in this document.
[134] Seavey, Kent L., *Harrison Memorial Library* (DPR523 Building, Structure and Object Record), 2002, notes that in 1926 the Board of Trustees evaluated designs by the following applicants: Hugh Comstock, M.J. Murphy, Percy Parkes, Robert Stanton, Clay Otto, Calvin Bates, W.A. Becket, W. Hastings and A. Natovic. After rejecting all designs, the Board concluded that "it was agreed that the Spanish-type building met with the most favor." Maybeck provided the schematic design; and Murphy executed the plans and specifications.

Manuel Onesimo, and his son, Alejandro, lay the ceremonial cornerstone at the Carmel Mission on October 21, 1921 (*Courtesy: Missions of Monterey, 2012*).

Work began on both the Mission building and surrounding support structures under the leadership of Father Mestres, who hired Carmel sculptor Jo Mora to design the sarcophagus for Father Junipero Serra's remains. Mora completed the work and the sculpture was unveiled on October 12, 1924. The Mora sarcophagus was placed inside the adobe building southeast of the mission. The restored structure was renamed the Mora Chapel.[135]

Left: Jo Mora standing before his completed Serra sarcophagus (*Courtesy: Pat Hathaway Collection, Monterey County Historical Society*). Right, the Mora Chapel in the foreground was completed in 1924. Note the progress on the new structural framing of the Mission roof (*Courtesy: Missions of Monterey, 2012*).

In 1931, San Francisco cabinetmaker Harry Downie (1903-1980) was recruited by Monsignor Philip Scherer, pastor of the Catholic Church of Monterey, to restore statues in the Carmel Mission. The work would become a lifetime passion for Downie, who worked on the restoration of the Mission and surrounding adobe buildings for the remainder of his life. Over the decades he acquired the skills and techniques of the original mission builders to complete an accurate restoration of the Mission and surrounding buildings, including the manufacture of adobe bricks on-site. Downie trained in old world building techniques and became skilled with the hand tools

[135] Bellezza, Robert A., *Missions of Monterey,* 2012, 24-27.

used to prepare timber. He understood the importance of authenticity in restoration, stating "In restoration you start with what you find and continue the same way… You have to do it the way it was done, putting in all the crooked walls and inaccuracies."[136]

The United States government became involved in the Mission's restoration in 1936, when the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) was tasked to reframe the roof to correct it to its original pitch and to provide the structural support for the installation of clay barrel tiles made on-site. Led by indefatigable Harry Downie, restoration would continue into the coming decades.[137]

Left: Harry Downie with an adze. Right: 1936 image of the CCC crew installing the structural framing for the Mission's roof (*Sources: Missions of Monterey, 2012*).

In 1940, architect Robert Stanton designed the Methodist Church of the Wayfarer, on the northwest corner of Lincoln Street and 7th Avenue, replacing the 1905 Methodist Spanish Eclectic-style church designed by M.J. Murphy. The design included a prominent street-facing gable end with corner tower and supported by dramatic buttresses.

[136] Quote taken from Temple, Sydney, *The Carmel Mission*, 1980, 133.
[137] Bellezza, Robert A., *Missions of Monterey,* 2012, 25;

Robert Stanton's Church of the Wayfarer, on the southwest corner of Lincoln St. and 7th Ave. (*Source: PAST Consultants, LLC, 2024*)

Parks and Open Space

Devendorf Park was added during this time period. The one-square block park at the northwest corner of Ocean Ave. and Junipero St. (Block 69) became a free addition to 1922 Devendorf holdings sold to the City that included the dunes parcel at the foot of Ocean Avenue. In 1922 upon learning that a hotel would be constructed on the Carmel Beach sand dunes, a group of Carmelites, led by playwright Perry Newberry, organized the Committee of 40 to protect the open space. The group renamed themselves the "Save the Dunes Committee" and persuaded James F. Devendorf to offer the land, along with the open space on Block 69, to the city. The land transfer was completed in 1922; the park was christened with the aid of councilwoman Clara Kellog in 1930 as Devendorf Park.[138]

[138] Seavey, Kent L., *Devendorf Park* (DPR523 Building, Structure and Object Record), 2002.

Architects and Builders

Carmel property owners, developers and city officials attracted numerous architects from the San Francisco Bay Area and Los Angeles during this period of substantial growth. Local Carmel designers/builders M.J. Murphy and Hugh Comstock constructed homes and commercial buildings, such as the De Yoe Building, the Murphy Office, and Hugh Comstock's famous Storybook cottages and Tuck Box. Builder Lee Gottfried constructed the buildings at the Court of the Golden Bough; and Earl Percy Parkes constructed the Marry Dummage Shop and Vining's Meat Market (now the Percy Parkes Building). Women contributed significant additions to the village, including Dr. Amelia Gates (Amelia Gates Building). The following table lists architects and builders for some of the major downtown buildings added during this time period. All buildings are within the Downtown Conservation District.[139]

Building	Date	Architect/Builder
Court of the Golden Bough	1922-1925	Edward Kuster/Lee Gottfried
Seven Arts Building	1925	Albert Coates/Percy Parkes
De Yoe Building	1925	M.J. Murphy Designer & Builder
Tuck Box	1926	Hugh Comstock Designer & Builder
Kocher Building	1927	Blaine and Olson, Designer
El Paseo Building	1927	Blaine and Olson/C.H. Lawrence
Harrison Memorial Library	1927	Bernard Maybeck/M.J. Murphy
Amelia Gates Building	1928	Dr. Amelia Gates/Fred McCrary
Mary Dummage Shop	1928	Percy Parkes Designer & Builder
La Ribera Hotel	1929	Blaine and Olson/Meese & Briggs
Draper Leidig Building	1929	Blaine and Olson/C.H. Lawrence
Las Tiendas Building	1930	C.J. Ryland/M.J. Murphy
Reardon Building (Carmel Dairy)	1932	Guy Koepp/A.C. Stoney
Doud Building	1932	M.J. Murphy Designer & Builder
Goold Building	1935	Guy Koepp/M.J. Murphy

[139] The Appendices contain biographies of Carmel architects and builders. Consult the DPR523 forms of the Carmel Inventory for building histories and additional architect biographies.

Village in a Forest (1922 – 1945): Associated Property Types and Registration Requirements

SPANISH ECLECTIC STYLE (1922-1986)

El Paseo (1928), NE corner of Dolores and 7th

Robert A. Norton House (1928), Monte Verde 5 NW of 4th

Draper Leidig Building (1928), Dolores St. 2 SE from Ocean

Las Tiendas Building (1930), south side of Ocean between San Carlos and Dolores

Pearl Dawson House (1931) Lincoln 3 SE of 10th

Reardon Building (Carmel Dairy) (1932), west side of Mission between Ocean and 6th

Introduction

Spanish Eclectic buildings are wood-framed and stucco-clad, with asymmetrical rectangular or L-shaped plans. Roofs typically are gable or flat with no overhangs; flat-roofed examples have parapets finished with clay-barrel tiles, with the tiles also used as decorative elements at entrances. Rooflines and upper stories may step back to reveal upper-floor balconies. Corner towers may be present, particularly on commercial examples. Upper floors contain wood-framed balconies with Monterey Colonial-style wood columns and details. Building walls are frequently punctuated with arches. Chimneys are finished with stucco, sometimes with arched tops and containing decorative tiles. Residential examples frequently have gable-on-wing massing with an entrance containing a decorative stucco arch. Ornamentation includes wrought ironwork for balconies or window coverings, and clay pipe attic vents and glazed ceramic tile placed on building walls. Fenestration consists of multi-pane wood or steel casement, or single/double-hung wood sash deeply set within the building wall. Cladding is stucco in flat or various textured finishes.

Character Defining Features

- Rectangular or L-shaped plan
- Gable-on-wing massing is common on houses
- Gable or flat roofs and parapets finished with clay-barrel tiles
- Projecting balconies, sometimes with Monterey Colonial-style columns and details, such as band sawn rails
- Stucco-clad chimneys, frequently with arched tops
- Ornamentation consisting of glazed tile or clay pipe attic vents in building walls or on chimneys.
- Wrought iron decoration at balconies, building vents or window grilles
- Multi-pane wood or steel casement windows; or multi-pane wood windows or single/double-hung wood sash. Windows are set deep within the building walls.
- Minimal exterior decoration

Representative Buildings

- El Paseo Building (1928)
- Robert A. Norton House (1928)
- Draper Leidig Building (1928)
- Las Tiendas Building (1930)
- Pearl Dawson House (1931)
- Reardon Building (1932)

TUDOR REVIVAL STYLE (1922-1986)

Seven Arts Shop (1923), Ocean Ave. between Lincoln and Monte Verde streets

De Yoe Building (1924), east side of Dolores St. between Ocean and 7th

Normandy Inn (1925), Ocean Avenue between Casanova and Monte Verde

Ross E. Bonham House (1926), SW corner San Carlos and 12th

Yellow Bird (1928), 6th Avenue 2 SW of Santa Rita

Fables (1928), Santa Rita 2 NW of Ocean

Introduction

Tudor Revival buildings have rectangular or L-shaped plans, with asymmetrical massing. They have steeply pitched gable or hip roofs, often with prominent street-facing gable, nested gables or projecting side gables. Round corner towers or arched windows placed in gable ends may be present. Rooflines may be curved and have rolled eaves. Roof dormers with multi-pane windows are common. Prominent masonry (Carmel-stone, textured stone or brick) or stucco-clad chimneys are common. Houses frequently contain arched entries and entry porches with curved roofs. Ornamentation consists of false half-timbering on building walls or gable ends. Fenestration consists of multi- or diamond-pane wood casement, or single/double-hung wood sash. Bay windows are common. Cladding consists of smooth or textured stucco.

Character Defining Features

- Single- or two-story rectangular or L-shaped plans
- Complex roof massing, with prominent street-facing gables or cross gables
- Roof dormers and gable ends with arched windows or vents are common
- Rooflines with minimal overhangs
- May feature curved rooflines extended to shelter an entrance porch
- Prominent stone- or stucco-clad chimneys
- May feature turrets as an entry porch or for decorative effect.
- May contain a prominent arched entry porch
- Ornamentation consisting of false half timbering in walls
- Arched window and door openings
- Single- or double-hung wood sash or wood casement windows in multi- or diamond-pane configurations
- Smooth or textured stucco wall cladding

Representative Buildings

- Seven Arts Shop (1923)
- De Yoe Building (1924)
- Normandy Inn (1925)
- Ross E. Bonham House (1926)
- W.O. Swain Cottage No. 1 – Yellow Bird (1928)
- W.O. Swain Cottage No. 4 – Fables (1928)

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STORYBOOK STYLE (1922-1986)

Hansel (1925), Torres 4 SE of 5th

Hugh Comstock House (1925), northeast corner Torres and 6th

Mary Dummage Shop (1926), west side of Dolores between Ocean and 7th

Tuck Box (1926), Dolores 2 NE of 7th

Marchen Haus (1926), NE corner Dolores and 10th

Grant Wallace Cottage (1927), southeast corner of Torres and 6th

Introduction

A subset of the Tudor Revival style, Storybook buildings have rectangular or gable-on-wing plans, with asymmetrical massing. Building proportions are small, evoking a quality of fantasy. Examples have steeply pitched, curved and undulating gable roofs, with prominent street-facing or nested gable ends. Rooflines have moderate overhangs and eaves often extend below the wall line. Roofs feature decorative or "Seawave" shingle patterns or rolled eaves intended to imitate thatch. Curved or eyebrow dormers may be present. Examples frequently have prominent irregular masonry (Carmel stone or rough-coursed stone) chimneys. Arched entrance porches are frequent often with a two-part or "Dutch" door. Ornamentation consists of false half-timbering on building walls and rough-cut stone or clinker brick "growing up" building walls or at corners, to give the building a crumbling, Medieval appearance. Wall cladding consists of smooth or textured stucco.

Character Defining Features

- Single-story, rectangular or gable-on-wing plan
- Asymmetrical massing
- Small building proportions
- Steeply pitched, undulating and curved roofs
- Roofs finished with wood shingles and/or rolled eaves to emulate thatch
- Roofs may be finished with "Seawave" or wavy shingle patterns
- Roofs may contain eyebrow or curved dormers
- Curved or irregular-shaped masonry chimneys
- Ornamentation consists of false half-timbering on building walls or gable ends
- Walls sometimes feature irregular stone or brick masonry "growing up" building walls or at corners
- Multi-pane wood casement windows; some windows may have diamond panes or arched tops.
- May contain wrought iron as window grilles, gates or lighting fixtures
- Smooth or textured stucco wall cladding.

Representative Buildings

- Hansel (1925) and Gretel (1924)
- Hugh Comstock House (1925)
- Mary Dummage Shop (1926)
- Tuck Box (1926)
- Marchen Haus (1926)
- Grant Wallace Cottage (1928)

MONTEREY COLONIAL STYLE (1922-1986)

J. Kluegel House (1922), Camino Real 4 NE of Ocean

Isabel Leidig Building (1925), Dolores 2 SE of Ocean

E.H. Cox House (1930), Scenic 2 NE of 9th

Louis Ralston House (1931), Lincoln 4 NW of Santa Lucia

Goold Building (1935), northeast corner of Ocean and San Carlos

Holmes House (1941), rear elevation, southwest corner of Carmelo and 8th

Introduction

Monterey Colonial buildings have rectangular, symmetrical plans and a two-story building block. Shallow pitched hip or gable roofs are used. The style's hallmark is a second story overhanging balcony created by extending the low-pitched roofline. The upper balcony provides cover for a first-floor veranda. Balconies are supported on square or chamfered columns and have simple railings with square balusters. Square or rectangular brick chimneys are common. Ornamentation is minimal and relies on the ordered composition of the building elevation. Fenestration consists of multi-pane wood casement, or single/double-hung wood sash arranged in symmetrical compositions. The upper floor may feature multi-pane French doors to access the balcony. Cladding consists of smooth or textured stucco in imitation of adobe.

Character Defining Features

- Two-story, rectangular plan
- Low pitched hip or gable roofs with roofline extended to shelter a second-story balcony
- Continuous upper balcony supported on square columns with simple balustrades
- Rectangular brick or stucco-clad chimneys
- Minimal applied ornamentation
- Multi-pane, single- or double-hung wood sash or wood casement windows symmetrically placed in the building wall
- Smooth or textured stucco wall cladding

Representative Buildings

- J. Kluegel House (1922)
- Isabel Leidig Building (1925)
- E.H. Cox House (1930)
- Lewis Ralston House (1931)
- Goold Building (1935)
- C. Fred Holmes House (1941)

MINIMAL TRADITIONAL STYLE (1935-1950)

Unit House (1934), Torres 4 NW of 8th

Adrian W. McEntire House (1939), NW corner of Mission and 11th

Stanley Clay House (1929), Guadalupe 2 NW of 7th

Pope House (1940) by Julia Morgan, 2981 Franciscan Way

Minimal Traditional house (1944), NW corner Guadalupe and 6th

Minimal Traditional house (1944), Santa Fe and 1st

Introduction

To stimulate the faltering housing industry during the Depression, the Federal Housing Administration (FHA) released several publications for the development of inexpensive and easily constructible homes. A typical Minimal Traditional house bears a rectangular or gable-on-wing plan, a simple gable or hipped roofline, sparse ornamentation, a small wood porch on square columns, multi-pane, single- or double-hung wood windows and horizontal-lapped or clapboard wood siding, which gives the building a horizontal emphasis. In Carmel, the style may also feature a well-crafted brick or Carmel stone chimney and may contain exposed knee braces or corner windows in anticipation of the Modern movement. Buildings constructed in this style continue until circa-1950, when the California Ranch style usurped this style for Postwar buildings.

Character Defining Features

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

Representative Buildings

- Unit House (1934)
- Adrian W. McEntire House (1939)
- Stanley Clay House (1939)
- Dr. Emma W. Pope House (1940)
- Alta R. Jensen House (1947)*(not pictured)*
- Henry Turner, Jr. House (1948)*(not pictured)*

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Village in a Forest (1922 – 1945): Registration Requirements

Historic Significance

The following table analyzes the significance of buildings by synthesizing the criteria established by the National Register of Historic Places (NR), the California Register of Historical Resources (CR), and the Carmel-by-the-Sea Municipal Code (CMC).

Ntl / CA Register	Carmel Municipal Code (CMC) §17.32.040	Significance	Analysis for Carmel Inventory of Historic Resources
A/1	1	Events, Patterns Trends	Should support at least one historic theme listed in the historic context statement. These events should be related to building construction in Carmel associated with the growth of the Downtown Conservation District, the further establishment of City services or events in the artistic community.
B/2	2	Persons	Should be associated with significant persons that contributed to the City's economic, cultural, social or developmental history. Significant persons may be associated with the development of City services and institutions, social or cultural organizations, the ongoing artistic and theatrical culture and the increased commercial development of the downtown commercial core. These buildings should be compared to other associated properties occupied by the person(s) to determine which location best represents the person(s) significant achievements.
C/3	3	Architecture, Construction Method	Buildings designed by a significant architect, landscape architect, or a significant builder should be strong examples of a particular architectural style and should possess sufficient historic integrity. Buildings designed by an unrecognized architect/builder but being a good representative of the architectural styles and types listed in this thematic time period are also appropriate, provided they maintain adequate historic integrity. Individual examples, which contribute to diversity in the community, need not have been designed by known architects, designer/builders or contractors. If located, these rare styles and types that contribute to Carmel's unique sense of time and place shall be deemed significant, provided they maintain a high degree of historic integrity.
D/4	4	Information Potential	Confined primarily to archaeological or subsurface resources that contribute to an understanding of historic construction methods, materials, or evidence of prehistoric cultures.

Historic Integrity Considerations

Residential buildings that reflect the Village in a Forest Theme are primarily constructed in the period revival styles: Spanish Eclectic, Tudor Revival and Storybook. Many of these buildings have been altered over time. Additions to these buildings should reflect their original scale, massing and ornamentation, but be differentiated to highlight the historic nature of the original composition. Minimal Traditional-style houses are small and of moderate scale. Substantial building additions will likely impact their historical appearance considerably and prevent historic listing.

The downtown commercial core received the greatest number of substantial buildings during this time period. The Tudor Revival, Spanish Eclectic and Storybook styles created a stucco-clad appearance. Given the age of these buildings, their changes in use and the demands of tourism, first-floor storefronts have been changed often.

For buildings associated with significant events or significant persons, integrity of location, setting, design, feeling and association are more important aspects of historic integrity. For buildings associated with architectural design and/or construction method, overall historic integrity should be stronger, particularly the integrity of design, materials, and workmanship. The following list outlines the Minimum Eligibility Requirements and Additional Integrity Considerations.

Minimum Eligibility Requirements

- Retains sufficient character defining features to represent a given architectural style that dates to the thematic time period.
- Retains original form and roofline.
- Retains the original fenestration (window and doors) pattern, as expressed by the original window/door openings and their framing, surrounds or sills.
- Retains most of its original ornamentation.
- Retains original exterior cladding (or original cladding has been replaced in-kind).
- Alterations to buildings that meet the *Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties* are acceptable.

Additional Integrity Considerations

- For commercial buildings, first-floor storefront replacements are considered acceptable, provided that the character defining features of the upper floor(s) have been maintained.
- For residential buildings, front porch replacements or modifications made that respect the scale, materials and design of the original building are considered acceptable. Porch additions/replacements with modern or incompatible materials are not acceptable.
- Carmel Cottage or Minimal Traditional-style buildings should retain nearly all of their historic features or details. Additions to these buildings are generally not acceptable.
- Buildings that retain their original window sash and doors within the original fenestration openings and pattern have a higher degree of historic integrity.

4.6 POSTWAR DEVELOPMENT (1946 -1965)

Shell Gas Station (1964) by the firm of Walter Burde and Will Shaw (Burde Shaw Associates) on San Carlos and 5th (*Source: Carmel: A History in Architecture*).

The Postwar Development thematic time period describes the considerable population expansion and tourist visitation to the village. The resulting commercial demands placed a strain on the lives of longtime Carmelites and spurred the development of city policy to combat growth, culminating with the Lawrence Livingston Plan adopted in 1957, that reaffirmed the village's residential focus. Carmel also added new buildings for public services: the Post Office, Police Station and Park Branch Library. While most of the lots within the Ocean Avenue commercial core were built out, additions in postwar styles were constructed at several locations. Carmel architectural firms, including Walter Burde and Will Shaw (Burde Shaw Associates) and Robert Jones contributed new buildings and trained a new crop of architects that designed additions in the village. This time period also witnessed the designs of modernist Bay Area and Los Angeles architects, hired to design new residences in the Bay Region Modern style. Postwar growth brought the Carmel Dynamic to its zenith as permanent residents campaigned to prevent major commercial development. The primary events that shaped Carmel's development during this time period are:

- The significant increase of commercial development catering to tourists.
- The reestablishment of the Planning Commission in 1949 and the rejection of the 1957 Livingston Plan.
- Tourism spars with village life in the Carmel Dynamic.
- California Modernism takes hold.
- Residential construction primarily in the Postwar Modern, Bay Region Modern, Organic and California Ranch styles.

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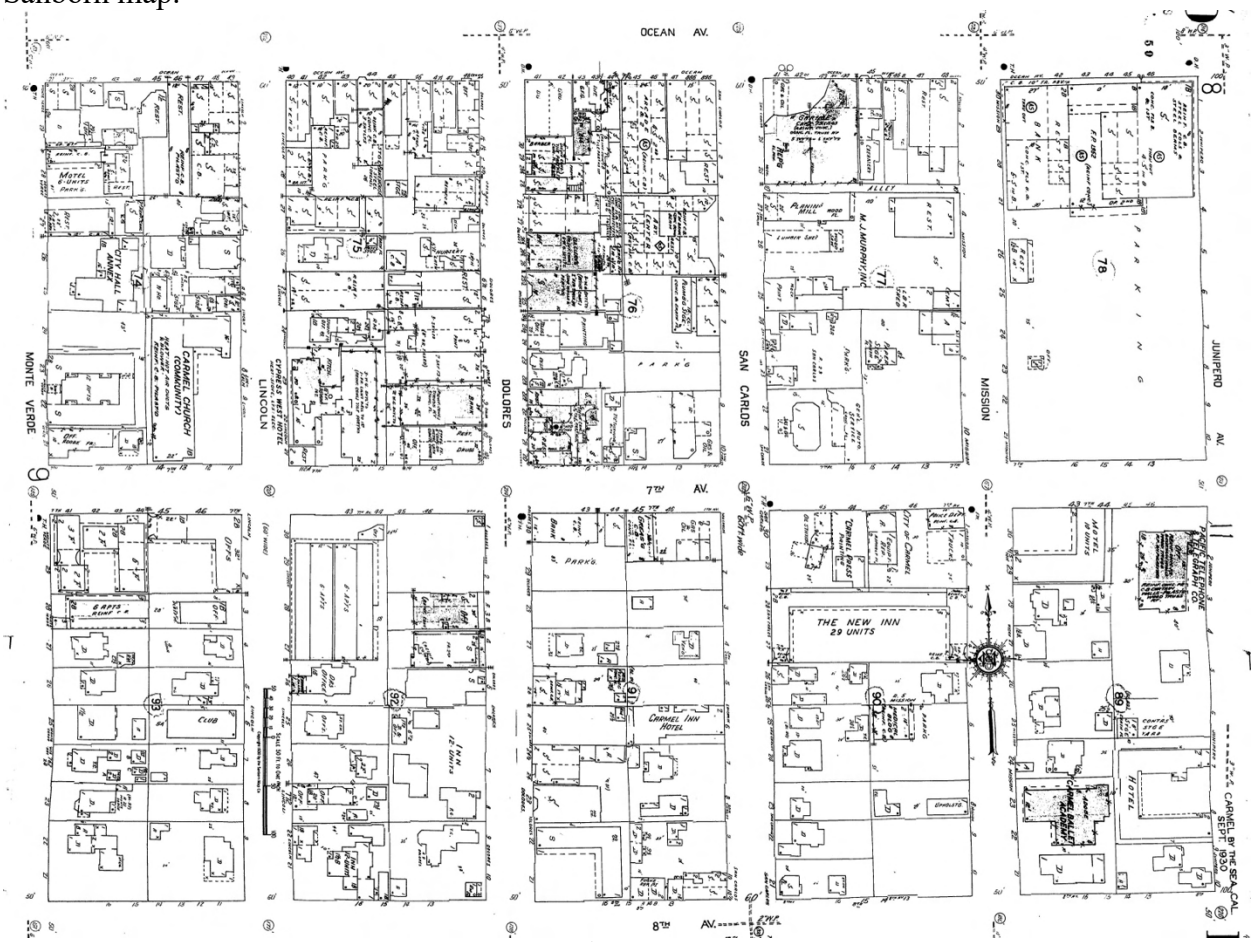
Commercial Development within the Village

The significant residential and commercial growth throughout the United States following World War II also impacted Carmel. By 1955, the resident population grew to 5500 and tourists arrived in huge numbers, delivered by the automobile. The *Carmel Pine Cone* noted:

> … a decidedly commercial city, swollen to a population of an estimated 5,500 within its corporate limits, with more true millionaires than true artists strolling on and driving over its many concrete pavements, with more mansions than little brown cottages, Carmel still likes to think of itself as the unique village it once tried so hard to be.[140]

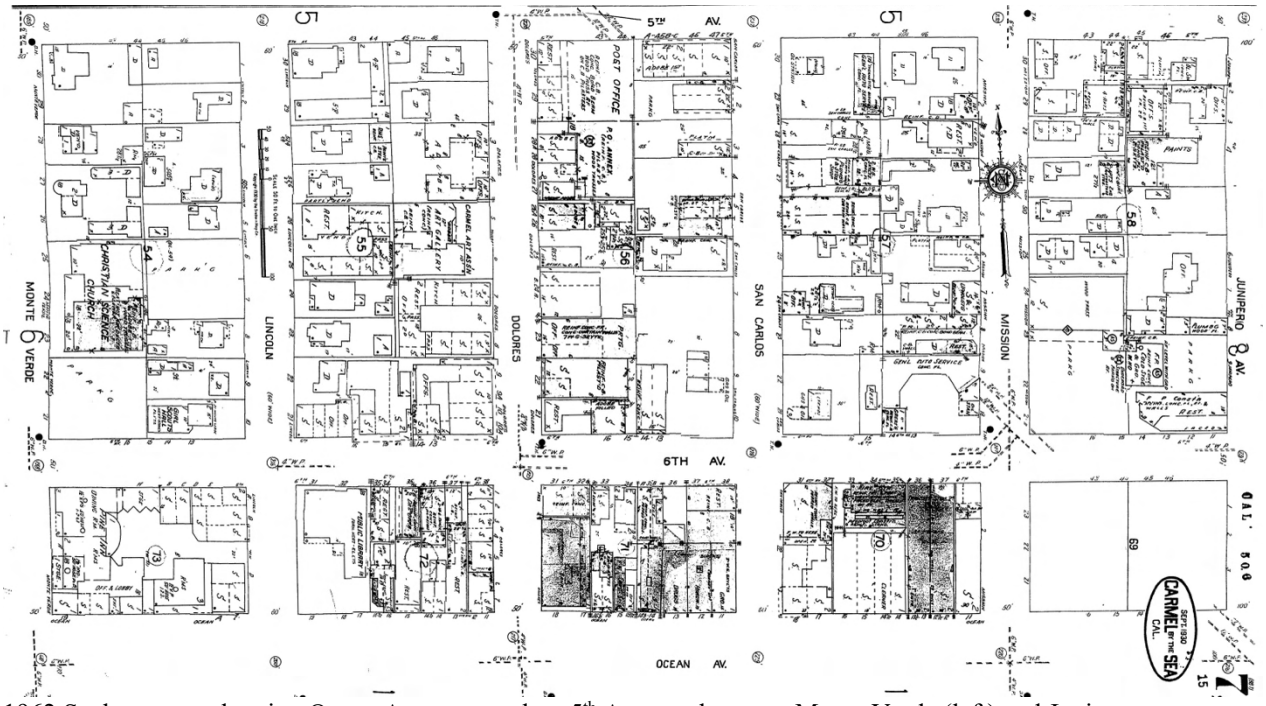
Downtown, the remaining lots containing residences were redeveloped with commercial enterprises. Numerous shops and hotels expanded south to 8th Avenue, as seen on the 1962 Sanborn map.



1962 Sanborn map showing Ocean Avenue, south to 8th Avenue, between Monte Verde (left) and Junipero streets. (*Source: City of Carmel-by-the-Sea*).

The blocks north of Ocean Avenue also show this considerable increase in commercial construction.

[140] "This is Carmel 1955." *Carmel Pine Cone*, 4/15/1955, Center Section, 1.



1962 Sanborn map showing Ocean Avenue, north to 5th Avenue, between Monte Verde (left) and Junipero streets. (*Source: City of Carmel-by-the-Sea*).

In addition to the existing Pine Inn, Cypress Inn and La Playa Hotel, examples of hotels constructed in the expanding commercial core include the Carmel Inn Hotel, San Carlos between 7th and 8th Avenues; The Stonehouse on 8th Avenue 2SW of Monte Verde Street; and the Dolores Lodge on Dolores Street 5S of 7th Avenue. Catering to the nation's fascination with the automobile, numerous motels and automobile courts proliferated in residential areas within the village. Examples include: the Carmel Cottage Court on Carpenter Street and 1st Avenue; the Colonial Terrace Inn on San Antonio Avenue 2S of 12th Avenue; and the Post-Adobe Village Inn on the northeast corner of Junipero Street and Ocean Avenue.[141] By 1955, over 43 hotels and motels were listed in Carmel.[142]

The nature of shopping changed dramatically from the 1920s to the 1950s. Local newspapers, including the *Carmel Pine Cone* noted that tourist-oriented shops, such as art galleries, jewelry stores, souvenir shops and restaurants now dominated the Ocean Avenue commercial zone, versus shops catering to locals (i.e., groceries, hardware stores, barber shops and drug stores). A 1955 survey in the *Pine Cone* lists "33 apparel shops, and 17 arts and crafts establishments that do retail selling and 7 shops selling jewelry, silver and clocks."[143]

City Planning Efforts Respond to the Pressures of Commercialism

In 1946, with the sounds of new construction permeating the village, the City of Carmel established its first Planning Commission. The first members represented both pro- and anti-growth

[141] *Polk's Monterey, Pacific Grove, Carmel City Directory: 1958*. An examination of city directories from 1945 to 1965 indicates the substantial commercial growth in hotels, motels and automobile courts.
[142] "This is Carmel 1955." *Carmel Pine Cone*, 4/15/1955, Center Section, 15.
[143] "This is Carmel 1955." *Carmel Pine Cone*, 4/15/1955, Center Section, 16.

perspectives: designer/builder Hugh Comstock, city trustee Clara Kellogg who was instrumental in the creation of Devendorf Park, and Florence Josselyn, wife of *Saturday Evening Post* writer Talbert Josselyn. The new commission focused on addressing the growing commercial pressure on the village's artistic tradition. Early ordinances from this time include banning billboards, outdoor electric signs and signs or displays overhanging sidewalks. In an effort to prevent out-of-scale commercial construction, building heights were limited to two stories and new hotels and motels were required to provide off-street parking and attractive landscaping.[144]

In 1954, the City hired San Francisco planner Lawrence Livingston, Jr. to create a comprehensive plan that addressed commercialism and the needs of locals. Various suggestions by Livingston included the closing of Ocean Avenue and the conversion of the street to a pedestrian mall. His plan also included the construction of a Civic Center at Ocean Avenue and Junipero Street; and the relocation of State Highway One to pass through the village via Junipero Street. The plan would create an outdoor shopping mall, surrounded by hotels and motels, essentially prioritizing tourism over Carmel's residential character. Carmel author Daisy Bostic wrote with horror in the *Carmel Pine Cone*, stating, "Sometimes I think I must be having a nightmare. … If the plan is carried out to the bitter end there wouldn't be a smidgen of the real Carmel left." Negotiations and revisions to the plans did not satisfy locals, and the Livingston plan was abandoned in December 1957.[145]

Amidst the continuing growth of commercialism, anti-growth Carmelite Gunnar Norberg was elected to the City Council in 1958. The fiery Norberg gained office by promising to end the proliferation of hotels and with his tenure, the anti-growth movement gained steam. His approach was effective, as one of his first decisions was to pass an ordinance requiring all new hotels to provide 1,000 square feet of space for each individual unit. Given Carmel's small lots, this move effectively halted new hotel and motel construction. Another early contribution to both the arts and outdoor space was the creation of the Arts Commission in 1958. The City Council replaced this body with the Community and Cultural Commission in 1967. In an effort to protect Carmel's famous trees, Norberg created the Forestry Commission in 1958 (today, the Forest and Beach Commission), which requires a full-time professional forester to evaluate proposals to remove trees. The Forestry Commission remains today.[146]

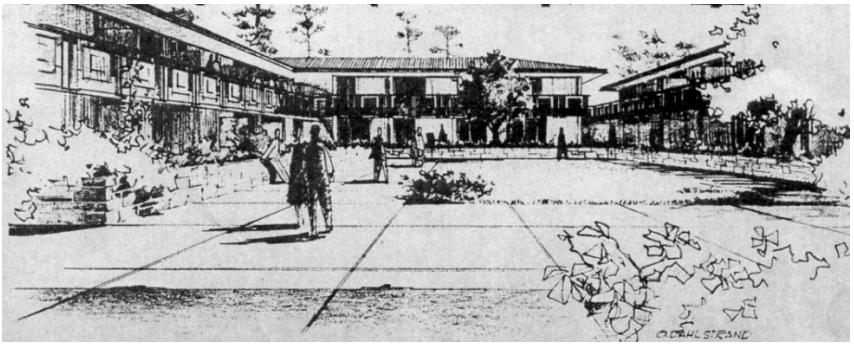
The Carmel Dynamic Gains Intensity

Norberg's tenure further illustrates the continuation of the Carmel Dynamic, as longtime Carmelites strove to hold back the tide of growth. In 1959, they vehemently opposed the construction of the Jade Tree Motel on Junipero Street (today, the Carmel Bay View Inn), which, due to its location on a steep hillside slope, appeared to violate the two-story height limit set for commercial buildings, as the building was constructed on a steep hillside slope. The anti-growth movement lost this battle, but efforts to reduce the scale and scope of Carmel Plaza would prove successful. The most ambitious commercial project in the postwar era was the Carmel Plaza. The original plans for Carmel Plaza included a hotel, underground parking garage for over 400 vehicles

[144] Gilliam, Harold and Ann, *Creating Carmel: The Enduring Vision*, 196.
[145] Temple, Sydney, *Carmel-by-the Sea*, 1987, 198.
[146] Gilliam, Harold and Ann, *Creating Carmel: The Enduring Vision*, 198.

and a gas station. Citizens wrote letters decrying the project, particularly the size, scale and placement of a gas station on the site. The *Carmel Pine Cone* presented both sides of the issue, while other editorials advocated for the development, noting the increased tax revenue and attraction to tourists. By 1959, with the entire scheme known to residents, the wrangling took on a fever pitch. Carmel architect Francis Palms expressed support for the project:

> In viewing Carmel today, it is essential to realize that along with the great creative personalities, young families supported by commercial enterprise came too, and they have kept coming. Their children are growing up. To accept as a fact that Carmel is static, with no attraction, no future for our young citizens, would be tragic. … "The good old days" is, outside a satire or a song, a dangerous place. Carmel is not a retreat. To be sure, it is a beauty spot of the world, a cultural center, but is also a growing city, beckoning to the youth as well as the retired or semi-retired.[147]



Rendering of Carmel Plaza as presented in the *Carmel Pine Cone*

The resulting project, designed by Olof Dahlstrand in a modern example of the Monterey Colonial style, was a compromise between old and new Carmel. The Plaza was constructed without the hotel, underground garage and gas station. Palms teamed with Skidmore Owings and Merrill (SOM) to assist in design. The firm sent Olof Dahlstrand as designer, and Don Goodhue as draftsman to Carmel. After disputes between the firm and the property's owner, Dahlstrand left SOM, opened his architectural office in Carmel and completed the design. Articles in local newspapers announced the opening of the I. Magnin anchor store in 1960.[148]

[147] Francis Palms, Jr., AIA, "In Character with Carmel Tradition, In Pace with Carmel – Tomorrow," *Peninsula Spectator*, 2/20/1959.
[148] "New I. Magnin Store in Carmel," *San Francisco Examiner*, 8/14/1960, 20.

Postwar Development (1946 – 1965): Architectural Development

Residential Properties: Carmel Modernism Takes Hold

Modern architecture arrives to the Carmel built environment in 1929, in the form of the Art Deco Bank of Carmel at the NE corner of Ocean & Dolores, designed by the Fresno architectural firm of Swartz & Ryland. A year earlier, modernism was presented to the community in a photography exhibit by noted local photographer, Edward Weston at the art gallery of Dene Denny and Hazel Watrous, with lectures on the subject by both Richard Neutra and Rudolph Schindler were sponsored by *The Carmelite* Editor, Pauline Schindler.

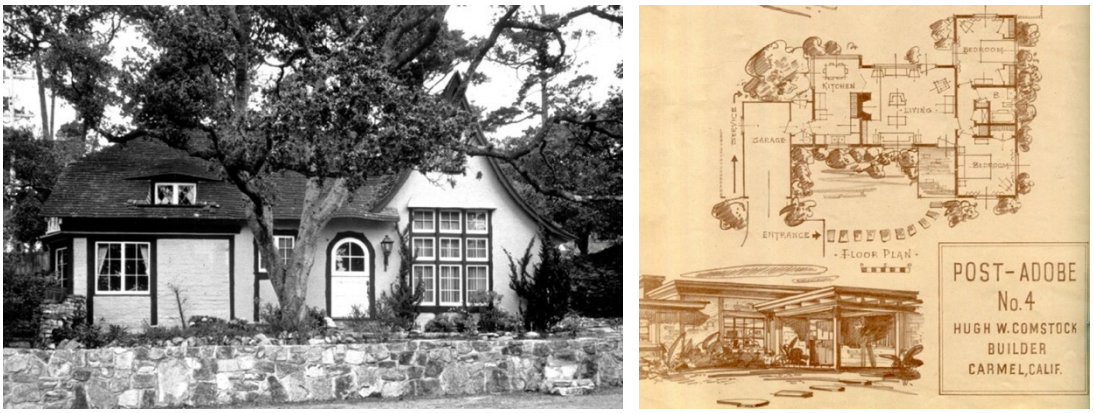
Dene Denny (right) and Hazel Watrous. They designed 30 small houses for local clients. They were also instrumental in creating the Carmel Music Society and the Carmel Bach Festival (*Source: Carmel: A History in Architecture)*[149]

As early as 1933 Bay Area architect William Wurster designed the E. C. Converse House on the west side of Santa Rita Street between Ocean and Mountain View avenues. The home reflected a gentler residential modernism, with clean, simple lines, but highly practical, with a split-level interior plan that became a trademark of Wurster's later work. This early representation of the Bay Region Modern style was brought down to Carmel by Wurster as he pioneered the Second Bay Region style, which combined the spatial and structural theories of the Modern style with California traditions of local materials, integration with nature, and indoor/outdoor living. This house represents the synthesis of earlier California (and Carmel) vernacular designs of one- and two-story gable-roofed structures with vertical board-and-batten siding, into sheer horizontal solid wall areas punctuated by asymmetrical window placement. The architect set his Second Bay Region stylistic elements within the Carmel landscape and hired landscape architect Thomas Church to achieve his vision. The property earned Wurster an AIA Honor Award in 1935.[150]

In the mid-1930s, Hugh Comstock began developing a local variant of what would become the Ranch Style of California architecture, by employing a post and beam structural system to support waterproof adobe bricks. In the early 1940s he applied his "Post-Adobe" method of construction

[149] Seavey, Kent L., *Carmel: A History in Architecture*, 109.
[150] Janick, Richard N., *E.C. Converse House* (DPR523 Building, Structure and Object Record), 1996.

in an addition to his Storybook home on the NE corner of Torres Street and 6th Avenue.[151] By 1948, Hugh Comstock had perfected his concept of using a wall framing system consisting of Redwood posts supporting a wall composed of adobe bricks. He published *Post-Adobe*, an educational manual describing the process, offering construction tips and providing architectural plans for homebuyers and contractors to construct houses for themselves.



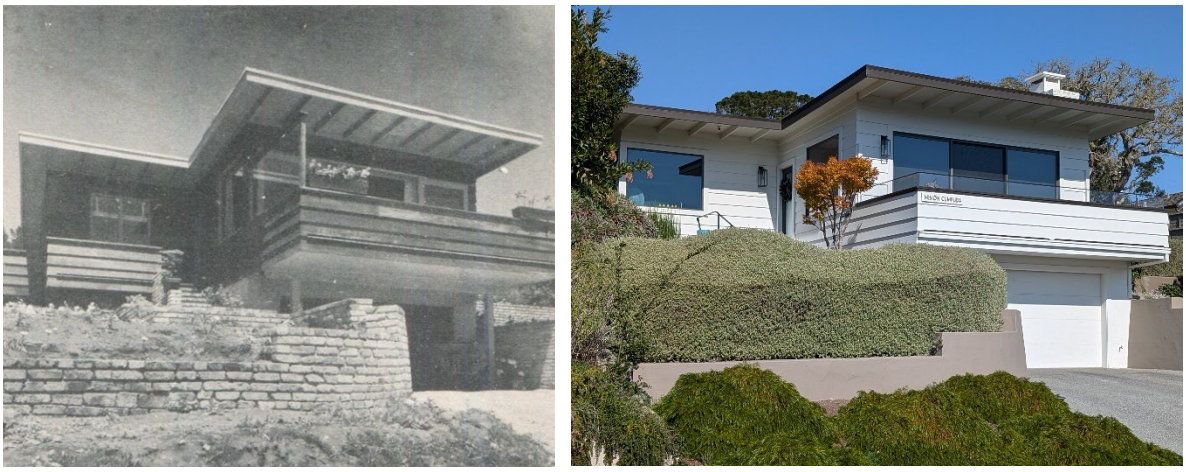
Left: Post-Adobe addition (left) to the 1925 stucco Comstock House (*Source: Morley Baer Image, MAARA).* Right: Flat-roofed California Ranch plan from Comstock's *Post-Adobe* (*Source: PAST Consultants, LLC Archives*).[152]

Another established regional architect was Robert R. Jones. In his residential projects he preferred the Postwar Modern Style, which consisted of contemporary flat-roofed designs, including his own 1941 home in Carmel Woods, which the architect claimed was the first flat-roofed house in Carmel. Like the practice of Robert Stanton, Robert R. Jones's office was a conduit for numerous architects who would design Modernist residences during the Postwar era, including Walter Burde, Will Shaw, Thomas Elston, Jr., William L. Cranston, Robert McIntire and Donald Wald. [153]

In 1938, building designer Jon Konigshofer, who worked as a draftsman with M. J, Murphy, went into private practice. In 1941, in partnership with Carmel relator Elizabeth McClung White, Konigshofer designed Sand & Sea, the only modern subdivision ever built in Carmel, in the sand dunes off the southwest corner of San Antonio Street and 4th Avenue. The residences were generally made of used brick with tongue and groove horizontal redwood siding and a slightly sloping flat roof. The brick chimneys had raised fireplace-barbeques on their exteriors. The site has been highly altered.[154] In 1948, Konigshofer developed an affordable housing form he called the "Pacifica House." Like Stanton's Honeymoon Cottage and Comstock's Unit House, the house was scaled to a standard building measure, making it possible to purchase all the building materials, including windows and doors for under ten thousand dollars. It was specifically designed for hillside construction as the sites are usually less expensive. The Keith Evans House

[151] Seavey, Kent L., *Carmel: A History in Architecture*, 117.
[152] Comstock, Hugh W. *Post-Adobe*, 1948.
[153] "Robert Jones Architect," Kent L. Seavey archives.
[154] Seavey, Kent L., *Konigshofer-White Sand and Sea Historic District* (DPR523 Building, Structure and Object Record), 2001.

is on the Carmel Inventory and was featured in various architectural journals, touted as "an example of the casual comfort and low price of California designs." [155]

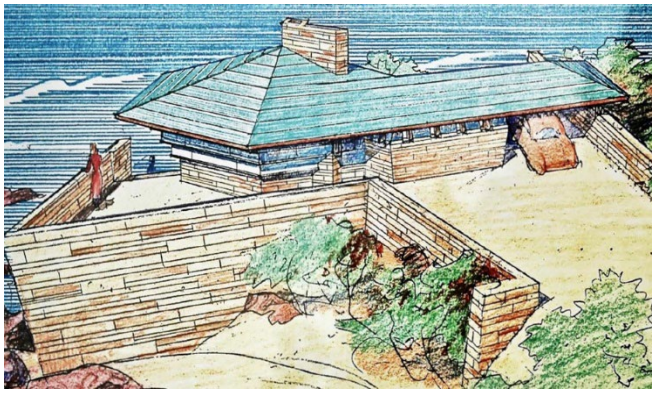


Left: Keith Evans House (1948) at 2969 Franciscan Way, as seen in the 1953 Edition of *Sunset Ideas for Hillside Homes.* Right: Recent image of the building (*Source: PAST Consultants, LLC, 2024*)

Leading shelter magazines, including *Sunset Magazine, The Architect & Engineer* and *House Beautiful* featured stories on the hillside house. On the West Coast, the hillside house became a distinct type of house design, as promoted by the literature. In the 1950s, *Sunset Magazine* published *Sunset Ideas for Hillside Homes*, an architectural pattern book featuring designs of hillside homes by leading West Coast architects. Jon Konigshofer's typical hillside design, as evidenced by the 1948 Keith Evans House, which was featured in several editions of this publication.[156] Locally, the *Monterey Peninsula Herald* noted: "Carmel architecture is holding the spotlight in a number of publications of nation-wide circulation these days…Sunset magazine has already featured the Konigshofer residence and has a layout on the Ford home scheduled soon."[157]

As the Modern Movement blossomed within the village, Frank Lloyd Wright arrived to design a "Cabin on the Rocks" (Mrs. Clinton Walker House, on the Carmel Inventory) for Della Walker. A native of Illinois who attended the University of Minnesota and the Pratt Institute, Della Brooks was a respected artist when she married Minneapolis lumber executive Clinton Walker. Walker was a successful businessman and the Walker Art Center in Minneapolis was a product of his family's philanthropy. The couple relocated to Piedmont, California in 1904 and lived there for 40 years prior to Mr. Walker's passing in 1944.[158] Mrs. Della Walker moved to Carmel and rented a stone cottage close to the beach near Ocean Avenue, designed by local architect C. J. Ryland. Della's sister Alma married Clinton's brother Willis J. Walker, who owned a large tract of the former Mission Ranch in Carmel. Alma Walker deeded the oceanfront parcel with its rocky outcropping to her sister, as a gift so that Della could build her home.[159]

[155] Janick, Richard N., *Keith Evans House* (DPR523 Building, Structure and Object Record), 2001. *House Beautiful* featured the building in January 1950; *Life Magazine* featured it on March 17, 1952.
[156] *Sunset Ideas for Hillside Homes* (Second Edition), 5.
[157] Dorothy Stephenson, "Carmel Architecture Gets Wide Publicity," *Monterey Peninsula Herald*, 5/29/48.
[158] "Obituary for Della Brooks Walker," *Carmel Pine Cone*, 2/23/1978, 20.
[159] Linda L. Paul, *Cottages by the Sea: The Handmade Homes of Carmel* (Milford, CT: Universe Publishing, 2000), 156.



Left: 1948 Rendering of the Mrs. Clinton Walker House (*Source: Frank Lloyd Foundation, Scottsdale, Arizona).*
Right: Recent view of Mrs. Clinton Walker House (*Source: PAST Consultants, LLC, 2024).*

The initial correspondence between Della Walker and Wright in 1945 set the tone for their client/architect relationship. On June 3rd Mrs. Walker wrote to the architect:

> I own a rocky point of land in Carmel, Calif. extending into the Pacific Ocean. The surface is flat, it is located at the end of a white sand beach… I am a woman living alone–I wish protection from the wind and privacy from the road and a house as enduring as the rocks but as transparent and charming as the waves and as delicate as a seashore. You are the only man who can do this-will you help me?

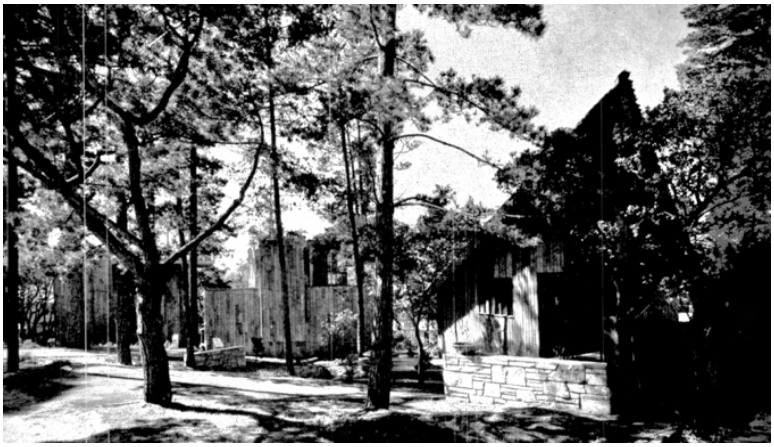
On July 2nd, 1945, Wright wrote back:

> Dear Mrs. Walker: I liked your letter, brief and to the point. My requirements are few but I do not want to make changes after starting. The placing of the cabin, its lines and relation to surroundings, I am sure of, with you in charge.

Frank Lloyd Wright proposed the word *Usonian* as a substitute for the term American to express his personal vision of modular planning in architectural design. Wright endeavored to create an affordable and efficient single-family dwelling for the American middle class. His Usonian House would allow for an easy and maximal use of a small, but unique site. A primary tenet of the architect's Organic principles was the joining of the structure to its site by a series of terraces that reached out into and reordered the landscape, making it an integral part of the resident's experience. All aspects of the building and its surroundings were to be unified—the natural and the created—as though they belong together. At the Walker House, the architect used large expanses of glass to blur the boundary between indoors and outdoors, as visual access to nature was an essential characteristic of all Usonian homes. The homes were constructed with native materials, took advantage of natural light with large expanses of glass, and featured flat roofs with wide cantilevered overhangs for passive solar heating and natural cooling. Wright's Organic designs played a part in the aesthetic origins of the California Ranch-style houses that became the most prolific style in the United States.[160]

[160] PAST Consultants, LLC, *Mrs. Clinton Walker House* (National Register of Historic Places Registration Form # 16000634), 2016.

Architectural historians use the term Organic Style to describe these houses. Wright's influence includes the work of Carmel architects/designers Jon Konigshofer, Mark Mills (a Taliesin fellow), Albert Henry Hill, Rowan Maiden and Olof Dahlstrand. A notable characteristic of Organic architecture found in Carmel is dramatic roof forms sheltering buildings constructed of natural materials, carefully set within the surrounding landscape.



Albert Henry Hill's three Weekend Houses on Lopez Street (Source: *Progressive Architecture, August 1962*).[161]

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

Mrs. B.C. Bowman House (1937), constructed out of "Bitudobe" masonry (Source: *PAST Consultants, LLC, 2024).*[162]

[161] The Weekend Houses were featured in *Progressive Architecture,* August 1962.

[162] The Bitudobe adobe unit was pioneered by the American Bitumuls Company in San Francisco. The units were made of soil mixed with asphalt to provide better water resistance. They were used in many regional California Ranch-style homes. See: *"Bitudobe" for Modern Building*, American Bitumuls Company, 1948.

Carmel builder Carl Bensberg who designed several houses on the Carmel Inventory in period-revival styles (the McCloud House – 1939 and the Wilkinson House – 1940), focused on the emerging California Ranch style after World War Two. In 1946 he published *Carmel Homes*, a pattern book presenting various house designs in the California Ranch style. The book featured his own home, the "Santa Lucia," located on Santa Lucia Avenue and featured in *Better Homes and* Gardens. A selection of Bensberg's California Ranch-style designs can be found on Ridgewood Road.

California Ranch house (1961) at 25985 Ridgewood Road (*Source: PAST Consultants, LLC 2024*)

Carmel's unique topography and climate has resulted in many idiosyncratic examples of modernist styles. Constraints derived from Carmel's narrow hillside and/or wooded lots have resulted in singular examples by leading modernist architects, designing in the Organic style, as noted above and the Bay Region Modern style.

The Bay Region Modern style represents Carmel's unique development of the Second and Third Bay Region styles. This warmer and rustic variation of the colder and more austere European Modern building forms 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 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.

Mumford explained the style in his essay presented in the catalog of the 1949 exhibition, *Domestic Architecture of the San Francisco Bay Region* held at the San Francisco Museum of Art.[163]

[163] Mumford, Lewis, "The Architecture of the Bay Region," in *Domestic Architecture of the San Francisco Bay Region*, San Francisco Museum of Modern Art, 1949. William Wurster also wrote an essay for the catalog.

Left: William Wurster's Nowell House (1948) featured in the 1949 Exhibition *Domestic Architecture of the San Francisco Bay Region.* Right: Current view (Source: *PAST Consultants, LLC, 2024).*

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 principal adherents of the First Bay Tradition, also identified as the Craftsman or Craftsman Style, (1890-1930) were A. Page Brown, Ernest Coxhead, Bernard Maybeck, Willis Polk, and John Galen Howard, among others. The principals of the Second Bay Tradition (1930s-1959) were William Wurster, Joseph Esherick, John Dinwiddie, and Gardner Dailey. Charles Moore and his contemporaries defined the Third Bay Tradition (1960 onward). For purposes of defining Carmel's modernist architectural styles, the Second and Third Bay traditions have been classified into a single style, the Bay Region Modern style, that has been continuously developed into the 1980s.[164]

The Bay Region Modern style became somewhat formalized when this loosely knit group of architects in California's San Francisco Bay Area redefined Modern designs to include natural, local materials. The plentiful stock of redwood in Northern California made this an obvious choice for structural and aesthetic elements. The result was an 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 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.

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

Clarence Mayhew's Helen Proctor House (1953) on Scenic Rd. 2 NE of 13th (Source: *PAST Consultants, LLC, 2024).*

Bay Region Modern buildings in Carmel share similar characteristics, such as irregular-shaped plans; sharp, angular forms and irregular massing; vertical board and batten, shiplap, or shingle cladding; local stone cladding or chimneys; plate-glass window walls; skylights; flat, low-pitched gable, 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.

Commercial Properties

This time period saw the construction of a variety of commercial buildings on infill lots downtown. Architect Robert Stanton designed the N.B. Flower Shop, a corner retail addition to his Normandy Inn complex in 1951 in a low-pitched Postwar Modern style. After establishing his architectural practice in Carmel in 1960, architect Olof Dahlstrand designed the Wells Fargo Bank in 1965.

Left: Left: The N.B. Flower shop (1951) on the SW corner of Ocean Ave. and Monte Verde St. Right: Wells Fargo Bank (1965) at San Carlos Street between Ocean and Seventh Avenue (Source: *PAST Consultants, LLC, 2024).*

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Small shop buildings appear in various locations throughout downtown. A good representation of Postwar Modern commercial buildings is located on the east side of Dolores Street, between 5th and 6th Avenues.

Two views of the east side of Dolores St. between 5th and 6th Avenues, showing examples of commercial buildings constructed in the Postwar Modern style (Source: *PAST Consultants, LLC, 2024).*

Civic and Institutional Properties

Following purchase of All Saints' Episcopal Church on Monte Verde Street in 1948, Carmel remodeled the building to serve as the new City Hall. Alterations to the building in 1953 by architect George Wilcox removed the bell tower and added a classical portico to highlight the entrance to the City Council chambers. Carmel architect Albert Henry Hill would remodel the building in 1973.[165] Civic buildings added during this time period include the Carmel Post Office, completed in 1951,[166] and the 1966 Carmel Police Station, designed by Walter Burde and Will Shaw (Burde Shaw Associates). Architect Olof Dahlstrand designed the Crocker Bank (1965), which was converted to the Harrison Memorial Library Park Branch (1989), at the northeast corner of Mission Street and 6th.

Left: Carmel Post Office (1951), 5th Ave. between Dolores and San Carlos Streets. Right: Carmel Police Station (1966) on Junipero between 4th and 5th (*Sources: PAST Consultants, LLC, 2024).*

[165] Dramov, Alissandra, *Historic Buildings of Downtown Carmel-by-the-Sea*, 2019, 10.
[166] "Good-Humored Confusion Marks the Opening of Carmel's New Post Office," *Carmel Spectator*, 10/26/1951. "Clark and Halle Win Contract for New P.O. Building," *Carmel Pine Cone*, 2/2/1951 lists the architects as A.W. Clark and A.F. Halle.

In 1949, Carmel architect Robert Jones designed the Carmel Youth Center in a commercial version of the Postwar Modern style. On April 14, 1964, the City held a bond election for the purchase of the Sunset School for conversion to a cultural center. 1,330 of the 1,499 votes were cast in favor of the $575,000 bond to renovate the facility. The purchase was completed in 1965, leading to the development of one of the nation's leading cultural facilities.[167]

Left: Robert Jones' Carmel Youth Center (1949), on 4th Avenue 2 SW of Dolores Street. Right: Sunset Center annex detail (*Sources: PAST Consultants, LLC, 2024).*

Cultural and Religious Properties

In 1948, the Carmel Woman's Club raised sufficient funds for the purchase of two lots at the southwest corner of San Carlos Street and 9th Avenue and constructed a new facility. The club held a mortgage burning ceremony in 1958, celebrating fundraising efforts to achieve full ownership of the property.[168]

In 1948, the Dr. Carl Cherry and Jeanne D'Orge created the Carl Cherry Memorial Foundation. Conceived in 1947 one year before Dr. Cherry's death, the Foundation was created to foster education in the arts and sciences and to encourage creative experimentation. It purchased the 1894 Abbie Jane Hunter House at the northwest corner of Guadalupe Street and 4th Avenue, modified the house, and had a detached addition constructed in 1953, designed by modernist architect Paffard K. Clay in a flat-roofed version of the Bay Region Modern Style.[169]

[167] Livernois, Joe, "Sunset Center Reflects Diverse Cultural Needs," *Carmel Pine Cone*, 3/24/1983.
[168] Carmel Woman's Club Website: https://carmelwomansclubca.org/our-story/. Accessed 9/21/24.
[169] Carl Cherry Center Website: https://carlcherrycenter.org/about-us-history-1/. Accessed 9/21/24; Seavey, Kent L., *Carl Cherry Center for the Arts* (DPR523 Building, Structure and Object Record), 2001.

Left: Carmel Woman's Club (1948), southwest corner of San Carlos St. and 9th Avenue (*Source: PAST Consultants, LLC, 2024).* Right: Paffard K. Clay's detached addition (1953) to the Carl Cherry Center (*Source: Kent L. Seavey Archives).*

In 1951, the Golden Bough Playhouse was constructed on the west side of Monte Verde Street 4 NW of 9th Avenue. Located on the site of the 1922 Arts and Crafts Theater (initially the location of the Carmel Craftsman Club, which built a clubhouse in 1907), the present building was designed by James Pruitt and constructed by Comstock and Associates.[170]

In 1954, the architectural firm of Elston & Cranston designed the Nix Dance Studio (later the Carmel Ballet Academy) on the east side of Mission Street between 7th and 8th Avenues in a Postwar Modern style, using the Post-Adobe construction method and "Bitudobe" masonry units.

Left: Golden Bough Playhouse (1951), Monte Verde 4 NW of 9th (*Source: Historic Buildings of Downtown Carmel-by-the Sea, 2019*). Right: Carmel Ballet Academy (1954) on Mission Street 2 NE of 8th Ave (*Source: PAST Consultants, LLC, 2024).*

A handful of churches designed by Carmel architects were added during this thematic time period. Walter Burde designed the First Church of Christ, Scientist in 1950, using adobe units to construct the building in the Postwar Modern style.

James Pruitt for Comstock and Associates designed the Carmel Presbyterian Church at the southeast corner of Junipero Street and Mountain View Avenue in 1953. Two years prior, Carmel

[170] Seavey, Kent L., *Golden Bough Theater* (DPR523 Building, Structure and Object Record), 2002.

architect Robert Jones designed the new All Saints' Episcopal Church, with landscape design by Thomas Church. [171]

Left: First Church of Christ, Scientist (1950) on Monte Verde St. 2 NE of 6th Ave. (*Source: PAST Consultants, LLC, 2024*). Right: All Saint's Episcopal Church (1951) on the southeast corner of Dolores St. and 9th Ave. (*Source: PAST Consultants, LLC, 2024*).

Builders and Architects

Carmel benefitted from the establishment of larger architectural firms like those of Robert Stanton and Robert R. Jones, which designed numerous significant buildings of all function types in the village. These offices became a conduit for many local architects who would design buildings during the Postwar era, including Walter Burde, Will Shaw, Thomas Elston, Jr., William L. Cranston, Robert McIntire and Donald Wald (see Appendix B: Architects, Designers and Builders in Carmel, 1940 – 1986 for additional examples).

Frank Lloyd Wright, who arrived in Carmel after confirming Della Walker's commission for the Walker House in 1945, influenced a group of eager young Carmel modernists. Architects/designers such as Jon Konigsfhofer, Rowan Maiden and Albert Henry Hill constructed buildings derived from Wright's Usonian design principles espoused at the Mrs. Clinton Walker House.[172]

Notable Carmel architect Mark Mills, a student at Wright's Taliesen West, came to Carmel and was on-site during construction of the Walker House, when he took the dramatic image shown below. In 1952, the young architect received two lots from Della Walker at the NE corner of 13th Avenue and Mission Street and designed the first two of his Organic-style homes, the Walker Spec House (1951) and the Mills House (1953).[173]

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[171] Dramov, Alissandra, *Historic Buildings of Downtown Carmel-by-the-Sea*, 2019, 29. The *Architect & Engineer* featured the church in 1952 (Vol. 1, No. 3, December 1952). The article noted the typical issues facing Carmel architects: "The steepness of the terrain on the site, the placement of trees and the future expansion of the building were major problems confronting the architect and were factors dictating to a large extent the final type and size of church constructed."

[172] Frank Lloyd Wright attended the opening meeting of the Monterey Chapter of the American Institute of Architects (AIA) in 1953.

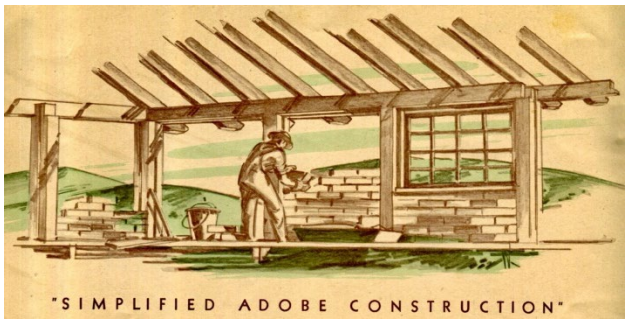
[173] Janick, Richard N., *Walker Spec House and Mills House* (DPR523 Building, Structure and Object Record), 2001.

Left: 1952 photograph of the Walker House by Frank Lloyd Wright, taken by Mark Mills. Right: The Walker Spec House (1951) by Mark Mills (*Source: The Fantastic Seashell of the Mind*, 2017).[174]

The architectural firm of Walter Burde and Will Shaw (Burde Shaw Associates) contributed significant modernist buildings to the village. Walter Burde, FAIA, graduated from the Miami University (Ohio) School of Architecture in 1934. Following World War Two, he began his private practice in 1950, as chief designer for Robert Jones, AIA, aiding design in the award-winning Monterey Airport. Walter Burde has won numerous architectural awards, including the American Institute of Architects (AIA) National Honor Award (1969), the Governor's Design Award (1966), the Monterey Bay Chapter Awards of Merit (1959 and 1976), and the Robert Stanton Award given by the Monterey Bay AIA chapter for outstanding service. William Vaughn Shaw, FAIA, received his Bachelor of Architecture at the University of California, Berkeley in 1950 and moved to Carmel to establish his practice. He served as president of the local Monterey AIA chapter in 1964 and was awarded his fellowship to the AIA in 1984.

The architects formed the firm Burde, Shaw and Kearns Associates (later, Burde Shaw Associates) in 1953, developing a symbiotic partnership, with Walter Burde reportedly being the more artistic of the two partners and Will Shaw the pragmatist. The firm designed numerous successful and significant commercial, civic and residential projects in the greater Monterey Peninsula area. Significant commercial buildings include the Shell Oil Gas Station (1966) on the southeast corner of San Carlos Street and 4th Avenue, for which they received a Governor's Design Award for outstanding design; and the Palo Alto-Salinas Savings and Loan Association building (1972) on the SE corner of Dolores Street and Seventh Avenue.[175] Both buildings feature stamped concrete decorative elements by Carmel native, Brad Bowman.

[174] *The Fantastic Seashell of the Mind*, 2017, 26, 80.
[175] "Architects Saluted for Design," *Monterey Peninsula Herald*, 12/26/66; PAST Consultants, LLC, *Northern California Savings and Loan Complex* (DPR523 Building, Structure and Object Record), 2022. In 1969, the partners split the two firm offices, with Walter Burde retaining the Carmel office; and Will Shaw retaining the Monterey office. The separate offices operated as Walter Burde & Associates and Will Shaw & Associates.



Left: Shell Gas Station (1966) by Burde Shaw Associates on the SE corner of San Carlos St. and 5th Ave. (*Source: PAST Consultants, LLC, 2024*). Right: Sketch showing construction of a Post-Adobe wall, taken from Comstock's *Post-Adobe* (*Source: PAST Consultants, LLC Archives*).[176]

Hugh White Comstock passed away on June 1, 1950, merely two years after publishing his manual on Post-Adobe construction, Post-Adobe: Carmel-by-the-Sea. In ill health he moved to Santa Barbara to be with family.[177] By this time, he had established Comstock and Associates, with Carmel builder James B. Pruitt as the principal designer/builder. The firm was designing many Carmel-area buildings in the Post-Adobe structural method, such as the American Red Cross Building at the SE corner of Dolores Street and 8th Avenue and the Carmel Village Inn (presently, Le Petit Pali) at the NE corner of Junipero Street and Ocean Avenue, as well as numerous residences outside the city limits and in Carmel Valley.[178] The *Carmel Pine Cone* wrote a lengthy tribute to Comstock on June 9, 1950:

> Since he came to Carmel in 1924 and married Mayotta Browne in that year, Hugh has been an integral factor in Carmel life. The houses he has built are monuments to his love and understanding of the community in which he had chosen to live and work. Inflexible of standard, he was yet able to bridge the gap between the old Carmel and the newer without outrage to his fine taste, without violence to either old or new, keeping always in his mind the suitability of his structural forms to the land on which they lay, the practicality of use, and the permanence of beauty.[179]

[176] Comstock, Hugh W. *Post-Adobe*, 1948.
[177] California Death Index: Hugh White Comstock; "Rights Arranged for Hugh W. Comstock," *Santa Barbara News-Press*, 6/3/1950;
[178] A Hugh Comstock Post-Adobe house in Carmel Valley was featured in an article by Clarence, Cullimore, FAIA, "The New Adobe Houses," *Architect & Engineer*, January 1948, 24.
[179] "Hugh Comstock," *Carmel Pine Cone*, 6/9/1950.

Postwar Development (1946 – 1965): Associated Property Types and Registration Requirements[180]

POSTWAR MODERN STYLE (1946 - 1965)

Village Corner Restaurant (1946) on the NE corner of Dolores St. and 6th Ave.

Postwar Modern commercial buildings on the east side of Dolores St. between 5th and 6th Aves.

Dr. & Mrs. Chester Magee House (1948) at Torres St. 2 SW of 8th Ave.

Taggart House (1951) at NW corner Torres and 1st Ave.

N.B. Flower shop (1951) on the SW corner of Ocean Ave. and Monte Verde St.

Carmel Youth Center (1953) on 4th Ave. 2 SW of Torres St.

[180] The Minimal Traditional style was constructed in Carmel until about 1950. See the previous theme: Village in a Forest (1922-1945) for description and character defining features of this style.

Introduction

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

Character Defining Features

- Houses with rectangular or L-shaped plans
- Commercial buildings with rectangular plans
- Commercial buildings with wide expanses of glass within exposed structural framework
- Houses often have an integrated garage or carport placed in front of the living space
- Low-slung, single-story massing
- Low-pitched shed or gable roof, or flat roof, with wide eaves throughout
- Open roof overhangs
- Minimal exterior decoration
- Fenestration consisting of wood- or aluminum-framed windows
- Windows fill gable ends

Representative Buildings

A concentration of this house type occurs along Torres Street, where the firm of Elston & Cranston designed variations of the style. Other examples can also be found scattered about the City. Commercial examples occur on Dolores Street north of Ocean Avenue.

- Village Corner Restaurant by Hugh Comstock (1946)
- Dr. & Mrs. Chester Magee House by William Cranston (1948)
- Taggart House by Robert Stanton (1951)
- N.B. Flower Shop by Robert Stanton (1951)
- Carmel Youth Center by Robert Jones (1953)

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CALIFORNIA RANCH STYLE (1935 - 1986)

Bowman House (1937), SW corner of Carmelo St. and 10th Ave.

Samuel M. Haskins House (1939), Carmelo 3 SW of 9th

California Ranch house (1941), south side of 4th Avenue between Lobos St. and Randall Way

California Ranch house (1947), 2960 Santa Lucia Ave.

California Ranch house (1948) on the NW corner of Perry Newberry Way and 6th Ave.

California Ranch house (1961) at 25985 Ridgewood Rd.

Introduction

The California Ranch style emerged in the late 1930s and became the ubiquitous postwar style in the United States. The style occurs in large numbers in the California suburbs, where vast swaths of farmland were redeveloped into housing. Popular trade journals, such as *Sunset Magazine*, presented both architect-designed and pattern book ranch houses for builders and contractors that extolled the benefits of combined indoor and outdoor living. In Carmel, the sprawling California Ranch footprint was rotated to face sideways, in order to conform to the narrow, but deep lot configurations. Double lots or larger lots along Ridgewood Road and Ladera Avenue present the house facing the street, often with an attached or detached garage as was typical of the California Ranch design. Earlier Carmel ranch houses are designed with Monterey- or Spanish Revival detailing. Carmel Ranch houses are generally wood-clad with clapboard, shingle or V-groove siding; some may be constructed using adobe walls or the Post-Adobe construction method. Only two early examples are featured on the Carmel Inventory. Photographs included for this style show the more common Ranch-style variants.

Character Defining Features

- Single-story rectangular, L-shaped or U-shaped plans
- Split-level variant with living space above garage
- Attached garage or carport expressed as a front- or side-gable
- Garages sometimes detached and in front of the house
- Low-slung, horizontal massing
- Gable, hipped or flat roofs, often with incorporated porch
- Wood-framed and sheathed, post-adobe, or adobe wall construction
- Combined cladding materials
- Fenestration may consist of wood, aluminum, or steel-framed windows
- May have picture windows on front elevation
- Wide brick or masonry chimneys often Carmel stone or river rock
- Applied ornamentation in period revival or styles (Spanish, Colonial and Monterey Colonial styles)

Representative Buildings

There are early examples of the California Ranch style throughout the City, including several in the vicinity of Ridgewood Road and Lausen Drive, where Carl Bensberg designed a number of homes in the style. California Ranch-style buildings are interspersed more in the areas north (Carmel Woods) and the areas south and east of the city limits, as these areas were developed later. However, there are very few listed on the Inventory at this time.

- Mrs. B.C. Bowman House (1937)
- Samuel M. Haskins House (1939)

POST-ADOBE STYLE (1948-1970)

Post-Adobe House (1950), Vizcaino Ave. and Flanders Way

Post-Adobe House (1950), Scenic Rd. and 8th Ave.

L.L. Spillers Guest Cottage (1951), Carpenter 4 SW of 3rd Ave.

Carmel Village Inn (presently, Le Petit Pali) detail (1954), NE corner of Ocean and Junipero Aves.

Introduction

Post-Adobe is both a building style and method of construction. Conceived by Carmel master builder Hugh Comstock in the late 1930s in anticipation of World War II building materials shortages, Comstock began constructing adobe homes while experimenting with waterproofing methods for his bricks. By 1940 he had developed a wall-framing method of redwood posts infilled with waterproof adobe bricks using an asphaltic additive known as "Bitudobe." The width of one adobe bay set within the redwood posts was a standard unit, allowing for "off the shelf" windows and doors to be purchased. In Carmel and the Monterey Bay region, the construction method was well suited for the California Ranch-style. In 1948, Hugh Comstock published his construction manual, *Post-Adobe*, detailing the construction method and offering a number of house plans for constructing the buildings. This style was employed until circa-1970, when the construction method fell out of popularity.

Character Defining Features

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

Representative Buildings

- L.L. Spillers Guest Cottage, Elston & Cranston (1951)
- Carmel Village Inn, James Pruitt for Comstock and Associates (1954)

ORGANIC STYLE (1946-1986)

Keith Evans House (1948) by Jon Konigshofer at 2969 Franciscan Way

Robert A. Stephensen House (1949) by Robert Stephensen at the NE corner Forest and 8th

Mark Mills' Walker Spec House (1951) by Mark Mills, SE corner of Rio Road and 13th Ave.

Mark Mills' House (1951) by Mark Mills, east side of Mission and 13th. *Source: Tim Allen Properties*

Mrs. Clinton (Della) Walker House (1952) by Frank Lloyd Wright at 26336 Scenic Dr. near Santa Lucia Ave.

Wells Fargo Bank (1965) by Olof Dahlstrand at San Carlos St. between Ocean and 7th Aves.

Introduction

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

Character Defining Features

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

Representative Buildings

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

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BAY REGION MODERN STYLE (1946 - 1986)

Helen I. Proctor House (1953) on Scenic 2 NE of 13th Avenue.

Court of the Golden Eagle (1961) by Comstock Associates on Lincoln 3 SE of Ocean Ave.

Mr. & Mrs. Irving Fisk House (1961) on Lopez St. 4 NW of 4th Ave.

Albert Henry Hill House (1961) on Lopez St. 3 NW of 4th Ave.

Merchant House (1961) by William Wurster at the NE corner of Scenic Rd. and 11th Ave.

Esther M. Hill House (1964) by Marcel Sedletzky at Scenic Rd. and 13th Ave.

Introduction

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

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

Character Defining Features

- Irregular plans and asymmetrical and box-like massing
- Flat, shed or gable roofs with wide overhangs
- Projecting shed or boxy volumes
- Minimal ornamentation. Architectural features are achieved by the use of wood exterior cladding and exposed structural elements
- Wide masonry chimneys
- Wide expanses of glass set within wood or metal frames
- Wood siding as exterior wall cladding in vertical-board, board-and-batten and shiplap finishes
- Building integrated with surrounding landscape
- Landscape may be designed by a significant landscape architect

Representative Buildings

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

- Helen I. Proctor House, Clarence Mayhew (1953)
- Court of the Golden Eagle, Comstock Associates (1961)
- Albert Henry Hill House, Albert Henry Hill (1961)
- Mr. & Mrs. Irving Fisk House, Albert Henry Hill (1961)
- Merchant House, William Wurster (1961)
- Esther M. Hill House, Marcel Sedletzky (1964)

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Postwar Development (1946 – 1966): Registration Requirements

Historic Significance

The following table analyzes the significance of buildings by synthesizing the criteria established by the National Register of Historic Places (NR), the California Register of Historical Resources (CR), and the Carmel-by-the-Sea Municipal Code (CMC).

Ntl / CA Register	Carmel Municipal Code (CMC) §17.32.040	Significance	Analysis for Carmel Inventory of Historic Resources
A/1	1	Events, Patterns Trends	Should support at least one historic theme listed in the historic context statement. These events should be related to building construction in Carmel associated with the Postwar additions to the Downtown Conservation District, and other downtown areas, the further establishment of City services or City government.
B/2	2	Persons	Should be associated with significant persons that contributed to the City's economic, cultural, social or developmental history. Significant persons may be associated with the development of City services and institutions, social or cultural organizations, the ongoing artistic and theatrical culture and the increased commercial development downtown. These buildings should be compared to other associated properties occupied by the person(s) to determine which location best represents the person(s) significant achievements.
C/3	3	Architecture, Construction Method	Buildings designed by a significant architect, landscape architect, or a significant builder should be strong examples of a particular architectural style and should possess sufficient historic integrity. Buildings designed by an unrecognized architect/builder but being a good representative of the architectural styles and types listed in this thematic time period are also appropriate, provided they maintain adequate historic integrity. Individual examples, which contribute to diversity in the community, need not have been designed by known architects, designer/builders or contractors. If located, these examples contribute to Carmel's unique sense of time and place shall be deemed significant, provided they maintain a particularly high degree of historic integrity.
D/4	4	Information Potential	Confined primarily to archaeological or subsurface resources that contribute to an understanding of historic construction methods, materials, or evidence of prehistoric cultures.

Historic Integrity Considerations

Residential buildings constructed in California Ranch style are more common regionally and should be held to a higher standard of historic integrity, including retention of windows, doors, cladding and ornamentation. Additions to buildings constructed in the modernist styles should be of compatible materials and not remove original cladding or fenestration patterns. Additions to these buildings should reflect their original scale, massing and ornamentation, but be differentiated to highlight the historic nature of the original composition.

Commercial buildings in modernist styles are generally single-story and of smaller scale. Storefront modifications will likely remove their original glass-fronted display windows and exterior materials, both which will reduce their historic integrity.

For buildings associated with significant events or significant persons, integrity of location, setting, design, feeling and association are more important aspects of historic integrity. For buildings associated with architectural design and/or construction method historic integrity should be stronger, particularly the integrity of design, materials, and workmanship. The following list outlines the Minimum Eligibility Requirements and Additional Integrity Considerations.

Minimum Eligibility Requirements

- Retains sufficient character defining features to represent a given architectural style that dates to the thematic time period.
- Retains original form and roofline.
- Retains the original fenestration (window and doors) pattern, as expressed by the original window/door openings and their framing, surrounds or sills.
- Retains most of its original ornamentation.
- Retains original exterior cladding (or original cladding has been replaced in-kind).
- Alterations to buildings that meet the *Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties* are acceptable.

Additional Integrity Considerations

- California Ranch-style residential buildings should retain their original fenestration (windows and doors), ornamentation and cladding for listing.
- For Postwar Modern-style residential buildings, removal of the street facing carport or garage for a front-elevation addition is not acceptable.
- For Bay Region Modern or Organic-style residential buildings retention (or in-kind replacement) of the original wall cladding is essential for listing.
- Rear or side additions should be constructed using similar materials but differentiated from the original modernist design, to highlight the historic building.
- For single-story commercial buildings with original display areas, storefront replacements are considered acceptable only if the original fenestration pattern has been matched closely.

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THE CARMEL DYNAMIC CONTINUES (1966 -1986)

Northern California Savings and Loan (1972) by Burde Shaw Associates on the southeast corner of Dolores Street and 7th Avenue (*Source: Carmel: A History in Architecture*)

The conflict between commercialism and village life – the Carmel Dynamic – continues during this thematic time period. With an established population of 4,500 by 1970, the pressures of tourism on the Carmelite's way of life remained strong. Given Carmel's beautiful location and salubrious climate, additional residential development ensued, generated by both new and permanent residents who redeveloped lots with buildings out of scale and character for the village. City leadership continued to pass policy aimed at combatting excessive growth, culminating in the 1984 General Plan. Local residents received a benefit of more open space after the City purchased the Doolittle property and the Flanders Estate, now part of Mission Trail Nature Preserve. Downtown, several building additions in the modernist idiom were constructed. The successful fight to save the Village Corner Restaurant downtown scored a victory for the local residents. The primary events that shaped Carmel's development during this time period are:

- The continuing pressures of residential and commercial development on village life.
- City planning efforts to curb excessive growth and retain Carmel's unique qualities.
- The acquisition of additional open space.
- Modernist building additions to the downtown streetscape.
- Residential construction continues primarily in the California Ranch, Bay Region Modern and Organic styles.

City Planning Efforts to Curb Excessive Growth

In his 1962 book *Travels with Charley*, Monterey Peninsula author John Steinbeck provided his impressions of Carmel:

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> Carmel begun by starveling (sic) writers and unwanted painters, is now a community of the well-to-do and the retired. If Carmel's founders should return, they could not afford to live there, but it wouldn't get that far. They would be instantly picked up as suspicious characters and deported over the city line."[181]

In 1970, the *Carmel Pine Cone* asked various community leaders, "What will Carmel look like in 1980?" Several responses pointed to the ever-present Carmel Dynamic. Architect and Planning Commission chairman Olof Dahlstrand noted the loss of residential character.

> The residential area will see the most startling change with many charming older houses of unique character being torn down to make way for undistinguished larger ones which borrow their appearance from dreary suburban counterparts.[182]

City planning efforts continued to wrestle with the conflict. Planning policy regulations were aimed at updating the 1959 General Plan, and various emergency building moratoriums, curbs on commercial and residential development, and measures to handle the massive influx of nonpermanent residents were implemented with much discussion among residents and city officials.

After winning the highest number of votes in the 1968 City Council election, businessman and pragmatist Barney Laiolo became the City's appointed mayor. That same year, there was an influx of hippies seeking to expand the Summer of Love to Carmel's quiet streets; many occupied Devendorf Park, the beachside sand dunes, Ocean Avenue, and some solicited tourists and residents for money. Laiolo did not favor violent police intrusion, but police did quietly address illegal mischief. On July 31, 1968, the City passed a controversial emergency ordinance that regulated the use of public property. The State Supreme Court rescinded the ordinance in 1971, with the *Carmel Pine Cone* declaring, "sitting on the grass is legal now."[183]

In the 1970s, planning policy aimed to control commercial development and new restaurant construction in the downtown and the construction of large homes in the residential zone. The commercial building moratorium approved on July 24, 1973 was meant to address "the needs of permanent residents in relation to the needs of the mushrooming commercial district." It was the first building moratorium enacted by the city since its 1916 incorporation. The moratorium was proposed by planning commissioner Albert Henry Hill, who identified an alarming new trend of out-of-town business capital placing pressure on the little village. Indirectly referring to the proposed size and scale of expanded Carmel Plaza, Hill stated that the new business interests' intent was to "buy up, tear down, rebuild – and make it big to pay." Hill was backed by fiery councilmember Gunnar Norberg, who warned of "far more serious things that appear on the horizon, huge enterprises coming from outside to remake Carmel block by block." [184]

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[181] Quoted in *Carmel Pine Cone: Centennial Edition*, 2/20/2015, 20 CE.
[182] "Carmel in 1980: What Will it Look Like?" *Carmel Pine Cone*, 12/31/1970.
[183] Gualtieri, Kathryn and Lynn A. Momboisse, *A Village in the Pine Forest: Carmel-by-the-Sea*, 2016, 11.
[184] "Carmel Votes 4-Month Building Moratorium," *Monterey Peninsula Herald*, 7/25/73; "Rewriting Effort Begins on Zoning," *Monterey Peninsula Herald,* 8/2/73; "Building moratorium extended eight months," *Carmel Pine Cone*, 11/15/1973.

The moratorium was extended to give the City time to determine the best solutions to excessive commercialization, and work on amended development standards. In December 1973, the Planning Commission voted unanimously to adopt an ordinance to amend the general regulations for commercial buildings, amend uses within commercial zones, and change the height definitions for commercial structures. The City Council voted to officially adopt the building control ordinance in March 1974. Norberg cast the singular dissenting vote because he did not consider the building controls strict enough. The ordinance was aimed at insuring adequate open space, limiting maximum commercial building size and height, and encouraging second-story apartment uses.[185]

Gunnar Norberg [186]

Residential development was another issue of the 1970s, when Carmelites began to express concern about losing their beloved village's historic and stylistic character. In 1972, the City Council asked the Planning Commission to discuss a residential design ordinance and the implementation of design controls to residential properties, which heretofore only applied to the commercial zone. Then-councilmember Barney Laiolo disagreed with the request noting, "It's pretty hard to control people's taste. One man might want a flat-top roof, another might like a peaked roof." Councilmember Olof Dahlstrand, former head of the Planning Commission, agreed, stating, "You can't legislate beauty. One of the dangers (of design control) is that something really good that's ahead of its time might not get approved." Finally, City Councilmember Gunnar Norberg convinced the City Attorney to draft an ordinance that would "prevent gross intrusions against the residential character of the village, and that would take into account the complex policing job that might be created."[187] In 1978, City Councilmember and former mayor Bernard Anderson voted against a proposed moratorium on the new construction of two-story homes in the residential zone.[188] These matters would not be resolved until the adoption of the 1984 General Plan.

Additional ordinances were proposed throughout the 1970s – all aimed at keeping Carmel "Carmel." In 1974, with planning commissioner Albert Henry Hill noting "sixty persons to each restaurant in Carmel to me is ludicrous," the City Council passed an emergency ordinance banning any new restaurants. An ordinance banning the use of illegal kitchens in the residential zone was also passed in 1974, in an effort to curb illegal cooking in boarding rooms and transient apartments. While these efforts continued throughout the decade, with much discussion among planning staff,

[185] "Planners adopt altered commercial restraints," Carmel Pine Cone, 12/20/1973, p.10; "Council adopts building control law," *Carmel Pine Cone*, 03/21/1974.
[186] Gunnar Norberg image courtesy of Henry Meade Williams Local History Department, Harrison Memorial Library.
[187] "City Attorney Asked to Draft Ordinance on Residential Design Control," *Carmel Pine Cone*, 8/10/72.
[188] "Retiring Councilman's Last Vote Stymies Move to Ban Two-Story Homes," *Carmel Pine Cone,* 3/14/78.

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commissioners and the public, these various concerns would not be addressed significantly until the adoption of the 1984 General Plan.[189]

Passage of the 1984 General Plan

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

- Establish a "village preservation overlay zone" on Ocean Avenue, implementing design restrictions on additions/alterations to new buildings.
- New second-story retail shops are not permitted in the commercial zone; however, residential apartments are permitted, as are professional offices defined as services.
- New motels are permitted only in the new RC: Residential and Limited Commercial Zone, located outside the commercial zone and adjacent to the R-1 Residential Zone.
- New tourist-related stores (including T-shirt shops and art galleries) are only allowed in the central commercial zone, subject to the granting of a use permit.
- New restaurants would be allowed in the central commercial core, subject to the granting of a use permit.
- Commercial uses are no longer permitted in the R-4 multiple-family zone.[190]

The City Council's first reading of the 1984 General Plan occurred in June, with a spirited, lengthy meeting that included, "name-calling, open threats of recall and a six-hour marathon session." The second and final reading occurred on July 3, 1984.[191]

During this time period, Carmelites also voted to confirm an ordinance making the mayor an elected position in 1978, a decision formerly under the purview of the City Council.[192] In 1980, former mayor (1968 to 1972) and pragmatist Barney Laiolo became the first elected mayor of Carmel.[193] Laiolo served as mayor for one term, from 1980 to 1982, and returned the city administration to a business-friendly environment. The mayoral election of 1982 became another political battle between the practical Laiolo and his old foe Gunnar Norberg, the latter seeking to return the city to an anti-commercialism platform. Despite both men's plans, Carmel native Charlotte Townsend won the mayoral race in 1982, becoming the first woman mayor elected by public vote.[194]

[189] "Moratorium Proposed on New Restaurants," *Monterey Peninsula Herald,* 11/21/74; "Two Ordinances Proposed for Limiting Second Kitchens, Additional Tenants," *Carmel Pine Cone*, 11/7/74.
[190] "New City General Plan Ordinances Would Limit Shops, Galleries, Eateries," *Carmel Pine Cone*, 4/26/84.
[191] "1984: The Year in Review," *Carmel Pine Cone*, 12/27/84.
[192] "Old Carmel Candidates Sweep All Three Seats," *Carmel Pine Cone*, 3/9/1978.
[193] Gualtieri, Kathryn and Lynn A. Momboisse, *A Village in the Pine Forest: Carmel-by-the-Sea*, 2016, 12.
[194] Harold and Ann Gillian, *Creating Carmel, the Enduring Vision,*1992, 206.

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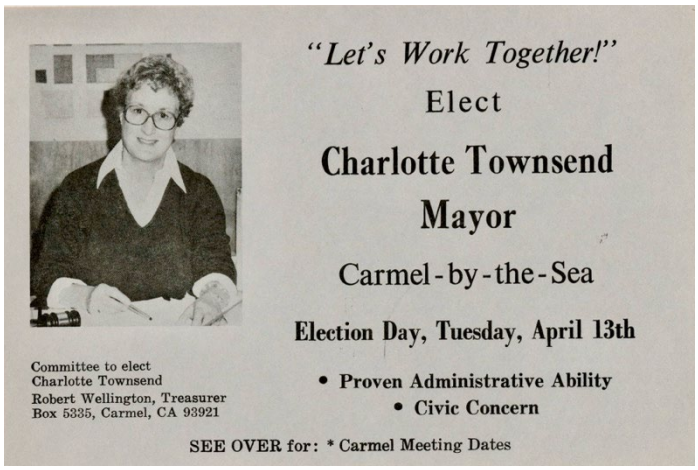

Charlotte Townsend featured in a 1982 campaign advertisement (*Source: Henry Meade Williams Local History Department, Harrison Memorial Library*).

Charlotte Townsend served two terms as mayor from 1982 until 1986. After nearly ten years of hearings, she stewarded the passage of the 1984 General Plan, which endeavored to provide a compromise between commercial development and keeping Carmel a local place. Business owners increasingly grumbled at the Plan's restrictive policies, viewing the new administration as anti-development, despite its intentions to balance both commercial and local needs. To assess the opinions of Carmelites, the Townsend administration released a survey to residents in the summer of 1985, with questions regarding the General Plan policies, including the limits of new restaurants and tourist-related stores, the location of hotels and the changes to second-story development in the commercial zone. The survey was distributed to 3,900 residents. The *Carmel Pine Cone* summarized the preliminary responses of the first 1,000 residents in a July article, notably that the city has "too many" tourist-related shops, such as gift shops, antique shops and art galleries; and that the city needs more shops that provide goods for locals, including book stores, hardware shops, furniture and auto parts stores. What became clear from the survey results is that locals felt underrepresented in their community, again reviving Carmel's longstanding conflict. This controversy would lead to the election of Clint Eastwood in 1986.[195]

In 1985, Hollywood celebrity Clint Eastwood submitted plans for a new building on San Carlos Street. Initial designs were rejected by the Planning Commission, who viewed the proposed Eastwood building as too large and out of character with Carmel's village-like atmosphere. Negotiations continued for months. A bitter compromise was reached in 1985 and Eastwood was granted a permit for construction of the building. The results did not sit well with both locals and the business community, the latter viewing the fight as anti-commercial and not in the best interest of business development. The battle also resulted in Clint Eastwood's decision to run for mayor in 1986.

In 1986, Carmel made national headlines for reportedly banning ice cream. The media fervor stemmed from the denial of creamery permits (denied due to water requirements and restrictions on take-out food), misconstrued as an outright ban on ice cream. Eastwood made the issue part of his campaign, and his presence created yet another surge of visitors onto Carmel's quaint streets,

[195] Michael Gardner, "Carmel Residents Voice Strong Views in Survey," *Carmel Pine Cone*, 7/25/85.

as tourists swarmed into town to perhaps get a glimpse of the Hollywood icon. Running on an anti-government ticket, Eastwood sought to return Carmel to the people, and the actor embraced both locals and tourists alike during his campaign. Articles about Eastwood's movements dominated the *Carmel Pine Cone* in 1986. Both locals and tourists wrote frequent letters to the editor during the Eastwood campaign, reflecting the ongoing conflict between local and tourist needs. The Letters to the Editor page from March 20, 1986 featured both sides of the debate, with one Carmelite writing, "Clint Eastwood may be a very nice person and a smart businessman, but what we need is a person who can and will give their full-time effort to being responsive to the needs of the residents. One who will do their best to keep what's left of the Carmel character intact, insofar as possible." The opposing view was presented by a southern California tourist who frequented Carmel for decades: "My daughter and I are sitting here wearing Clint Eastwood pins and eating Paul Newman popcorn. Let me tell you that Clint Eastwood is more like the residents of Carmel in those days than most of the ones today. Down-to-earth, unassuming and genuine.[196]

Clint Eastwood was elected mayor in April of 1986. Despite fears over a return to commercialism, Eastwood's term resulted in several benefits to Carmel residents. He revitalized the Carmel Youth Center, providing a place for Carmel children to meet and socialize in a safe environment. He also purchased the Mission Ranch in 1986 and restored the area's agricultural buildings with minimal intervention that both preserved the ranch's historic character and allowed for additional open space. Though ice cream was never actually banned in Carmel, Eastwood is credited with passing Ordinance 86-10, "Amending Title 17 of the Municipal Code redefining and establishing standards for eating places primarily selling frozen dessert products" to ensure an ice cream-friendly regulatory environment in Carmel.[197]

City Acquisition of Open Space

One of the most significant open space additions to Carmel-by-the-Sea occurred following purchase of 17.5 acres of the Doolittle Property at the wooded southeast corner of town and the 14.9-acre Flanders Estate in 1972. The combined properties became Mission Trail Nature Preserve, the largest open space located within the city limits. The two land acquisitions were widely popular and viewed as a major victory for locals and environmentalists, as a large-scale residential development was in competition for the land.[198]

Downtown: Modernist Additions and a Victory for Carmelites

Another Modernist bank building was added downtown to rival the 1965 Organic-style Wells Fargo Bank by Olof Dahlstrand on San Carlos Street: the Northern California Savings and Loan Building. The local architectural team of Burde Shaw Associates constructed the Northern California Savings and Loan building on the southeast corner of Dolores Street and 7th Avenue, across the street from the landmark El Paseo Building. The partners designed a commercial

[196] "No Coney Island (Letters to the Editor)," *Carmel Pine Cone*, 3/20/86; "Keep Carmel Intact (Letters to the Editor)," *Carmel Pine Cone*, 3/20/86.
[197] Gualtieri, Kathryn and Lynn A. Momboisse, *A Village in the Pine Forest: Carmel-by-the-Sea*, 2016, 13.
[198] "The 70s: A Decade in Review," *Carmel Pine Cone*, 1/24/80. Gualtieri and Momboisse, *A Village in the Forest: Carmel-by-the*-Sea, 12.

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example of the Bay Region Modern style, one that embraced the surrounding street views of the Carmel landscape; and designed two-building complex – a bank building and detached Community Room – with soaring vertical spaces, wide expanses of glass and an elevated walkway connecting the bank to the Community Room. Charles Lent, Jr., the bank's new manager noted: "Heavy beams, 24 new trees in a landscaping package, much more Carmelish style, that will fit in with what is already here." The design of the bank complex has received numerous accolades, since shortly after its construction and has been listed on the Carmel Inventory. [199]

Northern California Savings and Loan (1972) by Burde Shaw Associates on the southeast corner of Dolores Street and 7th Avenue (*Source: PAST Consultants, LLC 2024*).

Perhaps the largest project of the time period was the expansion of Carmel Plaza. The original 40,000 square foot design by Olof Dahlstrand, was substantially enlarged in 1974 with 70,000 square feet of additional retail space and significant changes in circulation, fenestration and exterior materials. [200] The development met with much controversy among Carmelites who considered it out of scale and character with the City's existing commercial architecture, with the *Carmel Pine Cone* noting that it "stirred a lot of interest among local residents and merchants."[201] Residents and civic leaders grew increasingly concerned with the type and extent of commercial development downtown, which culminated in a four-month moratorium on all new commercial building construction, winning a 4-1 vote in 1973. Planning Commissioner Ted Fehring said the Carmel Plaza expansion (approved in 1973 and completed in 1974) 'triggered' the moratorium.[202]

[199] "Notes on the Yellow Brick Wall," Carmel Pine Cone, 3/23/1972. See also: PAST Consultants, LLC, *Northern California Savings and Loan* (DPR523 Building, Structure and Object Record), 2022.

[200] "Carmel Plaza Grand Opening," *Santa Cruz Sentinel*, 5/16/1974, p.46.
[201] "What Happened in 1973," *Carmel Pine Cone*, 12/27/1973.
[202] "Motels are not a dirty word to me," *Carmel Pine Cone*, 12/27/1973, p.3.

Left: Carmel Plaza (1974), on the southwest corner of Ocean Avenue and Junipero Street (*PAST Consultants, LLC 2024*). Right: Nielsen Brothers Market (1980), on the northeast corner of San Carlos Street and Seventh Avenue (*Source: PAST Consultants, LLC 2024*)

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

A Victory for Locals

In 1976, local residents concerned with overdevelopment secured a preservation victory when the local preservation group Old Carmel and former *Carmel Pine Cone* editor Frank Lloyd the threatened Village Corner restaurant. The restaurant was a favorite meeting place for Carmelites and continues to operate today.[203]

Village Corner (1946) restaurant by Hugh Comstock, NE corner of Dolores Street and Sixth Avenue (*Source: PAST Consultants, LLC 2024*).

[203] Gilliam, Harold and Ann, *Creating Carmel*, 205.

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The Carmel Dynamic Continues (1966 - 1986): Architectural Development

With the exception of the expansion of Carmel Plaza, downtown commercial development was sparse. New residential properties were scattered throughout the city. The most significant additions to the city were in the form of residential properties, particularly in modernist styles.

Residential and Commerical Properties

While the City's survey process was underway in 2002, *The Carmel Pine Cone* interviewed architectural historian Kent L. Seavey to explain what gave rise to the Carmel's charm as evidenced by its residential architecture. Seavey noted, "People talk about the village character – the village character is eclectic," and he then summarized the dominant architectural styles: "the Arts and Crafts movement emphasizing natural materials, Comstock's fairytale cottages, the Mediterranean Revival and the modernist homes – made Carmel what it is." [204]

Continuing into the 1970s and 1980s, architects such as Walter Burde and Will Shaw, Albert Henry Hill and David Allen Smith designed buildings in the Bay Region Modern style. More recent architects, such as John Thodos, FAIA, updated the Bay Region Modern style by incorporating transparent rooms of glass, with mitered corners to completely merge interior and exterior space.

Left: David Allen Smith's Reflections (1968) at the northeast corner of Dolores Street and Franciscan Way (*Source: PAST Consultants, LLC 2024*). Right: John Thodos' Light House (1982/1997) on Scenic Road 6 SW of Ocean Avenue (*Source: Erik Dyar, AIA, Dyar Architecture, 2022*).

[204] Grippi, Tamara, "Learn Carmel's Architectural History Straight from Researchers in the Field," *The Carmel Pine Cone*, 12/20/2002.

Mark Mills added the Mr. & Mrs. William Junk House in 1965 in the Organic Style on San Carlos Street southwest of 13th Avenue in 1965.

Downtown, the most significant commercial property added was Burde Shaw Associate's Northern California Savings and Loan Complex in 1972.

Left: Mr. & Mrs. William Junk House (1965) by Mark Mills on San Carlos Street 3 SW of 13th Avenue (*Source: PAST Consultants, LLC 2024*). Right: South Elevation showing the nested shed roofs of the Northern California Savings and Loan Complex (1972) by Burde Shaw Associates, on the southeast corner of Dolores Street and 7th Avenue (*Source: PAST Consultants, LLC 2023*).

Civic and Institutional Properties

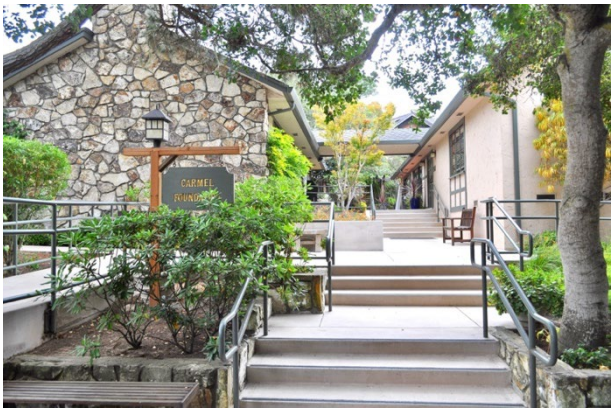
The primary civic building added was the Harrison Memorial Library's Park Branch (1971) by Olof Dahlstrand. Constructed as the Crocker Bank, the building was converted to a library annex in 1989 by architect William Foster and houses the Henry Meade Williams Local History Department.[205]

Harrison Library, Park Branch (1971), on the northeast corner of Mission Street and 6th Avenue (*Source: PAST Consultants, LLC 2024*).

[205] Mustard, John, "Details on Design of New Crocker-Citizens Bank," *The Carmel Pine Cone*, 12/3/1970.

Cultural and Religious Properties

The Carmel Foundation, Carmel's longstanding advocacy and housing group for senior citizens, constructed additions to the original Comstock and Associates-designed facility in 1973. James M. Pruitt was the lead designer of the project, constructing buildings using native Carmel stone with gable roofs and minimal Tudor Revival-style detailing.[206]



Additions to the Carmel Foundation Complex (1973), by James M. Pruitt, on the east side of Lincoln Street between 8th and 9th Avenues. (*Source: PAST Consultants, LLC 2024*).

Parks and Open Space

One of the most significant open space additions to Carmel-by-the-Sea occurred following purchase of 17.5 acres of the Doolittle Property at the wooded southeast corner of town and the 14.9-acre Flanders Estate in 1972. The combined property became the Mission Trail Nature Preserve in 1970, a 34-acre park that includes three miles of trails featuring native habits of the Monterey pine forest, coast live oak woodlands, a wetland, willow riparian corridor and coastal prairie. It also includes the Flanders Mansion and the Lester Rowntree Native Plant Garden.[207]

Architects and Builders

Significant architects, including Walter Burde and Will Shaw, Albert Henry Hill and David Allen Smith designed buildings in the Bay Region Modern style. Having already received honors for their design of the Shell Gas Station (1966) on the southeast corner of San Carlos Street and 5th Avenue, Walter Burde and Will Shaw designed the historically significant Northern California Savings and Loan Building in 1972. Mark Mills also contributed an additional building in the Organic style: the William Junk House in 1965.

More recent architects, such as John Thodos, FAIA, updated the Bay Region Modern style by reinterpreting traditional California vernacular barn forms into volumes of space and glass. His

[206] Consent Agenda Staff Report, Regional Coastal Zone Conservation Commission, Central Coast, Application #P-530, 10/25/1973, Carmel Documents and Records - Property File 010149011000.
[207] Webpage: Mission Trail Nature Preserve, City of Carmel-by-the-Sea: https://ci.carmel.ca.us/post/mission-trail-nature-preserve. Accessed 9/26/2024.

design for the 1982 Light House won the American Institute of Architects (AIA) Honor Award, only the sixth project from the Monterey Bay Chapter of the AIA to win an award, since the founding of the regional Chapter in 1953. When honoring Thodos with the award, the jury noted the building for, "Its extraordinary design, highly creative solution, sensitivity to site, and elegant detailing." [208]

The Carmel Dynamic Continues (1966 – 1986): Associated Property Types and Registration Requirements

Moving into the 1980s, Carmel's architecture is a continuum of the eight earlier architectural styles that shaped the City: Craftsman, Spanish Eclectic, Tudor Revival, Storybook, Monterey Colonial, California Ranch, Organic, and the Bay Region Modern style. Contemporary buildings in these styles are being constructed today. When these buildings attain 50 years of age and become subject to historic review, refer to the photographs and character defining feature lists for these styles to determine if such a building is a good representative.

Additions to the Bay Region Modern style (1966-1986) are presented on the next page.

[208] "Laub, Paul, "The Changing Face of Carmel," *Freedom of Speech*, Volume 2, Issue 9 (no date: Clippings File: "Historic Buildings – Carmel," California History Room, Monterey Public Library.

BAY REGION MODERN STYLE (1946 - 1986)

Reflections (1968) by David Allen Smith at the NW corner of Dolores St. and Franciscan Way

Howard Nieman House (1970) on Lincoln St. 2 SW of 4th Ave.

Golub House (1972) by Albert Henry Hill on North San Antonio St. NW of 4th Ave.

Northern California Savings and Loan (1972) by Burde and Shaw on the SE corner of Dolores St. and 7th Ave.

Light House (1982/1997) on Scenic Road 6 SW of Ocean Ave.

Thodos House (2006) on Torres St. 3 SE 3rd Ave. This is pictured as a contemporary example of the style.

Introduction

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

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

Character Defining Features

- Irregular plans and asymmetrical or box-like massing
- Flat, shed or gable roofs with wide overhangs
- Projecting shed or boxy volumes
- Minimal ornamentation; rather, the style is expressed by the use of wood exterior cladding and exposed structural elements
- Wide masonry chimneys
- Wide expanses of glass set within wood or metal frames
- Wood siding as exterior wall cladding in vertical-board, board-and-batten and shiplap finishes
- Building integrated with surrounding landscape
- Landscape may be designed by a significant landscape architect

Representative Buildings

- Reflections, David Allen Smith for Burde Shaw Associates (1968)
- Howard Nieman House, Albert Henry Hill, John Kruse (1970)
- Golub House, Albert Henry Hill (1972)
- Northern California Savings and Loan by Burde Shaw Associates (1972)
- Light House, John Thodos (1982/1997)
- Thodos House, John Thodos (2006)

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The Carmel Dynamic Continues (1966 – 1986): Registration Requirements

Historic Significance

The following table analyzes the significance of buildings by synthesizing the criteria established by the National Register of Historic Places (NR), the California Register of Historical Resources (CR), and the Carmel-by-the-Sea Municipal Code (CMC).

Ntl / CA Register	Carmel Municipal Code (CMC) §17.32.040	Significance	Analysis for Carmel Inventory of Historic Resources
A/1	1	Events, Patterns Trends	Should support at least one historic theme listed in the historic context statement. These events should be related to building construction in Carmel associated the Carmel Dynamic theme.
B/2	2	Persons	Should be associated with significant persons that contributed to the City's economic, cultural, social or developmental history. Significant persons may be associated with the development of City services and institutions, social or cultural organizations, the ongoing artistic and theatrical culture and the increased commercial development downtown. These buildings should be compared to other associated properties occupied by the person(s) to determine which location best represents the person(s) significant achievements.
C/3	3	Architecture, Construction Method	Buildings designed by a significant architect, landscape architect, or a significant builder should be strong examples of a particular architectural style and should possess sufficient historic integrity. Buildings designed by an unrecognized architect/builder but being a good representative of the architectural styles and types listed in this thematic time period are also appropriate, provided they maintain adequate historic integrity. Individual examples, which contribute to diversity in the community, need not have been designed by known architects, designer/builders or contractors. If located, these examples contribute to Carmel's unique sense of time and place shall be deemed significant, provided they maintain a particularly high degree of historic integrity.
D/4	4	Information Potential	Confined primarily to archaeological or subsurface resources that contribute to an understanding of historic construction methods, materials, or evidence of prehistoric cultures.

Historic Integrity Considerations

Residential buildings constructed during this thematic time period are more common and should be held to a higher standard of historic integrity, including retention of windows, doors, cladding and ornamentation. Additions to buildings constructed in the modernist styles should be of compatible materials and not remove original cladding or fenestration patterns. Additions to these buildings should reflect their original scale, massing and ornamentation, but be differentiated to highlight the historic nature of the original composition.

Commercial buildings in modernist styles are generally single-story and of smaller scale. Storefront modifications will likely remove their original glass-fronted display windows and exterior materials, both which will reduce their historic integrity.

For buildings associated with significant events or significant persons, integrity of location, setting, design, feeling and association are more important aspects of historic integrity. For buildings associated with architectural design and/or construction method historic integrity should be stronger, particularly the integrity of design, materials, and workmanship. The following list outlines the Minimum Eligibility Requirements and Additional Integrity Considerations.

Minimum Eligibility Requirements

- Retains sufficient character defining features to represent a given architectural style that dates to the thematic time period.
- Retains original form and roofline.
- Retains the original fenestration (window and doors) pattern, as expressed by the original window/door openings and their framing, surrounds or sills.
- Retains most of its original ornamentation.
- Retains original exterior cladding (or original cladding has been replaced in-kind).
- Alterations to buildings that meet the *Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties* are acceptable.

Additional Integrity Considerations

- For Bay Region Modern-style residential buildings retention (or in-kind replacement) of the original wall cladding is essential for listing.
- Rear or side additions should be constructed using similar materials but differentiated from the original modernist design, to highlight the historic building.
- For single-story commercial buildings with original display areas, storefront replacements are considered acceptable only if the original fenestration pattern has been matched closely.

5 CONCLUSIONS

Preservation Goals and Priorities

Carmel Inventory Update

The Carmel Inventory of Historic Resources Database lists 287 properties. These properties reflect the results of the early surveys in the 1990s by preservationist Enid Sales and Carmelite volunteers, and the 2001-2003 survey conducted by architectural historians Richard Janick and Kent L. Seavey. Additional properties have been subsequently added through the formal review process.

The field reconnaissance survey for this Context Statement update revealed that many Inventory-listed properties have been altered since the surveys were conducted. While alterations to these buildings were designed to be in conformance with the *Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties*, new historic integrity updates evaluations recommended.

Presently, the existing DPR523 forms for the Carmel Inventory list the broad themes and previous architectural styles of the former 2022 Context Statement. These survey forms should be updated to reflect the new themes and historic property types described in this document.

Potential Historic Districts

The 2001 – 2003 survey also established three potential historic districts, based on a concentration of properties sharing a given historic theme or property type. These districts are:

- Downtown Commercial District: Bounded by Mission Street to the north, Monte Verde Street to the south, 6th Avenue to the west and 7th Avenue to the east. This district was adopted as the Downtown Conservation District.[209]

- Comstock Hill Historic District: Bounded by Santa Rita Street to the east, Ocean Avenue to the south, Torres Street to the west and a line through the western half of Blocks 60 and 61. This area contains the largest concentration of buildings designed by Hugh Comstock in the Tudor Revival and Storybook styles.[210] Field survey reveals that the buildings within this potential district maintain sufficient historic integrity for this district to be established.

- Konigshofer-White-Sand & Sea Historic District: Includes the Sand & Sea residential development designed by Jon Konigshofer in the early 1940s, formerly containing a group of Postwar Modern-style houses.[211] Field survey has revealed that subsequent removals and alterations to the remaining buildings have removed the potential for a district at this location.

[209] Seavey, Kent L., *Downtown Commercial District* (DPR523 Building, Structure and Object Record), 2001
[210] Seavey, Kent L., *Comstock Hill Historic District* (DPR523 Building, Structure and Object Record), 2001.
[211] Seavey, Kent L., *Konigshofer-White Sand & Sea Historic District* (DPR523 Building, Structure and Object Record), 2002.

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7 APPENDICES

The following Appendices are largely reproduced from prior editions of the *Carmel-by-the-Sea Historic Context Statement.*

Appendix A: Historical Chronology of Carmel

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1822 Control of Alta California passes from Spain to Mexico.

1833 Secularization of the missions.

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

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

1849 The first Constitutional Convention is held in Monterey.

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

1861 Mission San Carlos Borromeo described as a complete ruin.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Arts and Crafts Society organized.

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

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

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

1914 Robinson and Una Jeffers arrive in Carmel from Monterey.

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

1916 Carmel incorporates.

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

1919 Three societies producing plays at the Forest Theater reunite.

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

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

1927 Carmel Art Association organized.

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

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

1937 Highway 1 opened down the coast of California.

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

1940 Carmel High School opened.

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

1946 Monterey County Symphony founded, housed at Sunset Auditorium.

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

Hugh Comstock appointed to Planning Commission.

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

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

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

1948 Anti-rooming house law upheld in court.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

New post-War architectural development boom.

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

City employees sign non-Communist oath.

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

Carmel's telephone central office building completed.

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

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

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

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

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

1954 Carmel Ballet Academy Building, designed by Elston and Cranston, constructed on Mission Street between Seventh and Eighth Avenues.

1954 Carmel Presbyterian Church formally organized with 70 charter members.

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

1955 Forest Theater Workshop inaugurated.

New shopping center proposed for the south side of Ocean between Junipero and Mission, which was at this time occupied by a creamery, a movie theatre, Murphy's lumberyard and the San Carlos Canning Company. Property owned by Leslie Fenton.

1955 Newly constructed Carmel Presbyterian Church dedicated.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Carmel General Plan adopted.

Carmel Citizens' Committee formed with membership of 600.

1960 First iteration of Carmel Plaza opens.

1962 First official Carmel Sand Castle contest held.

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

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

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

1965 Sunset Center purchased by the City.

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

1966 Vocal city council member Gunnar Norberg chairs Carmel's Golden Anniversary celebration, marking the 50-year anniversary of Carmel's incorporation.

1966 New Carmel police station, designed by Burde, Shaw and Associates, completed on Junipero and Fourth.

1969 Carmel passes emergency ordinance regulating the use of public property.

1970 Council member Gunnar Norberg leads successful fight to save the Forest Theater.

1971 California Supreme Court strikes down the 1969 public property ordinance.

1972 Northern California Savings and Loan building, designed by Walter Burde & Associates and Will Shaw & Burde Shaw Associates, constructed on Dolores and Seventh.

1972 City of Carmel purchases the Flanders Estate, including 14.9 acres of land, eventually developed into Mission Trail Park.

1972 California voters pass Proposition 20, creating the California Coastal Commission.

1973 The *Carmel Pine Cone* publishes the first cartoon by artist Bill Bates.

1974 Carmel Plaza expanded and remodel

1976 Gunnar Norberg selected as mayor and serves two terms until 1980.

1976 Carmel citizens group Old Carmel (later, Carmel Tomorrow, Carmel Today, and today Carmel Heritage), and former *Carmel Pine Cone* editor Frank Lloyd fight for and save Hugh Comstock's Village Corner restaurant.

1976 California State Legislature adopts the California Coastal Act of 1976.

1976 First architectural survey of Carmel's Significant Buildings conducted by Richard Janick, architectural historian. The survey concluded with a Proposed Carmel Significant Building list published in the *Monterey Peninsula Herald* in 1978.

1978 Carmel citizens pass an ordinance to make the mayor an elected position.

1978 First major study of Carmel's significant historic buildings conducted by architectural historian and Monterey Peninsula College instructor Richard Janick. A list of 112 structures was published in the *Monterey Peninsula Herald*.

1980 Former Carmel mayor Barney Laiolo (having served from 1968-1972) becomes Carmel's first elected mayor.

1982 Charlotte Townsend becomes second female mayor in Carmel's history.

1982 Mayor Charlotte Townsend wins a second consecutive term.

1984 Carmel passes new general plan.

1984 Improvements to M. J. Murphy's 1913 All Saints Episcopal Church updated and improved in an effort to modernize City Hall.

1984 Marjory Lloyd, local Carmel historian and advocate, forms the Carmel Heritage Society.

1985 Mayor Townsend's Beach Task Force completes Phase One of Carmel beach/bluff stabilization and the installment of new drainage infrastructure, in response to the 1983 winter storm.

Appendix B: Architects, Designers and Builders in Carmel

Architects

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

Designer/Builders

Miles Bain
Frederick Bigland
Ernest Bixler
Richard Bixler
Daisy Bostick
Artie Bowen
Hugh Comstock
Dean Denny
Delos Goldsmith
Levon "Lee" Gottfried
Donald Hale
James Heisinger, Sr.
Christian Jorgensen
Jon Konigshofer
Edward Kuster
C.H. Lawrence
Frank Lloyd
Meese & Briggs
Guido and Charles Marx
M.J. Murphy
Perry Newberry
Percy Parkes
George Quentel
Frank Ruhl
Louis Simonson
A. C. Stoney
Benjamin Turner
Herb Vial
Hazel Watrous
George Mark Whitcomb
W.W. Wood

Biographical Information for Designer/Builder/Architects Working in Carmel

The following provides biographical summaries of key historic designer/builder/architect personages in Carmel. It is not intended to be comprehensive; exclusion from this list does not preclude importance to Carmel's history.

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.[212] In the 1930s, Bain earned his own contractor license and constructed a number of houses in Carmel. After WWII, Bain and Whitcomb partnered up again to work for Bechtel Corporation, building oil-pumping stations in Saudi Arabia. Upon his return to Carmel, Bain received building commissions for the residences of Frank Lloyd Wright, Nathaniel Owings, Ansel Adams, and Neil Weston. Bain's Carmel office was listed in 1963 City Directories.

Richard Barrett (1943-) - Born in 1943, Richard Barrett received a Master of Architecture degree from Yale University and worked for the San Francisco office of Skidmore Owings & Merrill for several years and moved to Monterey, where he was employed for Hall & Goodhue (now HGHB Architects). While employed at Hall & Goodhue, he designed the Roman House on Junipero Avenue in 1973. In 1976 he established his own practice in Carmel-by-the-Sea and continues to practice in 2022. His modernist designs reflect his principle that modern buildings should harken to past romantic movements and should not all reflect the harshness of the International Style. More recent houses utilize modern interpretations of buildings from the English Craftsman Movement. Additional commissions in Carmel include The Sweeney House (1976) on Mission Street south of Thirteenth Avenue, and the MacKenzie House (1979) on Eight Avenue north of Santa Fe Street.[213]

[212] Department of Parks and Recreation, Building, Structure, and Object Record, Mary D. Crile House, 2.
[213] *Carmel Modernism*, Exhibit by the Monterey Area Architectural Resources Archive (MAARA), Carl Cherry Center for the Arts, Carmel-by-the-Sea, 2017. "Richard Barrett (Biography)," MAARA archives.

Carl Bensberg - An architect shown in City Directories as residing in Carmel from 1947 through 1963. Little is known of Bensberg's early life and training. He was a native of St. Louis, Missouri, and served in the U.S. Navy during WWI. He is known to have worked as a real estate developer and also a contractor.

Blaine & Olsen - Roger Blaine and David Olsen were Oakland-based architects who primarily focused on church and commercial projects. Blaine & Olsen traveled to Spain and became aware of the Spanish architecture and then proceeded to design a number of the best known Spanish Eclectic commercial buildings in Carmel, including La Ribera Hotel also known as the Cypress Inn, and the Kocher Building, known as La Giralda. The firm completed Spanish Eclectic designs in Oakland, Santa Barbara, and Carmel. The partnership lasted until the Great Depression.

Ernest Bixler (1898-1978) - Ernest Bixler 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.[214] 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.

Hugh Comstock (1893-1950) – Hugh Comstock developed the Storybook 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 "Otsy Totsy" dolls. The "Doll's House" became the first of many Storybook 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.

Guy Koepp (1896-1959) – Guy Koepp moved to Carmel Woods in the early 1920s after graduating from the University of Oregon. He designed several homes on the Peninsula in junction with the Parrot and Jones real estate firm, and is perhaps best known for La Rambla (1929) on Lincoln south of Ocean, and the Carmel Dairy (1932) on the northwest corner of Ocean and Mission.

George Brook-Kothlow (1934-2012) – A Minnesota native, George Andrew Brook-Kothlow graduated from the University of Colorado, Boulder with a degree in architecture. Following graduation, he trained for several years with Frank Lloyd Wright's granddaughter, Elizabeth Wright-Ingraham, and with San Francisco architect Warren Callister. He moved to Big Sur in 1966 and designed his first home there in what would be termed "Bohemian Modern," a design idiom that emanated from the Beat movement in the 1960s/1970s that emphasized a return to the land via handmade houses of natural materials that embraced the natural environment. His typical houses were designed under Wrightian Organic architectural principles combined with the use of exposed structural elements and Redwood sheathing. His buildings would be constructed "from

[214] Department of Parks and Recreation, Building, Structure, and Object Record, Ernest Bixler House, 2.

the ground up," using salvaged and on-site materials, such as reclaimed wood taken from demolished railroad trestles. An example of his Carmel designs is a house on Seventh Avenue 4 northeast of Forest Road.[215]

Burde, Shaw & Associates –Walter Burde (FAIA) graduated from the Miami University (Ohio) School of Architecture in 1934 and began his career locally designing hospitals and residences in the Toledo, Ohio area. Following World War II, he began his private practice in 1950, as chief designer for Robert Jones, AIA, aiding design in the award winning Monterey Airport. Walter Burde has won numerous architectural awards, including the American Institute of Architects (AIA) National Honor Award (1969), the Governor's Design Award (1966), the Monterey Bay Chapter Awards of Merit (1959 and 1976), and became a Fellow at the American Institute of Architects in 1987. His work has been published in numerous architectural journals. Walter Burde was active in the local community and held every office in the Monterey Bay Chapter of the AIA, receiving the Robert Stanton, FAIA award in recognition of his outstanding service. He designed numerous commercial, civic and residential buildings in the region and collaborated with fellow architect Will Shaw under the firm name Burde Shaw Associates.[216]

Born in Los Angeles in 1924, William Vaughn Shaw (FAIA) received his Bachelor of Architecture at the University of California, Berkeley in 1950. Shortly thereafter, he moved to Carmel, where he established his own firm. Will Shaw was admitted to the American Institute of Architects in 1957, served as president of the local Monterey Chapter in 1964 and was awarded his fellowship to the AIA in 1984. Will Shaw was active in local community development and served in various civic capacities. In 1978 Will Shaw, along with Ansel Adams and Fred Farr, founded the Big Sur Foundation, dedicated to the preservation of the Big Sur coastal environment.

Walter Burde joined Will Shaw's practice in Carmel, California in 1953 when the latter renamed the firm Burde, Shaw and Kearns, Associates (later Burde Shaw Associates). The partners developed a symbiotic partnership, with Walter Burde reportedly being the more artistic of the two partners and Will Shaw the pragmatist. The firm designed numerous successful and significant commercial, civic and residential projects in the greater Monterey Peninsula area. In Carmel, significant commercial buildings include the Palo Alto-Salinas Savings and Loan Association building on the corner of Dolores Street and Seventh Avenue (1972); and the Shell Oil Gas Station on the corner of San Carlos Street and Fourth Avenue (1963). The latter project received a Governor's Design Award in 1966 for its outstanding design.[217] In 1969, the partners split the two firm offices, with Walter Burde retaining the Carmel office; and Will Shaw retaining the Monterey office. The separate offices operated as Walter Burde & Associates and Will Shaw & Associates. However, the two continued to collaborate both professionally and in their various civic endeavors.

Thomas Church (1902-1978) - 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

[215] "George Andrew Brook-Kothlow (obituary)," *Monterey Peninsula Herald*, 9/23/2012. Richard Olson, "In Memory of George Brook-Kothlow, Architect.
[216] Janick, Richard and Kent Seavey, *Celebrating Walter Burde, F.A.I.A.*, unpublished manuscript, MAARA archives; Walter Burde, FAIA Nomination Application, 1987, MAARA archives.
[217]. "Architects Saluted for Design," Monterey Peninsula Herald, 12/26/66. "Architect Association Honors 2 Peninsulans," Monterey Peninsula Herald, 4/18/84.

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.[218] Church was educated at the University of California and Harvard, where he became fascinated with issues of California's climate and outdoor living. [219] By 1930 Church had established his own practice in San Francisco, the neoclassical style was the prevailing approach in landscape and city planning design. Church's unique approach towards unifying building and landscape with particular attention towards climate context and lifestyle gave birth to Modern landscape design and planning. Church and William Wurster, of Wurster, Bernardi and Emmons, were close friends and collaborated on many house and garden projects throughout their careers.[220]

Elston and Cranston (Thomas S. Elston and William L. Cranston) - The architectural firm of Elston and Cranston made significant contributions to the post-WWII architectural character of Carmel with their Modernist residential work that reflect the Bay Area regionalist styles popular during their time.[221] Born in Manila, Philippines and educated in the U.S., William L. Cranston (1918-1986) received his architectural degree from Princeton University.[222] 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.[223] 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.[224] Examples of Cranston's work in Carmel include the L. L. Spillers Guest Cottage and the house for Dr. and Mrs. Chester Magee.[225] Cranston is listed in City Directories as residing in Carmel from 1947 to 1963.

Olof Dahlstrand (1916-2014) –Born in Wisconsin, Olof Dahlstrand graduated with a degree in architecture from Cornell University in 1939. After designing buildings for the defense industry during World War II, he relocated to the San Francisco Bay area where he designed seven buildings in the Wrightian Organic idiom for individual clients. He established his architectural practice in Carmel in 1960, designing residences, schools and commercial buildings, including the 1966 Carmel Valley Shopping Center and the Wells Fargo Savings Bank (1964), extant on Dolores Street in Carmel and an example of Frank Lloyd Wright's Organic architectural style. Dahlstrand was an active participant in Carmel's community, having served on both the planning commission and city council. He retired in 1984, but he continued to do renderings for other architects in the latter part of his career.[226]

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[218] Corbett, 19.
[219] Marc Treib, editor. *Modern Landscape Architecture: A Critical Review*, Cambridge, MIT Press, 1992, 169.
[220] Corbett, 12.
[221] Department of Parks and Recreation, Building, Structure, and Object Record, L. L. Spillers Guest Cottage, 2.
[222] Department of Parks and Recreation, Building, Structure, and Object Record, L. L. Spillers Guest Cottage, 2.
[223] Department of Parks and Recreation, Building, Structure, and Object Record, L. L. Spillers Guest Cottage, 3.
[224] Department of Parks and Recreation, Building, Structure, and Object Record, L. L. Spillers Guest Cottage, 3.
[225] Department of Parks and Recreation, Building, Structure, and Object Record, Dr. & Mrs. Chester Magee, 2.
[226] Olof Dahlstrand biography, *Carmel Modernism*, 2017. "Olof Dahlstrand (obituary), *Monterey Peninsula Herald*, 7/22/2014. "Olof Dahlstrand (1916-2014)," Environmental Design Archives, University of California, Berkeley: https://archives.ced.berkeley.edu/collections/dahlstrand-olof.

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Gardner Dailey (1895-1967) – 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.[227] His work was featured in *House and Home* in February 1954 in which the Dailey's three design guidelines, verticality, rhythm and outdoor enclosure, were upheld as the lessons to make "any house more livable." In Carmel Gardner Dailey designed his own house on Ocean Avenue near Carpenter Street.[228]

Gordon Drake (1917-1952) – Born in Childress, Texas in 1917, Gordon Drake graduated with an architecture degree from the University of Southern California in 1941. His early influences were the work of Harwell Hamilton Harris and Carl Birger Troedsson. He designed his first structure as a U.S. Marines combat leader during World War II and worked at designing affordable houses for veterans following the war. The latter effort was an attempt to develop an architectural training and construction school for World War II veterans that designed simple houses along modernist design principles. When he relocated to northern California in 1951 he planned to develop the training program in earnest; however, he died in a skiing accident in 1952.[229]

John H. Gamble – John Howard Gamble began his design career in Monterey California in 1948. During his lifetime he created hundreds of designs for homes and commercial structures on the Monterey Peninsula. A licensed California architect, his work has been featured in *Architectural Digest* and many other architectural periodicals. John moved his offices to Carmel, California in 1957, where he formed John Gamble and Associates with John Cocker, a Pebble Beach architect. His son, John Beeson Gamble continues to design in the region today. John H. Gamble's homes were designed along modernist styles, including Wrightian Organic and Regional Expressionist styles, modern, rarely varying from this paradigm. His Carmel projects include the Jerome Politzer House on Mission Street northeast of Tenth Avenue and the Lillian Lim House (1965) on Dolores Street at the SE corner of Second Avenue.[230]

Donald Goodhue (1932-) – Donald Goodhue, FAIA, received his master's degree from Harvard University in 1956. Following graduation, he worked for the San Francisco office of Skidmore Owings and Merrill before moving to Carmel to work under Olof Dahlstrand from 1958 – 1959. In 1960, Donald Goodhue opened his own firm, teaming with cofounder Gordon Hall, forming the firm of Hall and Goodhue (later Hall Goodhue Haisley and Barker, or HGHB) in Monterey. Donald Goodhue was director of the Monterey Bay Chapter of the American Institute of Architects in 1970 and 1975. He was awarded Fellow of the American Institute of Architects in 1987. The firm worked extensively on the Monterey Peninsula, developing master plans and architectural designs for a diverse client base. Architectural projects include the Carmel Center Shopping

[227] Department of Parks and Recreation, Building, Structure, and Object Record, Gardner A. Dailey House.
[228] *House & Home*, February 1954, 124-129.
[229] MAARA archives and "Drake, Gordon (1917-1952)," Environmental Design Archives, University of California, Berkeley: https://archives.ced.berkeley.edu/collections/drake-gordon.
[230] "John H. Gamble (obituary)," *Monterey Peninsula Herald*, 11/6/1997.

Center, the Monterey Savings and Loan Building (Salinas), and the Customs House Urban Renewal Plan. In Carmel-by-the-Sea, the firm designed the Harrison Memorial Library annex.[231] Roger and Lee Gottfried - Roger Gottfried, an architect, is listed as a resident in Carmel City Directories from 1947 through 1963.

La Von "Lee" Gottfried (b.1896) - La Von E. "Lee" Gottfried was born in Ohio, July 12, 1896, and was educated to the high school level. He began his business career with Pacific Telephone Company and in 1917 enlisted in the United States Army. In 1919 he was honorably discharged having attained the rank of first lieutenant. In 1920 Lee came to Carmel and began work as a general contractor. Lee Gottfried (along with Edward Kuster) is credited with the transformation of the Ocean Avenue business district from a Western "false front" aesthetic (Carmel Bakery) to the Old World charm of a European village (Court of the Golden Bough). In 1921, Gottfried married Bonnie Hale, a native of Berkeley who had lived in Carmel since 1906, and built his family a home on Dolores Street 7 southeast of Thirteenth. 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.

Charles Sumner Greene (1868-1957) – a Charles Sumner Greene was born in Cincinnati, OH. Charles and his brother, Henry Mather Greene, grew up in St. Louis and studied at Washington University in St. Louis and at MIT's School of Architecture before working for firms in Boston. The brothers moved to Pasadena in 1893 and founded the architectural firm of Greene and Greene there in 1894. The Craftsman style Gamble House (1908) in Pasadena is considered one of the best examples of residential architecture in the country. In 1901 Charles Greene married Alice Gordon White, and in 1916 moved his family to Carmel, where he built his home and studio on Lincoln Street. D.L. James engaged Charles Greene in 1918 to design a home on a rocky bluff overlooking the Pacific Ocean in the Carmel Highlands. 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 (completed in 1924). He was also one of Carmel's first Planning Commissioners.

Albert Henry Hill (1913-1984) – Hill is a prominent figure in California architectural history for his contributions towards the emergence of the Second Bay Tradition style, which combined elements of the International Style with regional and vernacular influences.[232] Born in England and educated at University of California, Berkeley, and Harvard University, Hill studied under Bauhaus proponents, Walter Gropius and Marcel Breuer.[233] Hill worked with John Ekin Dinwiddie and Eric Mendelssohn in San Francisco in the late 1940s prior to establishing his private practice in Carmel and San Francisco. His partnership with architect Jack Kruse produced a number of "weekend houses" in Carmel, characterized by sharp and angular forms, use of traditional materials, and integration of the house into its local setting.[234] The partnership lasted until Hill's death in 1984.[235] Hill moved to Carmel in 1971, designing numerous homes throughout

[231] Seavey, Kent and Richard Janick, *Donald Goodhue, FAIA* (Unpublished Manuscript), Monterey Area Architectural Resources Archives (MAARA).
[232] 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.
[233] Department of Parks and Recreation, Building, Structure, and Object Record, Henry Hill House, 2.
[234] Progressive Architecture, "Three Weekend Houses," August 1962, 120-125.
[235] Progressive Architecture, "Three Weekend Houses," August 1962, 120-125.

the region and serving on Carmel's planning commission.[236] Hill's Carmel modernist houses include the three "Weekend Houses" (Vacation, Kruse and Cosmas houses - 1962) on Lopez Avenue north of Fourth Avenue, the Vivian Homes House (1962) on Mountain View Avenue and the Golub House (1972) on San Antonio Avenue.

Robert Jones (1911-1989) – A Carmel architect for 50 years, Robert R. Jones designed numerous residences and commercial buildings in the Monterey region. Born in Berkeley in 1911, he was educated at the University of California, Berkeley before locating on the Monterey Peninsula to work for architect Robert Stanton. Jones opened his own architectural practice in 1939 designing house plans for war housing and FHA apartments. By the war's end, Jones opened additional offices in Merced and Oxnard. On the Peninsula, his firm designed 27 canneries and reduction plants, as well as public buildings in Carmel and Pacific Grove, including an addition to the Pacific Grove Library. Jones designed several buildings the Monterey Peninsula Airport. His modernist design for the Monterey Airport Administration Building was considered won a major design award from the Smithsonian Institute. He also designed the Elk Lodge in Monterey. In Carmel, he designed the All Saints Episcopal Church and the Carmel Youth Center. Jones also designed a number of houses in the region and developed a signature, flat-roofed Modern style.

Paffard Keatinge-Clay (1926-2023) – Born in England in 1926, Paffard Keatinge-Clay moved to the United States, where he apprenticed with several important architects, such as Frank Lloyd Wright, Le Corbusier and the firm of Skidmore Owings and Merrill. His modernist designs in the San Francisco Bay area include an addition to the San Francisco Art Institute and the Student Union Building at San Francisco State University. As a Taliesen apprentice with Frank Lloyd Wright in Arizona, Keatinge-Clay designed the 1952 meditation room at the Carl Cherry Center for the Arts in Carmel.[237]

Jon Konigshofer (1906-1990) – Konigshofer began his career in the office of local designer, M.J. Murphy, a practitioner of the more traditional styles popular in Carmel during the first half of the twentieth century.[238] 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."[239] Jon Konigshofer's buildings include the Robert Buckner House (1947), the house at Thirteenth and Scenic (Kip Silvey), the house at Santa Lucia and Casanova (E.S. Hopkins), the Sand and Sea development (1941) on San Antonio Avenue, and the Keith Evans House (1948) on Franciscan Way.

[236] Monica Hudson, *Images of America: Carmel-by-the-Sea*, Arcadia Publishing, 2006, 122.
[237] Seavey, Kent. *Carl Cherry Center for the Arts* (DPR523 Form), 2001, 4. Kent Seavey, *Paffard Keatinge-Clay* (unpublished manuscript), MAARA archives.
[238] "Modern Style in Carmel Brings Cries of Anguish."
[239] "Carmel's Architecture Both Interesting and Livable."

John "Jack" Walter Kruse (1918-2000) - Formed a partnership with prominent Carmel architect Albert Henry Hill in 1948 after having worked together in the San Francisco office of influential European Modernist architect, Eric Mendelssohn. Hill was known to have been the principal designer and Kruse the engineer.[240] The firm of Hill and Kruse was based in San Francisco and designed over 500 commercial and residential buildings. His partnership with architect Henry Hill produced a number of residences in Carmel, characterized by sharp and angular forms, use of traditional materials, and integration of the house into its local setting, an example being Walter Kruse's house, one of three designs by Hill and Kruse on Lopez Avenue.[241] The partnership lasted until Hill's death in 1984.[242]

Edward Kuster (1878-1961) - Edward Kuster, born in Indiana and educated at the University of Southern California, was a Los Angeles-based musician and attorney before coming Carmel in 1921. Here he became involved in theater, establishing his own theatre and school. In 1922 Kuster purchased lots on the southeast corner of Monte Verde Street and Ocean Avenue and hired Carmel designer builder Lee Gotfried to design the Golden Bough Theater (1924, burned in 1935). Kuster purchased the Carmel Arts and Crafts Clubhouse on Monte Verde in 1930, renaming it the Studio Theatre of the Golden Bough. When it burned in 1949, Kuster rebuilt the extant Golden Bough Playhouse (1952). Kuster directed 85 plays and acted in more than 50 roles in the 35 years he lived in Carmel. He married Una Call in 1902; they divorced in 1913 and she remarried Robinson Jeffers. Kuster remarried three more times before his death in 1961.

Frank Lloyd (1907-1983) - 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.[243]

Rowan Perkins Maiden (1913-1957) – An architect and student of Frank Lloyd Wright, Maiden apprenticed at Taliesen West from 1939 to 1941. He settled in New Monterey on Huckleberry Hill in 1948 and designed several residences for artists in the area. Although steeped in Wright's Organic architectural philosophy, he designed modernist homes in his own vision of the style. His design in Carmel for Dorothy Green Chapman (on the Inventory of Historic Resources) was featured in *Sunset Magazine* in 1952 and *House Beautiful* in 1957. Maiden's most visible work is his design for Nepenthe Restaurant in Big Sur, completed just before his untimely death after falling off a roof in 1957. His Carmel commissions include the Chapman House (1949) on San Antonio Avenue southeast of Fourth Avenue.[244]

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[240] Monica Hudson, *Images of America: Carmel-by-the-Sea*, Arcadia Publishing, 2006, 123.
[241] Progressive Architecture, "Three Weekend Houses," August 1962, 120-125.
[242] Progressive Architecture, "Three Weekend Houses," August 1962, 120-125.
[243] Department of Parks and Recreation, Building, Structure, and Object Record, Frank Lloyd House, 3.
[244] "Rowan P. Maiden (obituary)," *Carmel Pine Cone*, 1/17/1957. "Mrs. Chapman Works to Preserve Carmel," *Monterey Peninsula Herald*, 4/9/1964.

Clarence Mayhew (1906-1994) - Mayhew was educated at the University of California, Berkeley.[245] 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.[246] In Carmel, Mayhew designed the Helen Proctor House (1948) on Scenic Road near Eleventh Avenue. Mayhew retired in 1955.[247]

Mark Mills (1921-2007) - A native of Arizona, Mills completed his Bachelor of Science in architectural engineering at the University of Colorado prior to working in the offices of Frank Lloyd Wright as a Taliesin Fellow from 1944-1948.[248] As a Taliesin Fellow, Mills worked on such projects as the Johnson Wax Building in Wisconsin. Mills eventually moved to San Francisco to work for the firm of Anshen + Allen. Other pioneering works of Modernism include his dome house in Cave Creek, Arizona designed with architect Paolo Soleri and the Eichler homes for Anshen + Allen architects in San Francisco in 1950. Mills' designs for the Marcia Mills House (1952) and Fairfield House (1953) on Mission Street and Rio Road in Carmel demonstrate Wrightian influences in the use of local building materials, an abstract plan, and landscape setting. His sculptural design of a residence for an artist in Carmel, featuring intersecting barrel vaults and a sprayed Gunite exterior, was widely published and praised in 1972. Mills remained in Carmel and worked until his death in 2007.[249]

Charles Willard Moore (1925-1993) – Born in Benton Harbor, Michigan, Charles Moore received a bachelor's degree in architecture from the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor in 1947. He traveled extensively, first in Europe, then in Japan while he served in the Army Corps of Engineers during the Korean conflict. He earned a master's degree and fine art doctorate from Princeton in 1957, writing his master's thesis on Monterey Adobe architecture. Moore relocated to the San Francisco Bay Area where he became a partner in the firm Moore, Lyndon and Turnbull – famous for their Third Bay Region residential designs at Sea Ranch (1966) in Sonoma County, which won numerous awards, both locally and from the American Institute of Architects. He designed numerous residential and commercial buildings, many steeped in a Bay Region modernist style. His final design was for the Dart Wing addition to the Monterey Museum of Art at La Mirada in 1992. Steeped in an understanding of architectural history, Moore spoke often about not replicating historic architectural designs, noting that such a practice gives a "movie set air" to the region's genuine historic buildings. Charles Moore traveled and taught extensively throughout his career and served as chair of the architecture department at the University of California, Berkeley from 1962 to 1965. He also taught at Yale, Princeton and UCLA. The American Institute of Architects awarded him a Gold Medal in 1991. In Carmel, Moore designed the Warren Saltzman House (1966) on Palou Avenue.[250]

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[245] Department of Parks and Recreation, Building, Structure, and Object Record, Helen I. Proctor House, 2.
[246] Department of Parks and Recreation, Building, Structure, and Object Record, Helen I. Proctor House, 2.
[247] Department of Parks and Recreation, Building, Structure, and Object Record, Helen I. Proctor House, 2.
[248] NorCalMod, 282.
[249] "Mark Mills (obituary)," *Monterey Peninsula Herald,* 6/20/2007. Janey Bennett, *The Fantastic Seashell of the Mind: The Architecture of Mark Mills* (ORO Editions, 2017).
[250] Muschamp, Herbert, "Charles Moore, Innovative Post-Modern Architect, is Dead at 68," *New York Times*, 12/17/1993; "Architect Charles Moore Dies," *San Francisco Examiner*, 12/17/1993; Steve Hauk, "The Man Who

Michael J. Murphy (1885-1959) – Born in Minden, Utah, M.J. Murphy arrived in Carmel in 1900. Without prior architectural experience, he built a house for his mother in 1902 (today, the "First Murphy House"). Frank Devendorf hired Murphy in 1903 as a builder for the Carmel Development Company. Murphy designed vernacular style and Craftsman style cottages. In 1914, he established his own contracting company, and in 1924 erected a lumber/storage yard at the present site of the Carmel Plaza. Over his career he designed some 300 buildings in Carmel, the most by a single individual in the City's history. While most of his structures were of his own design; later in his career, his firm, M.J. Murphy Inc. would build designs by leading regional architects such as the Bay Area architects Bernard Maybeck (Harrison Memorial Library) and Julia Morgan. In the late 1920s, he published *Structures of the Period, Carmel-by-the-Sea, California, Compliments of M.J. Murphy, Inc.*, a 31-page book that celebrated his work in Carmel and the Monterey region. He retired in 1941; his grandsons continue to operate the family lumber business out of Carmel Valley today.

Athanase Nastovic (1888-1965) – A native of Belgrade, Serbia, Athanase N. Nastovic taught at the architecture department of Moscow University. He immigrated to Oakland, California with his wife, Olga in 1924 where the architect began designing commercial and residential buildings, including an apartment building on Kempton Avenue, where he resided. In 1927, the *Monterey Herald* noted the architect's design of a number of buildings in the Hatton Fields area of Carmel in period revival styles. He received contracts for the design/build of additional Monterey-peninsula buildings, but he went bankrupt during the Great Depression. The last known West Coast reference to the architect's work appeared in the *Los Angeles Times* in 1932, where his work was being displayed in a local exhibit. He passed away in Flushing Grove, New York in 1965 and is buried in Cedar Grove Cemetery.

Earl Percy Parkes (1884-1955) – Percy Parkes was born on May 2, 1884, in Port Clinton, Ohio. He entered the University of Los Angeles to study law, but left his studies to start his career as a builder. One of the early builders of Carmel, active in the 1920s and 1930s, Parkes counted among his commissions the Seven Arts Building (1928), Dummage Building (1924), and the Percy Parkes Building (1926). He also built a residence for Jo Mora on San Carlos 3 southwest of First Avenue, and a home for Charles Sumner Greene on Monte Verde between Thirteenth and Santa Lucia Avenues.

Guy Rosebrook (1894-1962) - 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 Rosebrook's residential designs in Carmel are extant, though have been altered.[251]

C.J. Ryland (1892-1980) - Carmel architect Columbus J. Ryland was born in San Jose, on December 6, 1892 and studied at the Western Normal California School of Arts and Crafts. In

Made Architecture Fun," *Monterey Peninsula Herald*, 1993. See also: Charles Moore Foundation: Biography, http://www.charlesmoore.org/who.html.

[251] Department of Parks and Recreation, Building, Structure, and Object Record, Frances C. Johnson House, 2.

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1918 Ryland entered military service and was sent to France; after the war he remained in France to study architecture at the University of Toulouse. Upon returning to the United States, Ryland joined the Fresno firm of Swartz & Swartz. After the death of A.C. Swartz in 1919, Ryland became a partner in the firm. Swartz & Ryland conducted a brisk business doing residential, commercial, and school work throughout the Central San Joaquin Valley; by 1926 their influence extended to the Bay Area, where they designed the Union Stage Depot in Oakland. Further expanding their territory, they opened a branch office in Monterey in 1928 and another in Salinas in 1931. Ryland won commissions for Monterey City Hall (1936) and Santa Cruz City Hall (1937). In Carmel, Ryland added an auditorium annex to the Sunset Center in a dramatic Tudor Revival style in 1931, and built the Art Deco style Bank of Carmel building at the northeast corner of Ocean and Dolores in 1938.

Marcel Sedletzky (1923-1995) - Known for a design aesthetic that reflected his Modernist European training and exposure to the forceful Modernism of Le Corbusier, as well as the effects of the natural environment that characterized the Craftsmen and Bay Area Traditions. Born in Russia, Sedletzky lived most of his life in Monterey, California and Mexico.[252] In addition to his practice, Sedletzky played an important role in the architectural department at Cal-Poly, San Luis Obispo, and helped to establish the university's reputation as a top architectural school on the West Coast.[253] His design for the Esther M. Hill House in Carmel is the only known example of Sedletzky's work in Carmel, and a representative example of the Third Bay Region Style.

David Allen Smith (1935-) – Born in Detroit, Michigan, David Allen Smith earned an architecture degree from the University of Southern California. After working for several firms in Los Angeles, he moved to Carmel in 1956 to work for Burde Shaw and Associates. After opening his own firm, he designed numerous Bay Region-style modernist residences in Carmel and the Monterey Peninsula region, many of them published in architectural journals. His Garcia House in Carmel won an AIA Honor Award in 1976. His design for Reflections (1972) is a recent example of the Bay Region style constructed in Carmel.[254]

Edwin Snyder (1888-1969) - Born in Stockton, California, Edwin Lewis Snyder was educated at the University of California, Berkeley and the Ecole des Beaux Arts in Paris. Prior to establishing his own firm in Berkeley, Snyder worked in the offices of Day and Weeks, then one of the prominent San Francisco firms of the early twentieth-century, and the large real estate firm of Mason-McDuffie designing period revival homes. Snyder represented that group of architects who continued the traditional as opposed to modernist trends in design, as is evidenced in his Monterey Colonial Revival style design for the Spinning Wheel Restaurant in Carmel. [255]

Robert Stanton (1900-1983) - 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.[256] Stanton had a profound influence in the region, training a generation of local architects. He helped establish

[252] http://www.architectureweek.com/2003/0625/next_week.html, accessed 28 March 2008.
[253] Department of Parks and Recreation, Building, Structure, and Object Record, Esther M. Hill House, 2.
[254] "David Allen Smith (unpublished biography)," MAARA archives.
[255] Department of Parks and Recreation, Building, Structure, and Object Record, Spinning Wheel Restaurant, 2.
[256] Monica Hudson, *Images of America: Carmel-by-the-Sea*, Arcadia Publishing, 2006, 84.

the Monterey Bay Chapter of the American Institute of Architects in the 1950s, of which he was the first fellow.[257] 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.[258] 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 Stanton was one of the founders of the Monterey Bay Chapter of the American Institute of Architects, and in 1972 was the first member of the organization to become a Fellow of the A.I.A. labeled by his peers as the Dean of Monterey Area Architects, most of the local architectural designers passed through his firm at one time or another.

Ralph L Stean (1918-2004) – Born in Massachusetts, Ralph Leo Stean was the leading building contractor for the Carmel Valley Fire District Station in 1948. Stean resided in Carmel Valley and constructed a number of post-adobe houses in the Carmel Valley region. Stean was the contractor for the hyperbolic-roofed Donna Hofsas House (1960) and resided at the property in the 1970s where he ran for City Council in 1976.[259]

Robert A. Stephenson (1917-2012) – Born in Findley, Ohio, Robert Anderson Stephenson, AIA, studied architectural drafting at the University of Southern California and became a civilian draftsman for the United States Navy following graduation. Stephenson moved to Carmel in 1947 to work for the architect Robert Stanton and for Hugh Comstock briefly in the 1950s. He subsequently opened R.A. Stephenson Building Design, where he worked until his retirement in 1998. He was active in Carmel politics as a member of the Planning Commission and later a City Council member. He was also active in Carmel's music community and supported the Monterey County Symphony and the Carmel Bach Festival. Stephenson designed homes in Carmel including his own residence at Forest Street and Eighth Avenue.[260]

John H. Thodos (1934 - 2009) –The son of Greek immigrants, John Harry Thodos earned a degree in architecture from the University of Oregon in 1960 and established his own firm in Portland, Oregon after working with Northwest Regional-style architect William Fletcher and Skidmore, Owings, and Merrill (SOM). He also served on the Portland Design Review Commission and the city's Metropolitan Arts Commission. In the mid-1970's, after rejecting a move back to his native Greece, he purchased a home in Carmel, despite having never visited previously, to use as a design studio, allowing him to get away one week per month from his Portland office. A few years after that, he purchased an empty lot on Scenic Road between Ocean Avenue and Eighth and proceeded to design and build a glass and wood home which eventually became known as the "Light House" that was widely published and won an AIA Honor Award. In 1989, Thodos moved his office to Carmel to live and work here full time. He was a modernist architect known for fitting buildings onto challenging sites and connecting indoor spaces to the outdoors with expansive, light-filled

[257] Monica Hudson, *Images of America: Carmel-by-the-Sea*, Arcadia Publishing, 2006, 84.
[258] "Stanton to be honored by fellow architects," *Carmel Pine Cone, Carmel-by-the-Sea, Calif.*, 24 August 1972.
[259] Richard Janick, *Donna Hofsas House (DPR523 Form)*, 2002. "Wilder Files for Carmelo District; Three for Tularcitos," *Carmel Pine Cone*, 3/14/52; "Twelve Candidates Vie for Three Seats," *Carmel Pine Cone*, 2/26/76.
[260] Department of Parks and Recreation, Building, Structure, and Object Record, Robert A. Stephenson House, 2. "Robert Anderson Stephenson (1917-2012) Obituary," *The Salinas Californian*, 2/27/12.

spaces. As a Carmel architect, John Thodos designed numerous award-winning houses, as well as, commercial work in Carmel and the Monterey Peninsula area, winning 15 awards from the American Institute of Architects. His Carmel designs include the "Light House" on Scenic Road and the design for his private residence on Torres Street. These are excellent examples of his unique architectural style and can be seen as part of the Bay Region Modern-style idiom, taking the historical precedents of the Second- and Third- Bay Region influences a step further. In 2010, he was posthumously inducted into the AIA College of Fellows for design excellence.[261]
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.[262]

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.[263] 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.[264] 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 (1898-1981) – Mr. Whitcomb moved to the Monterey Peninsula in 1921. He served in the Navy as a carpenter during WWI. He initially worked for Hugh Comstock and then opened his own business in partnership with Miles Bain, who worked as an estimator. Mr. Whitcomb, who primarily designed custom homes, was known for the high quality of his work. Many of his early homes were designed in the popular Tudor Revival style. He later helped build Wild Bird in Big Sur and Ansel Adams' home in the Carmel Highlands. Whitcomb is listed in City Directories as a resident of Carmel from 1947 to 1963.

George Willox (1903-1968) – An architect who is best known for his design of the Church of the Wayfarer, Willox is listed in City Directories as a resident of Carmel from 1947 to 1963. Born in Scotland and raised in Canada, Willox graduated with a degree in architecture from the University of Michigan. He moved to Carmel from Los Angeles and joined Robert Stanton's firm as head designer. He eventually opened his own architectural practice. Willox served on Carmel's Planning Commission for fourteen years and was appointed to the California State Planning Commission by Governor "Pat" Brown.

Frank Lloyd Wright (1867-1959) – Considered one of the founding fathers of Modernism, Frank Lloyd Wright has influenced generations of architects through his early Prairie Style houses, exemplified by the Robie House in Chicago, and later with his design philosophy of "organic" architecture, exemplified by 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

[261] Thodos, Diane, "Remembering John Thodos, Award Winning Architect – 1934-2009," MAARA archives. "John Harry Thodos Obituary, http://www.tributes.com/obituary/show/John-Harry-Thodos-87248601; AIA Monterey Bay Arts and Architecture Lecture Series: Creating the Architecture of the Monterey Peninsula: John Thodos, FAIA presented by Erik Dyar, AIA (September 23, 2021). https;// https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jyUcqKXzjAk
[262] Department of Parks and Recreation, Building, Structure, and Object Record, Norman Rial House, 2.
[263] Department of Parks and Recreation, Building, Structure, and Object Record, Helen T. Warren House, 2.
[264] Department of Parks and Recreation, Building, Structure, and Object Record, Helen T. Warren House, 2.

stained glass windows. Other high-profile works throughout the U.S. include the Johnson Wax Headquarters building and the Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum. The Walker House (1952) in Carmel is a representative example of Wright's concept of "organic" architecture, with its use of native wood and stone materials, window patterns and careful siting. Wright influenced numerous Carmel architects, including Mark Mills and Jon Konigshofer.[265]

William Wurster (1895-1973) – Born in Stockton, California, William Wurster has been widely recognized as the father of "Everyday Modernism," utilizing the vernacular architectural forms and materials of the California landscape in novel ways, particularly his residential designs in the 1930s to the 1950s. Educated at the University of California, Berkeley, Wurster began his career in the New York office of Delano and Aldrich, and subsequently in the San Francisco office of John Reid. He founded his own practice in 1924, and was later joined by Theodore Bernardi in 1934 and Donn Emmons in 1945. In addition to his practice, Wurster taught at MIT and the University of California, Berkeley. Wurster returned to California in 1950 and held the post of Dean of Architecture at U.C. Berkeley until 1963, where he is most well known for combining the architecture, landscape architecture and city and regional planning departments to create the College of Environmental Design. William Wurster, Theodore Bernardi, and Donn Emmons were named Fellows of the AIA and Wurster received the coveted AIA Gold Medal Award for lifetime achievement in 1969. The Dianthe Miller House, Nelson Nowell House, and Albert Merchant House in Carmel are representative examples of Wurster's design aesthetic, mixing natural materials and new technologies. In Carmel, Wurster designed two houses on Scenic Rd.: the Nelson Nowell House (1947) and the Merchant House (1961). The Nelson Nowell House was featured in the First Museum Exhibition of Domestic Architecture of the San Francisco Bay region held at the San Francisco Museum of Art in 1946.[266]

Frank Wynkoop (1902-1978) – Born in Denver, Colorado, Frank Wynkoop is known primarily for his school and public building designs and in the mid-twentieth century, had established offices throughout California, including San Carlos, San Francisco, Fresno, Bakersfield, and Carmel. Wynkoop's best known work in Carmel was his sea house on Carmel Point. At the time of its construction in 1952, the building was the subject of much controversy with its U-shaped plan, lack of chimney and flue, and inverted, butterfly-shaped roof.[267]

Joseph Henry Wythe (1920 - 2019) – Raised in San Jose and a graduate of the University of California, Berkeley with a degree in architecture, Joseph Wythe apprenticed under Bruce Goff at Oklahoma University before moving to Monterey in 1951. Following a meeting with Frank Lloyd Wright, Wythe became interested in the master's Organic architectural designs and designed residences in partnership with George Thomsen. His best-known architectural design in Carmel is the Rial House at Lincoln Street and Fourth Avenue in 1963.[268] Wythe also taught architecture at Monterey Peninsula College. After his marriage with Idaho native, Lois Renk, the couple relocated to Sandpoint, Idaho in 1977.

[265] Department of Parks and Recreation, Building, Structure, and Object Record, Mrs. Clinton Walker House, 4.
[266] Department of Parks and Recreation, Building, Structure, and Object Record, Helen Nelson Nowell House, 3-4.
[267] Pete Gilman, "New Carmel Point House Has Many Novel Features," 10 April 1952;.
[268] "Joseph Wythe biography, "*Carmel Modernism* (2017 exhibit at the Cherry Center for the Arts; Joseph Wythe obituary: https//lakeviewfuneral.com/obituaries/joseph-wythe/179/.

Appendix C: Historical Figures in Carmel

The following provides biographical summaries of key historic personages in Carmel. It is not comprehensive; exclusion from this list does not preclude importance to Carmel's history.

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

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

President of the Board of Trustees, 1916-1928

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

Mayors

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, 1st elected Mayor, 1980-1982
Charlotte Townsend, 1982-1986
Clint Eastwood, 1986-1988
Jean Grace, 1988-1992
Kennedy White, 1992-2000
Sue McCloud, 2000-2012
Jason Burnett, 2012-2016
Steve Dallas, 2016-2018
Dave Potter, 2018-2024
Dale Byrne, 2024-current

Members of the Board of Trustees, 1916-1950

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

Donald M. Craig, 1946-1952
Andrew Martin, 1948-1952
Gene A. Ricketts, 1948-1952

Members of the Craftsman 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

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

Founding Members of the Carmel Art Association

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

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

Artists Working in Carmel: 1940 – 1986

Martin Baer
Clancy Bates, sculptor
Dudley Carter, sculptor
John Catlin, sculptor
David Ligare, painter
Richard Lofton, painter
Alec Miller, sculptor
Frank Moore

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

Biographical Summaries

Elsie Allen – Founding president of the Arts and Crafts Club of Carmel, Allen was a former editor of *Harper's* magazine and retired faculty member of Wellesley College.

Mary Austin – Born on September 9, 1868 in Carlinville, Illinois, Austin was a prolific writer who published some thirty-two volumes in addition to approximately two hundred articles in periodicals. Austin moved to a ranch near Bakersfield with her family when her father died in 1888. Married to Stafford Wallace Austin in 1891, she gave birth to a daughter the following year who was later found to be mentally retarded. She separated from her husband and moved to Carmel in 1906. Unable to afford the construction of a house on the lot she had purchased, she rented a cottage and later stayed in the Pine Inn. San Francisco architect Louis Mulgardt designed a studio platform around the limbs of an tree on her North Lincoln property. Austin called it her wick-i-up and spent many house there writing about nature and women's rights. In 1908, thinking herself hopelessly ill, she went to Italy to study prayer and mysticism with the Blue Nuns. Her book, *Christ in Italy*, was a product of her experience there. In 1912 she returned to Carmel and finally built a cottage beside her tree house. In 1924 she established herself in Santa Fe where she fought for the preservation and rehabilitation of Indian and Spanish arts and handicrafts.

Leonard Bacon – Bacon moved to Carmel in the 1920s. He wrote the satirical verse "Guinea Fowl", "Lost Buffalo" and others for *Harper's Weekly*.

Raymond Stannard Baker (AKA David Grayson) – Journalist, Pulitzer Prize winning biographer and essayist, Baker was born in Lansing, Michigan on April 17, 1870. From 1892 to 1897 he was a reporter for the Chicago Record. He moved to New York with his wife and children in 1898 to work for *McClure's Magazine* of which he served as associate editor until 1906. Baker then joined in the purchase of American Magazine, of which he was one of the editors until 1915.

He was asked by Woodrow Wilson to edit his papers. Baker received the Pulitzer Prize for biography in 1940 for *Woodrow Wilson: Life and Letters*. He died in 1946.

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

William Rose Benet – Poet and novelist, Benet was born on February 2, 1886. He was on the staff of Century Magazine from 1911 to 1918. From 1919 and 1920 Benet was assistant editor of the Nation's Business, and went from there to the *Literary Review of the New York Evening Post*, from which the *Saturday Review of Literature* grew. In 1942, he received the Pulitzer Prize for *The Dust Which Is God*, an autobiographical verse narrative. Benet shared a cottage in Carmel with his former Yale classmate Sinclair Lewis.

Geraldine Bonner – Bonner moved to Carmel after the San Francisco earthquake. She was a writer for the *San Francisco Argonaut* and author of *The Pioneer* and *The Emigrant Trail*.

Daisy Bostick – Daisy Fox Desmond Bostick first came to Carmel from San Jose as a guest of the Newberrys in 1910. She moved to the village permanently in 1918, pursuing a variety of activities including managing the Hotel Carmel with her husband Lou Desmond and writing a column for the *Carmel Pine Cone*. An acute observer of life in Carmel, she co-authored *Carmel at Work and Play* with Dorothea Castelhun in 1925.

Arthur (Artie) Bowen – Born in Sotoville in January 1887, Bowen moved to Carmel from San Jose. He built a cottage for himself on the east side of Casanova between Ninth and Tenth where he resided until his marriage in 1906. He worked for Devendorf for six years and later went into contracting and remodeling. He died in 1969.

Van Wyck Brooks – Literary historian and novelist, Brooks arrived in Carmel for a short period in 1911. He was the author of *The World of H.G. Wells* and *America's Coming of Age*. Although he was critical of the lifestyle of the bohemians in Carmel, he returned for extended visits during the 1930s and 1940s.

Davenport Bromfield – In April of 1888 W.C. Little and Bromfield were commissioned to survey Carmel City for Santiago Duckworth. Bromfield, Little's apprentice, ended up doing most of the work while living in a small (extant) cottage he built for himself on the east side of Carpenter Street 2 southeast of Second.

Ferdinand Burgdorff – Born on November 7, 1881 in Cleveland, Ohio. Burgdorff first came to Carmel in 1908 to visit his friend and fellow Bohemian Club member, Charles Rollo Peters. He soon returned and rented a small portion of the kitchen belonging to the Arts and Crafts Club,

which he used as his first studio while often swapping notes with Sidney Yard. He later built a home on Boronda Road in Pebble Beach. Burgdorff died in 1975.

Argyll Campbell – Born on December 2, 1892 in San Jose, Campbell was the city attorney and responsible for drafting many of Carmel's first zoning laws and ordinances. He is best remembered for writing Ordinance No. 96 (passed June 1929), Carmel's "Magna Carta": "The City of Carmel-by-the-Sea is hereby determined to be primarily, essentially, and predominately a residential city wherein business and commerce have in the past, are now, and are proposed in the future to be subordinated to its residential character."

Dorothea Castelhun – Castelhun moved to Carmel from Massachusetts during the 1920s. She published the series of stories for girls, *The Penelope Books*, and co-authored *Carmel at Work and Play* with Daisy Bostick.

Father Angelo Casanova – Casanova, a priest at San Carlos Church, was responsible for the partial restoration of the Carmel Mission in 1884, which involved putting a roof on the church to protect it from the elements.

Lena Cherry – Cherry was a poet and artist who moved to Carmel in 1920 with her first husband M.I.T. professor, Dr. Alfred E. Burton. Six years later she left him and their three children for inventor Carl Cherry. They purchased Delos Goldsmith's house which was constructed between 1892 and 1894. After her husband died, Cherry created the Carl Cherry Foundation and remodeled their house into a gallery and theater.

Josephine Culbertson – Culbertson came to Carmel in 1906 with her friend and companion, Ida Johnson. Soon they opened a studio to display their art and built a home at Lincoln and Seventh, known as "Gray Gables." They helped organize the Carmel Art Association, of which Culbertson was the founding vice-president. In addition to their artistic endeavors, they established The Dickens Club, a local boys club.

John Cunningham – Cunningham originally appeared in Carmel in 1926 with a cast of amateur actors from Berkeley. He stayed on for a few months painting sets for the Forest Theater. A decade later he returned with his wife, Pat, and set up permanent residence. In 1939, the Cunninghams bought the Carmel Art Institute from Armin Hansen and Paul and Kit Whitman.

Pat Cunningham – Cunningham, an oil painter and muralist, was the first woman president of the California Art Association. She and her husband, John, bought the Carmel Art Institute from Armin Hansen and Paul and Kit Whitman in 1939.

Dene Denny – born in Callahan, California, Denny acquired a degree from the University of California at Berkeley. She moved to Carmel in 1924 with her companion, Hazel Watrous. They first built a studio on Dolores near First, which Watrous also designed. From 1927 to 1928 they leased the Golden Bough Playhouse from Edward Kuster and presented eighteen plays. They formed the Denny-Watrous Gallery in 1928 which sponsored concerts and art exhibitions. They also co-founded the Bach Festival in 1935.

Eva K. DeSabla – DeSabla was first elected to public office as a City Trustee October 31, 1916 when Carmel-by-the-Sea incorporated. She was reelected April 12, 1920 and appointed president, but resigned from office September 29, 1920. She came to Carmel from Marysville, where she was known as Eva K. Couvileau.

Frank Devendorf – Born April 6, 1856, Devendorf left his native town of Lowell, Michigan at sixteen to join his mother who lived in San Jose. He later established himself in the real estate business there and in Stockton. In 1902 he acquired Carmel City from Santiago Duckworth and the following year established the Carmel Development Company with Frank Powers. He set the stage for the development of Carmel-by-the-Sea and became its unofficial mayor. He and his wife Lillian had four daughters Edwina, Marion, Myrtle and Lillian.

Paul Dougherty – An artist who achieved fame as a seascapist, Dougherty was a National Academician who settled in Carmel Highlands in 1928. He served as president of the Carmel Art Association in 1940.

Harry Downie – Downie was a cabinetmaker from San Francisco. He was commissioned by Monsignor Philip G. Scher of San Carlos Church to restore the Carmel Mission in 1931. He died March 10, 1980 and was buried alongside the mission.

Santiago Duckworth – In 1888, Santiago J. Duckworth purchased 324 acres of land from Honoré Escolle and filed a subdivision map for Carmel City. The area was surveyed by W.C. Little and generally bounded by Monte Verde on the west, Forest Road on the east Twelfth Avenue on the south and First Avenue on the north. Duckworth, already established in the real estate business in Monterey, planned on developing Carmel City as a summer resort for Catholics, akin to the Methodist retreat already established in Pacific Grove. He opened the Hotel Carmelo on the northeast corner of Ocean Avenue and Broadway (Junipero) in 1889.

Louise Norton Drummage – A native of Illinois, Louise came to California in 1897 to work at the Agnew State Hospital in San Jose. While taking a holiday in Pacific Grove in 1899, she met and later married Melvin Norton, proprietor of the Cash Package Grocery. The couple first visited nearby Carmel in June 1903 where they bought property and established the village's first restaurant. They built a house at Seventh and San Carlos, which was later moved to Ninth and San Carlos. In 1906, Louise opened a bakery, and later built the Tel and Tel Building, constructed by Percy Parkes, which was razed in 1957. She later married William T. Drummage.

William T. Drummage – Drummage was sent to Carmel in 1892 as the resident agent for Abbie Jane Hunter. He and his mother moved from San Jose to Carmel in 1898 to a house he built on the lot bounded by San Carlos, Mission and Fourth streets. In 1899, Abbie Jane Hunter sold Drummage a portion of her Carmel holdings. He was Carmel's first plumber. He later married the widow Louise Norton.

Amos Engle – A landscape artist, Engle moved to Carmel during the 1920s.

Nora May French – A gifted poet and protégé of George Sterling, French came to Carmel in 1907. Sterling built a cabin for her in the Eighty Acres so she would have a place to write. She later committed suicide.

Delos Goldsmith – Born in Painsville, Ohio on September 3, 1828, Goldsmith moved to San Francisco at nineteen where he worked as a carpenter. He moved to Carmel in 1888 and began constructing homes. He was the uncle of Wesley Hunter, husband of Abbie Jane Hunter.

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*.

Arnold Genthe – Prussian Arnold Genthe had originally intended to become a teacher in his homeland. He came to Carmel via San Francisco, where he became a member of the Bohemian Club and a fledgling photographer, not long after his friend George Sterling. He built a redwood home on Camino Real near Eleventh and continued to develop his skill and his reputation as a portrait and landscape photographer. While living in Carmel, he took his first color photographs. In San Francisco in 1911, he displayed one of the first exhibitions of color photographs in the United States.

Armin Carl Hansen – Born in San Francisco on October 23, 1886, Hansen studied art at the California School of Design and later in Stuttgart, Germany. He was a painter and etcher who was noted for his portraits of Spanish and Portuguese fisherman of the Monterey Bay. A National Academician, he was an organizer of the Carmel Art Association—of which he was later president—and the Carmel Art Institute. He died April 23, 1957.

Ella Reid Harrison – Ella Reid Harrison can be considered the most generous supporter of Carmel's library. Harrison bequeathed a large portion of her estate including bonds, land, books and furniture to the city on the condition that they be used to build a public library in memory of her late husband, California Supreme Court Justice Ralph Chandler Harrison.

Herbert Heron – Heron was born in 1883 in New Jersey. He had been a professional actor with the Belasco and Morasco Stock Company in Los Angeles and first visited Carmel in July of 1908. Returning one year later, Heron built a home at Guadalupe and Mountain View. The following year he formed the Forest Theater Society. Heron also opened the first genuine book shop in 1918 in the Eighty Acres. It was later moved to the Seven Arts Building on the corner of Lincoln and Ocean which he built in 1925, and sold in 1940. In later years he served on the city council and as mayor from 1930 to 1934.

James "Jimmy" 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.

Abbie Jane Hunter – Hunter founded the Women's Real Estate and Investment Company in 1892. She acquired partial interest in the development of Carmel City and sponsored the Carmel Bathhouse (built by Delos Goldsmith). She is credited with coining the name Carmel-by-the-Sea.

Robinson Jeffers – Jeffers was born in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. He studied various fields including forestry and medicine before deciding to become a poet. Initially considered to have an unpromising career, his genius blossomed during the 1920s. His principal work, *Roan Stallion, Tamar and Other Poems*, was published in 1925. Jeffers and his wife, Una, began renting a house on Monte Verde near Ocean in 1914. Several years later they purchased land on Carmel Point and hired Michael J. Murphy to build a house. Constructed of native granite, they called it "Tor House" because the treeless, windswept lot facing the ocean reminded them of the tors in England. Observing the stone masons during the construction, Jeffers later built "Hawk Tower."

David Starr Jordan – The first president of Stanford University, Jordan built a house at the northeast corner of Camino Real and Seventh in 1905. That section of the street later became known as "Professor's Row." Jordan was also the author of *Blood of the Nation, The Higher Sacrifice* and *The Strength of Being Clean*.

William Keith – California's best known landscape artist, Keith was born in Aberdeenshire, Scotland on November 21, 1838. he was a prolific artist, however, 2,000 of his paintings, sketches and studies were destroyed in the San Francisco fire of 1906. He died April 13, 1911.

Harry Lafler – Literary editor of the *Argonaut*, Lafler moved to the Carmel area after the San Francisco earthquake. He actually lived down the coast most of the time and wrote for local papers. He also worked on the publication of poems by Nora May French after her death.

Father Fermín Francisco de Lasuén – The building at Mission San Carlos de Borromeo was begun in 1793 under the direction of Father Lasu**é**n.

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

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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.

M.M. Murphy – Murphy moved to Carmel during the 1920s and lived at Twelfth and Casanova. He was an author, paleontologist and Navajo Indian Reservation official.

Perry Newberry – Perry Newberry came to Carmel with his wife, Bertha, in 1910. He was formerly on the art staff of the *San Francisco Examiner*. He became the assistant editor of the *Carmel Pine Cone* and later its owner until he sold it in 1935. In 1922, he successfully ran for the Board of Trustees and became the fifth mayor of Carmel. Newberry fought to preserve the unique and rural quality of Carmel before passing away in 1938.

Helen Parkes – Helen Parkes was one of the multi-faceted women who pepper the early history of Carmel. Her accomplishments include stints on the city council and the first planning commission, service as assistant postmistress, botany instructor at Cedar Croft, and reader of the Christian Science Church. She was one of the first members of the Forest Theater Society, and

wrote and produced one of its plays, *The Columbine*. In many of her activities she was joined by her lifelong friend, Stella Vincent.

Ralph Pearson – Pearson, a noted etcher, moved to Carmel from New Mexico during the 1920s.

Charles Rollo Peters – Born in San Francisco on April 10, 1862, Peters left the insurance business to become an artist in 1885. Following five years of study in San Francisco and Paris, he settled on the Monterey Peninsula. Peter's home was a gathering place for other artists when he was not working. He died in 1928.

Frank Powers – Generally credited as one of the founders of Carmel, Powers and James Franklin Devendorf became partners in the Carmel Development Company in 1903. An attorney, Powers loved nature and the arts. He maintained the old Murphy property on San Antonio as a vacation home for his family.

Jane Gallatin Powers – Married to Frank Powers, Jane Powers was a painter and a founding member of the Arts and Crafts Club. She was the daughter of one of California's wealthiest industrialists, Albert Gallatin, and the sister-in-law of Ernest Seton Thompson.

Ira Remsen – An artist, Ira Remsen was a New Yorker who had studied painting in Paris. His studio on Dolores Street became the permanent home for the Carmel Art Association in 1933, five years after the artist himself had committed suicide. During his residency in Carmel (on the Highlands), Remsen was active in the Arts and Crafts Club, the Carmel Art Association, and the Forest Theater.

William Ritschel – Marine landscape artist Ritschel was born in Nuremberg, Bavaria in 1864. He came to United States in 1895 and settled in New York City. Having later visited Carmel, he returned in 1918 to build his "Castle" in the Highlands with the help of a Spanish stone mason. Ritschel was a founder the Carmel Art Association and a National Academician. His second wife was Elanora Havel.

Dane Rudhyar – Musician and philosopher, Rudhyar moved to Carmel during the 1920s.

Frederick Preston Search – An accomplished cellist and composer, Search and his wife established their home on the corner of Thirteenth and Monte Verde in 1914. From 1920 to 1933 he directed the orchestra at the Del Monte Hotel. Later he lived on Jamesburg Road in the Carmel Valley.

Catherine Comstock Seideneck – Seideneck was the daughter of Nellie Comstock, the patron of the Carmel Art Institute, and the sister of Hugh Comstock. She taught leather work at the School of Fine Arts at the University of California at Berkeley and later at the Carmel Arts and Crafts Summer School.

George Seideneck – Seideneck was born in Czechoslovakia in 1885. He moved to Chicago as a young man where he studied at the Art Institute and later became a commercial illustrator. Upon moving to California, Seideneck was a long time staff artist with the coastal laboratories of the

Carnagie Institute as well as photographer and artist of landscapes and portraits. He belonged to the group which formed the Carmel Art Association and became its first president. His other cultural activities included the Carmel Music Society. Seideneck designed the walls and corners of Devendorf Park. He and his wife Catherine opened their studio in the Studio Building on Ocean Avenue August 17, 1922 and built their home in the Carmel Valley.

Father Junipero Serra – Serra was born in Petra on the Isle of Mallorca on November 24, 1713. He entered the Order of Saint Francis at a young age. At thirty-six, he was sent to Mexico where he was a missionary for nineteen years before being sent to California to establish a chain of missions. He arrived on the shores of the Monterey Bay in 1770 with the Portola exhibition and established the Carmel Mission. Serra went on to establish seven more missions and died on August 28, 1784.

William Posey Silva – An artist, Silva built the Carmelita Gallery on San Antonio north of Ocean Avenue.

Louis Slevin – An avid photographer, Slevin held the first of many posts in Carmel. A man of many facets, Slevin was a shopkeeper, postmaster, city treasurer, writer, and stamp collector, collector of rare books, and maritime historian. Ranging from 1899 to 1935, Slevin's photographs provide important documentation of the changes in the Monterey Bay area.

Robert Stanton – Carmel architect Robert Stanton was the designer of many notable buildings in the Monterey and Santa Cruz area. A native of Torrance, California, Stanton worked for the architect Wallace Neff as a traveling superintendent during the early 1930s. In 1934, he moved to Carmel which he had developed a liking for during his honeymoon at the Highland Inn twelve years earlier. His first commission in the area was the Salinas County Courthouse in 1935. He also designed some sixteen hospitals and forty schools.

Lincoln Steffens – Political writer and social critic, Steffens was born on April 6, 1866 in San Francisco. He received a Ph.D. from the University of California. He became a "muckraking" reporter and held several editorial positions with magazines including *McClure's Magazine* and *American Magazine*. He and his wife, Ella Winter, moved into a cottage on San Antonio near Ocean during the 1920s where he wrote his autobiography and edited the *Pacific Weekly*.

George Sterling – Poet George Sterling came to California in 1890 from Sag Harbor Long Island. He studied for the priesthood for three years, then left to work for his uncle, Frank Havens, as an insurance Agent. He married Carrie Rand and settled in Piedmont. His friend, Ambrose Bierce, helped him publish his first collection of poems in 1903. Jack London introduced him to Mary Austin who in turn introduced him to Carmel in the summer of 1905. He built a house in the Eighty Acres on Torres between Tenth and Eleventh. Sterling committed suicide in 1926.

Joyce Stevens – An artist, architect and environmentalist, Joyce Stevens worked as a watercolorist before earning an architecture degree at the University of Washington. After working for several firms in Alaska, she designed a building at Ladd Air Force Base near Fairbanks. She arrived in the Monterey Area in 1962, designing several buildings at Fort Ord. By 1964, she resided in Carmel, designing a modernist home for herself. A devoted Conservationist, Joyce Stevens coauthored the

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book, "Coastal California's Legacy: the Monterey Pine Forest," in 2011 as part of her decades-long effort to preserve the area's native pine forests. She succeeded and in 2014, the Monterey Peninsula Regional Park District purchased the 851-acre Rancho Aguajito property and dedicated it as the Joyce Stevens Monterey Pine Forest Preserve.[269]

Saidee Van Brower – Saidee Van Brower was first elected city clerk in 1920 and won every bid for reelection thereafter. A dance instructor in Berkeley, Van Brower was one of the many artistic-minded people who moved to Carmel in 1907. She performed in the Forest Theater productions as well as directed the corps de ballet.

Stella Vincent – Like her close friend Helen Parkes, Stella Vincent was prominent in several aspects of village life. Librarian from 1911 until 1915, she was assistant postmistress during the tenure of I.E. Payne and assumed the principal post in 1918, serving until 1929. She was one of the founding members of the Forest Theater Society, was an officer of the Bank of Carmel established in 1923, and was an early member of the Christian Science Church.

Grace Wallace – Wallace moved to Carmel during the 1920s and lived at "Wee Gables" on Camino Real near Thirteenth. She was known for her plays *Sun Gazers* and *Poorest of the Poor*.

Hazel Watrous – Watrous was a supervisor for the Alameda school system. She moved to Carmel in 1924 with her companion Dene Denny, who she met at Berkeley. They first built a studio on North Dolores, which Watrous also designed. From 1927 to 1928 they leased the Golden Bough Playhouse from Edward Kuster and presented eighteen plays. They formed the Denny Watrous Gallery in 1928 which sponsored concerts and art exhibitions. They also co-founded the Bach Festival in 1935. In addition to being active in drama, music and art, they designed thirty-six houses in Carmel. Watrous also served on the city council.

Florence Wells – Wells came to Carmel in 1908. She was one-time president of San Francisco Women's Press Club. Wells owned and built the first house on the Point, "The Driftwood."

Edward Weston – A nationally recognized photographer, Weston moved to Carmel in 1929 and established a small studio to support his children. In 1932 Weston, along with Ansel Adams, was one of the seven founding members of the F/64 Club which promoted straight photography as a true art form. Weston is best known for his interpretations of the natural environment (Point Lobos, Big Sur, Carmel Valley and the Southwest) and for his insightful portraiture. In 1937 he relocated to a small cabin built by his son above Wild Cat Creek in Big Sur.

George W. Whitcomb – Born in 1898, Whitcomb was one of the builders who shaped early Carmel. Like many of his contemporaries in Carmel, he was not formally trained as an architect; rather, he had been an 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.

[269] "Ninety Years of Life – and 60 Years of Conservation," *Carmel Pine Cone*, 1/27/2017.

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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.

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