

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



East side of Dolores Street, between Ocean and 7<sup>th</sup>, 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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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 California 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 (NPS), which administers the National Historic Preservation Program. The total project cost for this Historic Context Statement update 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 October 1, 2023 through September 30, 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.<sup>1</sup>

*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.”<sup>2</sup> *National*

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

<sup>2</sup> U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, *National Register Bulletin Number 15: How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation*, 7.

*Register Bulletin 16A: How to Complete the National Register Registration Form* is 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).<sup>3</sup>

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.”<sup>4</sup> 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.”<sup>5</sup> 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 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

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<sup>3</sup> 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.

<sup>4</sup> 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.

<sup>5</sup> U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, *National Register Bulletin Number 15: How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation*, 8.

section for each theme follow the particular theme.

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

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

## 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, 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 extended the document to 1965, expanding upon the preexisting contextual/thematic approach and introducing sections on associated property types within each contextual area.

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<sup>6</sup> 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.

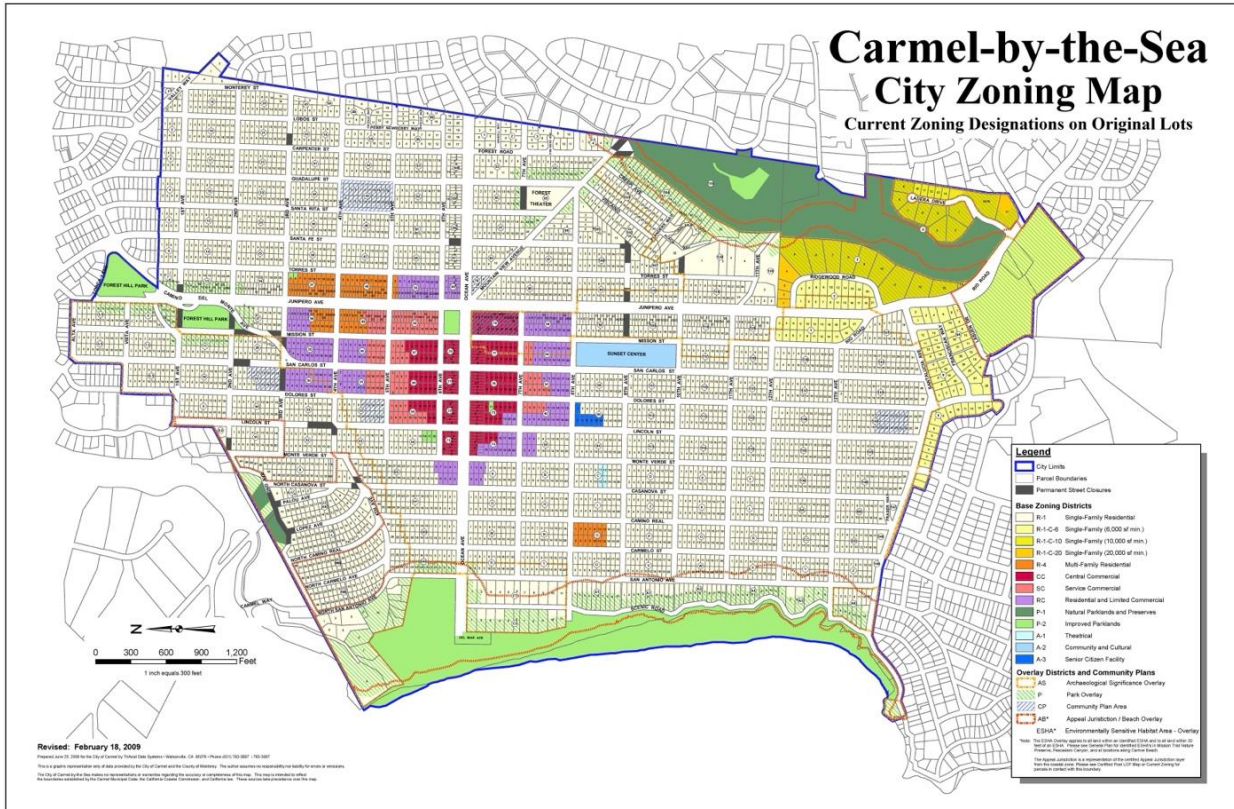
- Fourth Edition, 2022, by PAST Consultants, LLC. This CLG grant-funded addition updated the historic time period to cover the years 1966 to 1986. The five major contextual areas of the original document were maintained. Recognizing that no evaluative methodology had been created yet, the Architectural Development chapter was enhanced with descriptions of Carmel architectural styles dating to the 1966 – 1986 period, some of which first originated in the mid-1930s, 1940s, and 1950s. Character defining features, eligibility criteria and integrity thresholds for these midcentury architectural styles (c.1935-1986), were incorporated 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 2022, 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 report also includes the evaluative criteria of the National Register, California Register and the Carmel Historic Resources Inventory.

The 2022 Edition of the Carmel-by-the-Sea Historic Context Statement has been archived and is available at the Henry Meade Williams Local History Department of the Carmel Public Library.

## 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

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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.

**Photographs**

Photographs used in the document use both current images and secondary-source images. Most of the historic images are gathered from secondary sources; these sources have been cited within the image caption. 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.<sup>7</sup>

Properties listed on the Carmel Historic Resources Inventory (HRI) and/or properties on the Carmel DPR Historic Resources Database 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. Captions will indicate the property location using the directional side of the street between the two blocks (i.e., "East side Dolores Street, between Ocean and 7<sup>th</sup>).

**Historical Research**

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<sup>7</sup> 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.

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**

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.

## **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 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.<sup>8</sup>

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

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<sup>8</sup> 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).

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 Historic Resources Inventory (HRI) and the Carmel Historic Resources Survey to determine if the property is listed historically; or has been documented previously.
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 list of *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* for the thematic section will help 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 Types* 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. The bullet points listed under *Minimum Eligibility Requirements* and *Additional Integrity Considerations* will guide the evaluator. 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.
6. 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 Update report acknowledges the California Office of Historic Preservation's Certified Local Government Program (CLG), 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 Interim Planning Director Brandon Swanson, Principal Planner Marnie Waffle, and Associate Planner Katherine Wallace. The authors particularly appreciate Ms. Wallace's passion for the project and her expert editing skills. Additional oversight provided by the Carmel-by-the-Sea Historic Resources Board is also appreciated.

This report also acknowledges the contributions of architectural historian Kent L. Seavey. For nearly 50 years, 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 and this report has benefitted from his extensive knowledge of Carmel's history. If you need a book on art, art history, architectural history or Monterey County cultural history, it's probably in his library and will be happily offered.

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

### 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.<sup>9</sup>

#### 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.<sup>10</sup> 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

<sup>9</sup> California Code of Regulations, 14 CCR § 15064.5.

<sup>10</sup> 16 U.S.C. 470, *et seq.*, as amended, 36 C.F.R. § 60.1(a).

- 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 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.<sup>11</sup> 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.<sup>12</sup>

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.

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<sup>11</sup> 36 C.F.R. § 60.4.

<sup>12</sup> California Public Resources Code § 5024.1(c).

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

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

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

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

*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.”<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> 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).

<sup>14</sup> Ibid, p. 56.

### 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.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> Carmel-by-the-Sea Municipal Code, Chapter 17.32: Historic Preservation.



### 3.3.5 CARMEL-BY-THE-SEA HISTORIC RESOURCES INVENTORY AND SURVEY

#### The Carmel Historic Resources Inventory (HRI)

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 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.

#### Carmel Historic Resource Survey (Carmel Survey)

The first architectural survey of Carmel historic buildings was completed by architectural historian Richard Janick in 1978 and resulted in a list of 112 residential and commercial buildings. Subsequent historic resource surveys were conducted by historians Richard Janick and Kent Seavey in 2001/2002. Approximately 300 properties with DPR forms are now included on the *DPR Historic Resources Database*.<sup>16</sup>

#### 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:

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<sup>16</sup> The *Carmel DPR Historic Resources Database* is located at: <https://ci.carmel.ca.us/post/historic-preservation>.

- 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 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> avenues within the same northerly and southerly boundaries.<sup>17</sup>

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

### 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 the property's eligibility for the Carmel HRI. If the building is determined to be eligible for listing on the HRI, it will be placed on the HRI. If a permit is filed for a major alteration per CMC 17.32.160 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, California Register and the Carmel HRI. 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

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<sup>17</sup> 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.

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*.<sup>18</sup>

### 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

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<sup>18</sup> 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.

and the construction of a new addition, if necessary for a continuing or new use for the historic building.<sup>19</sup>

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 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.<sup>20</sup>

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 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

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<sup>19</sup> *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.

<sup>20</sup> *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.

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.

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 time periods are:

- Prehistory and Hispanic Settlement (1542-1848)
- Carmelo (1849-1901)
- Seacoast of Bohemia (1902-1923)
- 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 streamlined 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 and associated property types for a given thematic time period are presented, with photographs and lists of character-defining features to define each style. Eligible property types are grouped according to four use categories: commercial; residential; civic and institutional; and cultural and religious 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 Duché de Vancy, showing the arrival of French explorer Jean-François Galaup de la Pérouse at the Carmel Mission. (Source: Van Nostrand and Coulter, *California Pictorial*, 11).<sup>21</sup>

### 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.

<sup>21</sup> Van Nostrand, Jeanne and Edith M. Coulter, *California Pictorial*, 5.

The Rumsen band occupied the Carmel area and were concentrated near the developing Carmel Mission and the Carmel River estuary.<sup>22</sup>



Map of Ohlone districts, 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

<sup>22</sup> 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.<sup>23</sup>

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.<sup>24</sup>



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

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<sup>23</sup> Gordon, *Monterey Bay Area: Natural History and Cultural Imprints*, 4, 6. Margolin, *The Ohlone Way*, 24-25, 29, 49.

<sup>24</sup> Margolin, *The Ohlone Way*, 41-43, 45, 52. The Ohlones stored dried acorns in hampers and acorn granaries — large, basket-like containers on stilts. Mugwort and aromatic herbs drove away insects and helped prevent mold.

which was thatched with straw during the rainy season and left open during the rest of the year. The floor was of earth and a fire was probably built inside when needed, but cooking was done outside.<sup>25</sup>

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.<sup>26</sup>

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.<sup>27</sup> 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.<sup>28</sup>

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).

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<sup>25</sup> Breschini, Gary, *The Indians of Monterey County* 10.

<sup>26</sup> Margolin, *The Ohlone Way*, 26; Breschini, 27.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid*, 10.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid*, 21.



Engraving from a 1793 drawing by John Sykes, showing the Ohlone structures behind the early structures of the Carmel Mission. The adobe foundation for the landmark stone church can be seen at center left. (Source: Van Nostrand and Coulter, *California Pictorial*, 11).<sup>29</sup>

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.<sup>30</sup>

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

<sup>29</sup> Van Nostrand, Jeanne and Edith M. Coulter, *California Pictorial*, 11.

<sup>30</sup> Margolin, Malcolm, *Life in a California Mission: The Journals of Jean Francois de La Perouse*, 80.

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

Seven Indian tribes live at this mission. They are the Excelen and Egeac, Rumsen, SargentuaRus, Sarconenos, Guachirron, and CalendaRuc. The first two are from the interior and have the same language and speech, which is totally distinct from the other five, who also speak a common language. At the beginning of the conquest, the missionaries experienced great difficulty in getting them to assemble for religious services, for agricultural pursuits, or for any duty whatsoever. Today they have succeeded in making them associate. The majority of them sufficiently understand and speak Spanish; the minority, though they can barely speak it, understand it somewhat.”<sup>31</sup>

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.”<sup>32</sup>

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.”<sup>33</sup>

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.”<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> Heizer, Robert F., *The Costanoan Indians*,” 45-46. The spelling of the tribelet names taken directly from the quote.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid, 51.

<sup>33</sup> Margolin, Malcolm, *Life in a California Mission: The Journals of Jean Francois de La Perouse*, 82.

<sup>34</sup> Breschini, Gary, *The Indians of Monterey County*, 29, 38.

Diseases, intermarriage and psychological stress from the Spanish missionary lifestyle were the primary culprits of the Ohlone’s population decimation. Life in a California mission included unhealthy concentrations of people in one continuous location (the opposite of the Nomadic Ohlone way), the introduction of new foods and forced labor. The native people had no immunity from European diseases, such as measles, pneumonia, diphtheria, smallpox, cholera, scarlet fever, typhoid and syphilis. Intermarriage was encouraged by the Spanish missionaries, who understood it would control and absorb the remaining Ohlone population into a Spanish lifestyle.<sup>35</sup> 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.”<sup>36</sup>

### **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.<sup>37</sup>

### **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 Carmelo.” Serra received permission for the mission’s relocation in 1771, as well as ten new

<sup>35</sup> Breschini, Gary, *The Indians of Monterey County*, 29, 38.

<sup>36</sup> Starr, Kevin, *California: A History*, 36.

<sup>37</sup> Fink, *Monterey: The Presence of the Past*, 17-24, 30, 37, 40, 43.

Franciscan friars sent by Spanish Visitador-General Galvez to develop a series of missions throughout California.<sup>38</sup>

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 rancharia. 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 rancharia surrounded the mission buildings and contained living quarters for the Native converts.<sup>39</sup>



Reproduction of the 1827 William Smyth watercolor, showing the completed Carmel Mission. (Source: Van Nostrand and Coulter, *California Pictorial*, 25)<sup>40</sup>

<sup>38</sup> 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*.

<sup>39</sup> Temple, Sydney, *The Carmel Mission*, 35.

<sup>40</sup> Van Nostrand, Jeanne and Edith M. Coulter, *California Pictorial*, 25.

The Carmel Mission's greatest period of growth occurred between 1784 and 1793 under Father Serra's successor and close friend, Fermin Francesco de Lasuen, who had accompanied Serra and Father Francisco Palou to establish the California mission system. Construction of the landmark stone church building would begin in 1793, under direction of mason Miguel Esteban Ruiz, sent by Spanish governor Felipe de Neves. The building is constructed of local sandstone quarried in the Santa Lucia mountains and brought to the site by an Ohlone labor force. The cornerstone was laid on July 7, 1793. The foundation of the new stone church is visible in the 1793 John Sykes drawing shown previously in this chapter. Construction was completed in 1797.<sup>41</sup> 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 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 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.<sup>42</sup>

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.

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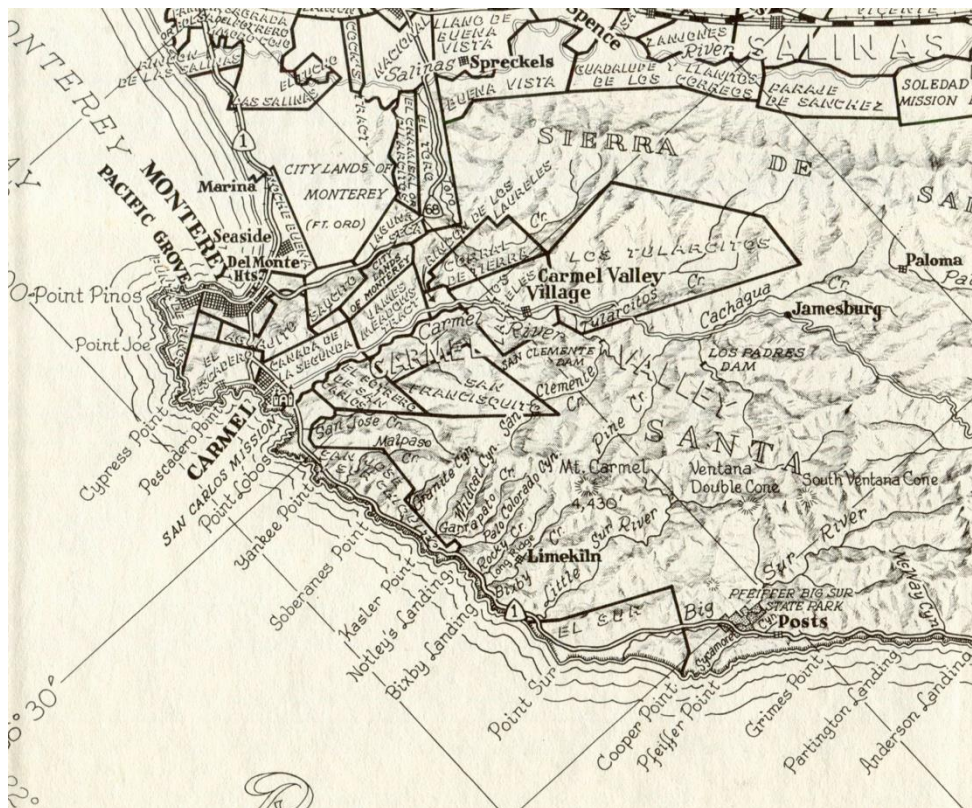
<sup>41</sup> Belleza, Robert A., *Missions of Monterey: Images of America*, 8, 20.

<sup>42</sup> Starr, Kevin, *California: A History*, 41.

### 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.”<sup>43</sup>

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*).<sup>44</sup>

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

<sup>43</sup> Temple, Sydney. *The Carmel Mission*, 81.

<sup>44</sup> Fink, Augusta, *Monterey: the Presence of the Past*, frontispiece.



granted to Fructuoso del Real in 1837. *Rancho Cañada de la Segunda* was granted to Lazaro Soto in 1839 and encompassed land east of the mission to *Rancho Cañada de la Segunda*.<sup>45</sup>

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.<sup>46</sup>

Secularization brought ruin to the Carmel Mission. In 1844, Governor Manuel Micheltoarena, 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.<sup>47</sup> 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

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<sup>45</sup> Temple, Sydney, *Carmel-by-the-Sea*, 39-40.

<sup>46</sup> Starr, Kevin, *California: A History*, 50.

<sup>47</sup> Temple, Sydney, *The Carmel Mission*, 92.

Lobos Reserve supports one site considered to be a permanent village. These archaeological deposits have been identified as a highly significant and sensitive resource.<sup>48</sup>

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).

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<sup>48</sup> County of Monterey, *Carmel Area Land Use Plan* (Local Coastal Program, Certified April 14, 1983; updated 1995), 63-63.

### 4.3 CARMELO (1848 – 1901)



Historic image of the circa-1894 Abbie Jane Hunter house (right) and the Augusta Robertson house (center) constructed by Delos Goldsmith, likely from pattern book designs (Source: *Carmel-By-the-Sea: Images of America*, 16).<sup>49</sup>

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 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.”<sup>50</sup>

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

<sup>49</sup> Hudson, Monica, *Carmel-by-the-Sea: Images of America*, 16.

<sup>50</sup> Clark, Donald Thomas, *Monterey County Place Names*, 72.

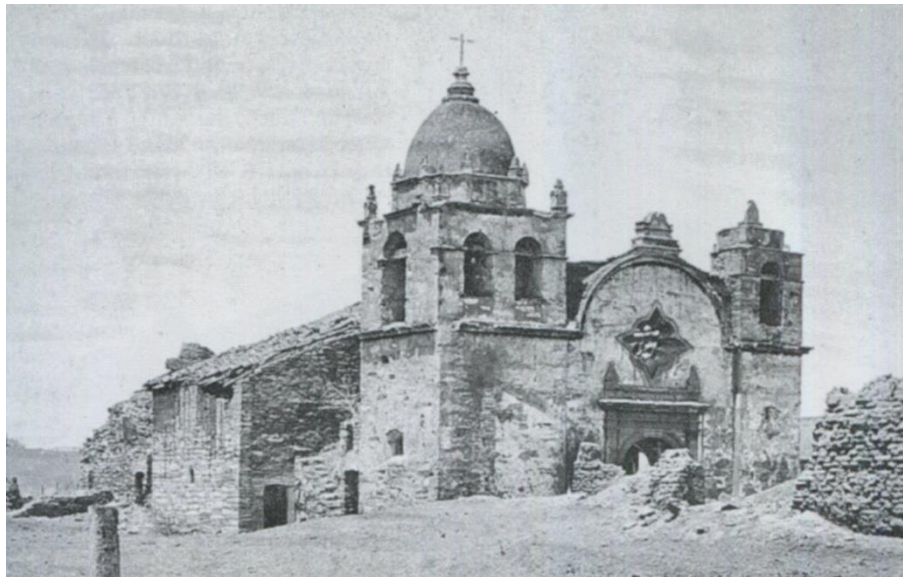
engine that would drive the region’s economy to this day. A significant component of the Del Monte Hotel was the development of the 17-mile Drive through Pebble Beach to the Carmel Mission, introducing a more positive audience to the historic ruins.<sup>51</sup>

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.<sup>52</sup>



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

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<sup>51</sup> Seavey, Kent L., *Pacific Grove: Images of America*, 52.

<sup>52</sup> Hudson, Monica, *Carmel-by-the-Sea: Images of America*, 12.

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 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.<sup>53</sup>



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*).<sup>54</sup>

### **Santiago J. Duckworth and the Creation of Carmel City**

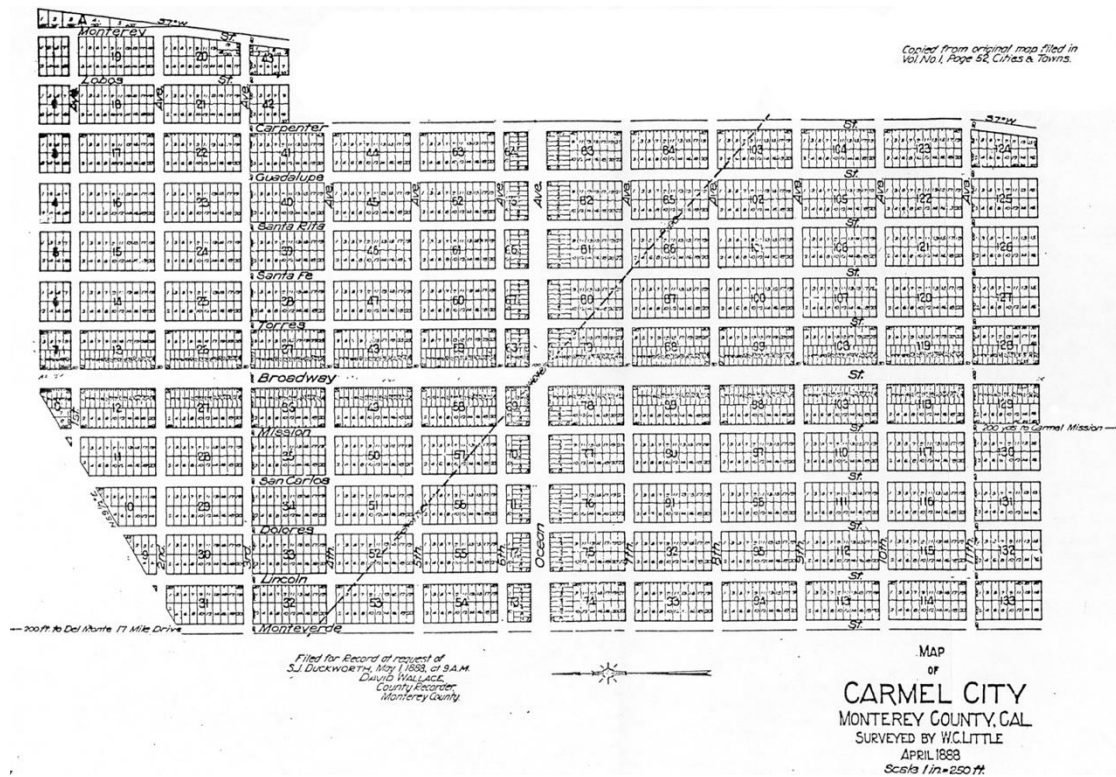
Witnessing the enthusiasm of the crowd at the 1884 Carmel Mission rededication, the brothers Santiago and Belisario Duckworth who owned a real estate company in Monterey, created the first vision for Carmel development – a Catholic retreat conceived along similar lines as the Methodist retreat in Pacific Grove.<sup>55</sup> 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 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,

<sup>53</sup> 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*.

<sup>54</sup> Seavey, Kent L., *Carmel: A History in Architecture*, 11.

<sup>55</sup> 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.

the first subdivision of what would become “Carmel City” was recorded with the County of Monterey.



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 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.<sup>56</sup>

<sup>56</sup> 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 where her brother, the carpenter Delos E. Goldsmith would be constructing the first buildings in Carmel. 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 4<sup>th</sup> 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.<sup>57</sup>

<sup>57</sup> 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.

## **Carmelo (1848 – 1901): Architectural Development**

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.

By the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> 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 Historic Resources Inventory (HRI).

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 common 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: Harrison Memorial Library).

Only a handful of buildings that represent this theme are listed on the Carmel HRI.



## **Carmelo (1848 – 1901): Associated Property Types and Registration Requirements**

### **Early Carmel Vernacular Style (1848-1901)**



**Santiago Duckworth House, west side of Carpenter between 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup>**

#### **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. 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
- Wood wall cladding, typically board-and-batten or rustic Redwood siding
- Single-or double-hung wood sash windows in single- or multi-pane configurations
- Minimal exterior decoration

#### **Representative Buildings**

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

## Queen Anne Style (1888-1901)



**Abbie Jane Hunter House northwest corner of Guadalupe and 4th**

### 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)

**Carmelo (1848 – 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	<p>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.</p> <p>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.</p>
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 either the Carmel HRI or the Carmel Historic Resources Survey. 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.<sup>58</sup>

### 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.

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<sup>58</sup> *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 - 1923)



Historic image of the extant 1905 Philip Wilson real estate office at the northwest corner of Ocean and Dolores (image right). The building at image left was demolished (Source: *Carmel: A History in Architecture: Images of America*, 46).

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 Arts & Crafts and Carmel Vernacular styles.

## 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.

*James Devendorf*<sup>59</sup>

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.<sup>60</sup>



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) to its present location on the north side of Ocean Avenue between Monte Verde and

<sup>59</sup> Image taken from *Carmel Pine Cone: Centennial Edition*, 2/20/15, 10.

<sup>60</sup> Biographical information taken from Gilliam, Harold and Ann, *Creating Carmel: The Enduring Vision*, 57-65.

Lincoln. Note the pine tree saplings planted in the median (*Source: Pat Hathaway Collection, Monterey County Historical Society*).

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 and renamed 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.”<sup>61</sup> 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.<sup>62</sup>

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 five 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 7<sup>th</sup> Avenue

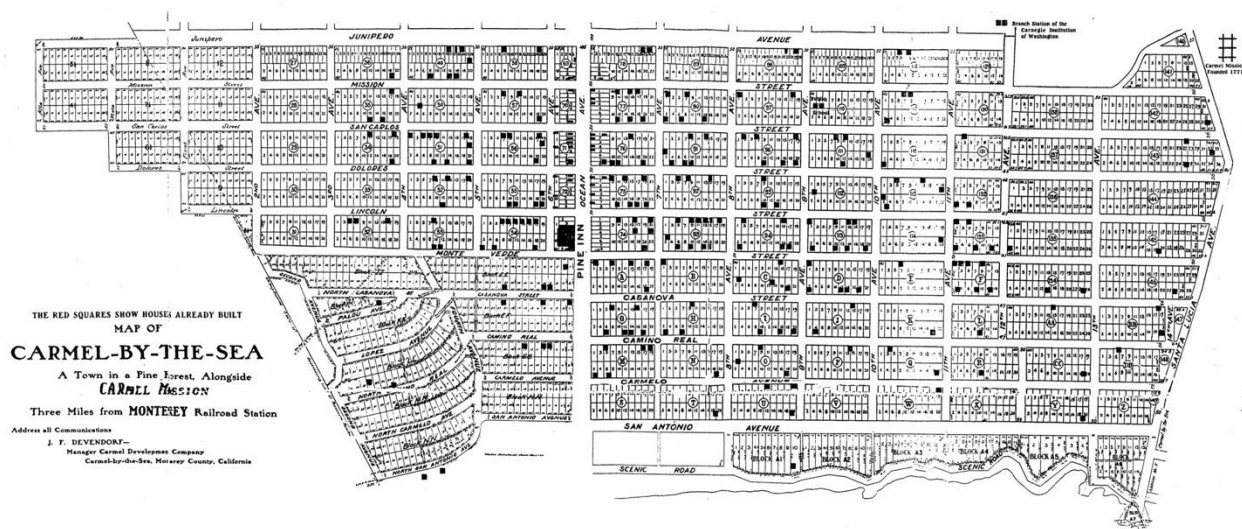
<sup>61</sup> Quote taken from Gilliam, Harold & Ann, *Creating Carmel: The Enduring Vision*, 69.

<sup>62</sup> Temple, Sydney, *Carmel-by-the-Sea*, 67.

(since demolished), and additional Stanford professors followed suit, establishing a “Professor’s Row” on Camino Real between Ocean and 7<sup>th</sup> Avenue.<sup>63</sup> The Bohemians soon followed, particularly after the 1906 San Francisco Earthquake.

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. Perry Newberry 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 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> avenues for the construction of a clubhouse (1907), later demolished and replaced with the Golden Bough Playhouse.<sup>64</sup>

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)

<sup>63</sup> Seavey, Kent L., *Carmel: A History in Architecture*, 47; Gilliam, Harold & Ann, *Creating Carmel: The Enduring Vision*, 71.

<sup>64</sup> 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 *Historic Context Statement Carmel-by-the-Sea* (Fourth Edition, 2022) and in the appendices to this document. Books by Gilliam and Temple also discuss the Bohemian period.



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.<sup>65</sup>

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 and Dolores (demolished), and then occupied the extant De Yoe Building (1924) on the east side of Dolores between Ocean and 7<sup>th</sup> 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 and San Carlos, 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).<sup>66</sup>

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<sup>65</sup> 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.

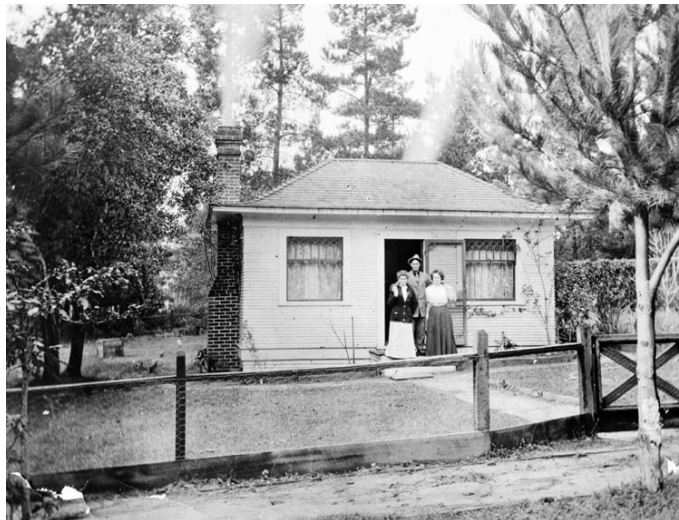
<sup>66</sup> This list was compiled based on a survey of the existing subdivision maps filed with the Carmel-by-the-Sea Planning Department.

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 the Arts & Crafts style 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. One of the earliest controversies in Carmel – street paving – was settled in 1922 when Ocean Avenue was paved and a central median planted with the City’s characteristic Pine trees.<sup>67</sup>

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 Arts & Crafts (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 13<sup>th</sup> 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.<sup>68</sup>

### **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.



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<sup>67</sup> 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.

<sup>68</sup> 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.

Michael J. Murphy, his wife, and mother standing in front of the First Murphy House (relocated in 1990 to Lincoln Street northwest of 6<sup>th</sup> Avenue, and now the Carmel Heritage Society). Note the diamond-pane wood-sash windows, which would become a Murphy trademark (*Source: Harrison Memorial Library*).

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 Arts & Crafts style. One early example among many is the c.1904 Arts & Crafts bungalow designed for Stanford University's Reverend Charles Gardner at the northeast corner of San Carlos Street and Santa Lucia Avenue (extant).

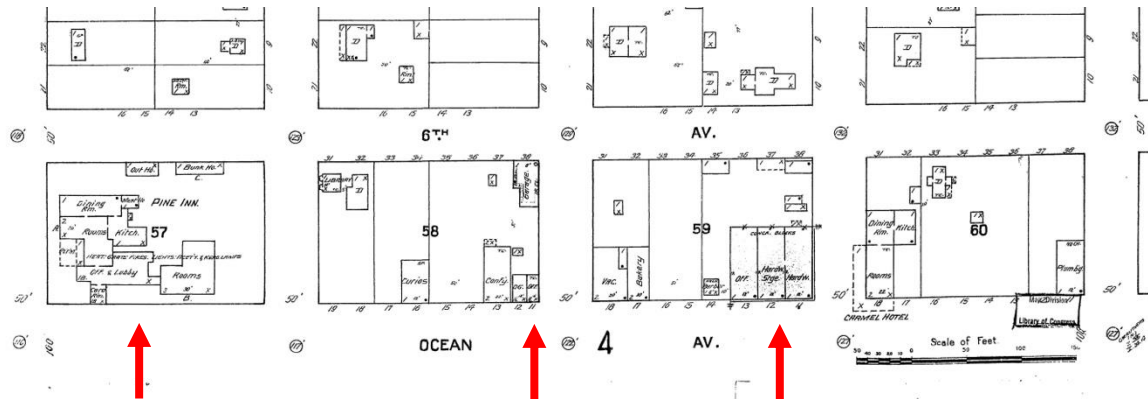
In 1914, Murphy established his own contracting company and in 1924 he erected a lumber yard and building materials supply operation on the south side of Ocean Avenue and Junipero Street (the present site of Carmel Plaza). Over his career he would design and/or build over 300 buildings in Carmel, the 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 artistic aesthetic of the Arts & Crafts and Shingle styles (including his own house on the southeast corner of Monte Verde Street and 9<sup>th</sup> 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.<sup>69</sup>

### **Development of the Ocean Avenue Commercial District**

The Sanborn Map Company, known for producing detailed fire insurance maps, documented Carmel in 1910, 1924, 1930, and 1962. The 1910 map offers a valuable insight to the architectural character of early Carmel and indicates a growing commercial district centered upon Ocean Avenue.

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<sup>69</sup> Seavey, Kent L., *Carmel: A History in Architecture*, 36, 48-51; Pavlick, John, Lillian Rasmussen, Rosalee Murphy Gladney, "M.J. Murphy – Pioneer Builder, Contractor." (Unpublished manuscript, Kent L. Seavey archives)



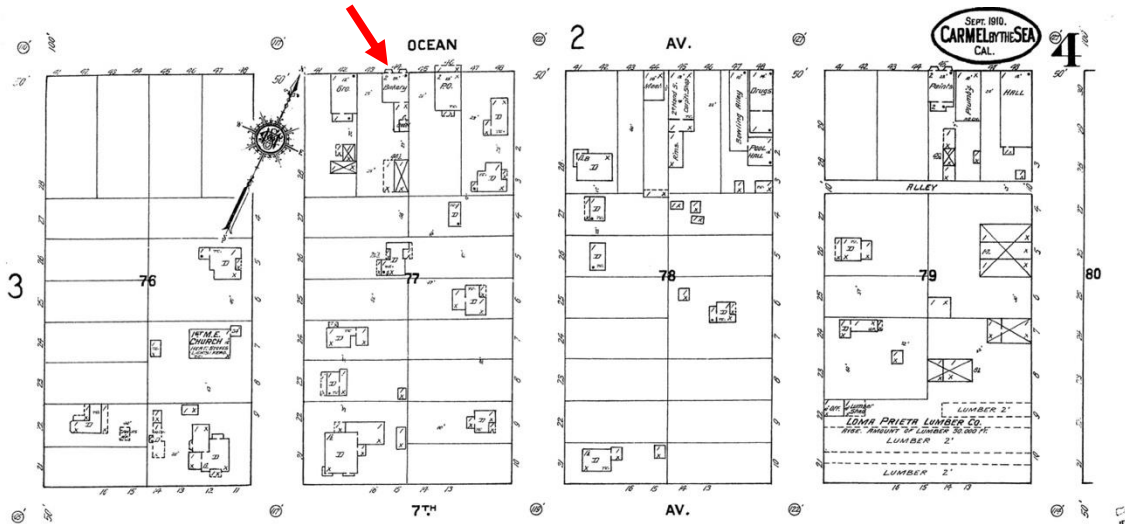
1910 Sanborn map showing the north side of Ocean Avenue between Monte Verde Street (far left) and Mission Street (far right). The left arrow indicates the extant Philip Wilson Building (the first City Hall). The right arrow shows the extant Carmel Development Company Building (Source: City of Carmel-by-the-Sea).

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 (arrow) and a barber shop. The city's first library appears on the southwest corner of 6<sup>th</sup> Avenue and Lincoln Street. Only the Pine Inn (1889), the Carmel Development Company Building (1902), and the Philip Wilson Building (1905) remain extant (see arrows above).



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 one-story Carmel Development Company Building (extant) is at the center of the image, while the Carmel Hotel (demolished) is at image right (Source: Harrison Memorial Library).

The 1910 Sanborn map 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 7<sup>th</sup> Avenue between San Carlos and Mission.



1910 Sanborn map showing the south side of Ocean Avenue between Monte Verde Street (far left) and Mission Street (far right). An arrow indicates the extant Schweinger Building, now, the Carmel Bakery (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: Harrison Memorial Library).

## Seacoast of Bohemia (1902 – 1923): Architectural Development

### Residential Properties

This thematic time period is defined primarily by residential development in the Arts & Crafts 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.”<sup>70</sup> 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 Arts & Crafts 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 19<sup>th</sup> Century witnessed a convergence of two movements aimed at addressing the blight of post-Industrial Age Victorian cities that placed workers in rows of tenements in conditions of squalor: the City Beautiful and Garden City movements. Emerging from England through the writings of John Ruskin, the architectural approaches by 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 philosophers and writers spearheaded the Arts & Crafts Movement, a holistic approach to living that encompassed a person’s occupation, the manner in which he or she lived, and the buildings and decorative arts in which they would inhabit and purchase.<sup>71</sup>

The City Beautiful Movement emerged as a direct approach to combating urban squalor. In England, it merged with the Garden City Movement. The latter was the creation of a new approach to urban living – the Garden City – which integrated modern homes with the natural environment to create urban landscapes that provided a respite from industrialization. With Morris and Ruskin as their guides, the English architects Raymond Unwin and Barry Parker designed the Garden Cities of Letchworth and Hampstead Garden Suburb in the early 1900s. By 1901, the partners wrote *The Art of Building a Home*, a seminal treatise that outlined a philosophy of simple living, with the home as the center of spiritual well-being. Widely distributed, the book was featured in Gustav Stickley’s *Craftsman* magazine, as were articles on the Garden City movement written by Unwin and Parker. The partners would write additional works espousing the Arts & Crafts as an expression of urban reform, which revolved around a simple approach to living.<sup>72</sup>

<sup>70</sup> Bostick, Daisy F. and Dorothea Castelhun, *Carmel at Work and Play* (reprint of 1926 edition), 1977, 19.

<sup>71</sup> Two interchangeable terms used to identify this movement are “Arts & Crafts” and “Craftsman.” The former term emerged first in England; the latter became the catchphrase in the United States, primarily because of Gustav Stickley’s *Craftsman* magazine. Arts & Crafts will be the term used in reference to the style in Carmel’s buildings. The term “First Bay Region Style”, a term used in 1947 by architecture critic Lewis Mumford, is another stylistic term.

<sup>72</sup> Reference for this book is: Parker, Barry and Raymond Unwin, *The Art of Building a Home* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1901). The history and connections between the City Beautiful Movement, the Garden City, and the

Taking its lead from England, the City Beautiful Movement emerged in the United States by 1900. Its principal ideas revolved on reducing blight, squalor and unhealthy living conditions through a series of civic improvement initiatives that required strong community participation. Its leading proponent was J. Horace McFarland, a Harrisburg, Pennsylvania native who appealed to the average citizen with a unique brand of civic evangelism and homegrown spirit. Traveling the United States widely, McFarland titled his lecture, “Crusade Against Ugliness,” in which he outlined the causes and solutions to urban blight. By 1904, McFarland formed the American Civic Association, which had civic improvement clubs in all major cities. McFarland championed the role of women as the leaders of the American City Beautiful Movement in its publications and literature. The result was the formation of Women’s Clubs in virtually every city. Unable to participate in local government or to vote, women used their social influences and an established club network to become leaders in civic improvement.<sup>73</sup> While the Carmel Women’s Club wasn’t formalized until 1925, its goals were the “*mutual help, intellectual advancement, social enjoyment, and united effort for the welfare of the community.*” Before its incorporation, its club members were responsible for street naming, keeping the town clean and improving open space and other City Beautiful tenets.<sup>74</sup>

Popular literature chronicled the virtues of these two civic movements and popularized the Arts & Crafts style as the expression of them within the home. The writings of Ruskin and Morris, the Garden Cities (and home designs) of Unwin and Parker, and the aesthetic of a simple life appeared in leading style journals of the time, including the *Ladies Home Journal* (1883), *House Beautiful* (1896), the *Craftsman* (1901) and *Suburban Life* (1902). These magazines documented the various efforts of Women’s Clubs throughout the country alongside advertisements of handcrafted objects that were both “simple and beautiful.” On the West Coast, the *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 Arts & Crafts aesthetic was widely disseminated to intellectuals, writers and artists in California.

Not to be outdone by East Coast influences, Charles Keeler, a Bay Area writer, artist and intellectual, would publish a uniquely “Californian” book to spread Arts & Crafts ideals to a western audience. Published in 1904, Keeler’s *The Simple Home*, paralleled Unwin and Parker’s *The Art of Building a Home* in its championing of the simple life. As President of Berkeley’s Hillside Club (which began as a Women’s Civic Improvement Club), the book decried the ornate homes of the Victorian era and the mass-produced objects that filled its spaces. Following a chance meeting with architect Bernard Maybeck on the Berkeley ferry, Keeler had his own house designed 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 wood-clad homes on Highland Place in the Berkeley hills.

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Arts and Crafts Movement is detailed in Bergstein, Seth A., *Cascadilla Park, Ithaca New York: Arts & Crafts Patronage as an expression of Urban Reform* (Cornell University Master’s Thesis, 2001).

<sup>73</sup> Bergstein, Seth A., *Cascadilla Park, Ithaca New York: Arts & Crafts Patronage as an expression of Urban Reform*, 2001 provides a history of Women’s Civic Improvement Clubs.

<sup>74</sup> Carmel Women’s Club Website: <https://carmelwomansclubca.org/our-story/>. Accessed 7/25/24.

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 of the Berkeley hills. Keeler and Maybeck would form a lasting friendship and through the Hillside Club, they disseminated the Arts & Craft aesthetic to professors, artists and other intellectuals in the Bay Area.



Circa-1900 photograph of the Highland Place “commune: of homes (Source: Kenneth Cardwell archives).<sup>75</sup>

The *Simple Home* presented the house as the individual artistic expression of its owner and opined how one lived inside the home could be carried out to the community in true City Beautiful spirit. 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.<sup>76</sup>

The remainder of the book outlines a lifestyle that dovetails with the philosophies of the Arts & Crafts and City Beautiful Movements. In the chapter “Home Life,” Keeler writes, “Gradually the dweller in the simple home will come to ponder upon the meaning of art, and will awaken to that illuminating insight that *all art is a form of service inspired by love*. It will then become apparent

<sup>75</sup> Part of the introduction to the 1979 reprint of *The Simple Home*, by Dimitri Shipounoff, 1979, xx.

<sup>76</sup> Keeler, Charles, *The Simple Home* (1979 reprint), xlv.



how truly the home is the real art center.” 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 Arts & Crafts tenet “of using every material in the manner for which it is structurally best adapted, and of handling it in a dignified style.” He also believed wood should be left in its natural finish, as “There is a refinement and character about natural wood which is entirely lost when the surface is altered by varnish and polish.” The San Francisco Bay Area, particularly around the campuses of the University of California, Berkeley and Stanford University, embraced the Arts & Crafts lifestyle and soon had wood- or shingle-clad structures built throughout these communities. As these Bay Area artists and intellectuals (along with their designers and architects) migrated to Carmel, they applied Keeler’s principles of simple living to the pine-studded Carmel landscape.<sup>77</sup>

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, was designed by the famed photographer using Keeler’s design principals.



Arnold Genthe House on Camino Real. Note redwood trunks utilized as vertical structural supports (Source: Morley Baer archives, Monterey Area Architectural Resources Archive)

The daily interaction with nature was emphasized by Keeler and his cadre of California Arts & Crafts 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

<sup>77</sup> Keeler, Charles, *The Simple Home* (1979 reprint), 52, 21.

access to light and air.” His description accurately defines the Carmel garden, which remains a staple of the City’s visual landscape today.<sup>78</sup>

In 1915, one of the founders of the California Arts & Crafts 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 wealthy and demanding Pasadena clientele, noting to a friend that he had been “prostituting his art.” Greene was enamored with Carmel and moved his family to the city in 1916, first renting a house at the northeast corner of 13<sup>th</sup> 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.”<sup>79</sup>

In 1919, Charles Greene purchased seven lots on Lincoln Street, south of 13<sup>th</sup> 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.



Early image of the Charles S. Greene home on Lincoln Street (Source: Gamble House Foundation)<sup>80</sup>

After constructing his home, Charles Greene completed his unique studio building on Lincoln Street in 1924. He recycled the exterior brick from the El Carmelo hotel in Pacific Grove and designed the interior featuring carvings in various Japanese and natural motifs by the architect.

<sup>78</sup> Keeler, Charles, *The Simple Home* (1979 reprint), 15.

<sup>79</sup> Quotes taken from Bosley, Edward R., *Greene & Greene*, 2000, 192.

<sup>80</sup> Seavey, Kent L., *Carmel: A History in Architecture*, 63.

Greene designed the War Memorial on Ocean Avenue (1921) and spent the bulk of his time as a Carmelite designing and supervising the construction of the D.L. James house south of Point Lobos.<sup>81</sup>



Charles Greene studio on Lincoln Street, 4 southwest of 13<sup>th</sup> Avenue (Source: PAST Consultants, 2024)



Left: Laying the corner stone for the World War I Monument in 1921 (Source: Lewis Josselyn Photograph, Harrison Memorial Library). Right image: 2024 view of the Monument (Source: PAST Consultants).<sup>82</sup>

<sup>81</sup> A discussion of Charles Greene’s spiritual symbolism used in his studio appears in Bosley, Edward R., *Greene & Greene*, 2000, 205.

<sup>82</sup> Historic image taken from: Hudson, Monica, *Carmel-by-the-Sea: Images of America*, 60.

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. Arts & Crafts-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 Arts & Crafts 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 Arts & Crafts 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 9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> avenues. He constructed his family home on the southeast corner of 9<sup>th</sup> and Monte Verde in 1904 (Arts & Crafts) 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 Arts & Crafts or Colonial Revival details, 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 on Monte Verde 2 northeast of 9<sup>th</sup> Avenue (Source: Kent L. Seavey Archives). Right: Sinclair Lewis House, Monte Verde 2 northeast of 9<sup>th</sup> Avenue (Source: PAST Consultants)

## 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.

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 Arts & Crafts 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.<sup>83</sup>



Left: Schweinger Building, south side of Ocean Avenue between Lincoln and Dolores. Right: Philip Wilson Building, northwest corner of Ocean Ave. and Dolores St. (Source: PAST Consultants)

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 Poebel Grocery.<sup>84</sup>

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

<sup>83</sup> Janick, Richard N., *Schweinger Building* (DPR523 Building, Structure and Object Record), 2002; Janick, Richard N., *Wilson Building* (DPR523 Building, Structure and Object Record), 2002.

<sup>84</sup> 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.

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.<sup>85</sup>



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

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.<sup>86</sup>



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

<sup>85</sup> Seavey, Kent L., *Carmel: A History in Architecture*, 43-44.

<sup>86</sup> Janick, Richard N., *Pine Inn* (DPR523 Building, Structure and Object Record), 2003.

### **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 1<sup>st</sup> Avenue. The schoolhouse was built in a Vernacular style, with Arts & Crafts details that embraced the ideal that championed nature and the outdoors as a primary teaching motivation for children.<sup>87</sup>

### **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 7<sup>th</sup> 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.<sup>88</sup>

In 1913, San Francisco architect Albert Cauldwell completed the hybrid Shingle- and Arts & Crafts-styled, All Saints Episcopal Church on the east side of Monte Verde Street between Ocean Avenue and 7<sup>th</sup> 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.<sup>89</sup>



Left: Circa-1930 image of All Saints Episcopal Church after the M.J. Murphy additions (Source: Kent L. Seavey Archives). Right: 2022 image of City Hall by Alissandra Dramov (Source: *Carmel-by-the-Sea: Past and Present*).

<sup>87</sup> Seavey, Kent L., *Forest Hill School* (DPR523 Building, Structure and Object Record), 2002.

<sup>88</sup> Dramov, Alissandra, *Carmel-by-the-Sea: Past and Present*, 2022, 22.

<sup>89</sup> Dramov, Alissandra, *Carmel-by-the-Sea: Past and Present*, 2022, 22; Seavey, Kent L., *Carmel City Hall* (DPR523 Building, Structure and Object Record), 2003.

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 7<sup>th</sup> 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.<sup>90</sup>

### **Parks and Open Space**

Aside from the Forest Theater, Devendorf Park was the primary area of open space added during this time period. The one-square block of open space at the northwest corner of Ocean Ave. and Junipero St. (Block 69) became part of a 1922 land purchase 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.<sup>91</sup>

### **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 Arts & Crafts 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.<sup>92</sup>

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<sup>90</sup> Gilliam, Harold and Ann, *Creating Carmel: The Enduring Vision*, 122-125.

<sup>91</sup> Seavey, Kent L., *Devendorf Park* (DPR523 Building, Structure and Object Record), 2002.

<sup>92</sup> Seavey, Kent L., *Elizabeth H. Sullivan House*, (DPR523 Building, Structure and Object Record), 2002.



## Seacoast of Bohemia (1902 – 1923): Associated Property Types and Registration Requirements

### Carmel Vernacular Style (1902-1923)



**First Murphy House, west side of Lincoln between 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup>**



**Enoch A. Lewis House, east side of Monte Verde between 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup>**



**Jennie Coleman House, Palou 3 NW of 4<sup>th</sup>**



**Sinclair Lewis House, west side of Monte Verde between 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup>**



**C.H. Gordiner House, east side of Dolores between 9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup>**



**Anson House, west side of Monte Verde between Ocean and 6<sup>th</sup>**

### **Introduction**

Carmel Vernacular buildings are wood-framed and wood-clad, with the square-in-plan, hipped or pyramidal roof form 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 cottages of M.J. Murphy. Ornamentation is minimal and may be revealed by corner porches with Arts & Crafts – 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. Cladding variations include board-and-batten wood siding and shingles.

### **Character Defining Features**

- Single-story, square plan are most common
- Gable-on-wing massing is also common
- Side-gable, gable or hipped roofs
- Wood wall cladding, typically narrow Redwood drop siding, but may be shingles or board-and-batten
- Single- or double-hung wood sash or wood casement windows in multi-pane configurations or containing decorative upper sash
- Minimal exterior decoration

### **Representative Buildings**

- First Murphy House (1903)
- Enoch A. Lewis House (1905)
- Jennie Coleman House (1921)
- Sinclair Lewis House (1905)
- C.H. Gordinier House (1907)
- Anson House (1920)

**Arts & Crafts Style (1902-1923)**



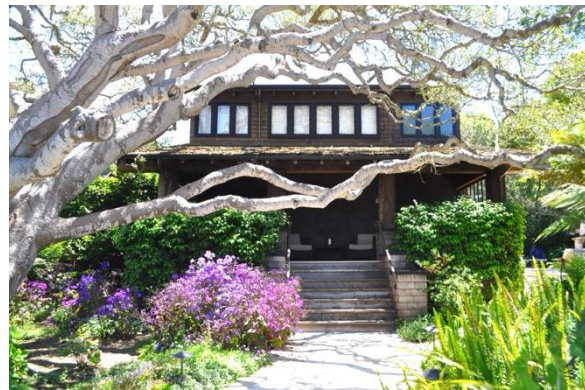
**Philip Wilson Building, northwest corner of Ocean and Dolores**



**M.J. Murphy House, southeast corner of Monte and 9<sup>th</sup>**



**Reverend Charles Gardner House, southeast corner of San Carlos and Santa Lucia**



**Arnold Genthe House, west side of Monte Verde between 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup>**



**Gunnar Norberg House, southeast corner of Carmelo and 10<sup>th</sup>**



**Stone House, south side of 8<sup>th</sup> between Monte Verde and Casanova**

### **Introduction**

Arts & Crafts-style 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 Arts & Crafts 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
- Horizontal bands of multi pane wood-sash or wood-casement windows
- Brick, stone or river rock chimneys
- Minimal applied exterior decoration

### **Representative Buildings**

- Philip Wilson Building (1904)
- M.J. Murphy House (1905)
- Reverend Charles Gardner House (1905)
- Arnold Genthe House (1905)
- Gunnar Norberg House (1909)
- Stone House (1906)

**Seacoast of Bohemia (1902 – 1923): 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	<p>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 listed in this thematic time period are also appropriate, provided they maintain adequate historic integrity.</p> <p>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.</p>
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 Arts & Crafts and Carmel Vernacular styles by the City's Bohemian residents, with most extant resources present on either the Carmel HRI or the Carmel Historic Resources Survey. 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.

**4.5 VILLAGE IN A FOREST (1924-1945)**

Tourism becomes influential during this theme. Introduce the Carmel Dynamic.

**4.6 POSTWAR DEVELOPMENT (1946-1965)**

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

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