PEBBLE BEACH
HISTORIC CONTEXT STATEMENT

PEBBLE BEACH, MONTEREY COUNTY, CALIFORNIA

Prepared for
MONTEREY COUNTY

AUGUST 29, 2013

FINAL

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HISTORIC CONTEXT STATEMENT

Final Report
August 29, 2013

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Pebble Beach is a name virtually synonymous with both golf and scenic coastal vistas. This association is not an accident. What is today the Pebble Beach and Del Monte Forest area was largely developed by one company in accordance with the vision of one person: Samuel Finley Brown Morse, President of Del Monte Properties Company.

Between 1880 and 1919, the Pebble Beach area had been owned by the Pacific Improvement Company (PIC), which developed the famed 17-Mile Drive. But it was Morse, as an employee of the company, who championed construction of Pebble Beach Golf Links—a development that would simultaneously help attract visitors, preserve coastal vistas and raise property values for adjacent lots. Pebble Beach was to be a recreational resort community designed for affluent residents and their guests. Morse was so confident in the area's future prospects that he formed Del Monte Properties Company in 1919 to purchase the interests of the PIC.

Over the next 50 years until his death in 1969, Morse and the Del Monte Properties Company continued to guide the area's development, controlling both the location and character of new development—as well as selecting which areas would be preserved. In this sense, the growth of Pebble Beach was quite atypical compared to other areas of California. Commercial and industrial development was strictly limited—there were no supermarkets, no movie theaters and no drive-in restaurants. Road access to the area was also controlled. In this sense, Pebble Beach was, and is, the very definition of a gated residential community.

Initially, the buildings constructed at Pebble Beach were overtly rustic, employing log timber construction such that they resembled forest lodges. But in the 1920s, the Del Monte Properties Company instituted architectural controls that mandated Mediterranean style architecture for all new buildings. Given that some of California's most capable architects were designing houses for Pebble Beach residents during this period, the result was the "California Riviera," a largely harmonious collection of buildings drawing on Spanish Colonial and Mediterranean precedents. The new style also permeated institutional buildings, including clubhouses for two new golf courses: Monterey Peninsula Country Club and Cypress Point Club. Today, it is these buildings, which are intrinsically linked to the theme of planned development during a formative period in the area's development, that are most likely to be historically significant.

By the end of World War II, the architectural controls had been relaxed and suburban "Ranch" style homes became the norm. Modern-style residences were also constructed, although it appears that high style examples by prominent architects are relatively rare. From 1949 through the 1960s, Modern style architecture was also used for redevelopment of the area around the Del Monte Lodge. This period was also marked by the construction of new golf courses, including the Peter Hay, Shore, and Spyglass Hill courses.

Because the Pebble Beach area has traditionally attracted affluent residents, it is not uncommon for many older houses to have experienced one or more additions. In some cases, these additions have been made sensitively and the character-defining features of the original building remain readily apparent. Other alterations, however, may have dramatically expanded the original building envelope, or re-styled the building such that today it bears little resemblance to the original. In fact, research conducted for this report could not specifically identify any pre-1919 buildings at Pebble Beach that retain a majority of their character-defining features. Most of the oldest buildings in the area are thus acutely susceptible to demolition. Many of the pre-World War II buildings in the study area—particularly those adjacent to golf courses or that that command coastal views—are also likely candidates for future alteration or redevelopment.

As yet, there has not been any comprehensive historic survey in the study area. Even informal "windshield" reconnaissance survey efforts are difficult owing to the presence of large building setbacks and mature landscaping. The final chapter of this study recommends undertaking building surveys focused on identifying extant examples of pre-World War II properties, as well as remaining examples of high style Modern architecture. In both cases, establishing the number and condition of remaining buildings will provide the best comparative information on which to base significance and integrity evaluations. This study also recommends evaluation of 17-Mile Drive for historic registration as a designed historic landscape. It is one of the oldest and most readily identifiable features of the Pebble Beach area, and preliminary research indicates that several segments of the Drive appear to retain historic integrity. The determination of a period of significance and analysis of which sections of the Drive would contribute to the designed historic landscape would be part of the future evaluation effort.

I. INTRODUCTION

A. Project Background & Purpose

The Pebble Beach Historic Context Statement was sponsored by the Monterey County Parks Department in conjunction with a Certified Local Government (CLG) grant from the California Office of Historic Preservation (OHP). The context statement will be used to support the continued development of Monterey County's historic preservation program. This includes providing guidance for project reviews, as well as bringing a greater level of consistency and clarity to the county's preservation efforts in the study area.

This document presents the history of the Pebble Beach/Del Monte Forest area from pre-history to 1969 in order to support and guide identification and evaluation of historic properties, as well as to inform future planning decisions. The document identifies important periods, events, themes, and patterns of development, and provides a framework for evaluating individual or groups of historic properties for the National Register of Historical Resources, California Register of Historical Resources, and the Monterey County Local Official Register of Historic Resources (Monterey County Code of Ordinances Chapter 18.25.100). Historic property types associated with these periods and themes are also identified and described in the historic context statement, and significance and integrity considerations are included for each.

It is important to note that while the context statement identifies key historical themes in the development of Pebble Beach and the Del Monte Forest, it is not a comprehensive history of the community, nor is it a definitive listing of all the community's significant resources. Instead, it provides a general discussion of the overarching forces that shaped the Pebble Beach/Del Monte Forest area built environment, why properties associated with that development are important, and what characteristics they need to qualify as historic resources.

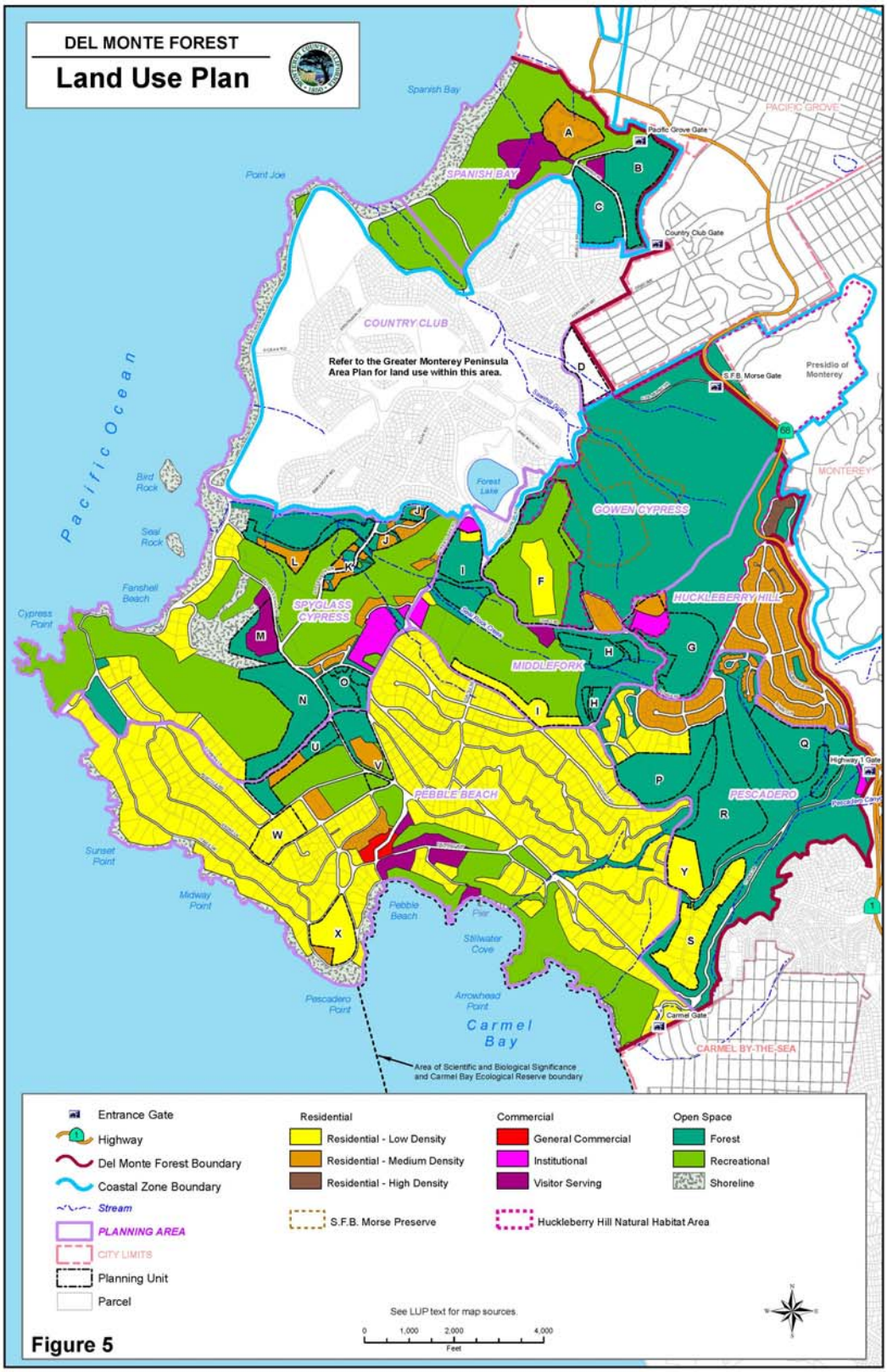
B. Definition of Geographical Area

The Pebble Beach Historic Context Statement addresses an unincorporated planning area that includes the Del Monte Forest and Pebble Beach (see map following page). This area embraces a coastal community located at the southern end of the Monterey Peninsula in Monterey County, California. The Pacific Ocean marks the western and southern boundaries of the area. It is bounded on the north by the city limits of Pacific Grove. The area is bounded on the northeast by the city limits of Monterey, roughly marked by the line of the Holman Highway (Highway 68). Its southeast boundary includes the city limits of Carmel By-The-Sea, as well as areas roughly marked by residential subdivisions along Pescadero Road, San Juan Road, San Pedro Road and San Luis Lane. Generally speaking, the topography of the area features relatively modest slopes along the coastline, while further inland the topography is considerably higher with areas of steep slopes.

Notable features of the planning area include portions of the famed 17-Mile Drive running along the coast from Pacific Grove southward to Cypress and Pescadero Points before turning eastward toward Pebble Beach and Carmel By-The-Sea. The planning area is also intrinsically identified with several golf courses, including Pebble Beach Golf Links, Cypress Point Club and the Monterey Peninsula Dunes Golf Course. The central portion of the planning area includes the Forest Lake Reservoir, as well as the Samuel F. B. Morse Botanical Reserve.

NAMING CONVENTION

The planning area under study is officially designated by Monterey County as the Del Monte Forest. Historically, Pebble Beach was only one of several independent developments within the Forest, along with Cypress Point Club, Monterey Peninsula Country Club, and the Scenic District. In conventional usage, Pebble Beach is today virtually synonymous with much of the study area—especially as it applies to areas near the coastline. Forested areas in the hills further back from the coast may still be referenced as being located in the Del Monte Forest. Thus, throughout the report the terms "Pebble Beach area," "Del Monte Forest," or "Del Monte lands" may be used to describe the study area.



Map of Del Monte Forest and Pebble Beach (Land Use Plan), May 2012.
(County of Monterey Resource Management Agency- Planning Department)

C. Methodology & Research

The Pebble Beach Historic Context Statement is organized chronologically, with sections that correspond to major periods in Pebble Beach history from pre-history to the present. The content and organization of the document follows the guidelines of National Register Bulletin No. 15 *How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation*; National Register Bulletin No. 16A *How to Complete the National Register Registration Form*; National Register Bulletin No. 16B *How to Complete the National Register Multiple Property Documentation Form*; and National Register Bulletin No. 24 *Guidelines for Local Surveys: A Basis for Preservation Planning*.[1] Resources and guidelines published by the California Office of Historic Preservation were also consulted, including the state's official *Instructions for Recording Historical Resources*[2] and a brief guide entitled "Writing Historic Context Statements."[3]

Research for the Pebble Beach Historic Context Statement was gleaned from primary and secondary sources held at local, regional, and online repositories. Materials were primarily gathered at the Monterey Public Library (California Room), Pebble Beach Company's Lagorio Archives, Monterey County Parks Department archives, Pacific Grove Public Library, UC Berkeley Bancroft Library, and the San Francisco Public Library.

Primary sources consulted included newspaper articles, city directories, census data, and historic maps and photographs. Secondary sources included several books and publications (listed in the bibliography at the end of this document), previous historical reports (see Section II), and internet sources.

The report also includes a number of current and historic images of Pebble Beach. Many of the historic images were gathered from secondary sources, which are cited in the image caption. The inclusion of these historic images is intended to be consistent with the "fair use" policies of the U.S. Copyright Office, which states that reproductions used for "criticism, comment, news reporting, teaching (including multiple copies for classroom use), scholarship, or research, is not an infringement of copyright."[4] It is also worth noting that unless specific measures have been taken to renew image copyrights, all published works made prior to 1923 are now in the public domain.[5] This report has been prepared expressly as a scholarly research document, and the inclusion of these images was deemed vital for illustrating historic events and development patterns for which few, if any, alternative images are available.

PROJECT TEAM

This historic context statement was prepared for the Pebble Beach/Del Monte Forest area by Page & Turnbull, a San Francisco-based architecture and planning firm that has been dedicated to historic preservation since 1973. Page & Turnbull staff responsible for this project includes Principal-in-Charge Ruth Todd, FAIA, AICP, LEED AP, Project Manager/Architectural Historian Christina Dikas, and Historian Jonathan Lammers, all of whom meet the Secretary of the Interior's *Professional Qualifications Standards* in Historic Architecture, Architectural History, and/or History

Coordination of the project was undertaken by Meg Clovis, Cultural Affairs Manager of the Monterey County Parks Department. The Historic Resources Review Board was instrumental in the preparation of this document. Review Board members included Judy MacClelland, John Scourkes, Salvador Munoz, Sheila Lee Prader, Kellie Morgantini and Barbara Rainer. Considerable assistance was also provided by Pebble Beach Company, especially Neal Hotelling, Director of Licensing and Special Projects; and Margaret E. Leighton, Manager, Architectural Review.

D. How to Use This Document

The Pebble Beach Historic Context Statement identifies development patterns and significant properties in the area. It is intended to be used as a tool by the Pebble Beach community to better understand and evaluate the area's historic resources. The document is organized as follows:

- Section **II. Previous Surveys, Studies and Reports** summarizes previous historic resource survey work in Pebble Beach.
- Section **III. Guidelines for Evaluation** provides an overview of the various national, state, and local registration requirements; a summary of significant themes; a definition of each of the major property types found in Pebble Beach (residential, commercial, industrial, institutional, recreational, and cultural landscapes); and guidelines for evaluating the significance and integrity of these properties. The guidelines in this section can be used by Monterey County as the framework for future evaluations.
- Section **IV. Historic Context** includes a narrative of the area's developmental history. This history is broken into six periods that are defined by events, themes, and development trends. Property types associated with each of the six periods are identified and analyzed. The information in this section does not provide any determinations of eligibility, but rather can be used as a reference point when questions arise regarding a property's significance and integrity.

E. Frequently Asked Questions

What is a Historic Context Statement (HCS)?
An HCS is a specialized historic study. It focuses on the physical development of an area—how and why it developed, what types of properties characterized that development, and whether or not they may be historically significant. An HCS identifies significant themes, patterns and property types, so that interested parties can recognize the forces that shaped the built environment over time. This provides a framework that helps in the identification, evaluation, and treatment of historic resources.

What is not included in an HCS?
A context statement is a summary of an area's physical development. It is <u>not</u> intended to be a comprehensive community history or chronology, nor does it evaluate the significance or eligibility of individual properties.

Who uses the HCS?
The HCS may be used by anyone. It is intended to help decision-making bodies, architects, building owners and other members of the community recognize and plan for historic resources in the area.

Can the HCS tell me when my property was built?
Generally speaking, the HCS does not provide specific construction dates. However, it can help you focus on the period when your property was constructed. By reading about the property types and architectural styles that are associated with different periods of development, you should be able to make an educated guess about when your property was built.

Where can I learn more about the history of my property?
For those interested in learning more about their property, contact the Pebble Beach Company's Lagorio Archives, which holds many records concerning the area's development. Other sources of information on Pebble Beach history may be found in the Monterey Public Library's California History Room collection. The collection includes maps, city directories, newspaper articles, and other pertinent publications.

Why does the historical information end in the 1960s?
Generally speaking, properties must be at least 50 years old before they can be listed in a historic register, and thus the HCS concentrates on the area's history until the late 1960s. However, a few events from the recent past were briefly mentioned to extend the life of the document, and ensure that it remains useful in the future.

A photo of my property appears in the HCS. Does this mean it is historically significant?
Not necessarily. The photos in the HCS are intended to support the text descriptions, or to provide examples of property types. However, just because a photo of a building appears in the HCS does not automatically mean that the property is historically significant.

Will the HCS place restrictions on my property?
No. The HCS in an informational document that integrates with existing plans and policies. It is designed to help building owners, planners, and other interested parties evaluate the potential historic significance of a property, but does not create any official designation, development restriction or other limitation. The California Environmental Quality Act and the Monterey County Code are the regulatory documents that guide the treatment of historic resources in the area.

Will the HCS affect my property tax?
No. The HCS is an informational document and will not be used for tax assessment purposes. It is also worth noting that concern about negative economic effects is often raised when discussing historic preservation. However, many studies have shown a direct correlation between the creation of historic preservation programs and policies and a long-term increase in property values.

Does the HCS replace the current Historic Assessment Process?
No. Monterey County's current historic review process is required in order to comply with the California Environmental Quality Act (CEQA). The HCS will provide useful information to aid in the preparation of Phase 1 Historic Assessments by qualified consultants, potentially reducing the time and cost involved.

II. PREVIOUS SURVEYS, STUDIES, AND REPORTS

To date, no comprehensive historic survey of the study area has been conducted. Instead, historic resource studies have typically been undertaken during project reviews of individual buildings. Common documentation includes California Department of Parks and Recreation forms (DPR) 523 A "Primary Record" and 523 B "Building, Structure and Object Record" forms. These documents were completed by a variety of consultants for the Monterey County Planning Department and are stored at the Monterey County Parks Department archives. While several buildings at Pebble Beach have been found eligible for historic designation, there are currently only four resources listed on the Monterey County Local Official Register of Historic Resources. These buildings are also the only historic resources currently recognized by the State of California in the study area (see Section B below).

Sanborn Map Company fire insurance maps are typically very useful for historic studies as they provide definitive information about the built environment at various points in time. Unfortunately, there is no Sanborn map coverage for Pebble Beach save for the area immediately adjacent to the Pebble Beach Lodge. There are likewise few formal published historic studies of the study area. *Architecture of the Monterey Peninsula*, published by the Monterey Peninsula Museum of Art in 1976, provides an overview of the architecture of Pebble Beach, but lacks focused information and street addresses for most of the buildings discussed. Other documents of lesser importance include *The Del Monte Forest – An Informal History,* issued by the Pebble Beach Company in 1984, and *A Paradise Called Pebble Beach* by Ray A. March and the Editors of Golf Digest Books, published in 1992. Neither of these works is focused on the built environment, but they do provide useful background information. Many early photos of the area are also included in Edward B. Scott's *A Time … for Recollection*, published in 1969.

More recently, works by Neal Hotelling, Director of Licensing and Special Projects for Pebble Beach Company, have illuminated the history of golf on the Monterey Peninsula. These works include *Pebble Beach Golf Links – The Official History* (1999), *Pebble Beach Heritage Collection* (co-writer 2006), and *Pebble Beach: The Official Golf History* (2009). Mr. Hotelling has also authored various articles for the Del Monte Forest property owners' *Forest News* newsletter, and provided a wealth of background information during the course of this project.

A. Monterey County Historic Preservation Ordinance

Pebble Beach is an unincorporated community and therefore the designation and administration of historic resources in Pebble Beach is managed by Monterey County. Chapter 18.25 of the Monterey County Code of Ordinances (Preservation of Historic Resources) outlines the policies and procedures for administering historic resources in Monterey County. Among the various subsections, Section 18.25.020 (Intent and purpose) reads as follows:

A. The Board of Supervisors finds the protection, enhancement, perpetuation, and use of structures and districts of historic, archaeological, architectural, and engineering significance, located within the County are of cultural and aesthetic benefit to the community. It is further found that respect of the heritage of the County will enhance the economic, cultural, and aesthetic standing of the County. The purpose of this Chapter is to promote the general welfare of the public through:

1. The protection, enhancement, perpetuation and use of structures that represent past eras, events, and persons important in history, or which provide significant examples of architectural styles of the past or are landmarks in the history of architecture, or which are unique and irreplaceable assets to the County and its communities, or which provide for this and future generations examples of the physical surroundings in which past generations lived;
2. The development and maintenance of complementary settings and environment for such structures and/or districts;
3. The enhancement of property values, the stabilization of communities and areas of the County, the increase of economic and financial benefits to the County and its inhabitants, and the promotion of tourist trade and interest;
4. The preservation and encouragement of a county of varied architectural styles, reflecting the cultural, social, economic, political, and architectural phases of its history;
5. The educational and cultural enrichment of this and future generations by fostering knowledge of our heritage;
6. The promotion and encouragement of continued private ownership and utilization of such structures so the objectives listed above can be attained under this policy;
7. The enhancement of property values and increased economic and financial benefits to the County and its inhabitants through the exploration of creative financial incentives for preservation;
8. The protection and enhancement of the County's attraction to tourists and visitors thereby stimulating business and industry;
9. The identification and resolution of conflicts between the preservation of cultural resources and alternative land uses, as early as possible in the planning process;
10. The integration of the preservation of cultural resources into public and private land use management and development processes;
11. The promotion of public awareness of the benefits of preservation and the encouragement of public participation in identifying and preserving historical and architectural resources thereby increasing community pride in the County's cultural heritage.
12. The establishment of a basis for coordinating the goal of the preservation of historic structures and districts with the need to set standards for and implement other elements of the County's plans, policies, and programs.

B. Monterey County Local Official Register of Historic Resources

Chapter 18.25.100 of the Monterey County Code of Ordinances states that adopted designations of historic resources shall be known as the Local Official Register of Historic Resources. Under Chapter 18.25.030 (Definitions), the county recognizes designated sites as "that portion of a parcel on which a significant historic resource is or has been situated and has been listed on the National Register of Historic Places, the California Register of Historic Places [sic], the State Historic Landmark Register, or the County Register of Historic Sites."

Currently, the Local Official Register of Historic Resources includes four buildings in Pebble Beach:

- Olvida Penas 1061 Majella Road (listed on the National Register)
- Chimney Cottage 1600 Vizcaino Road
- George A. Born House 3078 Bird Rock Road
- John S. Cravens Gate House 3350 17-Mile Drive

A review of the properties listed with the State of California - Office of Historic Preservation's Northwest Information Center shows about a dozen additional properties with California Historical Resource Status Codes of 6Y, which means they were determined ineligible for the National Register by consensus through the Section 106 process, but were not evaluated for the California Register or local listing. These include the Lodge at Pebble Beach, as well as a number of properties on Crest Road.

III. GUIDELINES FOR EVALUATION

The following section reviews themes significant to the developmental history of Pebble Beach and defines major property types that are representative of these themes. The section concludes with general guidelines for evaluating properties for the local, state, and national historic registers.

A. Summary of Significant Themes

The Pebble Beach Historic Context Statement utilizes themes and periods of development as its primary organizing principle. "Themes" are ways to organize and understand information about events, activities, people, communities, and patterns of change that have influenced historic and cultural development of an area. The National Park Service revised its framework for historic themes in 1994, replacing a more chrono-centric approach with themes intended to capture "the full diversity of American history and prehistory."[6] This historic context statement discusses the following primary themes relative to the growth and evolution of the built environment in Pebble Beach:

- Residential Development
- Commercial Development
- Landscape Development & Preservation
- Recreation, Leisure & Tourism
- Transportation & Infrastructure
- Resource Extraction
- Social and Economic Trends

These themes contribute in varying degrees to the Pebble Beach Historic Context Statement, and are manifested in different ways throughout the area's history. These themes are discussed more specifically as they relate to each of the Pebble Beach area's six periods of development.

RELATING THEMES WITH PERIODS OF DEVELOPMENT

The periods of development in this Context Statement combine specific timeframes with themes that encompass related events, patterns of settlement and construction, activities of people important to the area, and the socioeconomic changes. Each of the periods of development is also associated with specific property types that originated within or characterize the period. The periods of development also represent the potential periods of significance for properties associated with the respective contexts. A period of significance is the time span during which a property (or property type) attained its historic significance.

The periods of development utilized for the Pebble Beach Historic Context Statement have been developed by Page & Turnbull in consultation with the Historic Context Statement Subcommittee, as well as staff from the Monterey County Parks Department. These periods are as follows:

- **Native American & Mission Periods (to 1820)**
  The dominant themes of this period are the pre-historic settlement of the Pebble Beach area; the Spanish colonization of the area and subsequent formation of the Monterey Presidio and Carmel mission; and tensions between the Native American and European cultures.

- **Mexican & Early American Periods (1821 - 1879)**
  The primary themes of this period are the redistribution of land in Northern California and the subsequent decline of the mission at Carmel; the establishment of a Chinese fishing village at Stillwater Cove; and land acquisitions by entrepreneur David Jacks.

- **Arrival of the Pacific Improvement Company (1880 - 1905)**
  The dominant theme of this period is the acquisition of Rancho El Pescadero by the Pacific Improvement Company and the related development of 17-Mile Drive as a tourist attraction. Other important events of this period include the construction of the Forest Lake Reservoir by Chinese laborers, as well as the continued contribution of the Chinese fishing village to local culture.

- **Early Development of Pebble Beach (1906 - 1918)**
  The primary historic events which shaped this period include the final resolution of the land title for Rancho El Pescadero, construction of the Pebble Beach Lodge, and the creation of the first residential subdivision at Pebble Beach. Importantly, this period also marks the arrival of Samuel F. B. Morse, who, more than any other person, shaped the future development of the area—including the initial development of Pebble Beach Golf Links.

- **Samuel Morse and the Del Monte Properties Company (1919 - 1945)**
  The primary theme of this period is the creation of Del Monte Properties Company with Samuel Morse as its president. Morse exercised near complete control over development of the area, including the establishment of architectural controls to ensure a harmonious blend of Mediterranean Revival style architecture. Two new golf course subdivisions, the Monterey Peninsula Country Club and Cypress Point Club, were also developed during this period, reinforcing the image of Pebble Beach as a wealthy recreational resort.

- **Pebble Beach Post-War (1946 - 1969)**
  Following World War II, the Pebble Beach area experienced the most sustained period of residential development in its history. Architectural controls were also relaxed, allowing for the development of speculative ranch homes by builder/contractors, as well as the construction of high-style Modernist residences. This period also witnessed the remodeling

or redevelopment of many of the older facilities at Pebble Beach, as well as the extension of open-space protection.

B. Summary of Property Types

Each period of development has one or more associated property types that help illustrate the period's significant themes. Property types that are discussed in this document are defined as follows:

- **Residential properties** include single-family dwellings, duplexes, apartments and condominiums. Single-family dwellings are by far the most common property type in Pebble Beach, while multi-unit buildings are comparatively rare.

- **Commercial properties** are those with commercial spaces on all floors; buildings with retail space on the ground floor and office space above; or mixed use buildings that feature retail space on the ground floor and dwelling space above.

- **Industrial properties** include any building where things are made, stored or repaired. In addition to industrial plants and warehouses (which have always been rare in Pebble Beach), industrial properties may also include buildings such as auto repair shops and garages, water works, and electric substations.

- **Institutional properties** may include libraries, courthouses, post offices, schools, churches, hospitals and social halls. Institutional buildings are typically larger and more ornate than other property types, and are designed to serve a public or civic function.

- **Recreational properties** may include athletic fields, sports facilities, fishing piers and swimming pools. The Pebble Beach area has a long history of recreational development, most frequently associated with golfing. Golf courses, however, may also qualify as cultural landscapes (discussed below).

- **Cultural landscapes** are properties that represent the combined works of nature and man. A cultural landscape could be an entire designed landscape such as a park, cemetery or golf course, or could be composed of individual elements such as site features (e.g., fences, walls, etc.), public terraces, street furnishings (e.g., lights and benches), circulation patterns, plantings, and topography.

- **Archeological resources,** if discovered, are likely to be significant, but analysis of these resources is outside the scope of this document.

Each section of this context statement identifies associated property types, provides a description of their character and distribution, and outlines the requirements for resource registration.

CULTURAL LANDSCAPES

The simplest definition of a cultural landscape is a distinct geographic area that represents the combined work of nature and man. The National Park Service definition is more expansive. As discussed in *Preservation Brief 36: Protecting Cultural Landscape – Planning Treatment and Management of Historic Landscapes*, a cultural landscape is defined as:

> A geographic area, including both cultural and natural resources and the wildlife or domestic animals therein, associated with a historic event, activity, or person or exhibiting other cultural or aesthetic values. There are four general types of cultural landscapes, not mutually exclusive: historic sites, historic designed landscapes, historic vernacular landscapes, and ethnographic landscapes.[7]

National Register Bulletin 30: Guidelines for Evaluating and Documenting Rural Historic Landscapes, identifies eleven landscape characteristics. Landscape characteristics are the tangible evidence of the activities and habits of the people who occupied, developed, used and shaped the land over time. They often reflect the beliefs, attitudes, traditions and values of the people. The first four characteristics are considered processes that have been instrumental in shaping the land. The remaining seven are physical characteristics that help define property types. Together, these landscape characteristics help explain the evolution of the landscape from a historical perspective.

<u>Processes</u>

1. *Land Uses & Activities:* these reflect the major human forces and processes that helped shape and organize the landscape, such as ranching, farming, and commerce.
2. *Patterns & Spatial Organization:* these reflect the overall method and manner for organizing the land, such as subdivision patterns, road systems and the siting of commercial and recreational facilities.
3. *Response to the Natural Environment:* this reflects how water sources, mountains, forests and other natural features influenced both the location and organization of buildings and communities.
4. *Cultural Traditions*: these reflect how social customs, religious beliefs, trades and skills affect the way the land is occupied and used.

<u>Components</u>

5. *Circulation Networks:* these are systems for transporting people, goods and materials. These can include paths, roads, horse trails, railways and canals.
6. *Boundary Demarcations:* these delineate areas of ownership and land use such as fences, drainage ditches, planted tree lines and hedge rows.

7. *Vegetation Related to Land Use:* this includes trees and shrubs planted for agricultural or ornamental purposes, as well as vegetation that may have grown up along fence lines or beside roads.
8. *Buildings. Structures & Objects:* these can include houses, stores, churches, barns, bridges and other structures, as well as elements such as fountains, swimming pools and caddie shacks.
9. *Clusters:* these are groupings of landscape elements.
10. *Archeological Sites:* these provide evidence of prehistoric or historic human activities, and can include sub-surface remains, as well as foundations, ruins and abandoned paths.
11. *Small-Scale Elements:* these add to the historic setting and can include elements such as signs, gates and footbridges.

C. Evaluation Criteria

The following discussion of significance and integrity generally guides the property types analysis found in later chapters of this document, and should be used to support future evaluation of historic resources in Pebble Beach. It is important to note that each property is unique; therefore significance and integrity evaluation must be conducted on a case-by-case basis. These guidelines should be implemented as an overlay to the particular facts and circumstances of each individual resource.

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES

The National Register of Historic Places is the nation's most comprehensive inventory of historic resources. The National Register is administered by the National Park Service and includes buildings, structures, sites, objects, and districts that possess historic, architectural, engineering, archaeological, or cultural significance at the national, state, or local level. Typically, resources over fifty years of age are eligible for listing in the National Register if they meet any one of the four criteria of significance and if they sufficiently retain historic integrity. However, resources under fifty years of age can be determined eligible if it can be demonstrated that they are of "exceptional importance," or if they are contributors to a potential historic district. National Register criteria are defined in depth in *National Register Bulletin Number 15: How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation*. There are four basic criteria under which a structure, site, building, district, or object can be considered eligible for listing in the National Register. These criteria are:

<u>Criterion A (Event):</u> Properties associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history;

<u>Criterion B (Person):</u> Properties associated with the lives of persons significant in our past;

Criterion C (Design/Construction): Properties 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 distinguishable entity whose components lack individual distinction; and

Criterion D (Information Potential): Properties that have yielded, or may be likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history.

A resource can be considered significant on a national, state, or local level to American history, architecture, archaeology, engineering, and culture on a national, state, or local level. Perhaps the most critical feature of applying the criteria for evaluation is establishing the relationship between a property and its historic context, which is defined as "those patterns or trends in history by which a specific occurrence, property, or site is understood and its meaning (and ultimately its significance) within history or prehistory is made clear."[8]

CRTIERIA CONSIDERATIONS

Certain types of properties are usually not considered for listing in National Register. However, these properties *can* be eligible for listing if they meet special requirements, or Criteria Considerations. If working with one of these excluded property types, an evaluator must determine that a property meets the Criteria Considerations in addition to one of the four evaluation criteria described above in order to justify its inclusion in the National Register. These considerations are defined as follows:

Criteria Consideration A: Religious Properties: A religious property is eligible if it derives its primary significance from architectural or artistic distinction or historical importance.

Criteria Consideration B: Moved Properties: A property removed from its original or historically significant location can be eligible if it is significant primarily for architectural value or it is the surviving property most importantly associated with a historic person or event.

Criteria Consideration C: Birthplaces & Graves: A birthplace or grave of a historical figure is eligible if the person is of outstanding importance and if there is no other appropriate site or building directly associated with his or her productive life.

Criteria Consideration D: Cemeteries: A cemetery is eligible if it derives its primary significance from graves of persons of transcendent importance, from age, from distinctive design features, or from association with historic events.

Criteria Consideration E: Reconstructed Properties: A reconstructed property is eligible when it is accurately executed in a suitable environment and presented in a dignified manner as part of a restoration master plan and when no other building or structure with the same associations has survived. All three of these requirements must be met.

Criteria Consideration F: Commemorative Properties: A property primarily commemorative in intent can be eligible if design, age, tradition, or symbolic value has invested it with its own historical significance.

Criteria Consideration G: Properties that Have Achieved Significance within the Past Fifty Years: A property achieving significance within the past fifty years is eligible if it is of exceptional importance.[9]

CALIFORNIA REGISTER OF HISTORICAL RESOURCES

The California Register of Historical Resources (California Register) is an inventory of significant architectural, archaeological, and historical resources in the State of California. Resources can be listed in the California Register through a number of methods. State Historical Landmarks and National Register-listed properties are automatically listed in the California Register. Properties can also be nominated to the California Register by local governments, private organizations, or citizens. The evaluative criteria used by the California Register for determining eligibility are closely based on those developed by the National Park Service for the National Register of Historic Places.

In order for a property to be eligible for listing in the California Register, it must be found significant under one or more of the following criteria:

Criterion 1 (Events): Resources that are associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of local or regional history, or the cultural heritage of California or the United States.

Criterion 2 (Persons): Resources that are associated with the lives of persons important to local, California, or national history.

Criterion 3 (Architecture): Resources that embody the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, region, or method of construction, or represent the work of a master, or possess high artistic values.

Criterion 4 (Information Potential): Resources or sites that have yielded or have the potential to yield information important to the prehistory or history of the local area, California, or the nation.

Resources eligible for the National Register are automatically listed in the California Register of Historical Resources.

THE "FIFTY YEAR RULE"

In order to be determined eligible for listing in the National Register, resources less than fifty years of age must be shown to have "exceptional importance." This is not the case with the California Register. According to the California Office of Historic Preservation:

> In order to understand the historic importance of a resource, sufficient time must have passed to obtain a scholarly perspective on the events or individuals associated with the resource. A resource less than fifty years old may be considered for listing in the California Register if it can be demonstrated that sufficient time has passed to understand its historical importance.[1]

MONTEREY COUNTY REVIEW CRITERIA

Chapter 18.25.070 (Review criteria) of the Monterey County Code of Ordinances outlines the review criteria necessary for designating an improvement, natural feature, or site as a historic resource:

A. Any building, structure, object or site may be designated as an Historic Resource if it is found by the Historical Resources Review Board to meet the following criteria:
   1. It has been in existence more than fifty years and possesses integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling and association, and:
      i. It is associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history
      ii. It is associated with the lives of persons significant in our past; or
      iii. It embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period or method of construction, or represents the works of a master, or possesses high artistic values; or
      iv. It has yielded or is likely to yield information important in prehistory or history
   2. It has been in existence less than fifty years and meets the criteria of subdivision (1) of subsection (A) of this section and is of exceptional importance within the appropriate historical context, local, state or national

COMPARISON WITH NATIONAL & STATE CRITERIA

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[1] California Office of Historic Preservation, *Technical Assistant Series No. 7, How to Nominate a Resource to the California Register of Historic Resources* (Sacramento, CA: California Office of State Publishing, 4 September 2001) .11

The designation criteria established by Monterey County are very similar to the National Register and California Register criteria described above. In all cases, historic resources may be significant for their association with events, important people, architecture and/or master architects and information potential (archaeological significance). Section A2 of the Monterey County Review Criteria also corresponds with National Register Criteria Consideration G, allowing for the historic registration of resources less than 50 years old if they are exceptionally important. Thus, the evaluations presented throughout this document for eligibility in any of the three registers will use a consistent approach. The table below summarizes national and state criteria with corresponding elements of the Monterey Country Review Criteria.

National Register/ California Register	Monterey County Review Criteria	Significance
A/1	1(i)	Events, Patterns & Trends
B/2	1(ii)	Persons
C/3	1(iii)	Architecture and Design
D/4	1(iv)	Archaeology/Information Potential

INTEGRITY

In addition to qualifying for listing under at least one of the National Register/California Register/Monterey County Review criteria, a property must be shown to have sufficient historic integrity. The concept of integrity is essential to identifying the important physical characteristics of historic resources and in evaluating adverse changes to them. Integrity is defined as "the authenticity of an historic resource's physical identity evidenced by the survival of characteristics that existed during the resource's period of significance."[10] The same seven variables or aspects that define integrity—location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling and association—are used to evaluate a resource's eligibility for listing in the National Register, California Register and Monterey County Local Official Register. According to the *National Register Bulletin: How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation,* these seven characteristics are defined as follows:

- **Location** is the place where the historic property was constructed or the place where the historic event occurred. The original location of a property, complemented by its setting, is required to express the property's integrity of location.

- **Design** is the combination of elements that create the form, plans, space, structure and style of the property. Features which must be in place to express a property's integrity of design are its form, massing, construction method, architectural style, and architectural details (including fenestration pattern).

- **Setting** addresses the physical environment of the historic property inclusive of the landscape and spatial relationships of the building(s). Features which must be in place to express a property's integrity of setting are its location, relationship to the street, and intact surroundings (e.g., neighborhood or rural).

- **Materials** refer to the physical elements that were combined or deposited during a particular period of time and in a particular pattern of configuration to form the historic property. Features that must be in place to express a property's integrity of materials are its construction method and architectural details.

- **Workmanship** is the physical evidence of the crafts of a particular culture or people during any given period in history. Features that must be in place to express a property's integrity of workmanship are its construction method and architectural details.

- **Feeling** is the property's expression of the aesthetic or historic sense of a particular period of time. Features that must be in place to express a property's integrity of feeling are its overall design quality, which may include form, massing, architectural style, architectural details, and surroundings.

- **Association** is the direct link between an important historic event or person and a historic property. Features that must be in place to express a property's integrity of association are its use and its overall design quality.

The California Environmental Quality Act (CEQA) discusses another definition of integrity relative to proposed development projects, noting that projects that cause a substantial adverse change to the significance of a historical resource may have a significant effect on the environment. According to Section 15064.5(b)(1) of the Public Resources Code, "Substantial adverse change in the significance of an historical resource means physical demolition, destruction, relocation, or alteration of the resource or its immediate surroundings such that the significance of an historical resource would be materially impaired." In order to avoid significant adverse effects, evaluators should look closely to see whether a project "[d]emolishes or materially alters in an adverse manner those physical characteristics of an historical resource that convey its historical significance and that justify its inclusion in the California Register of Historical Resources, or…a local historical register."

EVALUATING INTEGRITY IN THE PEBBLE BEACH AREA

For evaluation purposes, a building ultimately either possesses integrity or it does not. While it is understood that nearly all properties undergo change over time—and thus some alterations or changes are not uncommon—a building must possess enough of its original features to demonstrate why it is significant. Evaluators of potential historic resources should look closely at characteristics such as massing, roof forms, fenestration patterns, cladding materials, and neighborhood surroundings when evaluating a property's integrity.

In order to convey its historical significance, a property that has sufficient integrity for listing in the national, state, or local historical register will generally retain a majority of its character-defining features. However, the necessary aspects of integrity also depend on the reason the property is significant. High priority is typically placed on integrity of design, materials, and workmanship for properties significant under Criterion C/3/1(iii), while for properties significant under Criterion A/1/1(i) or B/2//1(ii), these aspects are only necessary to the extent that they help the property convey integrity of feeling and/or association. Similarly, integrity of location and setting are crucial for properties significant under Criterion A/1/1(i), but are typically less important for properties significant under Criterion B/2/1(ii) or C/3/1(iii). For properties significant under any of these criteria, it is possible for some materials to be replaced without drastically affecting integrity of design, as long as these alterations are subordinate to the overall character of the building.

Evaluations of integrity should also include some basis of comparison. In other words, the evaluator should understand the relative levels of integrity associated with each property type. For instance, increased age and rarity of the property type may also lower the threshold required for sufficient integrity. Conversely, some properties may rate exceptionally highly in all aspects of integrity; such properties should be given high priority in preservation planning efforts, and are more likely to be eligible for listing in the National Register. Generally, a property with exceptional integrity will have undergone few or no alterations since its original construction, and will not have been moved from its original location.

Finally, it should be stressed that historic integrity and condition are not the same. Buildings with evident signs of deterioration can still retain eligibility for historic listing as long as it can be demonstrated that they retain enough character-defining features to convey their significance.

IV. HISTORIC CONTEXT

A. Native American and Spanish Periods (pre-1821)

The longest period of human settlement in Pebble Beach is the period we know least about. There are no written records, only archaeological clues and the writings of early European and American explorers and missionaries. From these sources we at least have some picture of Native American life prior to and immediately after contact with Western civilization. The primary historic themes that relate to this period include:

- Native American settlement of the area, including a discussion of known and potential archaeological sites in Pebble Beach.
- Spanish colonization of the Monterey area, including the founding of Monterey and the Carmel mission, as well as the impact of colonization on Native American groups.

NATIVE AMERICAN PERIOD

The natural advantages of settling along the Monterey Peninsula were recognized by native peoples thousands of years before Pebble Beach was developed. In particular, the upwelling of cold water off the Monterey and Carmel bays encouraged one of the richest concentrations of sea life along the Pacific Coast.[11] This included an abundant harvest of mussels, clams, abalone and other shellfish along the coastline, as well as teeming schools of fish offshore. Marine mammals were also abundant, including sea lions, otters and migrating whales. At various times of the year, huge seasonal runs of salmon and steelhead would have been available in areas such as the Carmel River, while the estuaries and marshes along the bay would have hosted large flocks of migratory waterfowl. Inland, the hills and mountains could provide a harvest of acorns, buckeye and pine nuts, as well as wild roots, berries and seeds. Both the inland forests and coastal plain supported an abundance of animals including rabbits, deer, elk, and bear.[12]

Little is known about the first people to arrive in the region, although research indicates that Native American populations were established in California at least 12,000 years ago. At that time, sea levels were lower, and Monterey Bay did not assume its current appearance until sea levels stabilized approximately 7,000 years ago. In the more recent pre-historic past, anthropological studies appear to indicate that the Monterey area represented a border area between two Native American linguistic groups. To the south were the Hokan-speaking Esselen people, inhabiting a forested mountain territory along the upper drainage of the Carmel River, as well as limited areas along the Big Sur coast. Nearer to Monterey were the Ohlone-speaking Rumsen people, whose territory included the present-day cities of Monterey, Carmel, and Salinas.[13]

While linguistic and cultural barriers may have separated these groups, it is believed they shared common subsistence patterns that took advantage of both coastal and inland resources. In particular, their lives likely revolved around seasonal movements focused on acorn gathering, salmon runs, hunting and harvesting shellfish.[14] Their material culture was designed to match these

resources, and included stone (or bone) arrows and knives for hunting and butchering; winnowing baskets, mortars and pestles for preparing acorn flour; hemp cordage for snares; willow and rush baskets for transporting and storing goods; sea otter, duck and rabbit skins for blankets; shells and feathers for jewelry and decoration; and tule reeds for mats, shelters and rafts.[15]

"Inhabitants of California and their Respective Dresses," by Ludwig Choris, 1822 (Bancroft Library)

Like many Native Americans throughout California, these tribal groups lived in semi-permanent villages and constructed conical or spherical shelters from willow poles woven with tule reeds and rushes. It has also been recorded that the Rumsen made conical houses of split redwood or redwood bark, and that their more permanent villages were always located inland from the ocean.[16] Similarly, the Esselen are known to have occupied inland rock shelters that often contain rock art. Sweat lodges were also constructed, as were dance enclosures made from a fence of woven brush.

In the selection of village sites, the presence of fresh water and easy access to food resources would have been paramount. Areas of relative high ground adjacent to streams or rivers were highly prized, as were areas that abounded in shellfish. In many coastal areas of California, the accumulation of piles of discarded shells known as middens, or shell mounds, are frequent markers for archaeological sites. Similarly, evidence of Native occupation is also frequently noted by the presence of mortars or bedrock mortar sites used to crush acorns and other nuts.

Given its access to rich marine resources, it is not surprising that the Pebble Beach coastline shows ample evidence of occupation by Native groups. Numerous small, likely seasonal archaeological sites composed of middens or mortar sites have been recorded along the shoreline in Pebble Beach. Likewise, mortars for grinding acorns were also recovered from the "Indian Village" area, located east of 17-Mile Drive at the eastern terminus of The Dunes [street].[17] Archaeological sites containing Native American burials have also been recorded in the area. It should be acknowledged here that

some archaeological sites in the Pebble Beach area may not necessarily be associated with Native Americans who lived in the immediate region. It is known that Native groups from areas far inland, including the Tulare Lake area in the southern San Joaquin Valley, crossed the mountains for regular visits to Monterey Bay in order to procure shellfish and other marine resources. These visits are recorded as having continued well into the nineteenth century.[18]

SPANISH PERIOD

Early Exploration

It appears likely that the first European to see Monterey Bay was Juan Rodrigues Cabrillo in 1542. Cabrillo was Portuguese by birth, but had joined with the Spanish conquistador Hernán Cortés in the conquest of Mexico between 1519 and 1521. Following the downfall of the Aztecs, Cabrillo joined other military expeditions to Central America and was rewarded by the Spanish crown with long-term leases for land in Guatemala. In 1540, the Governor of Guatemala granted Cabrillo a commission to build and provision three ships for the exploration of potential trade routes in the northern Pacific.[19]

His fleet sailed north in June of 1542. By November, Cabrillo reached the waters of Northern California, passing the entrance to San Francisco Bay without sighting it. A series of storms and cold weather soon forced the expedition to return south, and in mid-November Cabrillo appears to have passed Monterey Bay, naming it Bahia de los Pinos, or "Bay of the Pines," as well as sighting "Cabo de Pinos," today's Point Pinos.[20] Cabrillo was unable to anchor due to the stormy weather, and continued south to Santa Catalina Island. There he was injured and subsequently died on the island in January 1543.

Though Sir Francis Drake sailed past Monterey Bay while seeking a route to Asia in 1579, sixty years passed between Cabrillo's siting and the next expedition to Monterey Bay. During the late sixteenth century, Spain developed a lucrative trade route between Acapulco and the Philippines, trading Mexican silver for goods such as spices, ivory, porcelain and silk. During the return trip from Asia, the huge galleons took advantage of trade winds that delivered them off the coast of California. Crews often became sick during the long voyage, and so it was hoped that a suitable port could be developed in California where the ships could refit and take on fresh provisions before the final voyage south to Acapulco.[21]

In 1602, Sebastián Vizcaíno received a commission from the Spanish Viceroy in Mexico, the Comde de Monterrey, to investigate the California coast. His fleet of three ships set out in June, and four months later had reached the Monterey Bay area. During the voyage, Vizcaíno reported that he had trouble recognizing Cabrillo's landmarks and so renamed many locations.[22] Vizcaíno's party visited the Carmel River, and described it in relation to the Monterey Peninsula and Monterey Bay: "'Two leagues beyond is a fine port, between which and the river there is a forest of pine trees more than two leagues across. This land makes a point almost at the entrance of the port, which was named 'Punta de Pinos.'" [23]

Vizcaíno's fleet entered the bay on December 16, naming it Monterey in honor of their benefactor.[24] Members of his party marveled at the abundance of wildlife, as well as the "immense number of great pine trees, smooth and straight, suitable for the masts and yards of ships." The rich marine resources were also recorded, including "many good fish in the sea, and among the rocks there are many lapas [mollusks] and mussels, and at depth among the rocks are some very large shells of fine mother-of-pearl [abalone], very beautiful and of a very fine color." [25]

The men of Vizcaíno's party also discovered they were not alone. "The port is all surrounded by settlements of affable Indians of good disposition and well built, very willing to give what they have. They brought us some of the skins of bears, lions and deer. They use bows and arrows and have their form of government. They are naked. They would have much pleasure in seeing us make a settlement here." [26] Other accounts mentioned that the native people had constructed "vessels of pine-wood very well made" which they used to take to sea with up to fourteen paddlers on a side.[27]

Vizcaíno's glowing accounts of Monterey were viewed with suspicion in Acapulco, and he was criticized for disobeying orders not to explore inland or interact with natives. His mapmaker was also found guilty of a forgery charge and hanged, leading Spanish authorities to discredit Vizcaíno's recommendation that Monterey be used as a port for the Manila galleons.[28]

Monterey and the Carmel Mission

The Monterey Bay region remained largely neglected by the Spanish over the next 140 years. Few ships ever anchored there, as the waters were shallow and worrisomely close to rocky coastline.[29] By the 1760s, however, Russian fur traders were becoming active in the northern Pacific, and the English were also suspected of having designs on the area. Thus, Spanish authorities recommended the settlement of Monterey as a buffer colony against Russian and English encroachment.

In 1768, the Spanish Crown commenced a program of reconnaissance and colonization of upper, or "Alta" California, commanded by Captain Gaspar de Portolá. His expedition was comprised of soldiers, sailors, settlers and a party of Franciscan missionaries that included Father Junipero Serra. Two of the expeditions traveled overland from Baja California while a naval contingent rendezvoused with them along the route. After establishing a mission in San Diego, Portolá headed north but failed to locate Monterey Bay. He instead accidentally encountered San Francisco Bay, and after making a brief reconnaissance, headed back to San Diego.

In April 1770, Portolá again commissioned a joint overland/naval expedition to locate Monterey. After six weeks of travel his land party arrived at Monterey Bay in late May, but soon relocated to the Carmel River area. There his party "reported many pines which the Indians had felled by fire rings at their bases."[30] They also met with Native Americans who offered them baskets of pine nuts and feather-tipped rods, for which the Spanish made gifts of beads and ribbons.[31] A week later, the ship *San Antonio*, carrying Father Serra, arrived, and on June 3, the parties reunited at Monterey. A mission was founded, and soldiers under Lieutenant Pedro Fages began construction of a military

outpost, known as El Presidio Real de San Carlos de Monterey (The Royal Presidio of Saint Charles of Monterey).[32]

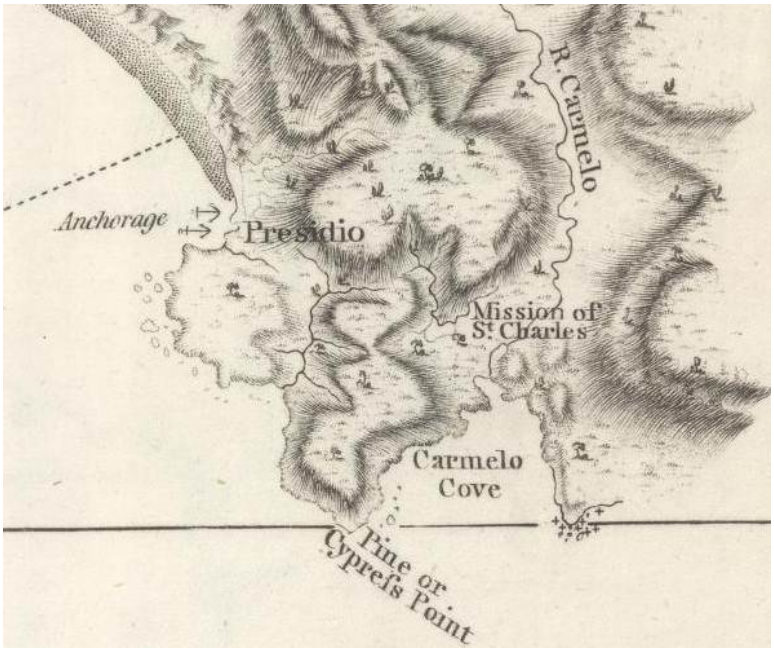
The Mission, officially known as San Carlos Borroméo, was relocated to the Carmel River area the following year by Father Serra. This was both to distance the mission from the soldiers at the Presidio, as well as to take advantage of the fresh water and fertile lands of the Carmel River Valley. That same year, Mission Nuestra Señora de la Soledad was founded on the Salinas River southeast of Monterey, while Mission Santa Cruz was established to the north. The original mission site in Monterey is known today as the Royal Presidio Chapel.

As at most missions, various native groups were intermingled at Carmel, eventually resulting in the dissolution of distinct tribal entities. Natives were not only introduced to European religious practices, but European ways of living and working. The Ohlone, Esselen, and other native groups of the region soon found at the mission that their daily lives were structured around the schedule of Catholic masses, as well as disciplined conformity to religious doctrine. In place of their traditional hunting and gathering practices, Native American converts (known as neophytes) were taught to grow crops and raise stock animals as a means of subsistence. Others were trained as carpenters and blacksmiths. In a similar manner, women's skills were turned to wool production, spinning, and the production of cloth, rather than basketry.

Not all native ways were extinguished, however. For a time, the natives at the California missions were enlisted in a Spanish venture to trade California sea otter pelts for goods in China. Their success at obtaining pelts would in time lead to a vast reduction of the sea otter population, which in turn allowed abalone—a regular part of the sea otter's diet—to flourish in the region.[33]

In 1788, the Carmel Mission was visited by Frenchman Jean Francois de la Perouse, who wrote that the men "retained their skill at harpooning otters and salmon," and that the natives appeared friendly to him.[34] The men were now clothed in breech cloth, while the women wore cloth shirts. While La Perouse judged the monks in charge as pious and charitable men, he also felt that "the mission resembled nothing so much as a slave plantation of Santo Domingo."[35] A great deal of Native American labor centered on the Carmel Mission's ranching operations, which grew to include thousands of sheep and cattle pastured throughout the Monterey Peninsula area.

Non-mission Native Americans, referred to as "gentiles" by the Spanish, also continued to inhabit the area, and sometimes provided refuge for natives who wished to leave the disciplined life of the mission. Those who left were often recaptured with the aid of soldiers from the Presidio and were subject to whipping. Far more deadly than the Spanish soldiers, however, was the spread of European diseases for which the Native Americans had no immunity. In 1795, the population living at the Carmel Mission reached a peak of approximately 900 persons, but over the coming decades that number fell to less than 400.[36]



Plan of the Bay of Monterey, 1799, by Jean-Francoise de Galaup La Perouse.
The future site of Pebble Beach is located left of the letter "C" in Carmelo Cove.
(David Rumsey Collection)

Although Monterey had been declared the capital of Alta California in 1775, the small settlement remained a fairly isolated outpost of adobe buildings that included a few houses, as well as the Presidio and a fortification known as the Castillo. The military contingent was small, and the Presidio was frequently manned by only a few dozen soldiers.[37] Starting in 1810, Spain began to grapple with wars for independence in Mexico and South America, and its possessions in California were frequently neglected. The garrison at Monterey received few provisions and frequently was not paid. The weak defenses of the area proved tempting for Argentine privateer Hippolyte Bouchard. In November 1818, Bouchard, along with 400 men, attacked Monterey, sacking the town and spiking the guns of the fortress.[38]

The weak position of the Spanish in Alta California finally crumbled in 1821 when Mexico successfully concluded its bid for independence and California came under the jurisdiction of Mexico. This heralded a rapid decline for the mission system and the redistribution of church lands to powerful Mexican landowners, who would dominate the region's economy for the next several decades.

ASSOCIATED PROPERTY TYPES & REGISTRATION REQUIREMENTS

The dominant themes of this period are the pre-historic settlement of the Pebble Beach area; the Spanish colonization of the area and subsequent formation of the Monterey and Carmel missions; and the tensions that developed between the Native American and European cultures. However, few, if any, property types reflecting these themes are extant in Pebble Beach today.

Native American Resources

The numerous archaeological sites recorded in Pebble Beach clearly indicate an extended period of Native American occupation. Nevertheless, the Native American period in Pebble Beach is not represented by any extant built resources. The dwellings, sweat lodges and other structures constructed by native peoples have disappeared over the two centuries of Euro-American presence in the area. Likewise, several sites are known to have been partially excavated or disturbed by pothunting.

However, it is probable that additional archaeological resources, such as the sub-surface remains of shell middens, campsite deposits, and burials, are present at Pebble Beach. These would most likely be encountered during excavation activities in areas near the shoreline or in proximity to sources of water. Indications of such deposits include concentrations of shells and/or bones, as well as objects including stone tools or flakes, mortars and other stone-grinding implements, and shell beads. There is also a possibility that such remains exist as submerged cultural resources located adjacent to the shoreline. If such remains are encountered, it is recommended that a qualified archaeologist be contacted to further assess the site. Any artifacts dating to the Native American period may have the potential to yield information important to prehistory and thus make the site significant under National Register of Historic Places (NR) Criterion D/ California Register of Historical Resources (CR) Criterion 4/ Monterey County Review Criterion 1(iv).

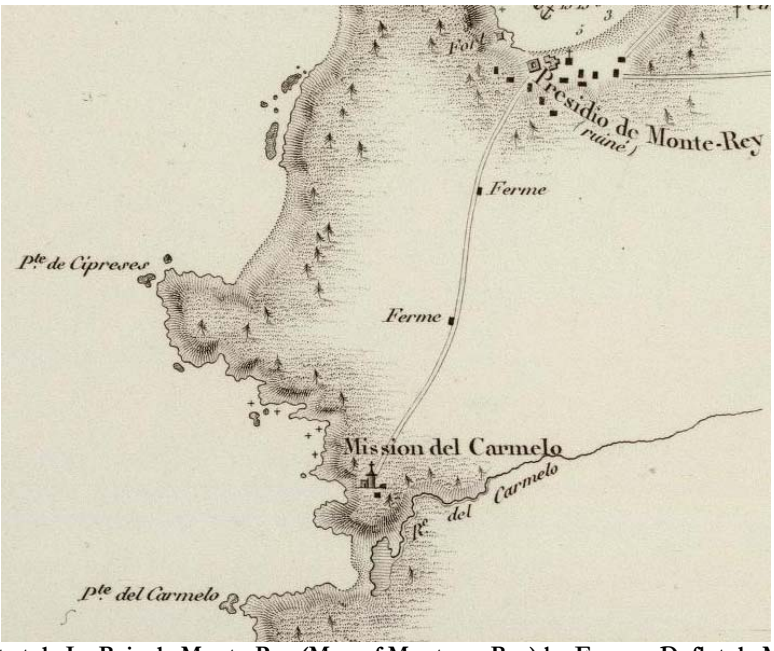
Spanish Period Resources

The accounts of the Vizcaíno and Portolá expeditions clearly indicate that the area around Monterey and Carmel remained occupied by Native groups throughout the Spanish period. Although many Native Americans subsequently went to live at the Carmel Mission, historical records also make it clear that independent settlements of Native peoples remained in the region throughout the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. None of these, however, appear to have been located in Pebble Beach. It is likely, though, that Native Americans continued to visit the area, either sporadically as part of traditional practices, or in support of mission activities. Archaeological remains of Spanish-period Native American occupation might include the presence of glass and ceramic trade beads, metal implements, and other European materials intermixed with traditional Native American artifacts. If such resources are discovered, the site may be significant under Criterion D/4/1(iv) for its potential to yield information important to history.

The operations of the Carmel Mission would have included agricultural support facilities scattered throughout the Monterey Peninsula area—mostly in support of ranching operations—although no direct references to facilities in Pebble Beach have been located. Likewise, even if such an operation was known to have existed, it is extremely unlikely that any built resources, such as simple wood or adobe structures used for shelter or storage, would remain standing. However, indications of interactions between Native Americans and the Mission might include subsurface remains, such as European implements and possibly religious icons intermixed with traditional Native American artifacts. Mass burials associated with epidemics related to European diseases are also possible. If

such resources are discovered, the site may be significant under Criterion D/4/1(iv) for its potential to yield information important to history.

The only remaining evidence of Spanish occupation in the greater Pebble Beach area—besides the Carmel Mission—are portions of the road, which once linked Monterey to the mission. French traveler Eugene Duflot de Mofras, who visited the region in 1842, prepared a map that shows the road as well as two "fermes" or farm houses along the route. Portions of this road may have later been incorporated as part of the routing of Highway 1.



Plan du Port et de La Baie de Monte-Rey (Map of Monterey Bay) by Eugene Duflot de Mofras, 1844. (David Rumsey Map Collection)

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B. Mexican and Early American Periods (1821-1879)

The period 1821 to 1879 includes the earliest European settlement of Pebble Beach, which laid the foundation for the area's later development. The primary historic themes and events of this period include the following:

- The impact of the Mexican Revolution, including the redistribution of church lands and the decline of the mission at Carmel.
- The impact of the Mexican-American War and California statehood, including the relationship between the established Californios and the newly-arrived Americans.
- Land acquisitions by David Jacks.
- The establishment of a Chinese fishing village at Stillwater Cove in Pebble Beach.

MEXICAN PERIOD (1821 – 1846)

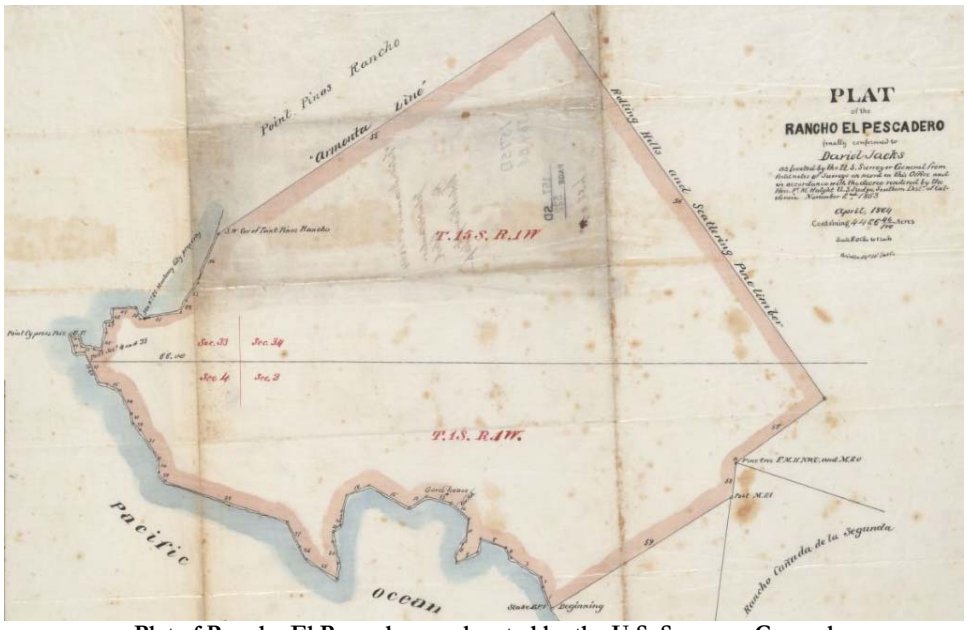
Following a decade-long conflict, Mexico gained independence from Spain in 1821. Under the terms of the treaty, all former Spanish territory in California was placed under Mexican jurisdiction. Monterey was established as the capital of the new Mexican "Alta California" territory. The Mexican Congress subsequently tried to encourage further settlement of California, as well as reduce the influence of the mission system. This was accomplished through a series of legislative decrees that culminated in *An Act for the Secularization of the Missions of California* in 1833. Intended to encourage colonization and make land more accessible to the average "Californio" (as Mexican citizens in California were called), the process of secularization involved the redistribution of the Church's enormous land holdings through sales to private interests. It also allowed for the distribution of mission property to the Native American neophytes and released them from servitude. However, rampant corruption often led to the dispersal of the Church's holdings in the form of large land grants, or "ranchos," given to powerful local families or to men who had won favor during Mexico's bid for independence.

These ranchos supported horses, sheep and basic farm crops, but were primarily cattle ranches that served the growing hide and tallow trade. This business, where cattle hides and tallow (fat used to manufacture candles) were exchanged for imported goods, emerged as the basis of California's economy under Mexican rule. With few owners controlling most of the land, a stratified society emerged, where the average Californio, as well as the newly independent Native Americans, was typically forced to settle for work as rancho laborers. In fact, the large Californio ranching operations of this period were so dependent on native labor that Native Americans were often leased—or illegally sold—between ranch owners.[39]

The secularization of the Carmel Mission took place in 1835. Its considerable holdings represented a rich prize. In 1825 it was reported to have more than 87,000 cattle, 1,800 horses, several hundred oxen and nine sheep farms believed to hold over 50,000 sheep.[40] Even before that time, however, the lands around Monterey were already being parceled out to private interests.

Rancho El Pescadero

In March 1836, Fabian Barretto, a resident of Monterey, was granted Rancho El Pescadero ("Fisherman's Ranch"), a 4,426-acre parcel that included portions of the Del Monte Forest, as well as Cypress Point and what is today Pebble Beach.[41] Barretto built a small ranch house on the property where he lived with his wife, Maria. Following Barretto's death in 1841, his widow sold the property for $500 to John (also documented as Juan) F. Romie in 1846. In the coming years, the rancho was sold several more times and became the subject of a lengthy legal battle during the Early American Period that had a lasting impact on the development of the rancho. These dealings are discussed at length below in the section on Rancho El Pescadero and David Jacks.



Plat of Rancho El Pescadero, as located by the U.S. Surveyor General from field notes of surveys on record, April 1864. R (Bancroft Library)

North and east of Rancho El Pescadero were the Monterey Pueblo Lands, while Rancho Punta de los Pinos, or "Piney Point Ranch," lay to the northwest. This rancho was granted to Jose Maria Armenta in 1833 and consisted of a 2,667-acre parcel that embraced much of what is today the city of Pacific Grove, as well as portions of the Pebble Beach planning area. Its boundaries were northwest of a line running from Point Aulones or "Abalone Point" (later known as Point Loeb, site of today's Monterey Bay Aquarium) to Cypress Point.[42] At both ranchos, the primary economic activity was comprised of cattle and sheep grazing, with Native Americans supplying most of the labor.

The products of these ranchos went to market in Monterey, which had been designated as the only official port of entry in California. A Custom House was erected in 1827, with most of the trade conducted with English and American merchants. The small settlement at Monterey also attracted foreign entrepreneurs, including the American Thomas Oliver Larkin, who arrived in Monterey

during the 1830s. Larkin prospered as a merchant and financier, building the first wharf in Monterey and earning the respect of local officials. His stature was such that in 1843, the American government appointed Larkin as the first (and only) American Consul to Alta California.

By this time, the United States' westward ambitions were increasingly focused on California. Despite the territory's immense natural wealth and commercial advantages, it remained thinly settled, and the Mexican government's authority appeared quite weak. Notably, steady immigration during the preceding decades meant that by 1845, more foreigners—including a sizeable number of Americans—lived in California than Mexicans.[43] Tensions between the Mexican and American governments were also reaching a crescendo following the U.S. annexation of Texas, which Mexico considered part of its territory.

EARLY AMERICAN PERIOD (1846 – 1879)

In 1846, war broke out between the United States and Mexico, and on July 7 naval forces of the Pacific Squadron commanded by Commodore John Sloat occupied Monterey and raised the American flag. Other forces occupied San Francisco, Los Angeles, and San Diego. The takeover at Monterey was concluded peacefully, with the Mexicans offering no resistance. Sloat left a small garrison of Marines who began improving defenses to better protect the town and the harbor.

In February 1848, the Mexican-American War ended with the signing of the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, which required Mexico to cede California to the United States. Around the same time, news of the discovery of gold at Sutter's Mill in the Sierra Nevada reached Monterey. For the remainder of the year, most of the people working in the gold fields were Californians. But 1849 opened with gold seekers from all over the world surging into the territory. Anxious to consolidate its new territory, the U.S. government quickly embarked on a program to bring about California statehood.

In September 1849, a constitutional convention was held in Monterey at Colton Hall. The delegates ratified the California Constitution in October, and the following year California was granted statehood. Although Monterey had for a time been a whirlwind of activity, it was soon eclipsed by San Francisco as the most important settlement in Northern California. San Francisco not only offered a superior harbor, it also offered easier passage to the gold fields. Towns along the route to the gold fields also prospered, including Sacramento, which in 1854 became the state capital.[44] The most notable development along the Monterey Peninsula coastline during this period occurred in 1855 when the U.S. government constructed a lighthouse at Point Pinos in what is today Pacific Grove.

Despite the development of the Point Pinos Lighthouse, within the first few years of the Gold Rush, Monterey—which had never been a large settlement to begin with—lost its position as the capital and main port of Alta California and became little more than a quiet hamlet. While this was largely a factor of geography, development in Monterey was also stifled by the presence of complicated

Mexican land grants and an established Mexican culture. However, there were a few enterprising Americans who used this fact to their advantage.[45]

Rancho El Pescadero and David Jacks

Among those who had arrived in California during the Gold Rush was a budding entrepreneur named David Jacks. Born in Scotland in 1822, Jacks had immigrated to New York in 1841 before moving on to California. Before leaving New York, he had prudently invested his savings in revolvers, which he sold at considerable profit in San Francisco. In 1850, Jacks visited Monterey and decided to settle there. During the early 1850s, he worked as an assistant to several Monterey merchants, becoming familiar with the vagaries of local business.

Among the issues then facing Monterey was the legitimization of the town's claims to some 30,000 acres of Pueblo Lands surrounding the settlement, which had originally been granted by the Spanish Crown. Delos Rodeyn Ashley was retained as the city attorney, and after successfully defending Monterey's claim before the United States Land Commission, Ashley presented the city with a bill for $991.50. Lacking funds, the town passed a resolution to auction the Pueblo Lands in order to pay the fee. The sale was held in February 1859, with the sole bidders comprised of Ashley and David Jacks, who paid slightly more than $1,000 for the entire 30,000 acres. The sale was harshly criticized, and years later it became the subject of legal challenges. The case eventually came before the U.S. Supreme Court in 1903, which ruled in favor of Jacks—who had long since acquired Ashley's interest in the land.[46]

David Jacks, 1882.
(Monterey Public Library, California History Room, reproduced in *Images of America: Pacific Grove* by Kent Seavey and the Heritage Society of Pacific Grove, p. 12)

An astute businessman, Jacks realized that many of the area's prominent citizens—often Mexican ranch owners—were land rich but cash poor. Jacks soon used this to his advantage, loaning money to clients with strained finances and then foreclosing on their land, which had been used as collateral.[47] Jacks also employed a variety of legal maneuvers to acquire land, including Rancho El Pescadero.

As mentioned previously, Rancho El Pescadero was purchased in 1846 by John F. Romie, a German immigrant by way of Mexico. A few years later, Romie died in the gold fields and his widow sold the ranch in 1853 to John C. Gore for $4,400.[48] A widower, Gore lived in a two-story log house adjacent to a creek ("gulch") on Stillwater Cove near what is today the fourth hole at Pebble Beach Golf Links. (It is plausible that the house was constructed earlier by either Fabian Barretto or John F. Romie.) Gore lived in this house with his sons until 1860.[49] The building is clearly shown on a map produced in 1860 by J. Ruurds, as is another house belonging to Gore and located at Cypress Point. This map also shows several trails running through the Rancho, portions of which appear to have been incorporated into 17-Mile Drive. Several "saw pits" for sawing lumber are shown, as well as a saw mill near what is today the intersection of Old 17-Mile Drive and Sloat Road.

Detail from El Pescadero Rancho map drawn by J. Ruurds, 1860. Note John Gore's house at center right above Stillwater Cove.
(U.C. Berkeley, Bancroft Library)

Detail from El Pescadero Rancho map drawn by J. Ruurds, 1860. Note additional house shown as belonging to John Gore at Cypress Point.
(U.C. Berkeley, Bancroft Library)

In 1860, Gore decided to return to the East Coast so his sons could attend college. He retained a real estate agent, Frederick Seymour, to sell or trade the property, and in 1860 Rancho El Pescadero was swapped with attorney Edward Tompkins for a 45-acre property in Binghamton, New York. Gore challenged the swap, though, stating that Seymour arranged the transfer without his signature.

As Gore and Tompkins were embroiled in their dispute, David Jacks embarked on a concerted effort to acquire the property, convincing Edward Tompkins to sell his interest in the property in 1862 for $10,000.[50] Despite the sale to Jacks, John C. Gore continued to assert his ownership until his death in 1867. Prior to that time, Gore purportedly conveyed his interest in the rancho to his son, John Gore, Jr., who continued to claim ownership of the property. Ultimately, Jacks divested himself from the controversy by selling the land again in 1880 as part of a larger land deal with the Pacific Improvement Company (described in the following section).

In 1864, Jacks also acquired most of the Punta de los Pinos Rancho, and purchased another interest in the Rancho lands four years later.[51] It is estimated that Jacks eventually controlled approximately 100,000 acres of Monterey County land—including all of what would become the city of Pacific Grove, the Del Monte Forest, and Pebble Beach.[52] For the most part, these vast landholdings were used for ranching operations, functioning much as they had during the Mexican era. In 1860, it was estimated that Monterey County included some 100,000 cattle and raised more sheep than any other county in the United States.[53]

Jacks' most concerted efforts in developing his property were concentrated near Monterey. In 1875, Jacks concluded an agreement with representatives from the Methodist Episcopal Church to subdivide 100 acres of his land near Monterey for the development of a Christian seaside resort known as Pacific Grove. During this same period, Jacks facilitated important transportation connections to Monterey. In 1874, Jacks and Salinas land baron Carlisle S. Abbott organized the Monterey & Salinas Valley Railroad. This was a narrow-gauge line that would connect their two towns and mutually improve the value of their lands. Jacks donated almost $70,000 toward construction, and the line was completed in October 1874 with a depot in Monterey. However, the line was plagued by repeated failures of its trestle over the Salinas River.[54]

The Chinese Fishing Village at Stillwater Cove

David Jacks was not the only immigrant to see potential in the Monterey Peninsula. In the early 1850s, Chinese immigrants settled in the area of Point Lobos, later extending north to areas of the Point Pinos and El Pescadero Ranchos. The primary focus of the Chinese was harvesting abalone. As mentioned in the previous chapter, during the Spanish period a lucrative trade in sea otter pelts had decimated the sea otter population, which allowed abalone to thrive along the Monterey Bay coastline. The area was so rich in shellfish that an "abalone rush" developed about 1853, with over 500 Chinese—many from Kwangtung Province—engaged in drying and packing abalone meat for shipment back to China. Some of the Chinese built small cabins along the shore, spreading abalone on the railings to dry.

Prior to the arrival of the Chinese, some abalone had been harvested for their shells, which were then shipped for manufacture into buttons and jewelry. But the Chinese operations were much more concentrated, and by 1856, it was observed that the Chinese had removed nearly all the abalone from the waters around Point Pinos. The Chinese then moved south, harvesting areas around Point Lobos and in the Big Sur area.[55]

After the abalone rush ended, the Chinese expanded their catch during the 1860s to include a much wider variety of fish, including rock fish, sharks, cod, halibut, mackerel and flounder. Because of the lack of refrigeration, almost all of the catch had to be prepared for shipment. Smaller fish were dried on the ground or on racks, while larger fish might be salted and hung to dry on poles. The operations grew steadily, and in 1867 the Chinese shipped some 300 tons of dried fish by steamer from Monterey.[56] Around this time the market for abalone shells also improved, and so the Chinese reworked the huge piles of discarded shells from earlier harvests and prepared them for sale to vendors in the United States, Europe and China.[57] Altogether, the Chinese developed the first true commercial fishery on Monterey Bay, and in some ways were responsible for the most focused commercial activity in the entire Monterey area.

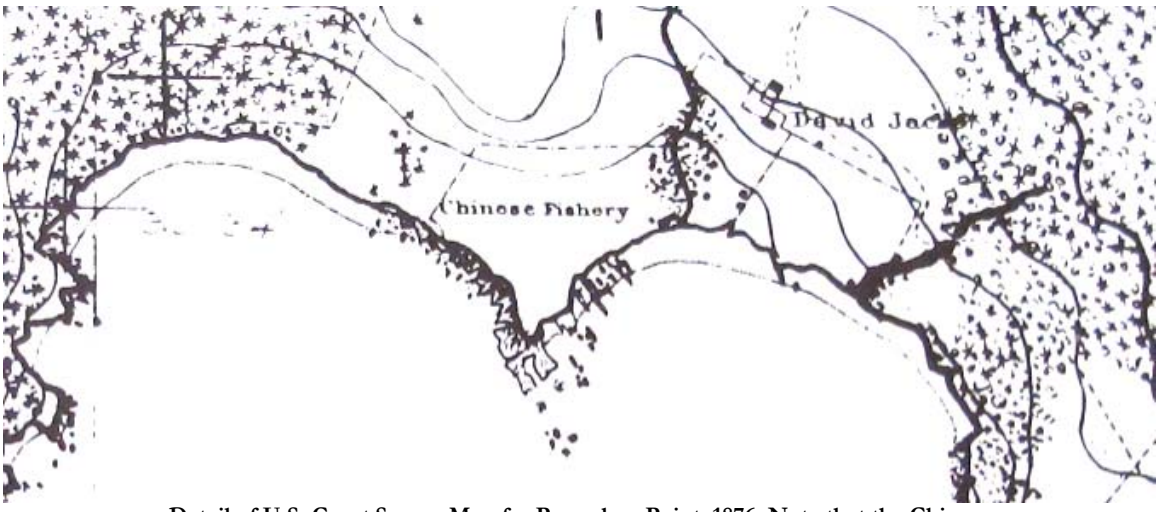
The largest of the Chinese fishing villages that developed was located along a sheltered curve of beach at the southeastern edge of what is today the Hopkins Marine Laboratory property at China Point in Pacific Grove. Another Chinese fishing village was established along Stillwater Cove in the vicinity of John Gore's former house. In 1863, David Jacks constructed a wharf in this area from which he could ship firewood and sand, as well as receive other supplies. There is some indication, however, that the Chinese fishing village was already established by this time. As described in *Chinese Gold*, Sandy Lydon's history of the Chinese in the Monterey area:

> The first documented use of the Pebble Beach village site by Chinese fishermen is found in an 1868 lease between the China Man Hop Company and David Jacks. The lease, which specifies the fishing camp location as being the site of the "Old China House," hints at prior use by the Chinese. The China Man Hop Company leased the small site from Jacks for six dollars and "two dozen alones [abalone] each and every month." The 1868 lease marked the beginning of a permanent fishing village which remained at that spot until 1912. Though the Chinese were there to fish, they sometimes worked for Jacks and he would credit their labor toward the rent they paid for the village site. Jacks' ledgers list the Chinese fisherman burning brush, fixing fences, cleaning and repairing sheep troughs, and herding sheep.
>
> A small oak-filled arroyo divided the terrace around Stillwater Cove, and the Chinese village grew along the bluff until it straddled the ravine. It was a perfect fishing village site—protected sandy beach for pulling the boats out during bad weather, open terrace with southern exposure for fish drying, fresh water from nearby springs, and all of it facing the fish-filled, clear waters of Carmel Bay. The 1876 United States Coast Survey lists five buildings on the bluff above the beach and four more back in the oak trees below David Jacks' dairy barn. In his 1879 visit, Professor David Starr Jordan counted forty Chinese living in eight houses; the Pescadero fisherman had also built twelve boats. During calm weather the Chinese moored their boats to a heavy chain suspended between some off-shore rocks and the fishing

village. The chain eventually rusted through, but short lengths of it dangled from the rocks for many years after the Chinese had left Pescadero.[58]

Historic photographs indicated that the Chinese fishing village consisted of numerous small, gable-roofed, wood-frame dwellings. The village's association with David Jacks probably gave it some measure of protection from outside interference, and Jacks does not appear to have objected to their continued operations on his land. Indeed, the Chinese were by far the most numerous tenants on Jacks' land in what would become Pebble Beach.

Chinese Fishing Village along 17-Mile Drive at Stillwater Cove, circa 1890.
(California State Library, reproduced in *Chinese Gold*, p. 144)



Detail of U.S. Coast Survey Map for Pescadero Point, 1876. Note that the Chinese fishing village ("Chinese Fishery") and a house owned by David Jacks are clearly shown.
Reproduced in *Chinese Gold*, p. 143

ASSOCIATED PROPERTY TYPES & REGISTRATION REQUIREMENTS

The primary themes of this period are the redistribution of land in Northern California and the subsequent decline of the mission at Carmel; land acquisitions by entrepreneur David Jacks, and the establishment of a Chinese fishing village at Stillwater Cove. However, few if any built resources representing these themes are still extant in Pebble Beach today.

Mexican Period Resources

This period marks the first formal subdivision of the land that would become Pebble Beach and the Del Monte Forest. However, it is unclear whether Fabian Barretto or his wife ever constructed a ranch house on the property, and thus no buildings from this period appear to remain extant.

Early American Period Resources

The historical record clearly indicates that the area adjacent to Stillwater Cove was the primary nexus of activity during this period. A rancho house was constructed circa 1855 for John C. Gore near what is today the fourth hole of Pebble Beach Golf Links. A Chinese fishing village was also developed in this area during the 1860s, such that by 1876 there were no fewer than nine houses used by the Chinese, as well as the dairy barn constructed for David Jacks. Another circa 1855 house owned by John Gore was also constructed at Cypress Point.

None of these buildings are extant today. It is quite likely, however, that archaeological evidence of the Chinese fishing village, as well as the Gore house and dairy barn, remain buried in the area. This evidence might include features such as the remnants of foundation walls or post holes. It might also include evidence of activity areas—including garbage pits—containing concentrations of glass and ceramics consistent with the period. Evidence of Chinese occupation would also include items such as hooks, wire and other items associated with fishing culture. If such resources are discovered, it is recommended that a qualified archaeologist be contacted to further assess the area, as the site may be significant under Criterion D/4/1(iv) for its potential to yield information important to history.

Perhaps the best remaining evidence of the Early American Period are various trails or path segments developed during this era. The 1860 map produced by J. Ruurds shows a trail running east from the vicinity of the Gore house to the Carmel Mission (see map following page). Another path runs north from Cypress Point to eventually connect with a sawmill on the Point Pinos Rancho. Comparisons with early twentieth century maps appear to indicate that portions of both these paths were likely incorporated into 17-Mile Drive.

Detail from El Pescadero Rancho map drawn by J. Ruurds, 1860. Note John Gore's house at center right above Stillwater Cove. (U.C. Berkeley, Bancroft Library)

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C. Arrival of the Pacific Improvement Company (1880 - 1905)

The period 1880 to 1905 marks the initial period of development of 17-Mile Drive, one of the most celebrated features of the Pebble Beach area. However, until the cloud which lingered over the title to Rancho El Pescadero could be finally resolved, this period saw the area function primarily as a scenic backdrop for tourist excursions. The primary themes and events that guided development during this period include:

- The Pacific Improvement Company's purchase of the El Pescadero and Point Pinos Ranchos
- Construction of the Hotel Del Monte and promotion of the area for tourism and recreation
- Infrastructure improvements, including water supplies, rail service and the development of 17-Mile Drive

THE PACIFIC IMPROVEMENT COMPANY

It may be fairly said that no single entity had a greater influence on the development of the Monterey Peninsula than the Pacific Improvement Company (PIC). The PIC traced its earliest roots to the Central Pacific Railroad, financed by Sacramento businessmen Leland Stanford, Collis P. Huntington, Charles Crocker and Mark Hopkins—otherwise known as the "Big Four"—who in 1869 had been instrumental in completing the Transcontinental Railroad. The previous year, however, the Big Four had also purchased the nascent Southern Pacific Railroad. Under the management of the Big Four, the Central Pacific and Southern Pacific Railroad operations were merged in 1870, with the Southern Pacific Railroad reaching Los Angeles in 1876.

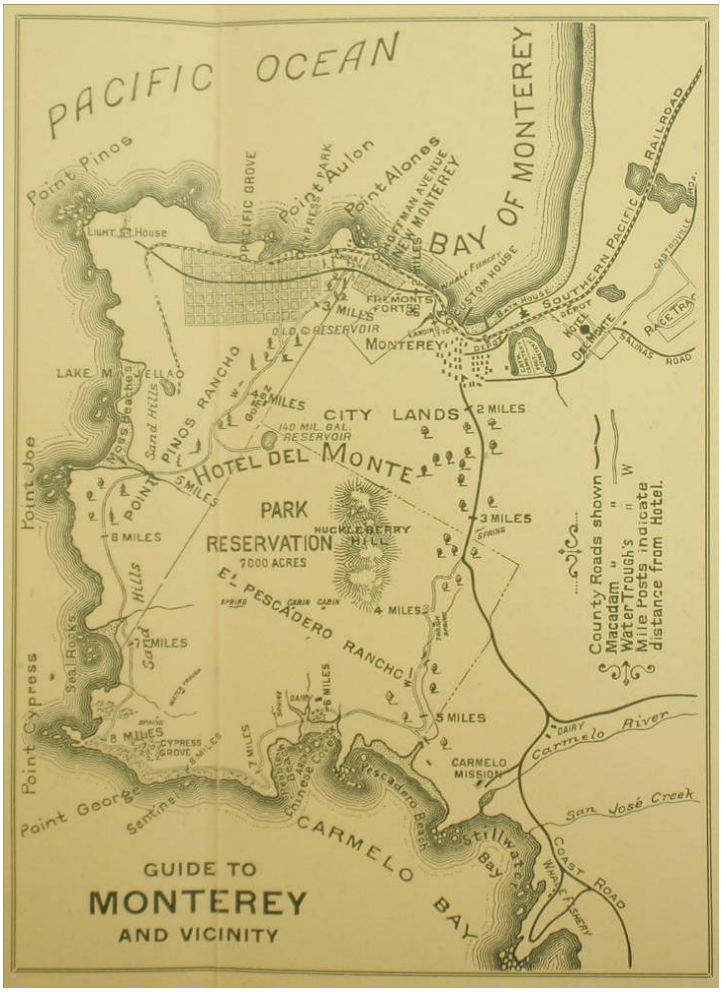
By the late 1870s, the Southern Pacific Railroad had a near monopoly on California's rail system. Through federal land grants given to the company along their right of way, they had also acquired enormous land holdings. In 1878, the Pacific Improvement Company was formed as a subsidiary of the Southern Pacific with the express goal of developing these landholdings, as well as nearby areas that could be served by the railroad. With its scenic coastline and proximity to San Francisco, one of the first areas targeted for development by the PIC was the Monterey Peninsula.

In September 1879, the Southern Pacific purchased the Monterey & Salinas Valley Railroad from David Jacks and other shareholders.[59] In December, the Pacific Improvement Company also acquired Rancho El Pescadero, as well as portions of the former Rancho Los Laureles in the Carmel Valley. Then in May 1880, it was announced that the PIC and David Jacks had agreed on the purchase of the entire Punta de los Pinos Rancho—except for over 100 lots in Pacific Grove which had already been sold.[60] The total price for these acquisitions was $35,000—or about $5 an acre.[61]

David Jacks' motivations for the sale are not known. Clearly, he was able to avoid protracted litigation over Rancho El Pescadero, as well as divest himself of both ranchos at a substantial profit to his initial investment. He also likely realized that any improvements made by the PIC would vastly

increase the value of his nearby land.[62] For its part, the PIC acquired enormous land holdings with excellent prospects for development. The company was, however, keenly aware of the clouded title to Rancho El Pescadero, and thus limited its expenditures on developing the tract.

Elsewhere, the PIC wasted no time in improving its purchases. In early February 1880, the company began clearing land for a luxury resort known as the Hotel Del Monte. Located at what was then the eastern edge of Monterey, the three-story hotel was completed in six months. It featured over 100 rooms, as well as a ballroom, observatory, and approximately 100 acres of grounds with bathhouses, fountains and parks.[63] To bring in visitors, the Monterey & Salinas Valley Railroad was reconstructed as a broad-gauge line from Castroville to Monterey. A railroad table from 1883 indicates that Monterey could be reached from San Francisco via the Monterey Express, or "Daisy Train," which left San Francisco at 3:30pm and arrived in Monterey three-and-a-half hours later.[64]



Late nineteenth century promotional map showing Monterey and vicinity, as well as 17-Mile Drive. Note the dairy shown above Stillwater Cove. Two cabins are also shown southwest of Huckleberry Hill near what is today the Poppy Hills Golf Course. (Monterey Public Library, California Room)

17-Mile Drive

While the Hotel Del Monte was under construction, the PIC also began developing a scenic coast drive to showcase the local scenery for hotel visitors. This was a loop drive for horse carriages (and later automobiles) that touched on various spots of scenic interest. Opened in 1881, the drive first ran west from Monterey to Pacific Grove, passing through the Chinese fishing village at Point Alones. It then turned southwest and entered the forest at the Pacific Grove gate. From there it headed toward Moss Beach. A spur also allowed visitors to see the Forest Lake Reservoir. From Moss Beach the drive turned south and ran along the coast to Cypress and Pescadero Points. From there, the drive turned east to Pebble Beach and Stillwater Cove. It then continued east for a time before heading up Pescadero Canyon and then back north to Monterey. Tourists also had the option of visiting the Carmel Mission via a connecting road. The route could be traveled in either direction, with the Lone Cypress known as the Midway Point because it was eight-and-a-half miles in either direction from the Hotel Del Monte. Other trees also gained fame as landmarks, including the "Ghost Tree" and "Witch Tree" near Pescadero Point.

The two most popular spots for picnicking along the route included Pebble Beach (near what is today the eighteenth hole of Pebble Beach Golf Links), and Cypress Point (near what is today Crocker Grove).[65] The name "Pebble Beach" was in use at least as early as 1888, when it appears in an article by J. R. Fitch: "It is known as Pebble Beach, because of the myriads of pebbles that take the place of the ordinary sand. The waves come in with a peculiar swish on these loose pebbles, and their constant action results in beautifully rounded specimens of all kinds and of every shade of color."[66]

Picnic area near Pebble Beach, 1908.
(Sourisseau Academy for State and Local History, via Calisphere)

The route was an immediate success with guests at the Hotel Del Monte, not least of which because of the road's fine condition. Neal Hotelling, in his book *Pebble Beach Heritage Collection*, states that:

> The hotel promoted the drive as "the longest macadamized road in California" … Essentially, a base of large rocks was topped with ever smaller rocks and pulverized with a large roller to force a firm adhesion. The convex roadway was sided with ditches to assure drainage and a continuously firm surface. The macadamized road

> held up better than a typical dirt road, was much easier on the horses, and also kept the dust down, which was appreciated by the often well-dressed visitors.[67]

Persons who weren't hotel guests could also make the drive via private liveries, such as the excursions offered by Joseph O. Johnson, the PIC's superintendent in Pacific Grove. The PIC also furthered its investment in Pacific Grove with the construction of the three-story El Carmelo Hotel. The hotel opened on May 20, 1887 with modern features including indoor plumbing in each of its 114 rooms, an elevator, and gas lighting.[68] A landscaped park was laid out in front of the building by landscape architect, Rudolph Ulrich, who also landscaped the grounds for the Hotel Del Monte.[69]

Travelers on 17-Mile Drive, circa 1902.
(*A Paradise Called Pebble Beach*, p.53)

Chinese Fishing Village

For tourists making the 17-Mile Drive, the Chinese fishing villages at Stillwater Cove and Point Alones were promoted as "exotic" sights. One writer mentioned that, "even the Chinese fishing village in Pacific Grove, in spite of its mal-odiferous smells, has its full quota of sightseers. To many it is simple curiosity that prompts the threading of its narrow street and peering into its open doorways."[70] The village at Stillwater Cove was also popular with tourists. As described by Sandy Lydon:

> Where the drive skirted Pebble Beach and Stillwater Cove, it passed directly through the Chinese fishing village. Within a year of the drive's construction, the Chinese at Pescadero opened a roadside stand where they sold polished shells and souvenirs to the parade of tourists. This stand was one of the first souvenir shops in Monterey County, and the selling of shells and trinkets supplemented the income of the Chinese fisherman at Pescadero well into the twentieth century.[71]

Jung family shell stand, circa 1890. View is looking east toward Stillwater Cove from an area today marked by the 18th fairway of Pebble Beach Golf Links. (Bancroft Library, reproduced in *Chinese Gold*, p. 145)

One of the most prominent individuals engaged in the tourist trade was Jung San Choy and his family, which at one time operated a shell stand at their home, another at Pebble Beach, and a third adjacent to lunch tables which had been constructed by the PIC near The Lone Cypress Tree on 17-Mile Drive. By this point, the Chinese were now paying rent directly to the Pacific Improvement Company. After David Jacks sold the Pescadero Rancho to the PIC, he leased back much of the land so he could continue grazing his herds of cattle and sheep. However, the PIC did not extend Jacks' lease with the Chinese fisherman.[72]

The presence of women and children at the Chinese fishing villages was rare as compared to many other Chinese settlements in California, which were almost exclusively comprised of male laborers. Some Chinese also engaged in trades other than fishing. Following the construction of the Hotel Del Monte, the PIC employed Chinese laborers at the hotel, as well as for construction of the various drives around the peninsula.[73]

In 1888, the fishing village was visited by J.W. Collins of the U.S. Fish Commission. He noted that the village included a population of "some thirty fisherman; it is picturesquely situated on a road that skirts the shore, and is within easy reach of the fishing grounds in Carmel Bay."[74] During the 1890s, a few Chinese also lived at Point Joe.[75]

In 1894, the Hitchcock family moved to Pescadero to take over management of the cattle ranching on the rancho. According to Joseph Johnson, the Chinese fished seasonally, "from about September until the salmon and squid season in the spring."[76] The cattle ranching operations also moved according to the seasons, including an annual cattle drive to Salinas held each year in August.

Forest Lake Reservoir

Perhaps the most important improvement made by the PIC during this era was the construction of a water system to supply the Hotel Del Monte—as well as the rest of the Monterey Peninsula. In 1883, the company spent several hundred thousand dollars constructing a dam at the headwaters of the Carmel River. The water was then transported by gravity flow through a 23-mile pipeline to Pacific Grove and Monterey. The system was further enhanced in 1883 by the construction of a 14 million-gallon reservoir, located southwest of the present-day intersection of David and Carmel avenues in Pacific Grove.[77]

Storage capacity was again increased in 1888 through the construction of the Forest Hill Reservoir (today known as the Forest Lake Reservoir and owned by the Pebble Beach Community Services District). Located in the hills between Pacific Grove and Pebble Beach, the reservoir was constructed in three months by more than 1,200 Chinese laborers who enlarged a former clay pit and then lined it with granite. When completed, the reservoir had a storage capacity of 140 million gallons.[78] Ironically, the same year as the reservoir was being completed, the Scott Act was signed into law by President Grover Cleveland. This legislation not only prohibited further Chinese immigration to the United States, it also stipulated that any Chinese who had left the United States, even only temporarily, would be refused reentry.[79]

Chinese laborers constructing the Forest Hill Reservoir, 1888.
(Pacific Grove Heritage Society, reproduced in *Images of America – Pacific Grove,* p. 35)

Southern Pacific Railroad & the Del Monte Sand Plant

In May 1889, Chinese laborers began construction on an extension of the Southern Pacific Railroad from Monterey to Pacific Grove. The right-of-way followed a sinuous route along the shoreline at the eastern end of Pacific Grove before straightening out in a large field southwest of Lovers Point. The railroad line then continued westward before turning south on today's Railroad Way in Pacific Grove to a point just south of Sunset Drive. There, a "sand spur" was constructed that extended

southwest to the vicinity of Lake Majella.[80] This was a pond located amidst rolling dunes in what is today the Spanish Bay Club development.

The line was originally planned to continue to an area of coal deposits in the Carmel Valley, but for reasons that are unclear, it was never extended beyond Lake Majella. Here, the PIC established commercial sand mining operations amidst the abundant sand deposits at Moss Beach. Initially, the sand was mined by hand and loaded onto gondola freight cars for exclusive use by the Southern Pacific, which used the sand to improve traction on its many lines. Eventually, though, the sand was also mined for shipment to east coast glass makers.[81]

ASSOCIATED PROPERTY TYPES & REGISTRATION REQUIREMENTS (1880 – 1905)

The dominant theme of this period is the Pacific Improvement Company's initial development of the former Point Pinos and El Pescadero ranchos. This development was marked by infrastructure projects that included the construction of the Forest Lake Reservoir and the extension of rail service from Pacific Grove to Lake Majella. These improvements also included development of 17-Mile Drive—which was directly tied to the other crucial theme of the period: promotion of the Monterey Peninsula as a tourist destination. The only extant built features that originated during this period are structures, marked by the Forest Lake Reservoir and 17-Mile Drive. However, 17-Mile Drive also meets the definition of a cultural landscape and is discussed in conjunction with that property type.

STRUCTURES

The National Park Service uses the term "structure" to distinguish constructions made for purposes other than human shelter. Examples can include bridges, tunnels, railroad grades, roadways and paths, reservoirs and power plants. They may be significant for their role in development, transportation, engineering, industry and other areas.

Satellite view of the Forest Lake Reservoir.
(Bing.com maps)

Significance

The table below discusses the significance of structures from this era according to criteria established by the National Register of Historic Places, California Register of Historical Resources, and the Monterey County Review Criteria.

National Register/ California Register	Monterey County Criteria	Significance	Discussion
A/1	1(i)	Events, Patterns & Trends	Structures from this period may be significant as expressions of the early development of the Monterey Peninsula. For example, the establishment of the Forest Lake Reservoir appears significant as part of a larger program to establish a reliable water supply for Monterey and Pacific Grove.
B/2	1(ii)	Persons	Structures from this period are not likely to be significant under this criterion for their associations with important persons.
C/3	1(iii)	Architecture/ Design	Structures from this period may be significant for their distinctive design and engineering values, or for their association with a master engineer. Resources qualified under this criterion should be good examples of their type and/or construction method.
D/4	1(iv)	Information Potential	Structures from this period are not likely to yield important information not available in built resources or other extant documentary evidence.

Integrity

In order to be eligible for listing in the local, state, or national historic registers, a structure should retain sufficient integrity to convey its association with development during this period. While most structures undergo change over time, alterations should not significantly change the essential historic character of the structure. Structures constructed during this era are extremely rare, and therefore some consideration for their age and rarity is warranted when considering integrity. Nevertheless, a structure must retain the essential character-defining features that made up its historic character.

CULTURAL LANDSCAPES

The simplest definition of a cultural landscape is a distinct geographic area that represents the combined work of nature and man. The National Park Service definition is more expansive. As discussed in *Preservation Brief 36: Protecting Cultural Landscape – Planning Treatment and Management of Historic Landscapes*, a cultural landscape is defined as:

> A geographic area, including both cultural and natural resources and the wildlife or domestic animals therein, associated with a historic event, activity, or person or exhibiting other cultural or aesthetic values. There are four general types of cultural landscapes, not mutually exclusive: historic sites, historic designed landscapes, historic vernacular landscapes, and ethnographic landscapes.[82]

In many cases, cultural landscapes can be compared to historic districts that are comprised of various individual features that may or may not contribute to the significance of the landscape. Character-defining features that may collectively contribute to a cultural landscape can include items such as circulation, topography, vegetation, site features, objects, and views and vistas. As a deliberately designed scenic drive, 17-Mile Drive clearly meets the definition of a historic designed landscape.

17-Mile Drive north of Cypress Point is a well-preserved section of the original route. (Bing.com maps)

17-Mile Drive in the vicinity of the "Ghost Tree" (Page & Turnbull, November 2012)

Significance

The table below discusses the significance of cultural landscapes from this era according to criteria established by the National Register of Historic Places, California Register of Historical Resources, and the Monterey County Review Criteria.

National Register/ California Register	Monterey County Criteria	Significance	Discussion
A/1	1(i)	Events, Patterns & Trends	Cultural landscapes from this period may be significant as expressions of the early development of the southern Monterey Peninsula. For example, the establishment of 17-Mile Drive is a significant illustration of early attempts to promote the area as a destination for recreation and tourism.
B/2	1(ii)	Persons	Cultural landscapes from this period are not likely to be significant under this criterion for their associations with important persons.
C/3	1(iii)	Architecture/ Design	Cultural landscapes from this period may be significant for their distinctive design values. In order to qualify under this criterion, the landscape must be purposefully designed, and must clearly express aesthetic principles or technological achievements in city planning, landscape architecture, engineering, or sculpture. These properties may also be significant if they represent the work of a master landscape architect.
D/4	1(iv)	Information Potential	Cultural landscapes from this period are not likely to yield important information not available in built resources or other extant documentary evidence.

Integrity

In order to be eligible for listing in the local, state, or national historic registers, a cultural landscape must retain sufficient integrity to convey its association with development during this period. Even more so than buildings, cultural landscapes—especially vegetation—are anticipated to experience change over time. An understanding of the landscape as a continuum through history is therefore critical in assessing its cultural and historic value, and a clear definition and understanding of the landscape's period of significance is essential. In order for the landscape to have integrity, these character-defining features or qualities that contribute to its significance must be present, and integrity of setting becomes a particularly important aspect. Landscapes qualified as individual

resources at the local, state or national level should generally retain a majority of their character-defining features.

Here it is worth noting that portions of 17-Mile Drive were re-routed in later decades. These include sections near the Lodge at Pebble Beach, at Cypress Point, and near the Spanish Bay Resort development (these changes are discussed later in the report). Thus, any evaluation of 17-Mile Drive as a cultural landscape should focus on identifying those sections that appear most original, such as the scenic drive north from Cypress Point to Point Joe, as well as the section north from Carmel Way to the Highway 1 Gate.[83]

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D. Early Development of Pebble Beach (1906 - 1918)

The period 1906 through 1918 is brief, but marks the first formal steps in the development of Pebble Beach as a residential resort community. The period begins in 1906 following the resolution of the land title for Rancho El Pescadero, which opened the door for the Pacific Improvement Company to begin subdividing the land for development. This period also includes the initial development of Pebble Beach Golf Links, which in time would help make the community virtually synonymous with the sport. Crucially, these years also heralded the arrival of Samuel F. B. Morse, who, more than any other person, is tied to the development of the area. The period ends immediately prior to the Pacific Improvement Company's sale of its holdings to the Del Monte Properties Company. Some of the major events that mark this period include:

- The resolution of the land title for Rancho El Pescadero
- The subdivision of land at Pebble Beach for residential development
- Construction of the Pebble Beach Lodge and its influence on the early character of Pebble Beach
- The arrival of Samuel F. B. Morse and construction of the Pebble Beach Golf Links
- The continued development of the Del Monte lands as a destination for recreation and tourism

RESOLUTION OF TITLE

Throughout the late-nineteenth century, John C. Gore's son, John Gore, Jr., continued to assert his claim to the former Rancho El Pescadero. One of his final legal challenges was filed in 1904 in the U.S. District Court in San Francisco. Gore lost this case and appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court, which dismissed the case in December 1905. After a quarter-century, the Pacific Improvement Company now had clear title to Rancho El Pescadero.[84]

By this point in time, the PIC was no longer associated with the Southern Pacific Railroad. All of the original "Big Four" founders were dead, and the railroad itself had been sold. The PIC still controlled vast real estate holdings, but property taxes increasingly pressured the company to develop its land. Before the company could focus attention on Rancho El Pescadero, however, the 1906 Earthquake forced the company to concentrate on its property in the San Francisco Bay area.

THE FIRST SUBDIVISION OF PEBBLE BEACH

In March 1907, the *Monterey Daily Cypres*s announced that "villa lots" were being laid out at Pebble Beach, and that it was the aim of the PIC "to make Pebble Beach one of the most fashionable as well as the prettiest resorts on the coast. Beside the large lots and wide streets there will be building restrictions and an effort will be made to attract wealthy people there."[85] It was also announced that George Crocker had visited the area and convinced the Southern Pacific Railroad to extend their line from Lake Majella to Pebble Beach. It was not until 1908, however, that PIC manager A. D. Shepard

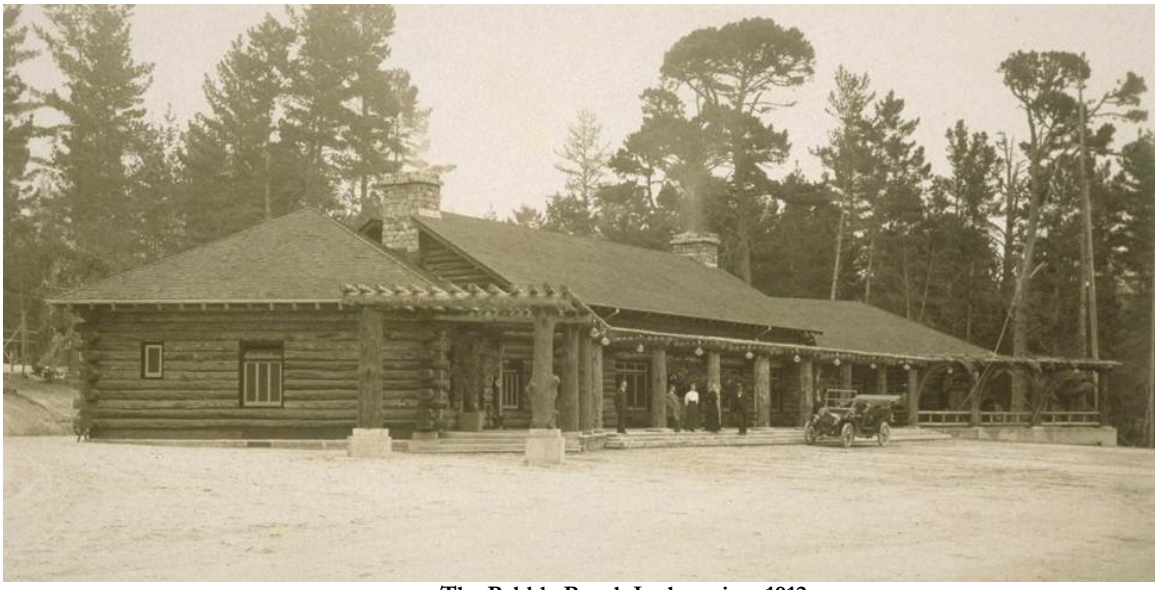
launched a formal development plan for Pebble Beach. It was patterned on the company's success in Pacific Grove, which had been marked by the successive subdivision and sale of lots to individual owners. In October 1909, a map of the Pebble Beach subdivision was produced, showing a mixture of grid-style streets with small uniform lots to the east toward Carmel and larger lots with curving streets in the vicinity of the Pebble Beach cove and at Pescadero Point. A price list for lots at Pebble Beach from December 1909 describes the area as a "high class residence park," and that "Pebble Beach is divided into acreage villa tracts only." The list shows over 100 lots for sale, with prices ranging from $1,400 up to $7,500, depending on location.[86]

1909 subdivision maps for Pebble Beach.
Note the many small lots and grid-style subdivision pattern.
(Courtesy the Pebble Beach Company Lagorio Archives)

The same year that the subdivision map was completed, A. D. Shepard also produced a promotional pamphlet describing Pebble Beach and its environs in effusively romantic terms. Perhaps the most salient information illustrating the PIC's design intentions for Pebble Beach is a statement that the entire coastal frontage between 17-Mile Drive and the ocean "has been dedicated as a *perpetual public reserve*" (italics in original).[87] However, the layout of this subdivision—and with it portions of the "perpetual reserve"—only lasted a short time.

To further encourage the sale of lots, the PIC also constructed a large 200' x 50' rustic lodge at Pebble Beach in 1909 (building destroyed by fire in 1917). Described as "the largest log building in California," visitors to the Pebble Beach Lodge could enjoy meals and refreshments, and it provided a convenient spot for PIC representatives to negotiate the sale of lots.[88] Purportedly designed by San Francisco architect Lewis Hobart, the building was constructed using logs cut from the Del Monte Forest and fronted by an extensive pergola. At center was a large room flanked by massive boulder fireplaces. According to architectural historian Anthony Kirk, Ph.D., the building's architecture and aesthetics helped set the tone for many of the earliest buildings in Pebble Beach: "Possessed of a woodsy elegance, it established the imagery that characterized Pebble Beach for a decade or more."[89]

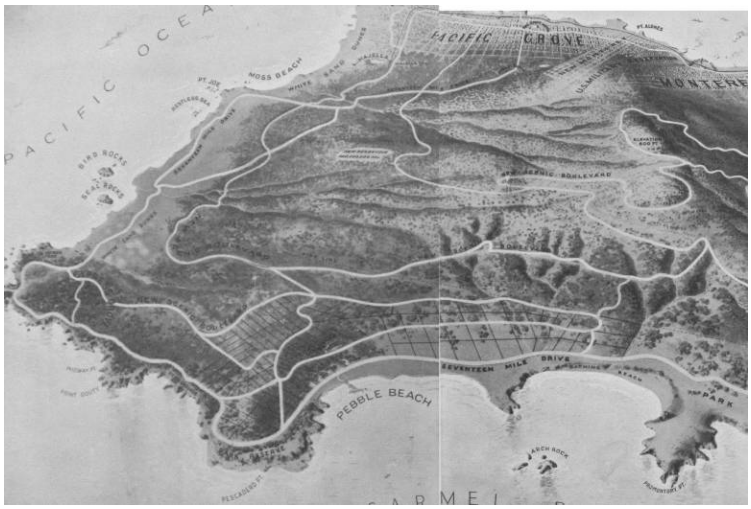
These influences are described at further detail below in the section discussing residential development.



The Pebble Beach Lodge, circa 1912.
(Bancroft Library, U.C. Berkeley via Calisphere)

A few lots were sold, but sales lagged behind the company's expectations. Shepard was soon approached by the Carmel Development Company, which proposed developing a golf course at Pebble Beach. As an enticement, the Carmel Development Company agreed to form a club that could guarantee funding for the course through annual dues. Only a few years before, golf in California was still in its infancy. The first course in California was constructed at the Riverside Country Club in 1891, followed by a three-hole course at the Burlingame Country Club in 1893. In 1897, the nine-hole Del Monte Golf Course was opened south of the Hotel Del Monte on land leased from David Jacks. The course was expanded to eighteen holes in 1903, and by 1912 it hosted the state's first California Amateur Championship.[90]

The idea of developing a golf course at Pebble Beach intrigued Shepard. As a sport most frequently identified with wealthy enthusiasts, construction of a golf course could help attract purchasers for properties in Pebble Beach. A "temporary" nine-hole golf course was laid out south of the Lodge, but after several club members backed out, A.D. Shepherd decided to abandon the scheme.[91] Nevertheless, a drive connecting the Pebble Beach Lodge to the Pine Inn in Carmel was improved around this time with cement taken from "the quarry near the Pebble Beach Lodge."[92] This work also included construction of a bridge over the ravine adjoining the Carmel Development Property.



1909 Map showing the expanded network of roads.
(From *Pebble Beach Monterey County, California* by A.D. Shepard)

During this same period, the PIC greatly expanded the network of roads in the forest through a 50-mile scenic route developed by A. D. Shepard. The route included the upper stretches of the forest, as well as connections to the Del Monte Ranch (today the Los Laureles Ranch) in the Carmel Valley. Trips to the latter were frequent choices when it was too foggy for scenic drives along the coast. These new roads included portions of what are today Sunridge Road, Lopez Road, Sloat Road, Forest Lodge Road, Ronda Road, and the Holman Highway. The route also includes what is today called "Shepherd's Knoll," the result of a misspelling of the PIC manager's name on a popular tourist map.

The expansion of the road network was greatly influenced by the growth in private automobile travel. Given that the Hotel Del Monte catered specifically to wealthy clients (who were likely to own automobiles), it made sense for them to develop more drives for the enjoyment of their visitors. The PIC also provided electric omnibus service between the Hotel Del Monte, Pacific Grove and the Pebble Beach Lodge. In 1911, the PIC ran a half-page newspaper advertisement in *The San Francisco Call* stating that the omnibus service is "the first of these lines on the coast, and will furnish speedy and convenient means of transportation."[93] This same advertisement states that Pebble Beach home sites were then selling for $250 to $2,500 per acre depending on location. It also mentions that deed restrictions would prevent, for a minimum of five years, the subdivision of larger parcels into smaller lots in order to "maintain a standard of landscape beauty and to assure buyers a neighborhood of attractive homes in ample grounds."[94]

Circa 1915 photo of the Del Monte Forest Pebble Beach Gateway.
(Edward B. Scott, *A Time … for Recollection*)

Despite the addition of new roads, 17-Mile Drive remained the most popular route. Starting in 1901, persons other than hotel guests had to pay a twenty-five-cent-per-person toll to make the drive. As car travel became more common—and with it more wear on the roads—the PIC established a gate fee for all motorized vehicles on May 1, 1913. Fares for cars ranged from 25 to 75 cents depending on the number of seats. There were three entrance gates: along Highway 1, the Carmel gate, and another gate at the Pacific Grove entrance. None of the original gate buildings are extant.

SAMUEL F. B. MORSE AND THE REDESIGN OF PEBBLE BEACH

As much as the PIC was the driving force behind the early development of the Monterey Peninsula, Samuel Finley Brown Morse (1885-1969) made the development of the Pebble Beach area his life's work. Born in Massachusetts, Morse attended Yale University where he became friends with Templeton Crocker, the grandson of the railroad magnate. Morse came to California in 1907, and within a few years became manager of operations for the Crocker-Huffman Land and Water Company. In 1915, Morse was hired as manager for the PIC, replacing A. D. Shepard.

At this time, the PIC was interested in divesting itself of its holdings, including those on the Monterey Peninsula, which were no longer profitable. Morse convinced the company that "to get the best price they would need to repair the holdings and make them attractive to a new breed of young affluents."[95] Morse concentrated first on improving the Hotel Del Monte, while still trying to attract buyers for the lots in Pebble Beach. Morse also revisited the idea of using a golf course to showcase the property—but unlike Shepard's plans, Morse convinced the PIC that the course should be placed along the coast so as to preserve scenic vistas and make it easier to sell lots further away from the ocean in the hills.[96] Over time, the use of golf courses and other means to preserve

open space and scenic vistas would emerge as a hallmark of Morse's career—as well as define the character of Pebble Beach and the Del Monte Forest.

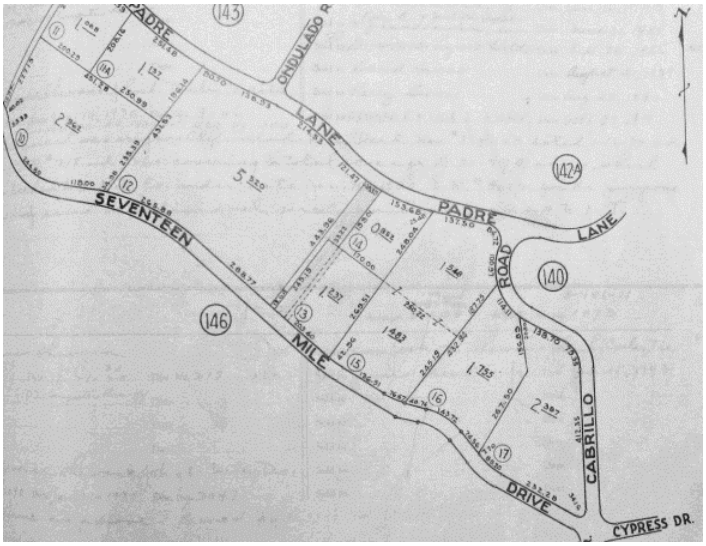
With the PIC's approval of his plan, Morse immediately set out to repurchase lots that had already been sold in the area for the proposed golf course. The only holdout was William Beatty, who had purchased a 5.5-acre lot on the north side of Stillwater Cove.[97] (In 1998, Pebble Beach Company built a new fifth hole of the Pebble Beach Golf Links on the former Beatty property.[98]) The entirety of Pebble Beach was also resurveyed. As opposed to the 1909 survey map, the new lots were typically much larger and laid out more organically according to the contours of the land. In fact, the only straight road in the subdivision was marked by Venadero Road where it joined 17-Mile Drive and Crespi Lane. The layout of a few areas remained essentially the same as seen on the 1909 map—particularly the loop at Pescadero Point created by 17-Mile Drive and Cypress Drive, as well as the loop created by Stevenson Drive, Padre Lane and Ondulado Road.

Detail of a circa 1925 map of Pebble Beach.
Pebble Beach Golf Links are at lower center. Note the large lots and organic subdivision pattern.
(Courtesy the Pebble Beach Company Lagorio Archives)

The lot sizes were not uniform in shape or size. Most common were trapezoidal-shaped lots ranging in size from 1.5 to 4 acres. The sheer size of these lots is ample evidence that Pebble Beach was overtly designed to attract residents of substantial means. It also appears that some purchasers could

combine multiple lots to create large estates. In this regard, no lot was larger than the 82-acre parcel purchased by A. Kingsley Macomber at the northeast end of the subdivision adjacent to Carmel.

Similar to the layout of lots, street widths also did not appear uniform. According to a 1924 Sanborn map, which shows only the immediate vicinity of the Pebble Beach Lodge, 17-Mile Drive measured 40 feet wide. Elsewhere, streets appear to range from 20 to 30 feet in width.



Detail of 1928 block map for Block 145, located directly west of Pescadero Point.
Note the lack of uniform lot sizes.
(Courtesy Pebble Beach Company Lagorio Archives)

Morse also worked on improvements to the Pebble Beach Lodge, adding three buildings with guest rooms known as "Cottage Row" to the east in 1916. The architecture of these buildings reflected the Craftsman style, as evidenced by wood shingle cladding, exposed rafters and a low-slung horizontal massing. However, a touch of Classicism was also evidenced by a colonnade supporting the overhang of a porch—a more refined allusion to the massive log pergola fronting the Lodge. Cottage Row survived the fire that destroyed the Pebble Beach Lodge in 1917 and remained extant until the 1960s, when it was demolished.

The central building at Cottage Row, 1919.
(Courtesy Pebble Beach Company Lagorio Archives)

PEBBLE BEACH GOLF LINKS

In 1916, Samuel F. B. Morse engaged Jack Neville and Douglas Grant to lay out a new golf course at Pebble Beach. This required re-routing a section of 17-Mile Drive—which had previously hugged the coast—further inland such that it now ran northeast from the Pebble Beach Lodge at a diagonal. Otherwise, construction of the course was relatively simple. In his book, *Pebble Beach Golf Links – The Official History*, author Neal Hotelling observes:

> The rocky coastline in 1916 was also scattered with sand dunes. To some extent these could be incorporated as bunkers, but some adaptation was necessary. However, the coastal meadow was for the most part absent of trees so visualization of the terrain was not a problem. The existing terrain, in fact, formed the focus of the design. Not only did they not have to clear, they did minimal grading during the construction of the course. The most difficult challenge was the installation of an underground irrigation system that would help maintain the course from tee to green during the long dry periods between the winter rains. They experimented by retrofitting the Del Monte course with the new technology. Pebble Beach became the first championship course in the country to be constructed with underground irrigation from tee to green.[99]

The new course, dubbed Pebble Beach Golf Links, was ready for trial play in April 1918. (In golf parlance, the word "links" is typically associated with seaside courses.) However, most of the greens and fairways were still in rough condition, and it was almost another year before the course was officially opened. Similarly, after the Pebble Beach Lodge burned in December 1917, its replacement did not open until 1919.

PIC EMPLOYEES

Construction of the golf course, as well as the ongoing operations at Pebble Beach Lodge and Cottage Row, required dedicated staff. Thus, worker housing was also developed north of the Lodge. Research did not reveal an exact construction chronology, but a map from 1924 shows at least three wood-frame employee dormitories located north of the Lodge (none extant). The 1920 Census also gives some indication of staffing levels. Thirteen employees were dedicated to the golf course, including Irish, English, Scottish and Chinese laborers. Seventeen employees were identified for the Lodge, including housekeepers, cooks, a steward, chef and bookkeeper. These employees were generally native born or European. Nine persons are identified as road construction workers (mostly native born), while two families were also shown as gate keepers on 17-Mile Drive.

RESIDENTIAL DEVELOPMENT

As mentioned above, construction of the Pebble Beach Lodge was pivotal in establishing a woodsy, rustic aesthetic that set the tone for the early development of Pebble Beach. According to research prepared by architectural historian Anthony Kirk, Ph.D.:

> W. L. Hathaway, who in November 1909 became the first land owner in the subdivision, built a rustic shingled house on Stillwater Cove. The artist Chris Jorgensen constructed a small log house [actually a studio] to the north of the lodge, and A. Kingsley "King" Macomber, who came to possess more than eighty acres on the eastern ranches of Pebble Beach, retained Lewis Hobart to design a log mansion, which, completed in late 1916 or early 1917, boasted a dining room with a thirty-foot ceiling. Louis W. Hill, president of the Great Northern Railway, had at the outset of the decade begun work on the line's rustic Glacier Park Hotel in Montana, and not surprisingly he erected an imposing shingled retreat for his family on a twenty-two acre lot at Pescadero Point. By February 1919 … more than twenty houses and public buildings had been erected, and much of Pebble Beach, to judge from contemporary photographs, resembled the enclaves of summer "camps" built in the Adirondacks by wealthy New Yorkers.[100]

The best available information regarding the extent of residential development at Pebble Beach during this period is provided by a circa 1970 document located at the Pebble Beach Company's Lagorio Archives. Apparently created by a prior employee, it provides a year-by-year list of homes that were built, including their block, lot, present owner and, if known, original owner or builder. According to this list, a total of 17 homes were constructed prior to 1919. Most were constructed in proximity to the Lodge or near 17-Mile Drive north of the Pebble Beach Golf Links.

Additional information is provided by 1920 U.S. Census returns, which show 23 persons living in

nine owner-occupied residences (as well as 14 private employees associated with these homes). The Census also shows 65 company employees living in a total of ten residential units.

Undated photo of the Chris Jorgensen House, built a short distance west of the Pebble Beach Lodge. In 1910, Jorgensen was one of the first persons to purchase a lot at Pebble Beach. (Monterey County Planning Department collections, original held in Pebble Beach Company Lagorio Archives)

Relatively scant information is available regarding the architects and builders who worked on these early residences. A 1950s newspaper article states that Julia Morgan designed the William Beatty home near the fifth hole of the Pebble Beach Golf Links, on the lot that Beatty had refused to sell back to Samuel Morse. Purchased by Matthew Jenkins in the early 1940s, the home was extensively remodeled and enlarged. The house subsequently burned in 1954, although its log recreation hall appears to have survived.[101] In 1998, this log building was moved from a location near the fifth hole of the Pebble Beach Golf Links to the tenth hole, but was not renovated due to extensive termite damage and was demolished.[102]

Like the Beatty house, it appears that many of the oldest homes constructed at Pebble Beach have since been demolished or destroyed, such as the ten-room Chris Jorgensen house, which was taken down for the construction of the Pebble Beach Post Office in 1977.[103] The Louis Hill residence, built in 1915, burned in 1946, although its guest cottage survived.[104] The Macomber mansion, designed by Lewis Hobart, was destroyed by fire in 1977 and the property redeveloped with twenty homes. The Flint House at 3294 17-Mile Drive was constructed circa 1918, and later greatly enlarged.[105] It was demolished in 2012.

Several other early homes are extant but have been extensively altered, such as the Elmer E. Chase house at 1476 Cypress Drive. Wyanspray (also known as the Chappellet House) was constructed circa 1915 at 3296 Stevenson Drive. It is currently slated for demolition. A house constructed for William L. Hathaway circa 1914 was later acquired by the Del Monte Properties Company for use as a lounge and gambling establishment. Known as the "Canary Cottage," it remains extant but altered along the shoreline a short distance southwest of the current Lodge at Pebble Beach. Other homes

could not be visually inspected during windshield survey efforts due to the large lot sizes and perimeter landscaping.

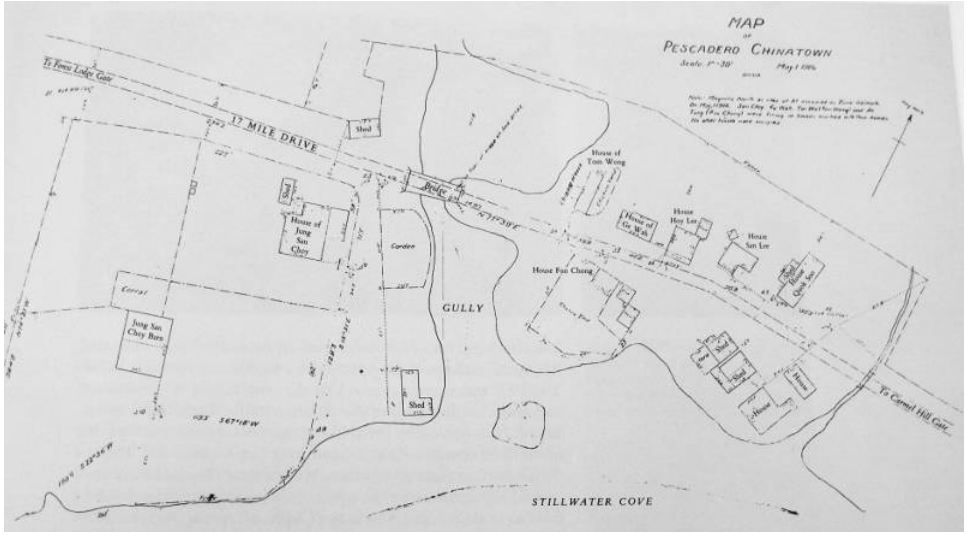
The "Canary Cottage," constructed circa 1914.
(Page & Turnbull, March 2013)

THE END OF THE CHINESE FISHING VILLAGE

By 1900, the number of Chinese residents living at Stillwater Cove had fallen to only twelve residents and seven active fishermen. By contrast, the Chinese fishing village located on land owned by the PIC at Point Alones in Pacific Grove continued to thrive. However, the smell of their squid drying operations led to constant complaints by citizens of Pacific Grove and Monterey, whose cities were steadily encroaching on the village.

Facing increasing public pressure, the PIC gave notice in 1905 that it would not renew its lease with the Chinese fishermen at Point Alones. The company also offered to relocate the village to the Pescadero Point village adjacent to Pebble Beach. The Chinese proved reluctant to leave, however, and stalled for additional time.[106] In May 1906, J. P. Pryor, General Agent of the PIC in Pacific Grove, wrote his superiors that the Chinese "have no intention of moving," and that "Something must be done to show the Chinese we mean business."[107]

Eight days later, on the evening of May 16, 1906, a fire broke out at the Point Alones Village, which destroyed most of its buildings. The Chinese continued to resist removal until the summer of 1906, when Monterey property owner J. B. McAbee offered the Chinese in Pacific Grove a twenty-year lease on his beach located a quarter mile east of Point Alones at what is today Cannery Row. The entire episode in Pacific Grove—which was quite tense at times—led the PIC to review its lease with the Chinese fishermen at Pescadero Point. The result was a map produced in 1906 which indicates both the nature of the buildings and some of their owners.



"Map of Pescadero Chinatown" produced in 1906 by the Pacific Improvement Company. The Pebble Beach- and Tennis Club is located left of the gully where the garden and "House of Jung San Choy" were located. (Stanford University Special Collections, reproduced in *Chinese Gold*, p. 145)

In total, the map shows eight houses, although only four were occupied. Several sheds, as well as gardens and a chicken yard are also shown spread out along either side of 17-Mile Drive. The village also straddled a gully crossed by a bridge. To the west, 17-Mile Drive crossed a small creek.

The PIC renewed its leases with the Chinese through at least 1910, when the village counted only five residents. But following the subdivision of the land for development, the last Chinese resident—abalone shell stand owner Jung San Choy—left the village in 1912.[108] Research did not reveal the fate of the buildings, but they may have been dismantled and moved elsewhere.

ASSOCIATED PROPERTY TYPES & REGISTRATION REQUIREMENTS (1906 – 1918)

The primary theme of the "Early Development" period captures Pebble Beach in its infancy, just a few years after the first subdivision and sale of lots. While relatively few buildings were constructed during this period, a development pattern of generous estates constructed on large lots helped set the tone for the future of Pebble Beach. Importantly, this era also marks the arrival of Samuel F. B. Morse and the construction of the Pebble Beach Golf Links—two events that are intertwined with the character of Pebble Beach. The only extant property type associated with these significant themes and events are residences. The Pebble Beach Golf Links also appears to qualify as a cultural landscape, but it was not officially opened until 1919 and is discussed in the report's next section.

RESIDENTIAL PROPERTIES

The few surviving buildings constructed between 1906 and 1918 are residential, consisting exclusively of single-family homes. During this period, the architecture at Pebble Beach shared much

in common with rustic retreats constructed for wealthy clients during the late nineteenth century in the Adirondack Mountains of New York. However, the buildings at Pebble Beach also reflected the Arts and Crafts movement at its most rustic. This was doubtless an outgrowth of the popularity of Arts and Crafts architecture (or the First Bay Region style, as it came to be known) as practiced by San Francisco Bay Area architects such as Julia Morgan and Bernard Maybeck. In fact, the buildings at Pebble Beach were contemporary with the development of Asilomar, a YWCA camp located nearby on land leased from the PIC in Pacific Grove. Designed by Julia Morgan, the early buildings at Asilomar have been designated as a National Historic Landmark as important examples of Arts and Crafts architecture. Elements of this style are also strongly associated with the Craftsman style, which likewise emphasized exposed structural elements and the use of natural materials such as exposed beams and rafters and wood shingle cladding.

Circa 1915 photo showing a portion of Chris Jorgensen's studio at left, another house at center, and 17-Mile Drive and the Pebble Beach Lodge at right. (Monterey County Planning Department collections)

As a general rule, most residences featured a large setback from the lot line. Research also indicates that outbuildings, such as guest cottages and studios, were not uncommon on larger estates. As the private automobile grew in popularity during this period, some homes would have also likely featured detached garages. Some properties were also likely associated with site or landscape features, such as retaining walls, site walls, steps, fences, or large trees.

Gable roofs were most common, and all residential buildings dating to this period would originally have had double-hung, casement, or fixed wood-sash windows and wood paneled or glazed doors. Residences constructed during this period are found mostly in the initial subdivision of Pebble Beach. They are most likely to be found in proximity to what is today The Lodge at Pebble Beach, including Pescadero Point and areas along 17-Mile Drive north of Pebble Beach Golf Links.

Character Defining Features

The following section provides an outline of the relevant residential architectural styles and the character-defining features associated with each style. These architectural styles can be applied to both small bungalows and grander residences.

1. Arts & Crafts / Rustic

Undated photo of the Louis W. Hill Property, which was destroyed by fire in 1946. (Monterey County Planning Department collections)

Circa 1918 view of the Elmer E. Chase House, 1476 Cypress Drive. It has since been extensively altered. (Department of Special Collections and University Archives, Stanford University Libraries)

Circa 1920 view of "An Artist's Home on 17-Mile Drive" (Chris Jorgensen studio) (*The Monterey Peninsula – A Postcard Journey*, p. 107)

- Set back from lot line
- Rectangular massing most common
- Front or side gable roofs with exposed rafters most common
- Log cladding, wood shingle cladding, or both in combination. Clapboard also possible.
- Double-hung, casement or fixed wood-sash windows
- Wood doors, typically partially glazed or multi-light (French door)
- Porches and pergolas constructed using log piers and beams
- Rustic "stickwork" porch and balcony details
- Stone chimneys, site walls, stairs and skirting

Significance

The table below discusses the significance of residential buildings from this era according to criteria established by the National Register of Historic Places, California Register of Historical Resources, and the Monterey County Review Criteria.

National Register/ California Register	Monterey County Review Criteria	Significance	Discussion
A/1	1(i)	Events, Patterns & Trends	All residential buildings from this period are significant as expressions of the earliest residential development at Pebble Beach, which coincided with a transformative period of development of the former Rancho El Pescadero. This significance is enhanced by their extreme rarity, as only 19 residences were constructed during this period, and many are known to have been demolished or destroyed.
B/2	1(ii)	Persons	Residential buildings from this period may be significant for their association with persons important to history. If this is the case, however, the residence should be compared to other associated properties to identify which property(s) best represent that person's achievements or reasons for being significant.
C/3	1(iii)	Architecture/ Design	Residential buildings from this period may be significant for their architecture, which was dominated by a woodsy, rustic aesthetic. Buildings may also qualify as the work of a master architect or prominent builder, such as Julia Morgan or Lewis Hobart.
D/4	1(iv)	Information Potential	Buildings, ruins or subsurface remains may be significant for their potential to provide information about local construction methods and materials. However, such examples would be extremely rare.

Integrity

In order to be eligible for listing in the local, state, or national historic registers, a residential property from this period must retain sufficient integrity to convey its significance in association with residential development during this period. While most buildings undergo change over time, alterations should not significantly change the essential historic character of the buildings. The

aspects of integrity deemed most important for this period are design, materials, workmanship and feeling.

Buildings from this era are exceptionally rare, and thus some latitude is warranted when assessing integrity. Nevertheless, a property must retain the essential physical features that made up its historic character. Buildings would typically meet the threshold for addition to the local register if they meet the minimum eligibility requirements. Buildings qualified as individual resources at the state or national level should retain most of their original features.

Minimum Eligibility Requirements	Other Integrity Considerations
▪ Clear example of residential architecture from this period (typically rustic aesthetic, but may include other styles) ▪ Retains original form and roofline ▪ Substantially retains the original pattern of windows and doors ▪ Retains some of its original ornamentation. (The retention of entry, window and/or roofline ornamentation should be considered most important) ▪ Replacement of doors and windows is acceptable as long as they conform to the original door/window pattern and the size of the openings ▪ Retention of the original cladding is important, but not absolute (see other integrity considerations)	▪ Rear additions that have respected the scale of the original building are generally acceptable. However, additions that compromise a building's form and scale, are not acceptable. ▪ The replacement of the original cladding is a severe detriment to integrity. Typically, it is only acceptable as long as nearly all other character-defining features are retained. ▪ The retention of original windows greatly enhances integrity of materials. However, far more important is that the building retains its original pattern of windows, and that any replacement windows(s) are located within the original frame openings. ▪ A residence altered into another style has lost association with this period, but may be considered to have association with the period during which it was altered—so long as it displays the character-defining features of that era. ▪ The presence of original site or landscape features enhances a property's historic character. Properties that retain elements such as outbuildings, walls, fountains and heritage trees are more likely to qualify for individual listing in the California or National Register.

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E. Samuel Morse and the Del Monte Properties Company (1919 - 1945)

The period 1919 through 1945 witnessed the blossoming of Pebble Beach as a renowned recreational resort for the wealthy and well-connected. Under the leadership of Samuel F. B. Morse, president of the newly formed Del Monte Properties Company, the area was developed according to policies that simultaneously preserved scenic vistas and maximized real estate values. This included the creation of a new golf course subdivision along the coast, as well as the development of other recreational facilities geared to affluent tastes. Crucially, this period was also marked by the introduction of "Spanish style" architectural controls, which helped Pebble Beach earn a reputation as the "California Riviera."[109] This was especially true during the boom years of the 1920s, when both old and new money flocked to the Monterey Peninsula. This was followed by leaner times during the Great Depression, but a variety of prudent business maneuvers allowed the Del Monte Properties Company to position itself for another sustained boom in development following World War II. Some of the major events that mark this period include:

- The creation of the Del Monte Properties Company
- The development of new recreational facilities
- The establishment of Mediterranean Revival style architectural controls
- The development of the Cypress Point Club and the Monterey Peninsula Country Club
- The impact of the Great Depression and World War II

Extant properties capable of representing these significant themes and events are primarily composed of residential properties. However, a few institutional properties—primarily those associated with the development of Cypress Point Club and the Monterey Peninsula Country Club, are also represented. A few recreational properties developed during this period are also extant, including two golf courses. These courses, however, are likely best evaluated as cultural landscapes. The four buildings currently listed on the Monterey County Register of Historic Sites were also constructed during this period.

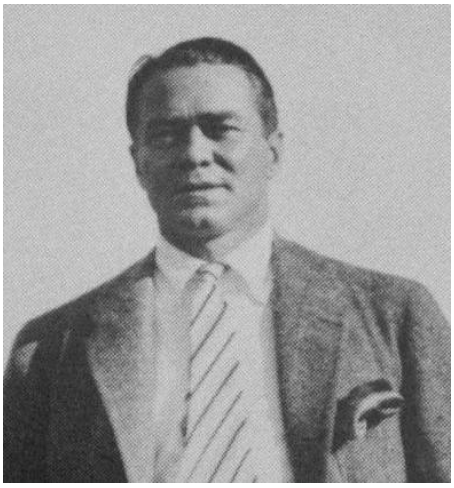
DEL MONTE PROPERTIES COMPANY IS FORMED

Samuel Morse had been hired by the Pacific Improvement Company in 1915 to manage the liquidation of its properties, including those on the Monterey Peninsula. At Morse's suggestions, a number of key improvements had been made to showcase the property, most notably re-subdividing Pebble Beach to accommodate construction of Pebble Beach Golf Links adjacent to the coastline. Morse also undertook several efforts to refurbish the facilities at the Hotel Del Monte in Monterey.

With the success of these efforts, the PIC began marketing its Del Monte holdings with an asking price of $1.3 million. Having become convinced of the area's future prospects, Samuel Morse

approached the PIC board and offered to meet the price if they would give him one year to arrange financing. Morse teamed with Herbert Fleishhacker, president of San Francisco's Anglo Bank, to create Del Monte Properties Company (DMPC), a corporation with Morse as president and Fleishhacker as the majority stockholder.[110] It was officially incorporated in February 1919, issuing $5 million dollars in securities in order to pay for the purchase and make further improvements. Of the sale, Morse wrote to a friend:

> The properties include 18,000 acres of land on the Monterey Peninsula, all of the Pacific Grove and Pebble Beach areas, Del Monte Forest lands (which are traversed by the 17-Mile Drive), the Los Laureles Rancho (more commonly called the Del Monte Rancho), Hotel Del Monte and all improvements, Pebble Beach Lodge and all improvements, and the capital stock of the Monterey County Water Works, which supplies water to the towns of Monterey, Pacific Grove and Carmel. In a word, the entire holdings of the Pacific Improvement Company in Monterey County.[111]



Samuel Finley Brown Morse, circa 1920.
(Julian P. Graham, reproduced in *The Del Monte Forest An Informal History*, p.1)

OFFICIAL OPENINGS

The creation of the Del Monte Properties Company coincided with official openings for a new Del Monte Lodge and an improved Pebble Beach Golf Links. Morse ensured that both events were widely publicized, and contemporary newspaper accounts indicate that the new improvements were well received by the public.

The Second Lodge

The new Del Monte Lodge (today known officially as The Lodge at Pebble Beach) was under construction not long after the original lodge burned late in 1917. To economize on construction costs, the Pacific Improvement Company—still owner of the property at the time—had earlier dismantled the old El Carmelo Hotel in Pacific Grove and used the lumber to help construct the

new building. It opened on February 22, 1919 in conjunction with the official opening of Pebble Beach Golf Links.

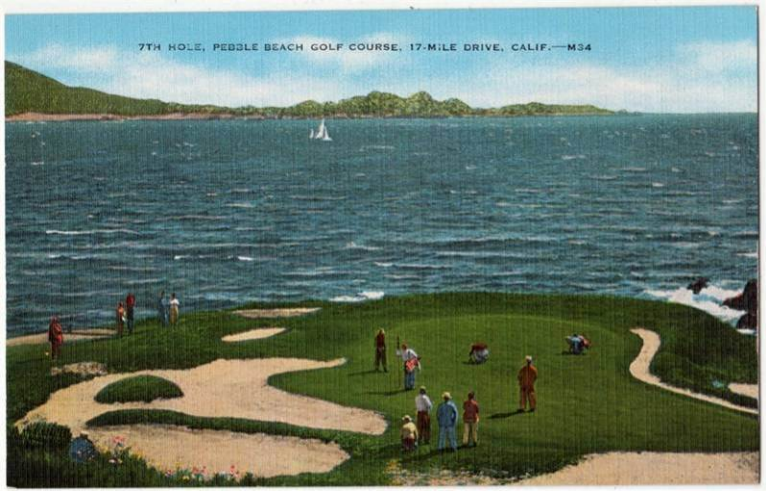
Postcard showing the new Del Monte Lodge at Pebble Beach, circa 1920s.
(Private collection)

The Del Monte Lodge was constructed on essentially the same footprint as the old facility, although by this time 17-Mile Drive had been re-routed such that the lodge was now located on the south side of the road. As opposed to the rusticity of the original lodge, the new building was much more restrained, featuring a two-story-over-basement Colonial Revival style massing with Neoclassical touches that included a series of arched windows opening to the main dining room and a colonnade stretching along a terrace overlooking the golf links (the building is extant but altered). The new building essentially functioned as a large meeting room and sales office for the DMPC. Design responsibilities for the building were handled by Clarence Tantau in combination with an interior design by Lewis Hobart—who had also designed the original Pebble Beach Lodge.

Visitors continued to stay at "Cottage Row" across the street. Other facilities present at that time included a garage (which also held two hose carts for fire-fighting), a two-story pro-shop and caddie barn built in 1920, and three employee residences. The company also owned two nearby dwellings. None of the buildings, other than the Del Monte Lodge itself, remain extant.

Pebble Beach Golf Links

Pebble Beach Golf Links was specifically designed as a championship course, and in 1920 played host to the State Amateur Championship. Critiques of the course resulted in lengthening the 18th hole by moving the tee back on the bluff in 1921 and culverting a creek to extend the fairway in 1922.[112] The course was again used for the State Amateur Championship throughout the twentieth century.



Circa 1940s postcard of the seventh hole at the Pebble Beach Golf Links. (Private collection)

Other refinements to the course were made during the mid-1920s, but no changes were more important than those made by H. Chandler Egan and Robert Hunter prior to the 1929 U.S. Amateur contest. Egan designed extensive bunkers that created the illusion that many greens at the course were set into natural dunes. The official history of the golf course states that: "Like all courses, it is a "living thing." Change is inevitable, but from 1929 until 1998, other than some lengthening of tees, the changes were primarily due to maintenance practices."[113] For a thorough examination of the history of Pebble Beach Golf Links, see Neal Hotelling's *Pebble Beach Golf Links – The Official History* (1999).

THE CALIFORNIA RIVIERA

Through at least early 1925, there were no controls at Pebble Beach concerning the architectural style of the buildings. Thus, following the establishment of the Del Monte Properties Company in 1919, residential buildings continued to be constructed according to varying tastes, including the French Eclectic style and rustic lodges.[114] In 1924, however, the minutes of the Del Monte Council Association indicate that consideration was being given to instituting architectural controls, and that the architect Clarence Tantau should gather materials which could serve as "an architect's idea or dream of Pebble Beach of the future."[115]

"Mediterranean Type" Architectural Controls

Draft restrictions were then created, as evidenced by the minutes from January 17, 1925 which state that: "After some discussion of the Council, it was the consensus that the original draft, which specified that architecture must comply to the "Mediterranean type," as found in Spain, Italy and Southern France should be modified to provide that the architecture employed should be the types found in early California, Spain, Italy, Southern France or Mexico."[116]

The original draft restrictions may have already been in force by this time. A May 1924 article in the *Monterey Peninsula Herald* mentions that "Spanish type architecture has been adopted in practically all

the plans; brilliantly colored tile roofs, plaster walls and loggias, patios, characteristic of this type of architecture, blending with the beautiful combination of sea and landscape in which the colony is situated."[117]

The Charles W. Clark house under construction, circa 1919.
Today known as the Tobin-Clark house, it was designed by Bakewell & Brown.
(Monterey County Planning Department collections)

By the mid-1920s, Mediterranean Revival designs were already a hallmark of some of California's most prestigious developments, and likewise had already been popular at Pebble Beach. The November 1921 issue of *The Architect and Engineer* features an extensively illustrated, 61-page review of new buildings at Pebble Beach entitled "The California Riviera." Written by Irving F. Morrow, the article highlights a number of houses featuring Mediterranean Revival design features, including the George T. Cook, Charles W. Clark, and John S. Cravens houses. In discussing the Clark house, the article mentions: "We are apt to think of California as eminently suited to architecture in Spanish spirit and tradition—which of course, it is. Yet it is interesting to note that two of the most successful and appropriate buildings around Pebble Beach—Del Monte Lodge and the Clark house—incline rather more toward the feeling found in certain Italian and French work."

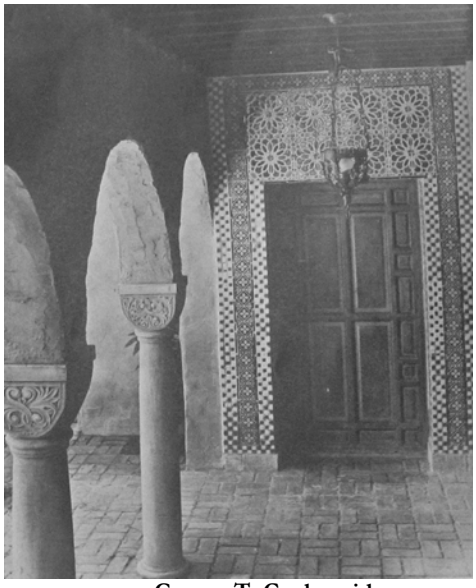
French-inspired designs were certainly the hallmark of at least two of the buildings constructed prior to the initiation of architectural controls: the Charles F. Dillman house designed by Lewis Hobart, and the Harriet Moore house designed by Pierpont and Walter S. Davis. Both of these houses could today be categorized as "French Eclectic" designs.

Harriet Moore house, designed by Pierpont and Walter S. Davis.
(*The Architect and Engineer*, November 1921, p.93)

Charles F. Dillman house, designed by Lewis Hobart.
(*The Architect and Engineer*, November 1921, p.56)

Mediterranean-inspired designs at Pebble Beach were also featured in the October 1922 issue of *The Architectural Record* in an article entitled "Some Country House Architecture in the Far West." Among them was the George T. Cook residence constructed circa 1919 and designed by Pierpont and Walter S. Davis architects. Incorporating Moorish-inspired features, the house remains extant along 17-Mile Drive overlooking the Golf Links (Lot 6, Block 136B).

George T. Cook residence.
(*The Architectural Record*, October 1922, p. 325)



George T. Cook residence.
(*The Architectural Record*, October 1922, p. 327)

The Del Monte Properties Company employed similar architecture for reconstruction of the Hotel Del Monte, much of which was destroyed by fire in 1924. Once again, Samuel Morse selected Clarence Tantau and Lewis Hobart to reconstruct the building, which was completed in 1926 in a Spanish Colonial Revival style design. In addition to controlling the overall style for new buildings at

Pebble Beach, Samuel Morse also explicitly sought control over the preservation of trees and what would today be called "green space" at Pebble Beach. As discussed in *The Architecture of the Monterey Peninsula:*

> … Another of Morse's conditions in his deeds was the restriction that no trees could be "cut or removed" without the consent of the Company .... Besides ensuring that the forest itself would be left undisturbed by retaining control of the trees even after the property had been sold, he also set aside a great deal of land for green belt areas, including the land used for the golf courses in Pebble Beach. There was also a condition in his deeds that if property was adjacent to the golf course, no power lines or telephone wires could be erected within a certain distance.[118]

Ethnic and racial deed restrictions were also used. The Del Monte Properties Company also prohibited selling property to "Asiatics, Negroes or any person born in the Turkish Empire, nor any lineal descendant of such person."[119]

THE MONTEREY PENINSULA AND CYPRESS POINT CLUBS

Morse's success in using a golf course to preserve the scenic vistas (and property values) at Pebble Beach was soon duplicated through the creation of a new subdivision and two new golf courses: Monterey Peninsula Country Club and Dunes Course and Cypress Point Club. Along with Pebble Beach, the Monterey Peninsula Country Club was the only new subdivision made on the Del Monte lands prior to World War II.

As at Pebble Beach, the new subdivision featured curvilinear streets and an organic subdivision pattern that was a complete antithesis to the urban city grid. Morse was significantly aided in his plans by the work of landscape architect Mark Daniels. Daniels had first worked with Morse in 1916 on the layout of a new subdivision for the Pacific Improvement Company in Pacific Grove. By 1920, Daniels was under contract as a consultant to DMPC. He also served as an associate of the famed architect, Bernard Maybeck.[120] A recent study of his work for the company states that:

> His [Daniels'] work at Pebble Beach was diverse and included engineering the extension of the back tee on the 18th hole of Pebble Beach Golf Links, as well as designing the complex road system with green belts through the largely marsh land that today comprises the Monterey Peninsula Country Club area. His genius was adapting roadways and lots to the existing landscape, a skill that was put to good use in profitably and artfully preserving the hilly terrain of the Monterey Peninsula. His philosophy was embraced by the company's other engineers, especially Charles Olmsted, who remained with Morse for many years.[121]

Daniels also designed a residence for himself at Pebble Beach. Located at 1688 Crespi Lane, the Spanish Colonial Revival style house was built in 1921 but has since been altered by several additions.[122]

Monterey Peninsula Country Club

Located approximately two miles northwest of Pebble Beach Golf Links, the Monterey Peninsula Country Club was created as a discrete development within the Del Monte Lands. It also appears to have been designed to attract a somewhat less affluent clientele than Pebble Beach. This is evidenced by the use of smaller lot sizes and a golf club organized around a large membership. Like Pebble Beach, however, open space preservation was key to the development plan. As described in a 1926 issue of *The Architect and Engineer*:

> A year and a half ago they set aside some sixteen hundred acres between Point Joe and Bird Rock on the coast and running back into the forest. They took all the land between the water and the timber line, and on this and in broad swales running up into the hills built two eighteen-hole golf courses. They built roads as they should be built, winding easily around the slopes and through the forest, to fit naturally into the topography. On a central knoll they built a club house, and at Moss Beach a bathing pavilion. The remainder of the land they divided into two thousand parcels, ranging in size from a quarter of an acre to an acre or more.… [123]

Map of the Monterey Peninsula Country Club subdivision, planned in 1925.
(Courtesy the Pebble Beach Company Lagorio Archives)

Subdivided in 1925 and counting over 1,000 lots, the Country Club was ambitious in its scale, requiring the investment of $1,250,000. The golf courses and clubhouse provided the nucleus for the

development, and it was anticipated there would be over 1,000 club members. Lots were sold for $1,500 and included membership in the club. Golf course architect Seth Raynor was retained to design two golf courses, with the Dunes Course opening in 1926 (the Shore Course did not open until 1959). Clarence Tantau was engaged to design a large clubhouse, as well as a bathing pavilion at Moss Beach.[124]

Completed in 1926, the clubhouse was set in a grove of pine trees and featured a modified Mission style quadrangle design that included a two-story bell tower and detached caddie house, as well as a model home designed by Tantau.[125] The bathing pavilion, although much more modest, also featured Spanish style architecture. These buildings remain extant, and a historic evaluation of the clubhouse made in 2003 found it individually eligible for the California Register for its association with the early development of Pebble Beach.[126]

Monterey Peninsula Country Club clubhouse.
(*The Monterey Peninsula – A Postcard Journey*, p. 116)

Monterey Peninsula Country Club bath house.
(*The Monterey Peninsula – A Postcard Journey*, p. 116)

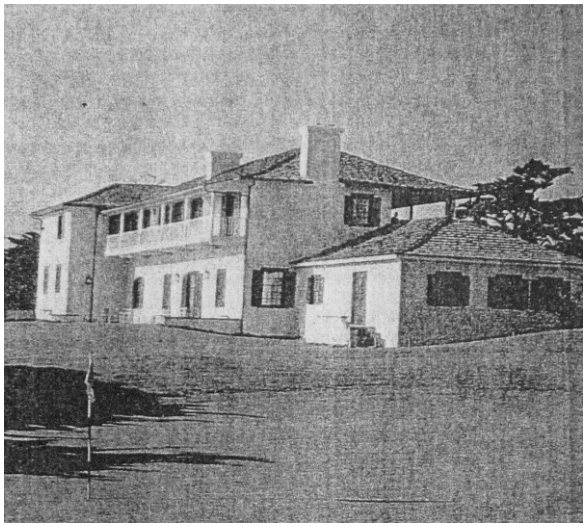
Cypress Point Club

As opposed to the Monterey Peninsula Country Club, which was designed to attract a large membership, the Cypress Point Club was deliberately exclusive. The idea for such a club was initially proposed by Marion Hollins, a leading female golfer from New York who organized the first Pebble Beach Golf Championship for Women. Hollins was well connected to wealthy easterners, and Morse convinced her to help sell property for Del Monte. In 1924, she approached Morse with the idea of creating a new private club that would appeal to her affluent contacts. As the development plan unfolded, it included construction of a golf course on a 150 acre site at Cypress Point. Membership in the club was deliberately small to promote an air of exclusivity.[127]

The new golf course was laid out northwest of the Pebble Beach subdivision, functioning almost as an extension of the magnificent view lots stretching northward from Pescadero Point. Once again, portions of the course were deliberately placed directly adjacent to the coastline in order to preserve scenic vistas. As part of the design, 17-Mile Drive at Cypress Point was re-routed inland to accommodate construction of new greens for the golf course.

The new Cypress Point Golf Club was officially formed in 1927 when sufficient members had agreed to join. Seth Raynor was engaged to lay out the new golf course, but died in 1926. His initial work was completed by master golf architects Alister Mackenzie and Robert Hunter, and the new golf course opened in 1928.[128]

Detail from a circa 1930s map showing the Cypress Point Club area. Note the location of the Cypress Point Clubhouse left of the letter "P." (Del Monte Properties Company brochure)



1931 photo of the Cypress Point Clubhouse. (Reproduced from Kent L. Seavey report, 3 February 2012, Monterey County Planning Department)

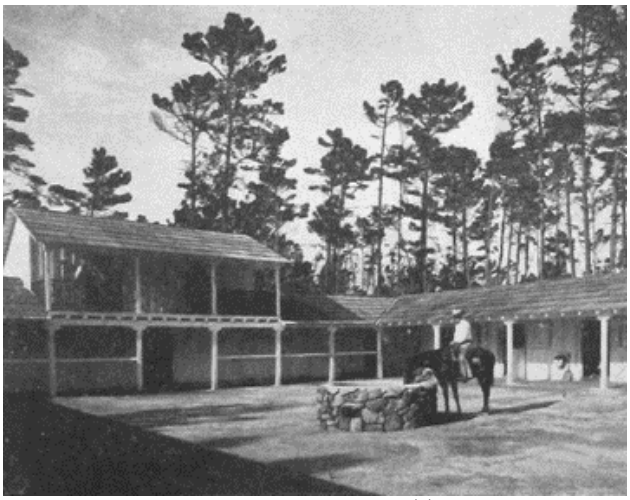
The new golf course opened for play in 1928. While it was under construction, the architect George Washington Smith was engaged to design a clubhouse, which was completed in 1930 a few months after Smith's death. The project also included a caddie shack and gardener's cottage.[129] The clubhouse was designed in the Monterey Colonial style, with overhanging second story balconies. A historic evaluation prepared by Kent L. Seavey in February 2012 found that the building "clearly qualifies for listing in the Monterey County Register of Historic Resources and the California Register … as an excellent example and basically intact example of commercial Spanish Colonial Revival design of a significant California Architect, George Washington Smith."[130]

OTHER RECREATIONAL FACILITIES

The construction of golf courses and other sporting facilities in the Pebble Beach area followed a precedent that had been established at the Hotel Del Monte in Monterey. There, visitors could enjoy golf, equestrian, and swimming facilities as part of the hotel amenities. By contrast, the primary function of recreational facilities at Pebble Beach was to help sell lots—or as one author phrased it: "The resort and sporting empire were meant to attract quality people to the peninsula so they could be enticed into buying their own slice of paradise."[131] In fact, many of the salespeople employed by Morse were athletes, such as golf pro Jack Neville and Marion Hollins.

Pebble Beach Equestrian Center

During the early 1920s, new recreational facilities at Pebble Beach included the construction of stables and a riding school on a large parcel located west of the Del Monte Lodge between Ondulado and Drake Road. A nearby unturfed field used for polo playing was also designated as an aviation field. Today the area is known as the Pebble Beach Equestrian Center, and still contains part of the original stable compound located north of the intersection of the Portola Road and Alva Lane. Designed by Clarence Tantau in 1924, stable quadrangle consists of a series of one-story, wood-frame and board-and-batten horse stalls arranged around a central courtyard. Of the 19 buildings in the complex, four buildings were constructed for employee housing in the 1940s and the remainder of the buildings were constructed in 1968 and later.[132]



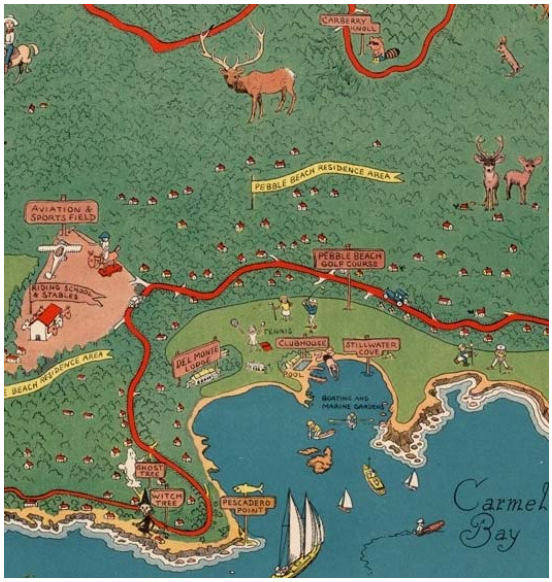
Pebble Beach stables, designed by Clarence Tantau and built in 1924.
(*Game & Gossip,* December 1926, p. 27)

After World War II, the facility developed as one of the more important sites in California for equestrian activity, which included training events, horse shows and hunter trials. In particular, trainer Richard Collins, who worked at the center until the 1980s, is one of the most influential figures in Californian horsemanship. The recreation field near the Equestrian Center, created in the 1960s, was named in his honor.[133] The Equestrian Center and Collins Field were evaluated using National Register and California Register criteria as a historic district in 1996 by JRP Historical Consulting Services, who found that the complex was not eligible for listing due to a lack of integrity to the period of significance.[134]

A 1924 sales prospectus issued by the Del Monte Properties Company states that the area also featured over 100 miles of bridle paths. At least some of these trails appear to be improvements of older horse trails dating to the late nineteenth century. Samuel Morse was also a dedicated horse enthusiast, and in his memoirs he recalled his fondness for a particular horse, and that "much of what was done in developing the Country Club, Cypress Point, the bridle paths and all the rest … was planned on the back of that horse."[135] Today, Pebble Beach Company states that some 34 miles of bridle trails are available in the Del Monte Forest.

The Beach Club

During the early 1920s a clubhouse and pool were constructed above Stillwater Cove in the immediate vicinity of what had been the Chinese fishing village. Initially formed as a fishing club, it evolved into a Beach Club and eventually The Beach and Tennis Club. A pier was also constructed, and during the 1940s Samuel Morse—along with Matthew Jenkins—also formed the Stillwater Yacht Club. The original Beach Club has been extensively remodeled several times. Similarly, the pier has been replaced many times, most recently in 1984.[136]



Detail from the Jo Mora Carte, circa 1928. Note the riding school and aviation field at center left. The Del Monte Lodge is at center, with the new Beach Club and pier at Stillwater Cove to the right. (Barry Lawrence Ruderman Antiques)

Detail from the Jo Mora Carte, circa 1928. Note that the dedicated portions of 17-Mile Drive are now wholly contained in the Del Monte Forest. (Barry Lawrence Ruderman Antiques)

17-Mile Drive

During the 1920s, private automobile travel increased at a rapid pace, and 17-Mile Drive remained one of the most popular routes for auto tourists on the Monterey Peninsula. In order to control traffic, Samuel Morse adjusted access to the route such that the loop was wholly contained in the Del Monte Forest. New gate houses designed by William Otis Raiguel were also constructed, all of which featured Spanish-influenced architecture.[137] This included the Pacific Grove gate house, which also served as a home for Jack and Daisy Buttle during the 1920s and 1930s. Mr. Buttle served as the head of the company's small private security force, which were deputized for law enforcement in Monterey County.[138] The Pacific Grove gate house remains extant, but has been altered through additions and remodeling.

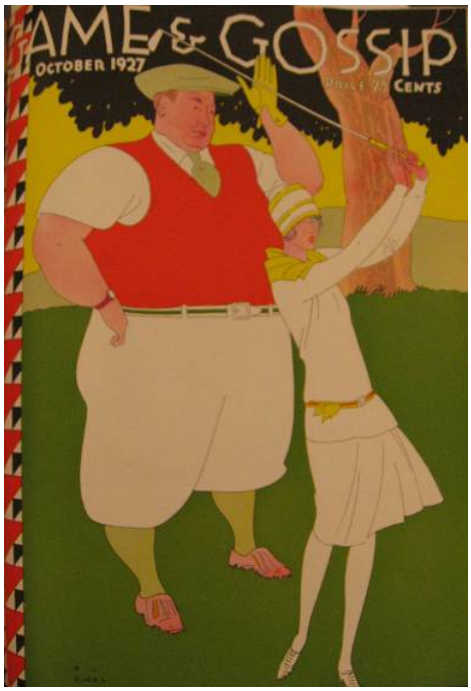
During this same period, a new road was established along the east end of the Del Monte Forest, In 1923, Pacific Grove merchant Wilford Holman began lobbying for a road connection between

Pacific Grove and the new highway linking Monterey and Carmel. He enlisted the help of Samuel Morse who agreed to donate much of the land for the right-of-way—in no small part to protect unwanted intrusion into the Pebble Beach area. Forest Avenue was chosen as the starting point for the new road, and the highway was completed in 1930 as the Carmel-Pacific Grove Highway, subsequently designated as part of Highway 68. In 1972 it was renamed the Holman Highway in honor of its earliest supporter.[139]

Gate house at the Pacific Grove entrance to 17-Mile Drive.
This building remains extant but has been altered.
(Pomona Public Library)

SELLING PEBBLE BEACH

Samuel Morse used a combination of techniques to cultivate purchasers for lots. This included hiring staff photographers to produce promotional images for distribution to newspapers across the country. Sales offices were opened in San Francisco, Los Angeles and New York. During the 1920s, Morse also launched *Game & Gossip* magazine to help showcase the area. In addition, Morse cultivated connections with celebrities, including Douglas Fairbanks, Charlie Chaplin, Al Jolson, and Howard Hughes, all of whom were frequent visitors. During the 1930s, more than 30 major film productions were made in Monterey County.[140] With an eye to the future, Morse invited students from prominent universities to visit the Monterey Peninsula with the idea that "if up and comers were introduced at an early age to the pleasures of Del Monte, they would come back to visit and buy property when their incomes allowed."[141]



Game & Gossip Magazine, October 1927.
(Monterey Public Library- California History Room)

RESIDENTIAL DEVELOPMENT

Pebble Beach was expressly designed as a residential resort community. In fact, there were no commercial structures at Pebble Beach (other than the Del Monte Lodge and three pro shops) prior to World War II. As discussed previously, most of the residential buildings constructed during this period employed Mediterranean-style architecture as a result of architectural controls introduced in the mid-1920s. Pebble Beach was not alone in this respect, however. As observed by architectural historian Kent Seavey:

> Cities like Rancho Santa Fe, San Clemente, Santa Barbara and Craven's community of Pasadena had already established zoning regulations requiring the use of these styles to reflect the Hispanic character of California. Morse employed noted Bay Area architects like Clarence Tantau, Lewis Hobart and Santa Barbara's George Washington Smith to design Del Monte Properties buildings, but made no requirements upon his Pebble Beach buyers to select equally prestigious designers. He did have plan checkers with the company who approved private residential design. They included notable architects like Robert Stanton, William Otis Raiguel and Gardner Daily.[142]

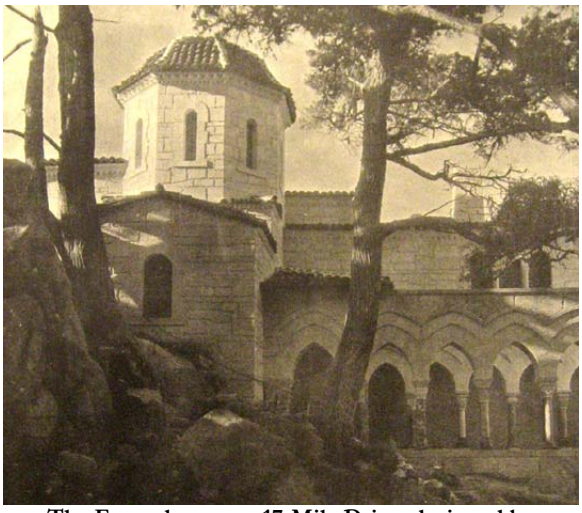
Given the affluence of Pebble Beach lot buyers, it is not surprising that some of California's most promising architects were commissioned to design buildings. Many of these residences attracted notice in architectural journals of the period, such as *Architectural Record* and *The Architect*. (Copies of these articles are available in the clipping files of the Monterey Public Library – California History

Room, as well as the files of the Pebble Beach Company Lagorio Archives.) In February 1925, *The Architect and Engineer* published "The Riviera Revisited" by Irving F. Morrow—an extensively illustrated article highlighting the new Spanish/ Mediterranean residential architecture at Pebble Beach and the Monterey Peninsula Country Club. This was followed in October 1926 by "Monterey Enchantment," another illustrated article by William Otis Raiguel in *The Architect and Engineer* that dealt primarily with buildings in the Monterey Peninsula Country Club. In January 1932, *California Arts & Architecture* ran an extensive review of buildings at Pebble Beach entitled "Architecture Rests on the Land," written by Irving R. Morrow.

Among the buildings most consistently noticed by contemporary journals and subsequent architectural reviews was the Fagan house (also known as the Crocker-Irwin mansion), a stone-clad combination of Italian, Byzantine and Richardsonian Romanesque styles designed by George Washington Smith and his design assistant, Lutah Marie Riggs.[143] The residence was constructed between 1924 and 1930 at a cost of nearly $2 million. This building remains extant along 17-Mile Drive and appears nationally significant.

The use of stone cladding was not typical of the period, when most buildings were clad with stucco. However, several other residences are known to have been clad wholly or partially with stone. This includes a residence at 3426 17-Mile Drive, as well as the "Chimney Cottage" at 1600 Viscaino Road. The latter is the only known example at Pebble Beach of a "Fairytale" or "Storybook" style design by the noted Carmel builder Hugh W. Comstock, and has been listed on the Monterey County Local Official Register of Historic Resources.

Another unusual building is "Olvida Penas" ("Forget Sorrow") built in 1926 for Mr. and Mrs. J. M. Mendel at 1061 Majella Road in the Monterey Peninsula Country Club. The house was designed by Oakland architect Frederick H. Reimers in the style of a Mexican wayside inn. It was listed on the National Register of Historic Places in 1978 and is considered the best, if not only, example of Mexican rural vernacular architecture on the Monterey Peninsula. A striking example of Storybook style architecture is the "Casita de Lemos" at 1153 Dunes. Built by Pedro J. Lemos (also known as Pedro de Lemos) and his wife about 1941, the building is a garage with living quarters above featuring concrete roof tiles painted by Lemos.[144] A house was also planned for the site, but not completed owing to Lemos' illness and a shortage of building materials during World War II. The building today is owned by the Del Monte Forest Conservancy, Inc.



The Fagan house on 17-Mile Drive, designed by George Washington Smith. (*The Architect*, June 1929, p. 309)

Kenneth Monteagle house, designed by Clarence Tantau (*Game & Gossip*, November 1927, p. 18)

Below are a few of the master architects known to have been active in the Pebble Beach area during this time period. Included are the names of buildings they are known to be associated with, but without a formal historic survey, it is not known whether each building remains extant. (Unfortunately, most architectural journals of the era did not include street addresses, nor do the few recent architectural overviews of Pebble Beach). Many of these attributions are drawn from articles in architectural journals, the most important of which include "The California Riviera" in *The Architect & Engineer* (November 1921); "The Riviera Revisited" in *The Architect & Engineer* (February 1926); and "Monterey Enchantment" in *The Architect & Engineer* (October 1926).

- *Lewis Parsons Hobart* (1873-1954): Original Pebble Beach Lodge, interior of the Del Monte Lodge, A. Kingsley Macomber house, John S. Cravens house at 3350 17-Mile Drive, John H. and Caroline B. Poole house at 3321 17-Mile Drive, Charles F. Dillman house, Frederick J. Rodgers house, J. V. Rittenhouse house.

- *Clarence Tantau* (1884-1943): Likely the most prolific architect in the early development of Pebble Beach. Based in San Francisco, he was best known for his Spanish style residences and commercial buildings. Known works in Pebble Beach include the Del Monte Lodge, Monterey Peninsula Country Club, Paul Veeder house, Charles Wheeler Jr. house (since destroyed by fire), Kenneth Monteagle house, Francis McComas house, Harry C. Hunt house and stables, Glinden house, John Chapman house, "Dulce Hogar" Chaffee house, Carlos Stanley "Casa Palmero" house and likely many others.

- *George Washington Smith* (1876-1929): Cypress Point Club, Fagan house, Arthur Hately house/a.k.a. Griffin house "Cheviot Hill," Mrs. Arthur Rose Vincent house, John Magee house.

- *William Otis Raiguel* (1875-1941). Douglas School (Robert Louis Stevenson School), Charles McCue house at 988 Customs Road, Pacific Grove gatehouse, and likely many others.

- *William H. Toepke* (1870-1949): H. D. Price house, George A. Born house at 3078 Bird Rock Road., Calvin M. Orr house.

- *Arthur Brown* (Bakewell & Brown)*:* "Vidya Vista" Charles Crocker house, Villa Felice/Charles W. and Tobin Clark House at 3252 17-Mile Drive.

- *Julia Morgan* (1872-1957): William T. Beatty house, E. L. Brayton house.

- *S.A. Born Building Company*: Lewis Pierce house, George B. Jordan house, O. J. William house; Margaret Faye house and many others.

- *Willis Polk* (1867-1924): William H. Crocker house "Villa Amici" (no longer extant), W. W. Crocker house

- *Addison Mizner* (1872-1933): Ysobel Chase house, Mr. Mckim Hollins house.

- Other architects and builders of note from this period include:
  - *Bernard Maybeck* (1862-1957): Byington Ford house
  - *Robert D. Farquhar* (1872-1967): William N. Garland house
  - *Robert Stanton* (1900-1983): Hacienda Mar y Monte (his personal home)
  - *Miller & Warnecke*: E. Allen Test house, 1115 Presidio Road
  - *Mark Daniels* (1881-1952): Robert Wells Ritchie house, Mark Daniels house
  - *Wallace Neff* (1895-1982): E.S. Hunter house
  - *Hugh Comstock* (1893-1950): 1600 Viscaino Road, 1700 Crespi Lane and others
  - *Fred Ruhl (Dowsett-Ruhl Contractors)*
  - *C. Fitz Howard*: Frederick Nicholas house
  - *Reginald Johnson (Johnson, Kaurfmann and Coate)*: Malcom McNaghten house
  - *Pierpont and Walter S. Davis*: George T. Cook house, Harriet C. Moore house
  - *Charles F. Cobbledick*: E. H. Cox house
  - *S. W. Forsman: S*. W. Forsman house
  - *M. J. Murphy:* W. D. Adams house
  - *Frederick H. Reimers (1889-1961):* J. M. Mendel house

Mrs. Arthur Rose Vincent House, designed by George Washington Smith and built in 1924. This house is extant but with additions.
(*The Architect*, July 1925, p. 379)

Byington Ford house, designed by Bernard Maybeck and built in 1924. This house is located on 17-Mile Drive above the first hole. It was later enlarged by William H. Toepke.
(Monterey County Planning Department collections)

Reflecting the overall prosperity of the "Roaring '20s," most of the homes constructed during this period were completed before the onset of the Great Depression. According to the Pebble Beach house list discussed previously—which does not include homes at the Monterey Peninsula Country Club—51 homes were constructed at Pebble Beach between 1920 and 1925. Another 33 were constructed between 1926 and 1930. The hardships of the Great Depression severely curtailed development, as did restrictions on building materials during World War II. In total, only five houses were constructed between 1930 and 1935—with no new homes at all in 1932 through 1934.

ARTISTS AT PEBBLE BEACH

Given its picturesque seaside setting and proximity to the art colony at Carmel, it is not surprising that several prominent artists chose to reside in the Pebble Beach area. These included the successful landscape painter Chris Jorgensen (1860-1935), whose rustic log residence was discussed in the previous section of this report. Others include the watercolorist Francis McComas (1875-1938), who built a home at Pebble Beach in 1924 near the intersection of Cypress and Stevenson drives (extant). McComas lived there until his death in 1938.[145] The noted illustrator and sculptor Joseph Jacinto "Jo" Mora (1876-1947) moved to Pebble Beach in 1922 and built a home on Del Ciervo Road. Between 1921 and 1924, Mora also designed and constructed the memorial cenotaph for Junipero Serra at the Carmel Mission. The painter Thomas A. McGlynn (1878-1966), who was both a student and employee of Arthur Mathews, purchased a home in Pebble Beach during the 1930s. The Jorgensen and McComas homes appear to have been demolished, but Jo Mora's home appears extant.

"17 Mile Drive" by Francis McComas. (AskArt.com)

Junipero Serra cenotaph designed by Jo Mora. (commons.wikipedia.org)

INSTITUTIONAL & INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT

Pebble Beach was overtly developed as a residential resort community. As a result, institutional properties (other than the golf clubhouses) and industrial properties are exceptionally rare. These include the Douglas School—today known as the Robert Louis Stevenson School—and the Del Monte sand plant and quarry. Only the school remains extant.

Douglas School (Robert Louis Stevenson School)

In 1925, Mrs. Grace Parsons Douglas purchased a tract of land in the Del Monte Forest to house a summer camp called the Douglas Camp for Girls. In 1928, the facility became an all-male boarding school dedicated to college preparatory academics, athletics, and social responsibility.[146]

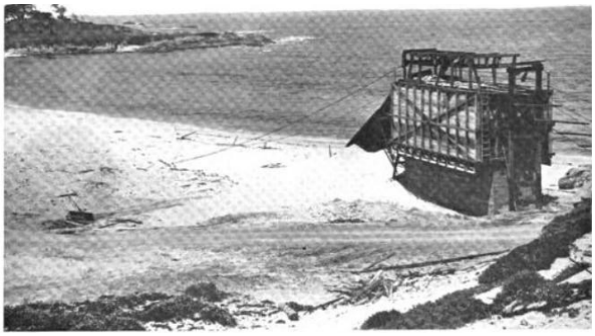
The Douglas School (now the Robert Louis Stevenson School) designed by William O. Raiguel, circa 1930. (*California Arts & Architecture*, January 1932, p.21)

In 1952, the facility was purchased by Robert U. Ricklefs and soon after renamed the "Robert Louis Stevenson School." It remained in operation as a boys' school until 1975, when it became coeducational. Today, Stevenson School is a nationally recognized school with 520 resident and day

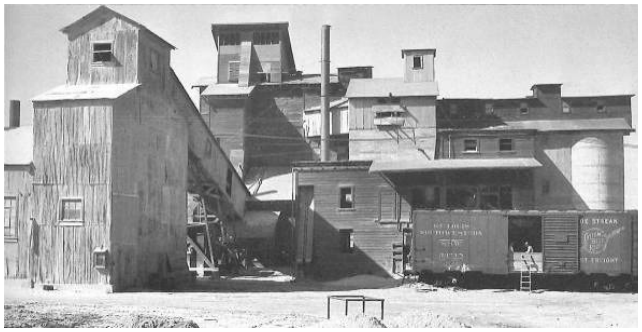
students at the Upper (High) School in Pebble Beach and 210 students at the Pre-Kindergarten-8th Grade Lower (Elementary) and Middle School in Carmel.[147]

Del Monte Sand Plant

Circa 1890, the Pacific Improvement Company established a sand plant near Lake Majella and began mining sand from the nearby dunes for use by the Southern Pacific Railroad, which spread the sand on its tracks for better traction. Following the 1906 Earthquake, there was a large need for sand products to help rebuild San Francisco, and operations there increased significantly in the years following the disaster. By 1920, a new motorized dragline was installed to mine the sand, which was soon augmented by a conveyor belt system feeding a grinding ball mill. This facility ground the sand into finer products appropriate for ceramics, glass, sandblasting, roofing paper, soap, and other uses.[148] A 1921 article in *The Architect and Engineer* states that sand mining operations were also conducted at Fan Shell Beach, where a "dragline carries the sand from beach to storage bins alongside the drive, which discharge to trucks transporting the sand seven miles to the main plant on track at Lake Majella.[149]



Sand mining operations at Fan Shell Beach.
(*The Architect and Engineer*, November 1921, p.126)



Del Monte Sand Plant, circa 1945.
(Julian P. Graham; Pebble Beach Company Lagorio Archives, reproduced in *Images of America: Pacific Grove*, p. 101)

By 1945, the company was the sole source of supply for the Owens-Illinois Glass Company, then the largest producer on the Pacific Coast.[150] At its peak, the facility produced 12,000 tons of sand per month and counted 35 employees.[151] The sand plant continued in operation until 1973 when environmental regulations made it unprofitable. The plant was subsequently demolished and the site redeveloped with The Inn and Links at Spanish Bay, which opened in 1987.

Del Monte Quarry

By the 1930s, Del Monte Properties Company had established a rock quarry located northeast of the present-day intersection of Sunridge Road and Haul Road. This quarry was approximately 200 feet by 900 feet and primarily produced decomposed granite with larger rocks sold for use in rock wall construction. In 1985, more than ten acres of the site were redeveloped as an operations center for the Pebble Beach Company. Since that time, much of the site has been terraced and stabilized and is today used for composting green waste. A prior historic evaluation found the property ineligible for historic listing.[152]

THE GREAT DEPRESSION & WORLD WAR II

Following the 1929 stock market crash, banker Herbert Fleishacker—the majority stockholder in the Del Monte Properties Company—was forced to restructure his business. Morse was able to purchase most of Fleishhacker's shares in the company, but Fleishacker retained a reduced ownership stake and continued to sit on the company's board of directors.[153]

The diversity of the company's holdings, particularly the water works and sand plant, continued to provide steady income. In fact, the sand plant was considered the company's "most consistent revenue producer."[154] But land sales at all three of the company's developments quickly ground to a halt. There was still demand for the company's smaller, more affordable lots in Pacific Grove, however, so Morse hatched a plan in 1930 for a new residential subdivision called "Fairway Homes." Morse would donate land to the city of Pacific Grove for a new golf course, which in turn would help attract buyers for the adjacent lots.[155]

Despite Morse's continual efforts, by the mid-1930s most of the company's operations were losing money. Needing cash, Morse agreed to sell the Monterey Water Works in 1935, securing a 50-year guarantee on the price of water sold to Del Monte. The proceeds helped keep the company afloat for the remainder of the decade, although the real estate losses weighed on the company's balance sheet. A 1939 accounting showed the company had a net loss of $142,000 over the previous 20 years.[156] There is also anecdotal evidence that Morse may have relaxed architectural controls during the late 1930s in order to encourage development, but this subject requires additional research.[157] Regardless, very few buildings were constructed at Pebble Beach during the depths of the Depression.

World War II

Even before the outbreak of World War II, the turbulent events taking place in Europe and Asia convinced U.S. military officials that the country should embark on a program of military preparedness. In the Monterey area, this was made most visible by activity at Fort Ord. As early as January 1940, the first joint Army and Navy maneuvers were held at the post, involving over 10,000 troops and 1,000 vehicles.[158] By the end of the war, Fort Ord emerged as one of the largest and most important military facilities on the West Coast.[159] The Presidio of Monterey also grew active during this period. In 1941, the post became a reception center for selectees, and for a while it housed the headquarters of the III Corps.

Perhaps the most dramatic event of World War II in the Pebble Beach area occurred shortly after Pearl Harbor, when a Japanese submarine attempted to sink a Richfield oil tanker off Pebble Beach. Coastal communities in California were considered at particular risk of attack, and thus for most of the war, access to the Monterey County shoreline was restricted. Residents were also asked to keep blackout curtains on their windows.[160]

The rush of military activity on the Monterey Peninsula convinced Morse that the Hotel Del Monte might prove useful to the military. In 1942, he entered into an arrangement with the U.S. Navy

which leased the hotel for $33,000 per month for use as a pre-flight cadet training center.[161] The income further stabilized the Del Monte Property Company's finances and left it in a good position to move forward following the war's end.

Samuel Morse Becomes Chairman of the Board

In December 1945, Samuel Morse was elected Chairman of the Board of the Del Monte Properties Company. In his place, the board elected his son, World War II veteran John Boit Morse, to serve as president. The *Monterey Peninsula Herald* reported that the elder Morse would continue to act as the executive head of the company, but would now be free of routine administrative matters so he would have "more time to devote to over-all planning and policy."[162] Indeed, in the years following the war the company would embark on a rapid series of new improvements.

ASSOCIATED PROPERTY TYPES & REGISTRATION REQUIREMENTS (1919 – 1945)

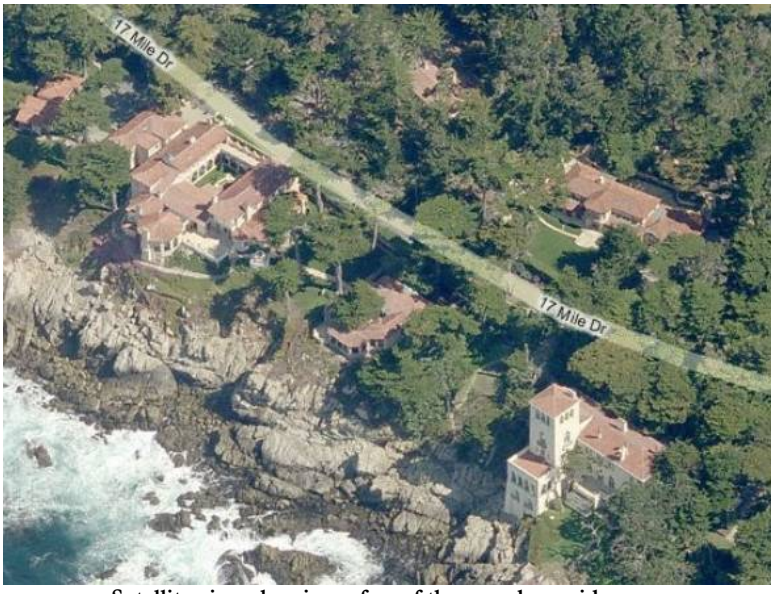
The primary theme of this period is residential development as exercised by the Del Monte Properties Company with Samuel Morse as its president. The Pebble Beach area was, quite literally, developed as an exclusive gated community. It did not evolve organically like a city, with a multiplicity of building types and various uses. Instead, its development was planned by a single company that exercised complete control over the use of the land. Closely related to this is the theme of architecture and design as borne out through architectural controls established by the company. Recreation is another important theme, as evidenced by the construction of new golf courses and other sporting facilities. These golf courses—particularly Pebble Beach Golf Links—may also qualify as cultural landscapes.

RESIDENTIAL PROPERTIES

The principal goal of Del Monte Properties Company during this period was to sell lots for the construction of single-family residences. As discussed previously, beginning in the mid-1920s architectural controls mandated that all new buildings conform to Mediterranean Revival / Spanish Colonial Revival architectural styles. However, evaluators should keep in mind that rustic lodges, as well as other architectural styles, were constructed during the interim period between 1919 and circa 1925, a period when approximately 50 residences are known to have been constructed. Absent a formal historic survey, the breadth of styles employed is not fully known, but common designs from this time period (other than Mediterranean Revival) frequently referenced Craftsman, Tudor/English Cottage, Colonial Revival, Prairie, French Eclectic, and Neoclassical designs. The few known surviving examples of these buildings are discussed below under "Other Styles."

As a wealthy enclave, Pebble Beach attracted the design skills of many prominent architects during this period, including the construction of many architecturally significant buildings. These may be found individually, most frequently immediately adjacent to golf courses. They may also be found in groups, including what appears to be a significant concentration of grander residences in the vicinity of the 3200 block of 17-Mile Drive. This grouping merits evaluation as a potential historic district.

Another area that warrants evaluation as a potential district is the vicinity of 17-Mile Drive north of Pebble Beach Golf Links, especially the section west from Palmero Way to the vicinity of The Lodge at Pebble Beach.



Satellite view showing a few of the grander residences, located in the vicinity of the 3200 block of 17-Mile Drive. (Bing.com maps)

As a general rule, most residences are one or two stories in height. Wood frame construction is most common, although reinforced concrete and steel-frame structural systems are also possible. Gable and hip roofs are most common, although combinations (such as gable and hip) are also widespread. Houses typically feature a generous setback from the front lot line. On larger estates, outbuildings such as detached garages, guest cottages and studios are not uncommon. Some properties, especially larger estates, are likely associated with site or landscape features, such as retaining walls, site walls, patios, fountains, steps, fences, and large trees.

Nearly all residential buildings dating to this period would originally have had double-hung, casement or fixed wood-sash windows and wood doors. Typical cladding varied depending on the age of construction. Wood cladding may have been used prior to the institution of architectural controls in the mid-1920s. After that time, most buildings have stucco cladding, although stone cladding was also used in some instances. One example is the McNaghten house designed by Reginald Johnson, which was reported to have used "local chalk rock."[163]

Given the substantial financial resources of Pebble Beach owners, it is not surprising that several residences built during this period received subsequent additions within a few years of their original construction. Examples include the Villa Felice/Tobin Clark House at 3252 17-Mile Drive,[164] and a residence at 3426 17-Mile Drive. The latter was constructed circa 1925, and a tower and bedroom wing were added in 1937.[165] These additions, especially if they were designed to integrate with the original design, may be considered significant in their own right.

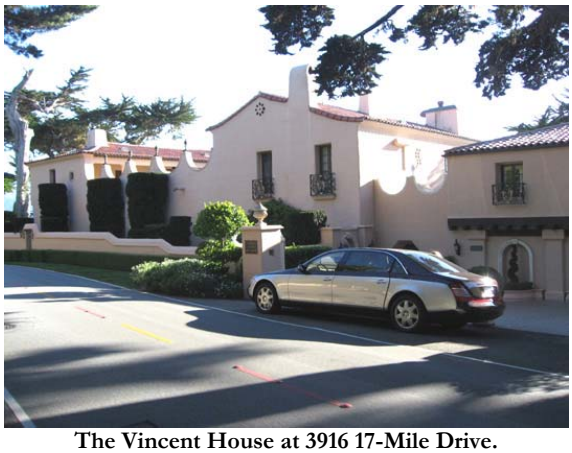
No enclaves of ethnic or working-class housing were constructed during this period, other than the previously discussed company housing adjacent to the Del Monte Lodge. During this period, the Pebble Beach area was overwhelmingly homogenous: white, native or European born, and prosperous. It is likely, however, that ethnic minorities lived as boarders on some of the larger estates where they were typically employed in domestic service or grounds maintenance.

Buildings constructed during this period are found only in three subdivisions: Pebble Beach, Cypress Point Club, and the Monterey Peninsula Country Club. Because of their early date of construction, they are frequently—but by no means exclusively—found adjacent to golf courses. It is also worth noting that because of the near halt in development during the Depression and World War II, these houses may stand next to residences constructed 20 or 30 years later, when housing demand picked up during the post-war period.

Character-Defining Features

The following section provides an outline of the character-defining features associated with residential architecture during this period. These features can be applied to both smaller residences, such as at Monterey Peninsula Country Club, as well as grander residences along the coastline in the Pebble Beach and Cypress Point areas.

1. Mediterranean Revival / Spanish Colonial Revival / Spanish Eclectic



The Vincent House at 3916 17-Mile Drive. (Page & Turnbull, November 2012).

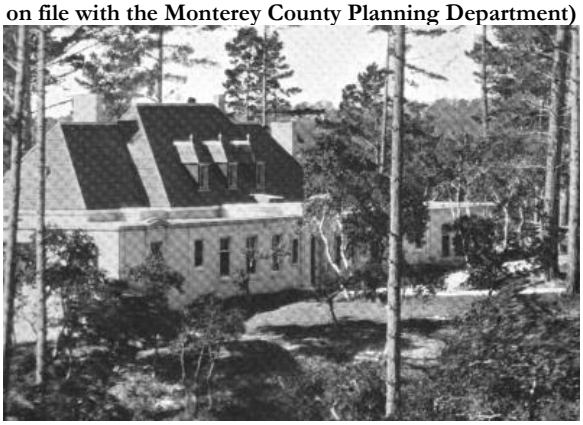
- Rectangular, L-shaped or U-shaped massing most common
- Asymmetrical facades
- Side gable roofs (with overhanging eaves) and front-facing gable roofs (often with no eaves) are most common
- Clay tile roofing; also clay tiles used as decorative accents
- Stucco cladding, either smooth or textured; also stone cladding
- Stucco wing walls, site walls, arcades and courtyard/patio enclosures
- Arched openings
- Metal balconettes beneath windows and/or ornamental metal work
- Overhanging balconies and/or porches with wood posts and railings
- Decorative tile work
- Double-hung, casement and fixed wood-sash windows

1075 Marcheta Lane "Tres Campanas."
(Page & Turnbull, November 2012)

1046 Marcheta Lane.
(Page & Turnbull, November 2012)

2. French Eclectic (1919-circa 1925)

"Pinewood Edge," a French Eclectic house built in 1924 at 3414 17-Mile Drive and designed by architect Houghton Sawyer. It was demolished ca. 2011.
(LSA Associates, 31 August 2009, DPR 523 A form photo on file with the Monterey County Planning Department)



The French Eclectic Charles F. Dillman house, built ca. 1920 by Lewis Hobart.
(*The Architect and Engineer*, November 1921, p.56)

- Three principal types: symmetrical, asymmetrical (frequently with a prominent massed end), and towered
- Tall, steeply pitched hip roofs most common
- Stucco, stone and brick cladding most common, sometimes in combination or with false half-timbering
- Dormer windows very common
- Large chimneys
- Double-hung and casement wood-sash windows most likely
- Quoins at building corners
- Balustraded porches and balconies
- Flared roof eaves
- Only known surviving example demolished in 2011, but others likely

2. Other Styles (1919-circa 1925)

The S. W. Forsman house, built in 1920.
This house is a blend of various stylistic elements.
(*The Architect and Engineer*, November 1921, p.105)

Jo Mora house and studio, built in 1922.
The tall central gable is unusual.
(Peter Hiller Collection)

- The most common architectural styles between 1919 and 1925 included Craftsman, Tudor/English Cottage, Colonial Revival, Prairie and Neoclassical designs. Blended examples of these styles are also possible.
- Gable or hip roofs most likely.
- Wood or shingle cladding most common with Craftsman and Colonial Revival, stucco cladding more common with other styles.
- Double-hung and casement wood-sash windows most likely

Significance

The table below discusses the significance of residential buildings from this era according to criteria established by the National Register of Historic Places, California Register of Historical Resources, and the Monterey County Review Criteria. Currently, the only Pebble Beach buildings listed on the Monterey County Local Official Register of Historic Resources were constructed during this period.

National Register/ California Register	Monterey County Review Criteria	Significance	Residential Properties Significance Discussion
A/1	1(i)	Events, Patterns & Trends	Residential buildings from this period appear significant for their association with the theme of planned development tied to a formative period in the evolution of the Pebble Beach area. Groups of

National Register/ California Register	Monterey County Review Criteria	Significance	Residential Properties Significance Discussion
			residences appear better able to convey these patterns than individual structures. Evaluators should consider the potential presence of historic districts that illustrate this criterion, though many properties may also qualify individually for their architectural merits or associations with prominent individuals (see below).
B/2	1(ii)	Persons	Given the wealth and status of early residents at Pebble Beach, residential buildings from this period may be significant for their association with persons important to history. They may also be associated with influential golf professionals. If this is the case, however, the residence should be compared to other associated properties to identify which property(s) best represent that person's achievements or reasons for being significant.
C/3	1(iii)	Architecture/ Design	Residential buildings from this period will frequently be significant for their architecture, especially those that exhibit characteristics associated with Mediterranean Revival/Spanish Colonial Revival style design. Many buildings may also qualify as the work of a master architect, as Pebble Beach attracted designs by many of California's most prominent architects during this period.
D/4	1(iv)	Information Potential	Buildings, ruins or subsurface remains may be significant for their potential to provide information about local construction methods and materials. However, such examples would be extremely rare.

Integrity

In order to be eligible for listing in the local, state, or national historic registers, a residential property from this period must retain sufficient integrity to convey its significance in association with residential development during this period. While most buildings undergo change over time, alterations should not significantly change the essential historic character of the buildings. The aspects of integrity deemed most important for this period are design, materials, workmanship and feeling. Buildings would typically meet the threshold for addition to the local register if they meet the minimum eligibility requirements. Buildings qualified as individual resources at the state or national level should retain most of their original features.

Minimum Eligibility Requirements	Other Integrity Considerations
▪ Clear example of residential architecture from this period (most likely Mediterranean Revival/ Spanish Colonial Revival) ▪ Retains original form and roofline ▪ Substantially retains the original pattern of windows and doors ▪ Retains most of its original ornamentation. (The retention of entry, window and/or roofline ornamentation should be considered most important) ▪ Replacement of doors and windows is acceptable as long as they conform to the original door/window pattern and the size of the openings ▪ Retention of the original cladding is crucial, but not absolute (see other integrity considerations)	▪ Pebble Beach has long attracted affluent residents with the financial means to enlarge their properties. Anecdotal evidence suggests that building additions are more common than in other areas, and thus should be evaluated relative to their impacts on the original buildings. ▪ Rear additions that have respected the scale of the original building are generally acceptable. However, additions that compromise a building's form and scale are not acceptable. ▪ The replacement of the original cladding is a severe detriment to integrity. Typically, it is only acceptable as long as nearly all other character-defining features are retained. ▪ The retention of original windows greatly enhances integrity of materials. However, far more important is the retention of the original of pattern of windows, and that any replacement windows(s) are located within the original frame openings. ▪ A residence altered into a later style has lost association with this period, but may be significantly associated with the period during which it was altered—so long as it displays the character-defining features of that era. ▪ The presence of original site or landscape features enhances a property's historic character. Properties that retain elements such as walls, outbuildings, fountains and heritage trees are more likely to qualify for individual listing in the California or National Register.

INSTITUTIONAL PROPERTIES

All of the most significant institutional buildings in the study area were constructed during this period. They include Del Monte Lodge (now The Lodge at Pebble Beach), the Cypress Point Club clubhouse, the Monterey Peninsula County Club clubhouse, and the Douglas School (now the Robert Louis Stevenson School). Most of these buildings served as the focal point for golf course developments, and all were constructed by master architects. The Cypress Point and Country Club clubhouses, as well as the Stevenson School (former Douglas School), feature Mediterranean/Spanish Colonial architecture, while the Del Monte Lodge—constructed prior to the

establishment of architectural controls—is more eclectic. These buildings are typically two stories in height and feature wood-frame construction and stucco cladding. All would have originally featured wood-frame windows and doors.

View of the northeast elevation of the Monterey Peninsula Country Club clubhouse. (Page & Turnbull, November 2012)

Cypress Point Club clubhouse. (Page & Turnbull, March 2013)

Significance

The table below discusses the significance of institutional buildings from this era according to criteria established by the National Register of Historic Places, California Register of Historical Resources, and the Monterey County Review Criteria. No institutional buildings from this period are currently listed on the Monterey County Local Official Register of Historic Resources.

National Register/ California Register	Monterey County Review Criteria	Significance	Institutional Properties Significance Discussion
A/1	1(i)	Events, Patterns & Trends	Institutional properties from this period are significant for their association with the theme of planned development tied to a formative period in the evolution of the Pebble Beach area. Except for the Stevenson School (former Douglas School), these properties speak to the ambitions of Samuel Morse and the Del Monte Properties Company, and served as important symbols of the area's development. These buildings are also likely to qualify for their architectural merits (see below).
B/2	1(ii)	Persons	Institutional buildings are designed to serve groups rather than individuals, and thus are unlikely to be

National Register/ California Register	Monterey County Review Criteria	Significance	Institutional Properties Significance Discussion
			significant for their association with a single person—although they may be significantly associated with a master architect (see below).
C/3	1(iii)	Architecture/ Design	Institutional buildings from this period are likely to be significant for their architecture as these properties are typically larger and more ornate than other property types. All of these buildings are also likely to be significant as the work of master architects.
D/4	1(iv)	Information Potential	Ruins or subsurface remains may be significant for their potential to provide information about local construction methods and materials. However, such examples would be extremely rare.

Integrity

In order to be eligible for listing in the local, state, or national historic registers, an institutional property from this period must retain sufficient integrity to convey its significance in association with development during this period. While most buildings undergo change over time, alterations should not significantly change the essential historic character of the buildings. The aspects of integrity deemed most important for this period are design, materials, workmanship and feeling. Buildings would typically meet the threshold for addition to the local register if they meet the minimum eligibility requirements. Buildings qualified as individual resources at the state or national level should retain most of their original features.

Minimum Eligibility Requirements	Other Integrity Considerations
▪ Clear example of institutional architecture from this period ▪ Retains original form and roofline ▪ Substantially retains the original pattern of windows and doors ▪ Retains most of its original ornamentation. (The retention of entry, window and/or roofline ornamentation should be considered most important) ▪ Replacement of doors and windows is acceptable as long as they	▪ Rear or side additions that have respected the scale of the original building are generally acceptable. However, additions that compromise a building's form and scale, are not acceptable. ▪ The replacement of the original cladding is a severe detriment to integrity. Typically, it is only acceptable as long as nearly all other character-defining features are retained. ▪ The retention of original windows greatly enhances integrity of materials. However, far more important is that the building

Minimum Eligibility Requirements	Other Integrity Considerations
conform to the original door/window pattern and the size of the openings ▪ Retention of the original cladding is crucial, but not absolute (see other integrity considerations)	retains its original pattern of windows, and that any replacement windows(s) are located within the original frame openings. ▪ The presence of original site or landscape features enhances a property's historic character. Properties that retain elements such as outbuildings, walls, fountains and heritage trees are more likely to qualify for individual listing in the California or National Register.

RECREATIONAL PROPERTIES

Several recreational properties developed during this period remain extant. These include three golf courses, which are discussed below as cultural landscapes. Other than the golfing facilities, recreational properties include the main stable at the Pebble Beach Equestrian Center and Collins Field (which have previously been found not to be eligible for listing in the California Register as part of a historic district), the Monterey Peninsula Country Club bath house, and The Beach Club. These buildings were constructed for specific uses and differ architecturally. Thus, a general list of character-defining features is not appropriate.

Monterey Peninsula Country Club bath house, designed by Clarence Tantau. (Page & Turnbull, November 2012)

Pebble Beach Equestrian Center (Page & Turnbull, March 2013)

The table below discusses the significance of recreational buildings from this era according to criteria established by the National Register of Historic Places, California Register of Historical Resources, and the Monterey County Review Criteria. No recreational buildings from this period are currently listed on the Monterey County Local Official Register of Historic Resources.

National Register/ California Register	Monterey County Review Criteria	Significance	Recreational Properties Significance Discussion
A/1	1(i)	Events, Patterns & Trends	Recreational properties from this period are significant for their association with concerted efforts by the Del Monte Properties Company to develop the Pebble Beach Area as a recreational resort. Recreation was an intrinsic part of the area's identity and was used to attract potential buyers for the company's property.
B/2	1(ii)	Persons	Recreational properties are typically designed to serve groups rather than individuals, and thus are unlikely to be significant for their association with a single person.
C/3	1(iii)	Architecture/ Design	Recreational properties from this period may be significant for their architecture, or as examples of particular architectural styles or methods of construction. These properties may also qualify as the work of a master architect.
D/4	1(iv)	Information Potential	Ruins or subsurface remains may be significant for their potential to provide information about local construction methods and materials. However, such examples would be extremely rare.

Integrity

In order to be eligible for listing in the local, state, or national historic registers, a recreational property from this period must retain sufficient integrity to convey its significance in association with development during this period. While all recreational properties are expected to undergo change over time, these changes should not significantly change the essential historic character of the property. The property should still convey its original function associated with recreational activities. Because the forms and specific functions of recreational property types vary to a large extent in Pebble Beach, a cohesive table of minimum eligibility requirements is not applicable.

CULTURAL LANDSCAPES

Cultural landscapes from this period may include designed landscapes, such as Pebble Beach Golf Links, Dunes Course, and the Cypress Point Golf Course. Of the three courses, Pebble Beach Golf Links appears most significant, both because of its age as well as setting a design precedent that was mimicked by later courses in the Pebble Beach area. As a cultural landscape, a golf course could encompass the course itself, as well as the clubhouse, caddie facilities and other related features that

contribute to the landscape. Cultural landscapes at Pebble Beach might also include equestrian bridle trails, or the combination of house, garden and associated site features on larger estates. Character-defining features that may collectively contribute to a cultural landscape from this period include:

- Topography
- Vegetation
- Circulation (e.g., roads, paths, steps, and walls)
- Site features and objects (e.g., fences, benches, lights, and sculptures)
- Structures or buildings (e.g., clubhouse, gazebos, caddie facilities)
- Views and vistas

Significance

The table below discusses the significance of cultural landscapes from this era according to criteria established by the National Register of Historic Places, California Register of Historical Resources, and the Monterey County Review Criteria.

National Register/ California Register	Monterey County Review Criteria	Significance	Cultural Landscape Significance Discussion
A/1	1(i)	Events, Patterns & Trends	Cultural landscapes from this period may be significant as expressions of landscape architecture and golf course architecture, or may illustrate important subdivision planning trends. Landscapes may also have been the site of an important event.
B/2	1(ii)	Persons	Cultural landscapes from this period may be significant for their association with persons important to Pebble Beach area history. If this is the case, however, the site should be compared to other associated properties to identify which property(s) best represent that person's achievements or reasons for being significant.
C/3	1(iii)	Architecture/ Design	Cultural landscapes from this period may be significant for their distinctive design values. In order to qualify under this criterion, the landscape must be purposefully designed, and must clearly express aesthetic principles or technological achievements in city planning, landscape architecture, engineering, or sculpture. For example, the Pebble Beach and Cypress Point golf courses used the preservation of scenic vistas as an inherent design feature. These properties may also be

National Register/ California Register	Monterey County Review Criteria	Significance	Cultural Landscape Significance Discussion
			significant if they represent the work of a master landscape architect, such as Mark Daniels.
D/4	1(iv)	Information Potential	Cultural landscapes from this period are not likely to yield important information not available in built resources or other extant documentary evidence.

Integrity

In order to be eligible for listing in the local, state, or national historic registers, a cultural landscape from this period must retain sufficient integrity to convey its significance in association with development during this period. While all cultural landscapes are expected to undergo change over time, these changes should not significantly change the essential historic character of the landscape.

The evaluation of cultural landscapes is specialized, and the integrity requirements may differ depending on the type of landscape being studied. Some general rules do apply, however. The National Park Service's *Preservation Brief 36: Protecting Cultural Landscapes – Planning Treatment and Management of Historic Landscapes* states that:

> There are many ways to read a landscape—whatever approach is taken should provide a broad overview. This may be achieved by combining on-the-ground observations with a bird's-eye perspective. … On ground, evidence should then be studied, including character-defining features, visual and spatial relationships. By reviewing supporting materials from historic research, individual features can be understood in a systematic fashion that show the continuum that exists on the ground today. By classifying these features and relationships, the landscape can be understood as an artifact, possessing evidence of evolving natural systems and human interventions over time.[166]

Evaluations of cultural landscape integrity should follow the guidance provided by *Preservation Brief 36*, as well as other National Park Service publications including *The Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties with Guidelines for the Treatment of Cultural Landscapes*; and *Guidelines for the Treatments of Cultural Landscapes*.

COMMERCIAL PROPERTIES

There are no known surviving commercial properties from this period, and thus there is no outline of registration requirements.

INDUSTRIAL PROPERTIES

The only surviving industrial property from this period is the Del Monte Forest quarry, which has been altered and partially redeveloped. A prior historic study found the quarry ineligible for the local, state or national registers, and thus an outline of registration requirements is not included in this report.

F. Pebble Beach Post-War (1946-1969)

The period 1946 through 1969 witnessed the greatest sustained period of growth in the history of the Pebble Beach/Del Monte Forest area. As with previous eras, this growth was almost entirely marked by the construction of single-family properties. However, the area around the Del Monte Lodge was redeveloped during the 1940s through the 1960s, including the construction of the first commercial buildings in Pebble Beach. In many respects, the post-war development of Pebble Beach reflected trends that were widespread elsewhere in California. A critical difference was the continued preservation of open space, rather than a complete build-out of all developable land. This period also witnessed the relaxation of architectural controls and the arrival of Modern architectural styles in Pebble Beach, including works by several master architects. This period ends in 1969 with the death of Samuel F. B. Morse, which led to shifts in the management of the Del Monte Properties Company. Some of the important themes and events that marked this period include:.

- The redevelopment of the Del Monte Lodge area, including the construction of new commercial facilities and the demolition of older buildings
- The relaxation of architectural controls and the arrival of new post-war architectural styles
- The continued promotion of golf and the construction of new golf courses
- The development of new subdivisions, including Pescadero Heights and the Del Monte Forest units
- Open space preservation

Extant properties capable of representing these significant themes and events are primarily composed of residential properties. However, a few commercial properties—primarily those associated with the redevelopment of the Del Monte Lodge area, are also represented. Three new golf courses, Spyglass Hill, Peter Hay, and the Shore Course, were also constructed during this period. There are no buildings from this period currently listed on the Monterey County Local Official Register of Historic Sites.

PRIMED FOR GROWTH

Del Monte Properties Company emerged from the Depression and World War II in relatively sound financial condition, primarily because of steady income from the Del Monte sand plant and the U.S. Navy's lease for the Hotel Del Monte. Even before war's end, Samuel Morse was already announcing plans for expansion. A newspaper article from June 1944 states that Del Monte Properties Company was planning a model village to be located in the "Indian Village" area between Pebble Beach and the Monterey Peninsula Country Club. The village would be a planned town, complete with a theater, post office, grocers and village green. Gardner Dailey was named as architect for the plans, which also included preserving the area between the village and the shoreline. The article concludes that the growth in personal savings during the war would lead to "a building boom, colossal in magnitude, when men and equipment are once more available."[167]

Remaking the Del Monte Lodge Area

Although these plans never came to fruition, the Del Monte Properties Company nevertheless began making improvements shortly after the end of the war. A major impetus was the 1947 sale of the Hotel Del Monte and more than 600 acres of land to the U.S. Navy for $2,149,800.[168] Using these funds, plans were made to expand the Del Monte Lodge, as well as construct a new adjacent commercial annex.[169] This would be the first shopping center in the Pebble Beach area, and construction was underway by 1949. Gardner Dailey served as architect, with the engineering work handled by Skidmore, Owings & Merrill (SOM).

The new two-story annex was constructed in what had been a parking area in front of the Lodge. It included an art gallery, gift shop, clothing stores, gourmet shop, liquor store, soda fountain and photography shop on the first story, and company offices on the second story. The shops were leased to private individuals, except for the soda fountain and gourmet shop which were managed by the company. The Pebble Beach Post Office was also given space in the building.[170] As originally designed, the Annex was modernist in style, with simple horizontal lines, a gable roof, and stucco and brick cladding. The Annex has been altered several times, including the relocation of entrances, the construction of a connecting wing to the east in 1998, and the alterations of various storefronts.[171]

Del Monte Lodge Annex.
(Page & Turnbull, March 2013)

Del Monte Lodge (now The Lodge at Pebble Beach.)
(Page & Turnbull, March 2013)

Construction of the Annex was the first of several improvements that would fundamentally change the area around the Del Monte Lodge. According to a historic evaluation of the Annex by Toni Webb:

> The Annex building was just one of several buildings constructed by the company under a continuing improvement program for the Del Monte Lodge during the late 1940s and early 1950s. A gas station and several garages were constructed near the annex the following year, as well as staff quarters and [improvements to] The Beach Club, which included a locker room and new lounge and were likely designed by Dailey. Nearby in Pacific Grove, Dailey designed and constructed a $92,000 laundry

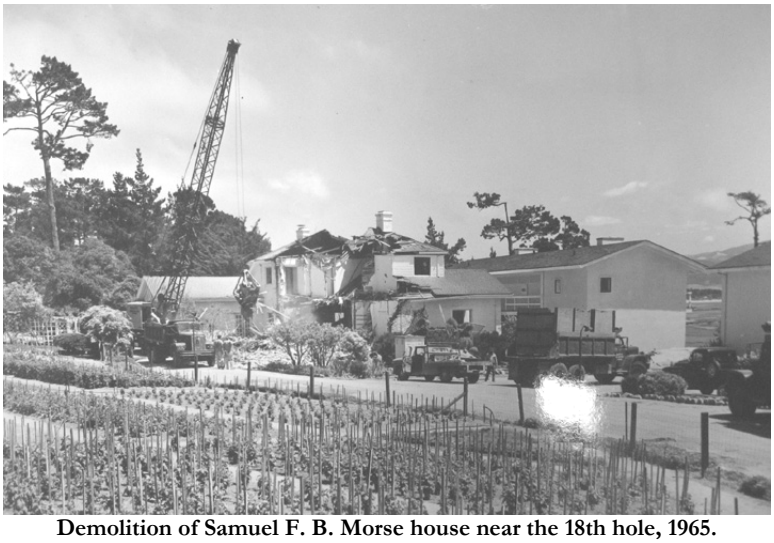
> facility …. During the 1950s and 1960s, the lodge's hotel facility was also expanded with the construction of several new wings to the east. By 1965, the Del Monte Lodge was a complex with over twenty buildings, twelve of which were centered around the original 1919 lodge. Along with separate buildings that housed additional hotel rooms, the lodge was expanded to include a large eastern wing.[172]

1945 aerial photo with The Lodge at upper right.
(Pebble Beach Company Lagorio Archives)

Similar satellite view, circa 2012.
(Google Earth)

The new lodging facilities included the Vizcaino, Colton and Alvarado buildings, constructed as part of the 1949 expansion (the latter two were later joined into one building). Together, these three buildings provided approximately 35 new lodging rooms. The Fremont and Portola buildings opened in 1965 and 1966, respectively, and added an additional 12 rooms. By circa 1980, additional lodging facilities were constructed north of Cypress Drive, including the McComas, Flavin, Jeffers and Morse buildings.

Construction of the new facilities resulted in the demolition of some of the older structures in the immediate vicinity of the Del Monte Lodge. These included "Cottage Row," which had provided adjunct lodging facilities since the 1910s. It also included the demolition of Samuel Morse's first house in Pebble Beach, which had been designed by Clarence Tantau and was located above the 18th hole of the Pebble Beach Golf Links. Further expansions in the 1970s (a time frame not discussed in this report) included demolition of the Chris Jorgenson home for construction of a post office.

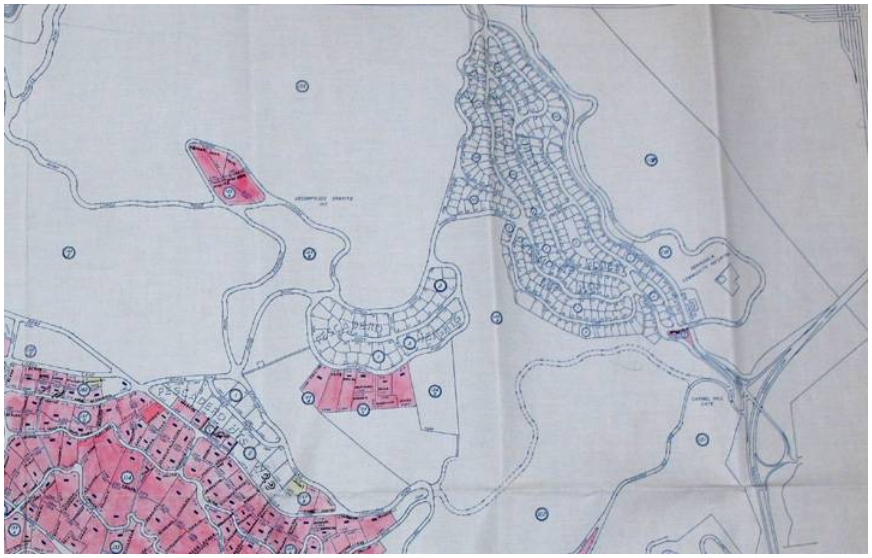


Demolition of Samuel F. B. Morse house near the 18th hole, 1965.
The Portola lodging facility is at right of the house.
(Courtesy the Pebble Beach Company Lagorio Archives)

NEW SUBDIVISIONS AND RESIDENTIAL CONSTRUCTION

During the post-war era, most areas of the Monterey Peninsula experienced a sustained building boom, reflecting pent-up demand and explosive population growth in California. The Pebble Beach area grew substantially as well, but this was tempered by real estate that was more expensive compared to other areas, as well as relative restraint in the opening of new subdivisions. The latter may be explained in part by the large number of undeveloped lots that remained in existing subdivisions following the halt in construction during the Great Depression and war years. In particular, the initial subdivision of the Monterey Peninsula Country Club, originally developed in 1925, counted over 1,400 lots.[173] As new houses were built out on the old lots, the result was the mixed architectural pattern seen today, with houses of the 1940s to 1960s standing side-by-side with Spanish-style residences from the 1920s.

The Del Monte Properties Company opened two new subdivisions, Pescadero Heights and the Del Monte Forest, between 1946 and 1948. These were both located in the Del Monte Forest, further away from the coast than any previous subdivision. Del Monte Forest subdivision was the largest and comprised of Del Monte Forest #1 in 1946 (151 lots) and Del Monte Forest #2 in 1948 (173 lots). By contrast, Pescadero Heights was opened in 1948 with only 54 lots.

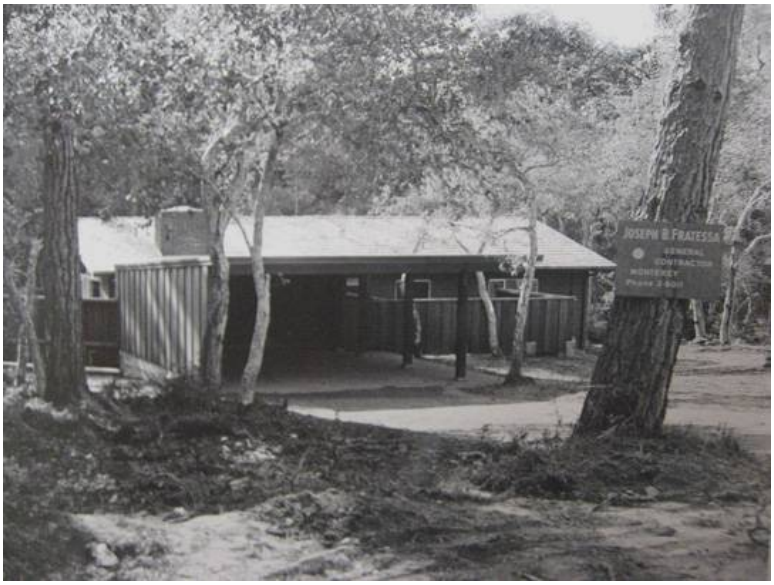


Detail from a circa 1965 map showing the Pescadero Heights subdivision (uncolored area at center), and the Del Monte Forest subdivision (uncolored lots at center right). (Courtesy the Pebble Beach Company Lagorio Archives)

Pescadero Heights was encircled by Sunridge and Ronda roads, while the Del Monte Forest subdivisions were located further east and embraced by Sunset Lane on the south, Highway 68 on east, Los Altos Drive on the west, and Costado Road on the north. As with all previous subdivisions, the layout was characterized by curving streets and non-uniform lot sizes. A few years later, in 1952, the Douglas Tract subdivision (51 lots) was opened adjacent to the Douglas School. This remained the company's last subdivision of more than 50 lots until 1972.[174]

A list of construction starts compiled by the Del Monte Properties Company—which only includes the Pebble Beach subdivision and not the more affordable Monterey Peninsula Country Club—indicates that residential construction took off rapidly in the late 1940s. In 1946, only three new houses were built, but between 1947 and 1950, 53 new homes were built. After a slight slowdown in the early 1950s, development peaked again in the mid-1950s with 42 new homes built between 1956-1957. The pace of construction during the early 1960s was similarly rapid, with some 85 houses constructed between 1960 and 1965.

The demand for new housing attracted the attention of speculative builders, who remained active in the Pebble Beach area throughout the 1950s and 1960s. A 1965 article in the *Monterey Peninsula Herald*, entitled "Steady Speculative Building Going on In Del Monte Forest," mentions that in the previous six months a total of 52 houses had been built on speculation, selling from between $30,000 to $75,000.[175] Some of the builders mentioned in the article included James Horton, said to have been building in the area for 12 years, as well as John Masters and Albert J Meider. Another well-known builder in the Pebble Beach area was contractor Joe Fratessa, who constructed a number of Modern style residences throughout the Forest.



Speculative house built by Joseph B. Fratessa, photographed circa 1954.
(Courtesy the Pebble Beach Company Lagorio Archives)

MODERN ARCHITECTURE TAKES HOLD

The "Mediterranean type" architectural controls established by the Del Monte Properties Company during the 1920s were no longer in place after World War II. In part, the controls appear to have been pushed aside to encourage new building following a severe slowdown in construction during the Depression. However, it was just as likely the result of changing tastes, with Spanish style architecture seeming passé after the great technological leaps made during the war years.

The latter notion is borne out by an article appearing in the August 1948 issue of *What's Doing for the Monterey Peninsula and San Francisco.* Entitled "The Challenge of Modern Architecture," the article takes direct aim at the use of period revival architecture:

> Today architecture is a "life in the space," not the retreat from space that the mood of our past buildings have expressed … The Monterey Peninsula has long been re-creating dead architecture by the continuous reproduction of the unpractical Monterey Style with its unnecessary tile roofs, and the escapist conglomerate architecture of Carmel.[176]

The result of relaxing architectural controls meant that the architecture in the Pebble Beach area began to mirror designs used elsewhere on the Monterey Peninsula, as well as California as a whole. This included a mix of Ranch and Colonial Revival style buildings, as well as suburban Mid-Century Modern designs. Generally speaking, these were typically modest one-story buildings with a low-slung, horizontal emphasis. Some residences, however, were bold modernist designs by prominent architects. Perhaps the best known of the early Modern buildings at Pebble Beach was the Mr. and

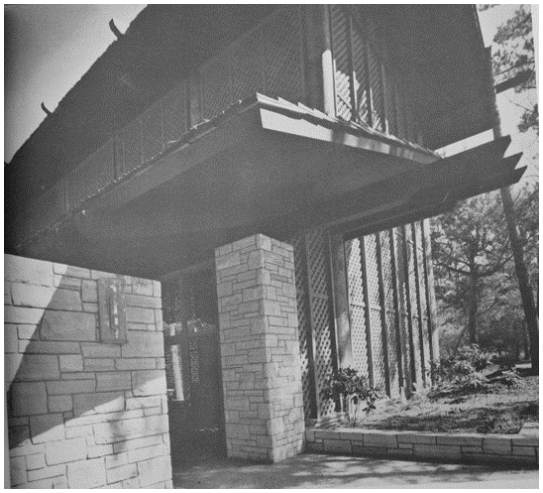
Mrs. Robert Buckner house, designed by Carmel architect Jon Konigshofer and constructed in 1948. Described as "one of the most widely publicized of new modern homes in the west,"[177] the house featured curving window walls facing a concrete terrace. A similar circular design was also used for the George Sclater-Booth house, constructed in 1952 on an oceanfront lot along 17-Mile Drive (architect unknown).[178] This house was later demolished.

Robert Buckner house, photographed circa 1948.
(Courtesy the Pebble Beach Company Lagorio Archives)

George Sclater-Booth house, photographed in 1955.
It has since been demolished.
(Courtesy the Pebble Beach Company Lagorio Archives)

Modern architecture was also used for new buildings on the campus of the Robert Louis Stevenson School. This included a new school chapel, completed circa 1964 by the architectural firm Reid & Tarics. In 1965, the building received first honor from the American Institute of Architects.[179]

Robert Louis Stevenson School Memorial Chapel.
(*AIA Journal,* July 1965, p. 23-24)



Robert Louis Stevenson School Memorial Chapel.
(*AIA Journal,* July 1965, p. 23-24)

Other notable modernist works in Pebble Beach include the Arthur Connell house at 1170 Signal Hill Road, built in 1958. Designed by master architect Richard Neutra, it appears to be an extremely rare example of an International style residence in Pebble Beach. Nearby, at the intersection of Signal Hill Road and 17-Mile Drive is the Fan Shell House designed by Mark Mills. Built in 1972, the building features a distinctive scalloped roofline similar to the lip of a shell. Although this building was constructed less than 50 years ago, it has received considerable attention in architectural publications and appears individually eligible for the California Register of Historical Resources.

International style Connell house designed by Richard Neutra at 1170 Signal Hill Road. (Page & Turnbull, November 2012)

Fan Shell House designed by Mark Mills, located at the intersection of 17-Mile Drive and Signal Hill Road. (Page & Turnbull, November 2012)

Eclectic Influences

In addition to Ranch and Midcentury Modern style residences, other architectural influences are also represented by the post-World War II housing stock in the Pebble Beach area. These include post-adobe homes constructed by Hugh Comstock and Comstock Associates. Comstock used timber framing in-filled with watertight adobe bricks, and in 1948 published an instructional booklet about the technique.[180] It was adapted by at least a few builders in Pebble Beach. The architect Francis Palms is also noted for his French-influenced designs, particularly through the use of mansard roofs. During the late 1950s, the Hawaiian architect Albert Ely Ives also designed a 15-room Japanese-style home for Samuel F. B. Morse. The house remains extant above the first fairway of Pebble Beach Golf Links.[181]

French-influenced house designed by Francis Palms at 3195 Forest Lake Road in 1960. (*Carmel Pine Cone* Real Estate, March 7-13, 2008)

Japanese style house designed by Albert Ely Ives for Samuel F. B. Morse (*House Beautiful*, September 1960)

Midcentury Landscape Architecture

Landscape design also shifted during the post-World War II period, breaking from more formal and symmetrical designs to landscapes that were "simple, open, informal and agreeable," much like the California domestic patio landscaping that was then widely popular.[182] Landscapes of this period reinforced the concept of indoor-outdoor living, and were designed to be comfortable, agreeable spaces.[183]

Several notable Northern California landscape architects achieved widespread acclaim during this era, and today are considered masters of the period. These include Thomas "Tommy" Church, who practiced in San Francisco from the early 1930s through the late 1970s. Church worked on hundreds of projects, ranging from simple residential gardens to the landscape design for master planned communities. Garett Eckbo is another highly regarded landscape architect whose work encompassed residential commissions, as well as large-scale projects. Both Church and Eckbo are known to have designed projects for Pebble Beach, and gardens designed by other master landscape architects, such as Douglas Baylis and Robert Royston, may also be present in the area.

Below are a few of the master architects and landscape architects known to have been active in the Pebble Beach area during this time period. Included are the names of buildings they are known to be associated with, but without a formal historic survey, it is not known whether each building remains extant. Much of this information comes from unpublished sources, including a circa 1990 class syllabus created for the Monterey Peninsula College titled *Architecture of the Monterey Peninsula* by Rick Janick and Kent Seavey, and *The Modern Architectural Movement on the Monterey Peninsula from the 1930s to the Present* by Jerrold Lomax, Kent Seavey, Rick Janick and Cindi Riebe. Both of these documents are on file with the Monterey County Planning Department, but unfortunately do not typically include building addresses.

Additional information for architects such as Gardner Dailey, William Wurster and Marcel Szedletsky, as well as master landscape architects Thomas Church and Garrett Eckbo, was compiled from indexes to papers held by the Environmental Design Archives at the University of California,

Berkeley. Because these are project drawings, it is not clear how many, if any, of these designs were actually constructed.

- *Gardner A. Dailey* (1895-1967): Del Monte Lodge Annex and guest suites, Del Monte Properties Beach Club, Cypress Point Club Dining Room addition, designs for the George Coleman house, Peter DeBretville house, Helen F. Donlon house, Tirey L. Ford house, Arthur Hately house, Chauncey McKeever house, Martin Fenton house, Elma Walker house, Erhman house, David and Pam Miller house on Forest Road.[184]

- *William W. Wurster* (1895-1973): Designs for the Joseph Henry house, Julius Landsburger house, George W. Moore house, E. J. Olivier house, Martin Flavin house, Edgar Gallwey house, addition to the Allen Griffen house.

- *Jon Konigshofer* (1907-1990): Robert Buckner house, Macdonald and Margaret Booze house on Signal Hill Road, Beach and Tennis Club, Mathew Jenkins house, McMahon house, Tyree Ford house addition.

- *Robert Stanton* (1900-1983): Consulting architect for Del Monte Properties Company and a resident of Pebble Beach: Ralph Hammonds house, Whitman house, and likely many others

- *Albert Ely Ives* (1898-1966): Catlin house, two houses for Maurine Morse Coburn, Japanese-style house for Samuel F. B. Morse.

- *Francis Palms* (1910-1982): 31 houses in Pebble Beach including 1548 Cypress Drive and the Leonard Firestone house.

- *Richard J. Neutra* (1892-1970): Arthur Connell house at 1170 Signal Hill Road.

- *John Carl Warnecke* (1919-2010): 17-Mile Drive entry gates at Carmel Hill and Forest Lodge Road, Camera Obscura at Bird Rock and 17-Mile Drive.

- *David Smith and Roger Larson*: Lawrence Spector house, Herman house, Sunset Lane house, Sunridge Pines.

- *Marcel E. Sedletzky* (1923-1995): Designs for at least six residences.[185]

- *Reid & Tarics*: Robert Louis Stevenson School Memorial Chapel.

- *Mark Mills* (1921-2007): Nine houses in Pebble Beach, including the Jay Ward House at 4030 Sunridge Road (1963)[186] and the Fan Shell Beach house at 17-Mile Drive and Signal Hill Road. Most built after 1969.

- *Albert Henry Hill* (1913-1984): Kurt Appert house on 17-Mile Drive.
- *Walter Burde* (1912-2011): Bird Rock house.
- *Thomas D. Church* (1902-1978): Noted midcentury master landscape architect who completed designs for no fewer than 23 residences at Pebble Beach, including the Herman Residence.[187]
- *Garrett Eckbo* (1910-2000): Noted midcentury master landscape architect who completed designs for at least two residences at Pebble Beach, as well as The Lodge at Pebble Beach.[188]

Other architects known to have worked in Pebble Beach during this period include Will Shaw, as well as Charles W. Moore, who completed a house for his mother, as well as remodeling designs for the Weingarten house

A GOLFING MECCA

Throughout the history of the Del Monte Properties Company, golf was central to the company's promotional efforts and the overall identity of Pebble Beach. Largely considered a pursuit of the wealthy prior to World War II, golf dramatically expanded its popularity among the growing middle class during the post-war era. This was aided in part by the growth of television, which brought golf coverage into the homes of millions of Americans. New courses were constructed across the country, as well as at Pebble Beach, to meet the public's appetite for the sport.

The "Clambake"

Following World War II, the 1947 USGA Men's Amateur and the 1948 Women's Amateur championships were both held at Pebble Beach. While this focused attention on the area, perhaps no tournament was more uniquely identified with the Pebble Beach area than the Bing Crosby National Pro-Am tournament, better known as "The Crosby," or "The Clambake."[189] The event paired professionals and amateurs (frequently celebrities) who played successive day rounds on each of Del Monte's three golf courses. Around the same time, Crosby also purchased property in Pebble Beach and constructed a house near the 13th fairway of Pebble Beach Golf Links, which remains extant though remodeled. In 1958, the final round of the Crosby tournament was broadcast on television and remained a popular broadcasting event for decades. The Pebble Beach National Pro-Am continues to be held at Pebble Beach today.

The Peter Hay, Shore Course, and Spyglass Hill Golf Courses

As the popularity of golfing grew in the postwar era—thanks in part to events such as the Clambake—three new golf courses were constructed at Pebble Beach during the 1950s and 1960s. These included the Peter Hay Course, a small nine-hole course opened in 1957 across from Pebble Beach Golf Links and designed by longtime Pebble Beach golf professional Peter Hay, Jack Neville, and General Robert McClure. This was followed by the Shore Course, designed by Bob E. Baldock

and Jack Neville in 1960, and the Spyglass Hill course, designed by Robert Trent Jones, Sr. and opened in 1966.

Samuel F.B. Morse (seated on the tractor) celebrates groundbreaking for the Monterey Peninsula Country Club Shore Course in 1960. (*Paradise called Pebble Beach*, p.66)

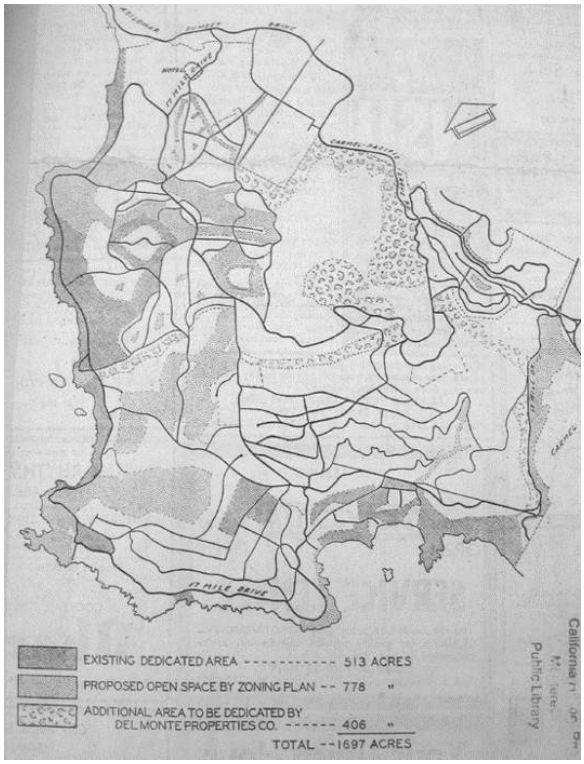
The Shore Course was constructed as part of the Monterey Peninsula County Club and, as the name implied, ran along the coast between 17-Mile Drive and the residences. During this same period, members of the County Club pooled their resources and purchased the club from the Del Monte Properties Company.[190] The Shore Course was redesigned in 2004 by Mike Strantz, who reversed much of the routing.[191]

The Spyglass Hill course was completed in March 1966 and located between the Monterey Peninsula Country Club and the Cypress Point Club. Its construction also included a small new planned subdivision that embraced streets including Wildcat Canyon Road, Bristol Curve and Benbow Place.[192]

OPEN SPACE PRESERVATION

The roots of open space preservation in the Pebble Beach area can be traced back to the very first years of the Del Monte Properties Company. In 1927, the company sold all of the oceanfront from the Hopkins Marine Station to the Point Pinos Lighthouse in nearby Pacific Grove to the city of Pacific Grove for $6,000. This helped ensure that portions of the coastal drive remained a scenic gateway to Pebble Beach, while also raising the value of the company's adjacent real estate holdings in Pacific Grove. The preservation of coastal vistas was also the lynchpin of the company's decision to locate golf courses adjacent to the ocean, including the golf links at Pebble Beach, Cypress Point and the Monterey Peninsula Country Club.

During the 1950s, Samuel Morse decided to formalize open-space protections for many of the most scenic areas at Pebble Beach. In 1958, Morse signed documents dedicating several hundred acres to property owners in the Del Monte Forest, limiting any future development. This included the area between 17-Mile Drive and the ocean from the 14th hole of the Monterey Peninsula Country Club to the ocean frontage owned by the Cypress Point Club. It also included the area at Midway Point, Pebble Beach Golf Links and what would become the Shore Course. Morse described the dedication as "an irrevocable trust that could only be changed by the written agreement of every property owner – and you can see how impossible that would be."[193]



1969 map showing existing and proposed open space in the Del Monte Forest.
(*Monterey Peninsula Herald*, September 16, 1969)

While Morse was clearly interested in retaining scenic vistas at Pebble Beach, the protection of open space also helped ensure the continued popularity of 17-Mile Drive, which was the main source of revenue used to pay for road maintenance. By the mid-1950s, visitor fees for the drive were generating approximately $750,000 per year in income. A newspaper article from 1954—when the toll was raised from fifty to seventy-five cents—states that "the company expects about a million cars to pass through its gates this year."[194] By 1965, the gate fee had risen to two dollars.[195] During this period, new gates designed by the architect John Carl Warnecke were also installed at Carmel Hill and Forest Lodge Road. Warnecke also designed the Camera Obscura located at Bird Rock and 17-Mile Drive.

Additional areas of the Del Monte Forest were preserved in the 1960s under a new master plan prepared in 1966 and incorporated into the Monterey Peninsula Area Plan. The plan showed over 1,300 acres of open space, which included several hundred acres of the land dedicated by Morse in 1958. An additional 364 acres were to be preserved in the future. Other aspects of the plan included provisions for a variety of uses, including a new hotel, recreational facilities at Spanish Bay, multi-family housing, circulation and density.[196] During the 1970s, Del Monte Properties preserved approximately 75 acres in Pescadero Canyon, as well as 84 acres of land adjoining the Huckleberry Hill Natural Reserve which was dedicated as the Samuel F. B. Morse Botanical Reserve.

CONCOURS D'ELEGANCE

During the early twentieth century, auto racing and high performance vehicles were frequently identified with wealthy enthusiasts. Following World War II, when private automobile production had ground to a halt, auto manufacturer Sterling Edwards approached John B. Morse (then president of Del Monte Properties Company), about holding a road race at Pebble Beach. It would be paired with a car show called the Concours d'Elegance (or "competition of elegance"). The first race and car show were held in 1950. The course included sections of Portola Road, Sombria Lane, Drake Road and Forest Lake Road. Following a crash in 1956, the new Laguna Seca Raceway was built east of Monterey to host the 1957 races.[197] The Concours d'Elegance remained at Pebble Beach, however, and soon focused on classic and vintage cars more than new vehicles. The show is still held at Pebble Beach, although neither the car show or road race resulted in the installation of permanent structures.

TRANSITIONS IN MANAGEMENT

As mentioned previously, Samuel Morse's son, John Boit Morse, had been appointed president of Del Monte Properties Company in 1945, with the elder Morse assuming duties as chairman of the board. During this period, the younger Morse oversaw the initial redevelopment of the Del Monte Lodge area. Samuel Morse then returned to the role of president for a few more years, until 1956 when he appointed his son-in-law, Richard Osborne, as president of the company. Osborne's tenure witnessed the construction of the Shore and Peter Hay golf courses, and also planning for the Spyglass Hill Course. Osborne was promoted to vice chairman in 1964, and Aime G. Michaud became president.[198] Samuel Morse continued to participate in the company's management until his death in 1969—exactly fifty years after creating the Del Monte Properties Company.

After Morse's death, the company went through a number of additional management transitions, culminating in the creation of the Pebble Beach Corporation as a public company listed on the American Stock Exchange in 1977. A year later, Twentieth Century-Fox used profits from the movie Star Wars to purchase the Pebble Beach Corporation for $81.5 million. The company was sold several more times, and is today a limited partnership owned by investors that include Clint Eastwood, Arnold Palmer, Peter Ueberroth, Dick Ferric, and Bill Perocchi.

ASSOCIATED PROPERTY TYPES & REGISTRATION REQUIREMENTS (1946 – 1969)

The primary theme of this period is residential development as exercised by the Del Monte Properties Company during the post-war era. This was the greatest sustained period of growth in the history of the Pebble Beach/Del Monte Forest area, and was marked almost entirely by the construction of single-family properties. A major sub-theme of this era is the redevelopment of the Del Monte Lodge area, as well as the construction of new golf courses.

RESIDENTIAL PROPERTIES

The overwhelming majority of properties from this era are residential, primarily consisting of single-family houses, with a few multi-unit lodging facilities adjacent to the Del Monte Lodge. Regardless of location, most single-family residences of this period share many similarities. Nearly all are of wood frame construction, and typically rectangular or L-shaped in plan. Buildings are typically set back from the street, featuring both front and rear yards. One-story houses predominate, although split level and two-story designs are also present. Hip or gable roofs are most common, although flat or shed roofs are used for some Modern style buildings.

Stucco siding is by far the most common cladding, although wood shiplap, board and batten and clapboards were also used. Driveways and integral garages also became widespread during this period, with an increasingly large portion of both the lot and residence designed to accommodate automobiles. As originally constructed, most buildings would have featured double-hung or casement wood-sash windows, although by 1960 aluminum window systems were gaining in popularity. Unglazed paneled wood doors are most typical.

Residential architecture of the period was dominated by a fairly narrow range of styles, with the Ranch style by far the most common. Scattered examples of Minimal Traditional and Colonial Revival style buildings are also present, as are some examples of Mediterranean Revival designs. Several Modern style buildings were also noted by this study, but windshield survey efforts were severely hampered by the presence of mature landscaping.

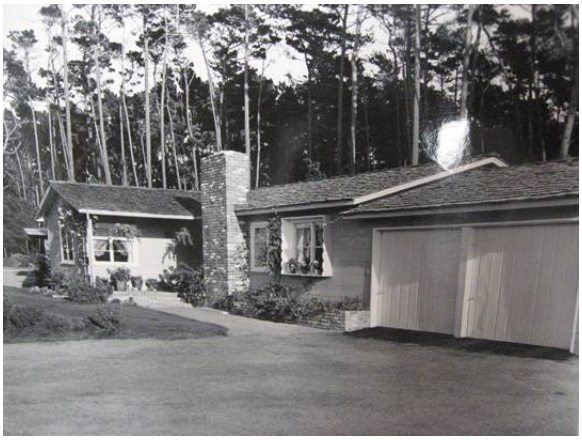
Multi-family properties constructed in this area are best represented by the adjunct lodging facilities located next to The Lodge at Pebble Beach (formerly known as Del Monte Lodge). These are typically two- or three-story buildings clad with stucco and capped with gable roofs. Architectural detailing is minimal, save for room balconies and stone site walls.

The following section provides an outline of the relevant residential architectural styles and the character-defining features associated with each style. Ranch style residences are the most common property type in the Pebble Beach area, as well as California as a whole, and therefore careful consideration should be given to qualifying these buildings as historic resources.

Character Defining Features

The following section provides an outline of the character-defining features associated with residential architecture during this period. These features can be applied to both smaller residences, such as at Monterey Peninsula Country Club, as well as grander residences along the coastline in the Pebble Beach and Cypress Point areas.

1. Ranch Style (1940s – 1970s)



Freshwater house, Monterey Peninsula Country Club, photographed in 1954. (Courtesy Pebble Beach Company Lagorio Archives)

J. J. Johnston house, Monterey Peninsula Country Club, photographed circa 1949. (Courtesy Pebble Beach Company Lagorio Archives)

- Rectangular or shallow L-shaped massing with a horizontal emphasis
- Hip and gable roofs are most common.
- Shallow eaves, often with exposed rafter tails
- Typically stucco or wood shiplap siding, sometimes in combination
- Integral porches with wood posts, or shed extensions of the main roof at the entry.
- Frequently a garage
- Decorative window shutters

2. Colonial Revival Style (1940s – 1960s)

Colonial Revival style residence, 1030 Marcheta Lane (Page & Turnbull, November 2012)

- Side-gable roof forms are most common after World War II
- Second-story overhangs are not uncommon
- Entries may be accented with a decorative crown supported by pilasters, or with a portico
- Dormer windows are common
- Decorative shutters are common

3. Minimal Traditional Style (1940s – 1950s)

Col. Jack Colbert House, Monterey Peninsula C.C., photographed in 1952. (Courtesy Pebble Beach Company Lagorio Archives)

- Rectangular or L-shaped massing
- Eaveless gable roofs, usually in combination of a side and front-facing gable
- Typically shiplap wood or stucco siding
- Porches with wood posts
- Decorative trim in gable ends, often with a scalloped edge; also small metal attic vents in gable ends
- Decorative window shutters

4. Contemporary Style (1940s – 1970s)

Modern style residence at 1051 Marcheta Lane. Note the integrated site wall enclosing an entry patio. (Page & Turnbull, November 2012)

Modern style residence, 3896 Hacienda Drive. (Page & Turnbull, November 2012)

Jack Neville house, Monterey Peninsula Country Club. (Courtesy Pebble Beach Company Lagorio Archives)

- Two principal subtypes based on gable or flat roofs; both have broad overhanging eaves
- Rectangular massing most common
- Asymmetrical facades are frequent
- Posts or poles supporting gable ends and overhangs are common
- Cladding often a combination of stucco, brick, wood or concrete block
- Large brick chimneys on the primary facade are not uncommon

6. French Eclectic (1940s – present)

Peter Stolich house, 3950 Ronda Road, circa 1953.
(Courtesy Pebble Beach Company Lagorio Archives)

- Several variants, including symmetrical, asymmetrical and towered
- Steeply pitched hip roof most common, frequently with dormers. Mansard roofs also used
- Mixed materials (e.g., stone with brick)
- Window tops breaking the roofline
- Rusticated accents, such as quoins at building corners and entries

6. Second Bay Region Style (1940s – 1960s)

George Coleman house, photographed circa 1950.
(Courtesy Pebble Beach Company Lagorio Archives)

- No standardized appearance, but frequently simple or vernacular with a horizontal orientation
- Emphasis on volume over ornamentation
- Wood siding, including boards, board-and-batten and shingles
- Flat, shed or canted roof forms
- Overhanging eaves with exposed rafters
- Emphasis on indoor-outdoor living spaces, including the use of large window openings
- Open-plan of flexible plan interior spaces

7. International Style 1940s – 1970s

Connell house, 1170 Signal Hill Road
(Page & Turnbull, November 2012)

- Horizontal emphasis with large sections of unornamented wall surface
- Cantilevered sections of house, roof and balconies
- Ribbon windows or large expanses of window walls
- Stucco cladding almost universal
- Plain round supports for porches or other structural elements
- Elements of this style were softened for suburban use as the Contemporary style.

Significance

The table below discusses the significance of residential buildings from this era according to criteria established by the National Register of Historic Places, California Register of Historical Resources, and the Monterey County Review Criteria. Currently, no residential buildings from this period are listed on the Monterey County Local Official Register of Historic Resources.

National Register/ California Register	Monterey County Review Criteria	Significance	Residential Properties Significance Discussion
A/1	1(i)	Events, Patterns & Trends	Residential buildings (both single-family and multi-unit) from this period may be significant for associations with post-war planned community development. However, individual buildings are unlikely to qualify under this criterion. Post-war development patterns in California are typically better represented by groups of residences because the street pattern, landscaping and homogeneous, speculative buildings can combine to clearly illustrate this theme.
B/2	1(ii)	Persons	Given the wealth and status of Pebble Beach residents, residential buildings from this period may be significant for their association with persons important to history. If this is the case, however, the residence should be compared to other associated properties to identify which property(s) best represent that person's achievements or reasons for being significant.

National Register/ California Register	Monterey County Review Criteria	Significance	Residential Properties Significance Discussion
C/3	1(iii)	Architecture/ Design	Residential buildings from this period may be significant for their architecture, as expressed by intact stylistic features, forms or construction methods. However, suburban Ranch style buildings are very common in Pebble Beach and California as a whole. Thus, architectural significance is best reserved for buildings that demonstrate particularly strong artistic merit, or that clearly demonstrate the influence of a particular architect or builder. Houses associated with gardens designed by master landscape architects are likely to convey enhanced design merit. Consideration should also be given to examples of styles that are relatively rare as compared to other residential buildings of the period. Resources qualified under this criterion must be excellent examples of types and/or styles, and retain most of their original features. In order to qualify for national, state, or local listing under this criterion, a mid-century residence must be an outstanding example of a Modern architectural style, and should ideally represent the work of a master architect.
D/4	1(iv)	Information Potential	Buildings, ruins or subsurface remains from this period are unlikely to provide information important to history.

Integrity

In order to be eligible for listing in the local, state, or national historic registers, a residential property from this period must retain sufficient integrity to convey its significance in association with residential development during this period. While most buildings undergo change over time, alterations should not significantly change the essential historic character of the buildings. Because these buildings are younger in age, a somewhat stricter interpretation of integrity is warranted. Buildings qualified as individual resources at the state or national level should retain most of their original features.

Minimum Eligibility Requirements	Other Integrity Considerations
▪ Clear example of residential architecture from this period ▪ Retains original form and roofline ▪ Substantially retains the original pattern of windows and doors ▪ Retains most of its original ornamentation (if applicable). ▪ Replacement of doors and windows can be acceptable as long as they conform to the original pattern and size of the openings	▪ Rear or side additions should be carefully evaluated. Additions that compromise a building's form and scale are not acceptable. ▪ The retention of original windows greatly enhances integrity of materials. However, far more important is that the building retains its original pattern of windows, and that any replacement windows(s) are located within the original frame openings. ▪ The presence of original site or landscape features enhances a property's historic character. Properties that retain elements such as walls, fountains, heritage trees and designed gardens (especially those designed by master landscape architects such as Thomas Church or Garrett Eckbo), are more likely to qualify for individual listing in the California or National Register.

COMMERCIAL PROPERTIES

All commercial properties from this period are located in close proximity to The Lodge at Pebble Beach, principally along 17-Mile Drive. These include the Lodge Annex, designed by Gardner Dailey and constructed in 1949. It also includes the Pebble Beach Golf Shop and gas station, constructed during the 1950s. Wood frame construction is near universal, as is stucco cladding. Gable or hip roofs are most common.

West wing of the Lodge Annex.
(Page & Turnbull, November 2012)

Pebble Beach Golf Shop.
(Page & Turnbull, March 2013)

Significance

The table below discusses the significance of commercial buildings from this era according to criteria established by the National Register of Historic Places, California Register of Historical Resources, and the Monterey County Review Criteria. Currently, no commercial buildings in Pebble Beach are listed on the Monterey County Local Official Register of Historic Resources.

National Register/ California Register	Monterey County Review Criteria	Significance	Commercial Properties Significance Discussion
A/1	1(i)	Events, Patterns & Trends	Commercial buildings from this period may be significant for their association with the post-war redevelopment of the Del Monte Lodge area. However, individual buildings are unlikely to qualify under this criterion. Instead, groups of properties may be better able to illustrate this theme.
B/2	1(ii)	Persons	Commercial buildings from this period are unlikely to be significant for their association with persons important to history. However, if a potentially significant person is identified, the commercial building should be compared to other associated properties to identify which property(s) best represent that person's achievements or reasons for being significant.
C/3	1(iii)	Architecture/ Design	Commercial buildings from this period may be significant for their architecture, as expressed by intact stylistic features, forms or construction methods. However, the architectural style of the commercial buildings present in the Del Monte Lodge area does not appear particularly distinguished or rare. The Annex may be significant for its association with master architect Gardner Dailey, but the building has been altered several times and found ineligible for the California Register by a previous historic evaluation.[199]
D/4	1(iv)	Information Potential	Buildings, ruins or subsurface remains from this period are unlikely to provide information important to history.

Integrity

In order to be eligible for listing in the local, state, or national historic registers, a commercial property from this period must retain sufficient integrity to convey its significance in association

with commercial development during this period. While most buildings undergo change over time, alterations should not significantly change the essential historic character of the buildings. Because these buildings are younger in age, a somewhat stricter interpretation of integrity is warranted. Buildings qualified as individual resources at the state or national level should retain most of their original features.

Minimum Eligibility Requirements	Other Integrity Considerations
▪ Clear example of commercial architecture from this period ▪ Retains original form and roofline ▪ Substantially retains the original pattern of windows and doors ▪ Retains most of its original ornamentation (if applicable). ▪ Replacement of doors and windows can be acceptable as long as they conform to the original pattern and size of the openings	▪ Additions should be carefully evaluated. Additions that compromise a building's form and scale are not acceptable. ▪ The retention of original windows greatly enhances integrity of materials. However, far more important is that the building retains its original pattern of windows, and that any replacement windows(s) are located within the original frame openings. ▪ The presence of original site or landscape features enhances a property's historic character. Properties that retain elements such as designed plantings, walls, and walkways are more likely to qualify for individual listing in the California or National Register.

INSTITUTIONAL PROPERTIES

Institutional properties from this period equate with the Stevenson School. Four buildings existed at the Pebble Beach campus in the 1920s when it functioned as the Douglas Private School for Girls, and based on a parcel map from 1965, it appears that three additional buildings were constructed by that time: one immediately north of the original buildings, and two up Forest Lake Road adjacent to the athletic fields. The former building is the Eleanor Donnelly Erdman Memorial Chapel (now known as Church in the Forest) at Stevenson School, addressed 3152 Forest Lake Road. The chapel, designed by John Lyon Reid in 1964, is noted for its tall ceilings, giant wood pillars, and lattice covered windows.

Erdman Chapel (aka Church in the Forest), Stevenson School.
(http://www.churchintheforest.org/photo-gallery.html?category_id=4)

Numerous buildings have since been constructed at Stevenson School, and it is unclear whether all seven buildings that existed in the 1960s are all still extant. The school complex warrants in-depth survey and evaluation to assess any buildings that were constructed between 1946 and 1969.

Significance

The table below discusses the significance of institutional buildings from this era according to criteria established by the National Register of Historic Places, California Register of Historical Resources, and the Monterey County Review Criteria. Currently, no institutional buildings in Pebble Beach are listed on the Monterey County Local Official Register of Historic Resources.

National Register/ California Register	Monterey County Review Criteria	Significance	Institutional Properties Significance Discussion
A/1	1(i)	Events, Patterns & Trends	Institutional buildings from this period may be significant for their association with the post-war development of the Stevenson School facility. However, individual buildings are unlikely to qualify under this criterion. Instead, groups of properties may be better able to illustrate this theme.
B/2	1(ii)	Persons	Institutional buildings from this period are unlikely to be significant for their association with persons important to history. However, if a potentially significant person is identified, the institutional building should be compared to other associated properties to identify which property(s) best represent that person's achievements or reasons for being significant.
C/3	1(iii)	Architecture/	Institutional buildings from this period may be

National Register/ California Register	Monterey County Review Criteria	Significance	Institutional Properties Significance Discussion
		Design	significant for their architecture, as expressed by intact stylistic features, forms or construction methods. Resources qualified under this criterion must be excellent examples of types and/or styles, and retain most of their original features. In order to qualify for national, state, or local listing under this criterion, an institutional property must be an outstanding example of a Modern architectural style, and should ideally represent the work of a master architect. For example, Erdman Chapel may be significant for its association with architect John Lyon Reid.[200]
D/4	1(iv)	Information Potential	Buildings, ruins or subsurface remains from this period are unlikely to provide information important to history.

Integrity

In order to be eligible for listing in the local, state, or national historic registers, an institutional property from this period must retain sufficient integrity to convey its significance in association with institutional development during this period. While most buildings undergo change over time, alterations should not significantly change the essential historic character of the buildings. Because these buildings are younger in age, a somewhat stricter interpretation of integrity is warranted. Buildings qualified as individual resources at the state or national level should retain most of their original features.

Minimum Eligibility Requirements	Other Integrity Considerations
▪ Clear example of institutional architecture from this period ▪ Retains original form and roofline ▪ Retains original wall cladding ▪ Substantially retains the original pattern of windows and doors ▪ Retains most of its original ornamentation. ▪ Replacement of doors and windows can be acceptable as long as they conform to the original pattern and size of the openings	▪ Rear and side additions should be carefully evaluated. Additions that compromise a building's form and scale are not acceptable. ▪ The retention of original windows greatly enhances integrity of materials. However, far more important is that the building retains its original pattern of windows, and that any replacement windows(s) are located within the original frame openings. ▪ The presence of original site or landscape features enhances a property's historic

Minimum Eligibility Requirements	Other Integrity Considerations
	character. Properties that retain elements such as designed plantings, walls, walkways, patios, and/or benches are more likely to qualify for individual listing in the California or National Register.

CULTURAL LANDSCAPES

Cultural landscapes may include the Peter Hay, Shore and Spyglass Hill golf courses—although they are unlikely to qualify for registration due to their relatively recent construction and the ubiquity of golf course construction elsewhere in California during this period. Cultural landscapes may also include equestrian and hiking trails, or designed historic overlooks. Most likely to qualify from this period are cultural landscapes that include the combination of house, garden and associated site features—especially when both house and garden have been designed by master architects/landscape architects as part of an overall site plan.

If any potentially significance cultural landscapes from this period are identified, they should be evaluated using the same methodology identified in previous periods.

V. PRESERVATION RECOMMENDATIONS

This Historic Context Statement finds that many properties in the Pebble Beach area are likely to qualify as historic resources, but as yet only four buildings within the study area have been listed on the Monterey County Local Official Register of Historic Resources. The majority of these potential historic resources are associated with the "Samuel Morse and the Del Monte Properties Company (1919 – 1945)" period, which was a formative era during the evolution of Pebble Beach as a planned community. It is the opinion of this study that much of the area's post-World War II development is unlikely to be historically significant, save for those buildings that serve as outstanding examples of mid-century architecture—particularly buildings associated with master architects.

Using this Historic Context Statement and these Recommendations as a foundation, it is recommended that Monterey County undertake the following efforts to promote the identification and documentation of historic resources in the Pebble Beach area.

#1: CONDUCT FOCUSED HISTORIC RESOURCE SURVEYS

Very few historic resources in the Pebble Beach area have been previously documented through survey efforts. Given the costs of conducting a comprehensive building-by-building historic survey, this report recommends using focused historic surveys which concentrate on those areas and buildings most likely to qualify for historic listing. These efforts should be carried out in cooperation with the Pebble Beach Company and property owners, as visual access to most properties is extremely limited because of the presence of landscaping and fences. Potential focused surveys include the following:

- **"California Riviera" Historic Survey**
  This survey should focus on buildings constructed between circa 1920 and 1945 that exhibit Mediterranean/Spanish Colonial Revival style architectural details. These buildings are best able to convey association with a formative period in the development of Pebble Beach, marked by a combination of architectural controls and the talents of many of California's leading architects. Less than 100 buildings were constructed during this time period in Pebble Beach, and it is likely that a similar number were constructed in the Monterey Peninsula Country Club area.

  The survey should also examine the potential for historic districts, particularly in areas along 17-Mile Drive from Pescadero Point to the west, as well as areas adjacent to Pebble Beach Golf Links. This survey will benefit most from carefully planned research that draws upon the materials available at the Pebble Beach Company Lagorio Archives prior to fieldwork. The information generated by this survey will help quantify the nature and extent of alterations present, allowing for a comparative basis between properties. It will also expand our understanding of the architects who were then active in Pebble Beach. As an adjunct to

this survey, research should also seek to identify any remaining properties constructed between circa 1914 and the establishment of architectural controls in the mid-1920s.

- **Pebble Beach Modernism Survey**
  This Historic Context Statement suggests that most post-war buildings in the study area are unlikely to be significant as they mirror development patterns which were widespread elsewhere in California. However, because the Pebble Beach area continued to attract affluent residents following World War II, it is likely that several outstanding examples of Modern architecture are present. Research performed for this report indicates that several master architects were active in the area, but the extent of their work, as well as the addresses for many of the buildings, remains unknown. Even more so than the "California Riviera" survey, research on Modernism in the Pebble Beach area will benefit most from carefully planned research that draws upon the materials available at Pebble Beach Company Lagorio Archives. This information should then be used as a basis for reconnaissance survey efforts to establish whether these homes are still extant, and the nature of any alterations. Looking at these resources as a group will also provide the best comparative information on which to base significance and integrity evaluations.

- **17-Mile Drive Cultural Landscape Survey**
  As a deliberately designed scenic drive, 17-Mile Drive clearly meets the definition of a historic designed landscape. It is also one of the oldest and readily-identifiable features of the Pebble Beach area. Preliminary research conducted for this report appears to indicate that some segments of the Drive—notably the scenic coastal section north of Cypress Point—retain historic integrity and may be good candidates for historic registration. Research should focus on any differences between the original and current routing, as well as any changes to the topography, vegetation and views and vistas. Research should also focus on identifying an appropriate period of significance for 17-Mile Drive.

Surveys: Additional Resources

The following examples of historic resource surveys in other jurisdictions could be referenced by Monterey County if the abovementioned surveys are undertaken:

- **SurveyLA** is a comprehensive survey program currently underway in Los Angeles. This methodology is specifically designed to survey a large number of properties in a short period of time, and has been well-received by preservationists. SurveyLA may be a good model to apply to a comprehensive survey of Pebble Beach.
  http://www.preservation.lacity.org/survey

- The City of Napa established its **Heritage Napa** program in 2008, which began with the preparation of a city-wide historic context statement. The city has since completed intensive-level surveys of five neighborhoods, and has been using this information to systematically

update its inventory:
http://www.cityofnapa.org/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=656&Itemid=701

- A study of **San Jose Modernism** was completed in 2009, including a reconnaissance survey and focused historic context statement. **San Francisco** also completed a modern architecture survey and context statement in 2010. A similar approach might be appropriate for the Pebble Beach "Modernism" survey. http://www.sanjoseca.gov/index.aspx?nid=1760

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