HISTORIC CONTEXT STATEMENT CARMEL-BY-THE-SEA, CALIFORNIA



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

Prepared By:

PAST CONSULTANTS LLC

PAST Consultants, LLC P.O. Box 721 Pacific Grove, CA 93950

Prepared For:



City of Carmel-by-the-Sea Community Planning & Building Department P.O. Box CC Carmel, CA 93921

30% Draft: May 13, 2024

TABLE OF CONTENTS

1	EX	ECUTIVE SUMMARY	2
2	INT	TRODUCTION	3
	2.1.1 2.1.2	1	3
	2.2	Carmel-by-the-Sea: Geographical Area	7
	2.3	Project Team	7
	2.4	Project Methodology	8
	2.5	How to Use This Document	9
	2.6	Acknowledgements	10
3	IDI	ENTIFYING AND EVALUATING HISTORIC RESOURCES	11
	3.1	Introduction	11
	3.2	Historic Preservation in Carmel	11
	3.3	Evaluation Criteria	11
	3.3.1		
	3.3.2		
	3.3.3		
	3.3.4	4 Carmel-by-the-Sea Municipal Code	13
	3.3.5	5 Carmel-by-the-Sea Historic Resources Inventory	14
	3.4	Carmel Archaeological Significance Overlay District	17
1	HIS	STORIC CONTEXT	19
	4.1	Introduction and Summary of Historic Themes	19
	4.2	Prehistory and Hispanic Settlement (1542-1848)	20
	4.3	Carmelo (1848-1902)	32
	4.4	Seacoast of Bohemia (1903-1923)	40
	4.5	Village in a Forest (1924-1945)	40
	4.6	Postwar Development (1946-1965)	41
	4.7	Continuity in Change: The Carmel Dynamic Continues (1966-1986)	41
5	RIF	BLIOGRAPHY	42



1 EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

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

Regulations of the U.S. Department of the Interior strictly prohibit unlawful discrimination in departmental federally assisted programs on the basis of race, color, sex, age, disability, or national origin. Any person who believes he or she has been discriminated against in any program, activity, or facility operated by a recipient of Federal assistance should write to:

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



2 INTRODUCTION

2.1 PROJECT FUNDING BACKGROUND AND OBJECTIVES

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

2.1.1 PURPOSE OF HISTORIC CONTEXT STATEMENTS

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

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

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

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

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.



¹ U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, *National Register 24: Guidelines for Local Surveys: A Basis for Preservation Planning*, 4.

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

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

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

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

Historical Background: Provide a narrative broad-brush historical overview of the overarching forces (environmental, geographical, social, cultural, political, governmental, technological) which have shaped land use patterns and development of the built environment of the area under consideration.

Theme: Refer to NR Bulletin 16B, pages 12-13. This narrative section provides a focused, analytical discussion of the historical patterns, significant events or activities, environmental, social, political, technological and cultural influences, and significant individuals and groups relevant to the context theme. This section is intended to establish through analysis the historical significance of properties associated with the theme. Note: A historic context statement for local government surveys typically will include several themes. OHP's preference is that the associated property types, eligibility criteria and integrity threshold

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.



4

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.

section for each theme follow the particular theme.

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

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

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

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

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

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



- OHP standards, nor were any additions made to develop associated property types, architectural styles, character defining features, eligibility criteria or integrity thresholds.
- Fourth Edition, 2023, by PAST Consultants, LLC. This recent addition updated the historic time period to 1986 within the five major contextual areas of the original document. Recognizing that no evaluative methodology had been created yet, the Architectural Development chapter included a visual survey of Carmel architectural styles from 1935 1986 with lists of character defining features, eligibility criteria and integrity thresholds, as a means of introduction to the proper methodology for evaluating historic buildings according to OHP guidelines.

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

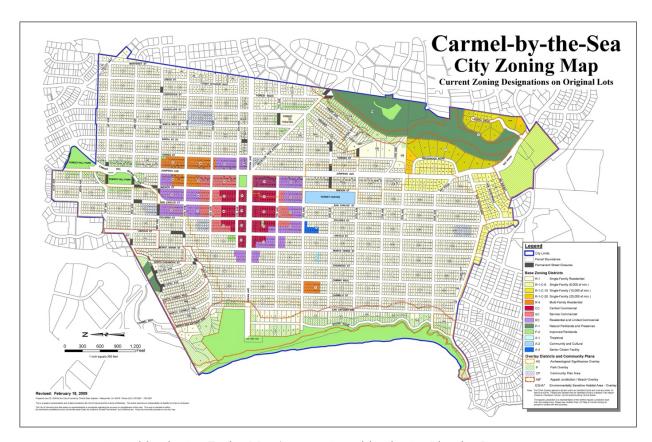
The following revised historic context statement has been prepared according to California OHP standards and includes administration; project methodology; the evaluative criteria of the National Register, California Register and the Carmel Historic Resources Inventory; and Carmel's historic context.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

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



2.2 CARMEL-BY-THE-SEA: GEOGRAPHICAL AREA

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



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

2.3 PROJECT TEAM

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

California Office of Historic Preservation Insert name and title of CLG Coordinator

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



City of Carmel-by-the Sea

PO Box CC

Carmel, CA 93921

Marnie Waffle, Principal Planner; Katherine Wallace, Associate Planner

Historic Preservation Consultant:

PAST Consultants, LLC*

P.O. Box 721

Pacific Grove, CA 93950

Seth A. Bergstein, Principal

Kent L. Seavey, architectural historian/subconsultant

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

2.4 PROJECT METHODOLOGY

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

Historical Research

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

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



Field Reconnaissance Survey

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

Project Meetings

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

Tribal Outreach

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

2.5 How to Use This Document

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

The historic context (statement) is an organizing structure for grouping information about historic properties that share a common theme, place, and time. A historic context focuses on describing those historical development patterns within which the significance of a resource can be understood.

Historic context statements are a specialized form of historical writing with specific goals and requirements. They are not intended to be a chronological recitation of a community's significant historical events or noteworthy citizens or a comprehensive community history. Nor are they intended to be academic exercises demonstrating prodigious research, the ability to cite myriad primary and secondary resources, and write complex and confusing prose comprehensible only to professionals in the field. Rather, historic context statements need to be direct, to the point, and easily understood by the general public.⁷

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



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

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

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

2.6 ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS



3 IDENTIFYING AND EVALUATING HISTORIC RESOURCES

3.1 Introduction

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

3.2 HISTORIC PRESERVATION IN CARMEL

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

3.3 EVALUATION CRITERIA

3.3.1 NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES (NR)

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

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

⁸ California Code of Regulations, 14 CCR § 15064.5.

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

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

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

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

3.3.2 CALIFORNIA REGISTER OF HISTORICAL RESOURCES (CR)

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

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

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

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

3.3.3 HISTORIC INTEGRITY

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

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

¹¹ California Public Resources Code § 5024.1(c).



¹⁰ 36 C.F.R. § 60.4.

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

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

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

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

3.3.4 CARMEL-BY-THE-SEA MUNICIPAL CODE

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

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

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



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

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

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

3.3.5 CARMEL-BY-THE-SEA HISTORIC RESOURCES INVENTORY

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

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

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



- an intensive survey." If the initial assessment determines that the subject property is ineligible for the Carmel Inventory, no further investigation of the property is necessary.
- 2. If the initial assessment determines that the subject property will meet the criteria for listing on the Carmel Inventory, an intensive survey is then conducted. Similarly, if the initial assessment is unable to make a determination of eligibility, an intensive survey is conducted. It should be noted that intensive surveys, referred to as **Phase One Historic Assessments**, must be conducted by a qualified architectural historian under an on-call contract with the City. Carmel-by-the-Sea utilizes two qualified architectural historians to perform the intensive surveys. Intensive surveys include the preparation of State of California, Department of Parks and Recreation forms (DPR523 forms) for the subject property.

3.3.5.1 Phase One and Phase Two Historic Assessments

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

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

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

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

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



The Secretary of the Interior's Standards

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

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

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

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

The ten Standards for rehabilitation are:

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

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



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

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

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

3.4 CARMEL ARCHAEOLOGICAL SIGNIFICANCE OVERLAY DISTRICT

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

The purposes of the AS archaeological significance overlay district are to implement the General Plan/Coastal Plan Land Use Plan and to:

A. Protect archaeological sites in Carmel that can provide evidence of the area's earliest human habitation, help to document the cultural history of the City, and are often highly significant to Native American descendants as burial grounds or because of their connection to sacred traditions.

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



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

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

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

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



4 HISTORIC CONTEXT

4.1 Introduction and Summary of Historic Themes

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

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

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

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



4.2 Prehistory and Hispanic Settlement (1542-1848)

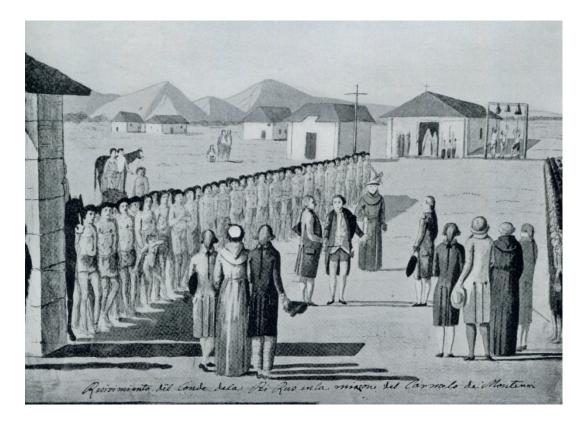


Image from a 1786 painting by Gaspard Duche de Vancy, showing the arrival of French explorer Jean Francois Galaup de la Perouse at the Carmel Mission. (*Source:* Van Nostrand and Coulter, *California Pictorial*, 11).¹⁷

The Ohlones: The Region's Earliest Inhabitants

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

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

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



20

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



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

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

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



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

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



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

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

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

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



22

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

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

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

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

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

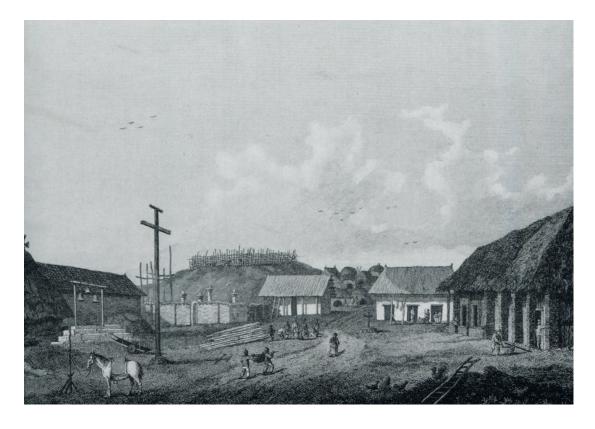
²⁴ Ibid, 21.



²¹ Breschini, Gary, The Indians of Monterey County 10.

²² Margolin, *The Ohlone Way*, 26; Breschini, 27.

²³ Ibid, 10.



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

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

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

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

²⁶ Margolin, Malcolm, Life in a California Mission: The Journals of Jean François de La Perouse, 80.



²⁵ Van Nostrand, Jeanne and Edith M. Coulter, California Pictorial, 11.

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

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

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

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

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

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

³⁰ Breschini, Gary, *The Indians of Monterey County*, 29, 38.



²⁷ Heizer, Robert F., *The Costanoan Indians*," 45-46. The spelling of the tribelet names taken directly from the quote.

²⁸ Ibid, 51.

²⁹ Margolin, Malcolm, Life in a California Mission: The Journals of Jean François de La Perouse, 82.

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

Spanish Period (1769 – 1822)

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

More than 160 years passed before the Monterey Bay area again caught Spain's attention in 1768, when the crown ordered protection for California's coast against possible English, Dutch and Russian threats. The governor of Baja California, Captain Gaspar de Portolá, led a 1769 expedition up the California coast by land and sea. Father Junípero Serra of the Franciscans of the Apostolic College of San Fernando in Mexico City accompanied him. The Portolá Expedition passed through the Monterey Bay Area several times, founding the Presidio of Monterey and the Mission San Carlos Borromeo in Monterey (later moved to Carmel) in 1770.³³

Development of the Carmel Mission

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

³³ Fink, *Monterey: The Presence of the Past*, 17-24, 30, 37, 40, 43.

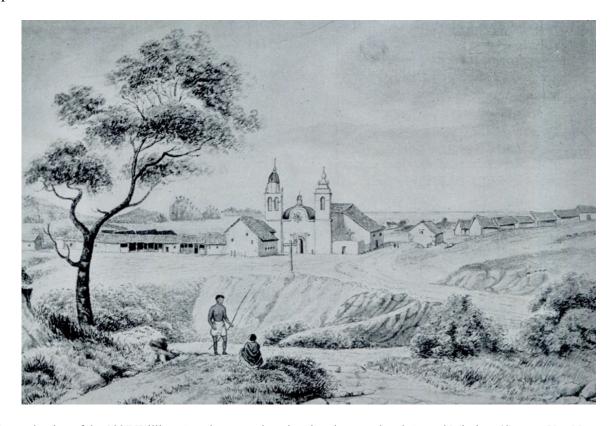


³¹ Breschini, Gary, The Indians of Monterey County, 29, 38.

³² Starr, Kevin, California: A History, 36.

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

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



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

³⁶ Van Nostrand, Jeanne and Edith M. Coulter, California Pictorial, 25.



27

³⁴ Temple, Sydney, *The Carmel Mission*, 14. The quote is from the 1956 biography by Kenneth M. King, *Mission to Paradise – The Story of Junipero Serra and the Missions of California*.

³⁵ Temple, Sydney, *The Carmel Mission*, 35.

The Carmel Mission's greatest period of growth occurred between 1784 and 1793 under Father Serra's successor and close friend, Fermin Francesco de Lasuen, who had accompanied Serra and Father Francisco Palou to establish the California mission system. Construction of the landmark stone church building would begin in 1793, under direction of mason Miguel Esteban Ruiz, sent by Spanish governor Felipe de Neves. The building is constructed of local sandstone quarried in the Santa Lucia mountains and brought to the site by an Ohlone labor force. The cornerstone was laid on July 7, 1793. The foundation of the new stone church is visible in the 1793 John Sykes drawing shown previously in this chapter. Construction was completed in 1797.³⁷ The completed church was the subject of an 1827 watercolor by William Smyth (previous page) and provides an excellent representation of the various buildings.

The End of Spanish Rule over Alta California

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

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

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

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

³⁸ Starr, Kevin, California: A History, 37.

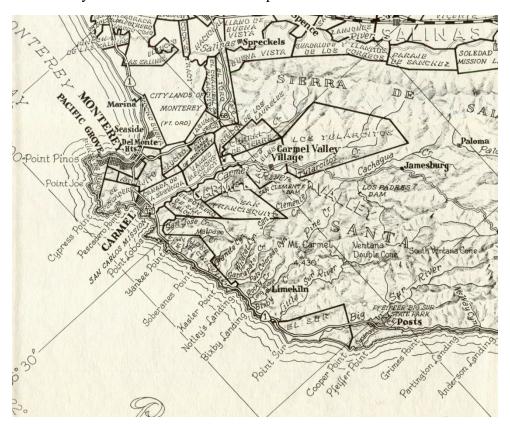


³⁷ Belleza, Robert A., Missions of Monterey: Images of America, 8, 20.

Mexican Period (1822 – 1847)

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

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



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

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

⁴⁰ Fink, Augusta, *Monterey: the Presence of the Past*, frontispiece.



29

³⁹ Temple, Sydney. *The Carmel Mission*, 81.

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

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

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

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

Associated Property Types and Registration Requirements

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

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

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

⁴³ Temple, Sydney, *The Carmel Mission*, 92.



⁴¹ Temple, Sydney, Carmel-by-the-Sea, 39-40.

⁴² Starr, Kevin, California: A History, 50.

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

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

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



4.3 CARMELO (1848-1902)



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

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

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

⁴⁶ Clark, Donald Thomas, *Monterey County Place Names*, 72.



⁴⁵ Hudson, Monica, Carmel-by-the-Sea: Images of America, 16.

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

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

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

Restoration of the Carmel Mission

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



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

⁴⁹ The Society of California Pioneers, Accession Number C009237, Accession Bin/Box B001812. Viewed on https://www.carletonwatkins.org/getviewbyid.php?id=1003588, accessed May 3, 2024.



33

⁴⁷ Seavey, Kent L., *Pacific Grove: Images of America*, 52.

⁴⁸ Hudson, Monica, Carmel-by-the-Sea: Images of America, 12.

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



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

Santiago J. Duckworth and the Creation of Carmel City

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

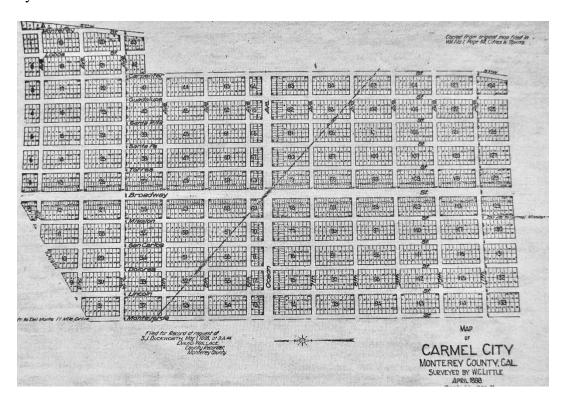
⁵² The 1890 Polk's Monterey County City Directory (page 727), lists Santiago J. Duckworth as a real estate and insurance agent. It lists Belisario E. Duckworth as city clerk, notary public and agency for Carmel City property.



⁵⁰ Temple, Sydney, Carmel-by-the-Sea, 54; National Register of Historic Places, Inventory and Nomination Form No. 660002: *Mission San Carlos De Borromeo Del Rio Carmelo*.

⁵¹ Seavey, Kent L., Carmel: A History in Architecture, 11.

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



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

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

PAST CONSULTANTS LLC

35

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

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

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

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



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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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



Architectural Styles and Character Defining Features

Queen Anne Style (1888-1902)



Abbie Jane Hunter House

Introduction

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

Character Defining Features

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

Representative Buildings

• Abbie Jane Hunter House (1894)



Early Carmel Vernacular Style (1848-1902)



Santiago Duckworth House

Introduction

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

Character Defining Features

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

Representative Buildings

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



Historic Significance

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

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

Historic Integrity Considerations

Minimum Eligibility Requirements

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

4.4 SEACOAST OF BOHEMIA (1903-1923)

4.5 VILLAGE IN A FOREST (1924-1945)



- **4.6** POSTWAR DEVELOPMENT (1946-1965)
- 4.7 CONTINUITY IN CHANGE: THE CARMEL DYNAMIC CONTINUES (1966-1986)



5 BIBLIOGRAPHY

Books

Belleza, Robert A., *Missions of Monterey: Images of America*. Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2012.

Breschini, Gary S., *The Indians of Monterey County*. Monterey, CA: Monterey County Archaeological Society, 1972.

Clark, Donald Thomas, *Monterey County Place Names*. Carmel Valley, CA: Kestrel Press, 1991.

Fink, Augusta, Monterey: the Presence of the Past. San Francisco, CA: Chronicle Books, 1972.

Heizer, Robert F., *The Costanoan Indians*. Cupertino, CA: California History Center, De Anza College, 1974.

Hudson, Monica, *Carmel-by-the-Sea: Images of America*. San Francisco, CA and Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2006.

King, Kenneth, *Mission to Paradise – the Story of Junipero Serra and the Missions of California*. Chicago, IL: Franciscan Herald Press, 1956.

Margolin, Malcolm (editor), *Life in a California Mission: The Journals of Jean Francois de la Perouse*. Berkeley, CA: Heyday Books, 1989.

Seavey, Kent L., *Carmel: A History in Architecture*, San Francisco, CA and Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2007.

Seavey, Kent L., *Pacific Grove: Images of America*, San Francisco, CA and Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2005.

Starr, Kevin, California: A History. New York, NY: Modern Library, 2005.

Temple, Sydney, *The Carmel Mission*. Santa Cruz, CA: Western Tanager Press, 1980.

Temple, Sydney, *Carmel-by-the-Sea: From Aborigines to Coastal Commission*. Monterey, CA: Angel Press, 1987.

Van Nostrand, Jeanne and Edith M. Coulter, *California Pictorial*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1948.

Reports

County of Monterey, Carmel Area Land Use Plan (Local Coastal Program, Certified April 14, 1983; updated 1995).

National Register of Historic Places, Inventory and Nomination Form No. 660002: *Mission San Carlos De Borromeo Del Rio Carmelo*, 1976.

Historic Preservation Policy and Guidelines

State of California, Office of Historic Preservation, *OHP Preferred Format for Historic Context Statements*. Located at: https://ohp.parks.ca.gov/pages/1072/files/Format-for-Historic-Context-Statements.pdf (Accessed 5/8/24).

- 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).
- U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, *National Register Bulletin Number 15:* How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation. Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 1998.
- U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, *National Register Bulletin Number 16A: How to Complete the National Register Multiple Property Documentation Form.* Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 1997.
- U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, *National Register Bulletin Number 16B: How to Complete the National Register Registration Form.* Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 1999.
- U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, *National Register Bulletin Number 24: Guidelines for Local Surveys: A Basis for Preservation Planning*. Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 1985.
- U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, *National Register Bulletin Number 32:* Guidelines for Evaluating and Documenting Properties Associated with Significant Persons. Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 1998.
- U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, *The Secretary of the Interior's Standards for Preservation Planning*. Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 1998.
- U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, *The Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties*. Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 2017.

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.

City Directories

Polk's Monterey County City Directory, 1890

Periodicals

Carmel Pine Cone: "Carmel Legends," 6/25/99.

