Form No. 10-300 (Rev. 10-74)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES INVENTORY -- NOMINATION FORM

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DATE ENTERED

IT PE ALL ENTRIES COMPL	ETE APPLICABLE SECTIONS
NAME	
HISTORIC	
La Cuesta Encantada (The	e Enchanted Hill)
AND/OR COMMON Hearst San Simeon State	Historical Monument
LOCATION	
STREET & NUMBER 5 miles east of the	Pacific coast and 30 miles north
of Moro Bay on Calif. 1	
CITY, TOWN	CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT
STATE CODE	COUNTY CODE
California 06	San_Luis_Obispo079
CLASSIFICATION	
CATEGORY OWNERSHIP ST	ATUS PRESENT USE
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7 DESCRIPTION

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DESCRIBE THE PRESENT AND ORIGINAL (IF KNOWN) PHYSICAL APPEARANCE

During his lifetime, William Randolph Hearst lived in many apartments, houses, and mansions. Just after 1900, he owned and resided in the Chester A. Arthur House (now a NHL commemorating Arthur) at 123 Lexington Avenue in New York City. For a time after 1906, he rented and resided in the top three floors of the luxurious Clarendon Apartment Building in New York City, and for many years he retained an entire floor in the renowned Ambassador Hotel in Los Angeles. In addition Hearst inherited Wyntoon--a medieval-style manor built by his mother on the McCloud River in northern California--and a ranch of millions of acres purchased by his father in Mexico. And in 1925 William bought an 800-year-old Welsh castle, St. Donat's, which remained in the Hearst family until 1960. Hearst built castles, too. One of these was an opulent, now-demolished, 110-room "beachhouse" that he erected for actress Marion Davies in Santa Monica, Calif.

None of these structures, however, represents the life and career of the publisher-politician as does Hearst San Simeon State Historical Monument, a cluster of buildings that includes the magnificent Hispano-Moresque mansion La Casa Grande. The complex is situated on La Cuesta Encantada (The Enchanted Hill) off California 1 about 5 miles from the Pacific Ocean and some 250 miles north of Los Angeles. Even before he built La Casa Grande, Hearst regarded the area of La Cuesta Encantada In 1865 his father, George Hearst, purchased the first unit as home. of what was to become a productive 240,000-acre ranch that included the Enchanted Hill. He built a comfortable ranchhouse--which is still standing--on the land and improved the harbor at San Simeon. Young William spent most of his summers there, and when ownership of the property devolved upon him following his mother's death in 1919, he decided to erect La Casa Grande as a permanent family residence, a place of retreat, and a showcase for his many art treasures. Construction of the Enchanted Hill complex began that same year under the joint supervision of Hearst and architect Julia Morgan, a protégée of Hearst's mother and a graduate of the Paris School of Beaux Arts. Work on La Casa Grande began in 1922 and continued until Hearst's death in 1951, as he expanded it steadily in order to display his ever-growing collection of priceless artifacts. In addition, over the years Hearst entertained the elite of America at the princely estate, which, including antique furnishings, eventually cost between \$30 and \$40 million-five or six times the amount that he expended on any other dwelling or residential complex. Once erected, it was an architectural anomaly. According to biographer Swanberg, La Casa Grande "offended classicists because of its extravagant presumption, its hodge-podgery of art and architecture, its violence to tradition, its excesses in decoration." But, Swanberg observes, "it suited Hearst perfectly. It was a proper



POLITICS/GOVERNMENT COMMUNICATIONS

ERIOD	AREAS OF SIGNIFICANCE CHECK AND JUSTIFY BELOW				
PREHISTORIC	ARCHEOLOGY-PREHISTORIC	COMMUNITY PLANNING	LANDSCAPE ARCHITECTURE	RELIGION	
1400-1499	ARCHEOLOGY-HISTORIC	CONSERVATION	LAW	SCIENCE	
1500-1599	AGRICULTURE	ECONOMICS	LITERATURE	SCULPTURE	
1600-1699	XARCHITECTURE	EDUCATION	-XMILITARY	SOCIAL/HUMANITARIAN	
1700-1799	ART	ENGINEERING	MUSIC	X THEATER	
1800-1899	COMMERCE	EXPLORATION/SETTLEMENT	PHILOSOPHY	TRANSPORTATION	
X 1900-	COMMUNICATIONS	INDUSTRY	XPOLITICS/GOVERNMENT	OTHER (SPECIFY)	
		INVENTION			

SPECIFIC DATES 1919-1951

BUILDER/ARCHITECT William Randolph Hearst Julia Morgan

STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

According to his biographer, W. A. Swanberg, William Randolph Hearst "enjoyed power" and "derived pleasure from controlling masses of people, manipulating them to bring about events of <u>national</u> or international <u>importance</u>."¹ In a journalistic career spanning 64 years, Hearst attempted to achieve this sort of control. He built an empire which at its height included 37 newspapers (read by 6,500,000 people), 15 magazines, 6 radio stations, 2 wire services, a newsreel company, and a movie company. Through these, he played a highly influential role in the public events of his era.

Hearst first worked his way into the national consciousness in 1898 when he stirred public support for the Spanish-American War. In 1897 he and Joseph Pulitzer, the foremost practitioners of what came to be known as "yellow journalism," took up the cause of Cuban independence, partly due to idealism and partly due to a desire to outdo each other in a New York circulation war. Careless about the accuracy of their information, Hearst and Pulitzer, says historian Harold U. Faulkner, "seized upon every incident calculated to shock, horrify, titillate, or disgust their readers and blew it up to fantastic proportions."² In the process these publishers aroused the Nation's martial spirit.

But Hearst was also an ardent reformer and advanced progressive. He used his newspapers to gain public acceptance and such reforms as regulation of big business and implementation of the graduated income tax. Harboring Presidential ambitions, Hearst won election to Congress in 1902 and became serious contender for the 1904 Democratic nomination. He failed largely because he was considered too radical by the conservatives who controlled the convention that year. He was reelected to his Congressional seat, but narrow defeats for the New York mayoralty and governorship in 1905 and 1906 destroyed him as a Presidential contender.

¹ W. A. Swanberg, <u>Citizen Hearst</u> (New York, 1963), 154 (underlining added).

² Harold U. Faulkner, Politics, Reform and Expansion: 1890-1900 (New York, 1959), 225.

9 MAJOR BIBLIOGRAPHICAL REFERENCES

Buenker, John D., Urban Liberalism and Progressive Reform (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1973).

Faulkner, Harold U., Politics, Reform and Expansion: 1890-1900 (New York: Harper & Row, 1959).

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10GEOGRAPHICAL DATA

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VERBAL BOUNDARY DESCRIPTION

(see last page of description)

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11 FORM	PREPARED BY				
NAME / TITLE	George R. Adams, Ralph Christian,	-	5		
ORGANIZATION	u la			DATE	
American STREET & NUM	Association for S BER	tate and	Local History	December 1 TELEPHONE	975
_1400 Eigh	th Avenue, South			(615) 242- STATE	5583
_Nashville				Tennessee	37203
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CONTINUATION SHEETHearst Monument ITEM NUMBER 7 PAGE one

monument to this man of extravagance, violence and excess as no classic pile would have been."⁸

The designated historic area of La Cuesta Encantada covers 127.06 acres and includes Hearst's huge La Casa Grande, three Mediterranean Renaissance guesthouses, an outdoor and an indoor pool, several support buildings, and numerous beautiful terraces and gardens. All this property, as well as the house furnishings and an easement from State Highway 1, was donated to the State of California by the Hearst family in 1958 with the understanding that the estate would be preserved as a memorial to Hearst. Accordingly La Cuesta Encantada is administered and cared for by the California Department of Parks and Recreation.

During the last decade and a half, more than 6 million people have visited the Enchanted Hill. The chief attraction is, of course, La Casa Grande, which remains partly unfurnished just as Hearst left it. Rising four stories and assuming castlelike proportions, the massive structure contains more than 100 rooms, including 38 bedrooms, 31 bathrooms, 14 sitting rooms, 2 libraries, an assembly hall, a refectory (dining room), a kitchen, a movie theater, a billiard room, and others. Basic construction of the mansion is poured reinforced concrete, like the other principal buildings on the hilltop. The main block of Y-shaped La Casa Grande is faced with blocks of Utah limestone, but the north and south ells and the north (guest) and south (service) wings still display their unfinished concrete sur-On the front facade, twin, 137-foot-high Spanish Renaissance faces. towers--containing 36 bronze carillon bells--flank and rise above an entrance reminiscent of a European cathedral. Filling the doorway is an iron grill that once stood in a 16th-century Spanish convent, and surrounding the grill on three sides is an ancient sculptured group called "The Duke of Burgundy Goes Hunting." Surmounting that is a Virgin and Child from the Gothic period, and higher still is an elaborately carved gable of India teakwood. Hearst had the pattern of this piece duplicated by master craftsmen and installed along the main block's third-story cornice line.

Similar exterior ornamentation is presented throughout the completed portion of La Casa Grande. As with the teakwood gable and

(continued)



8 Swanberg, Citizen Hearst, 603.

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cornice, some of the decoration is ancient; some is the work of artisans who were employed by Hearst and who lived at the ranch during the long period of construction. Door, window, and balcony trim--mostly carved stone--comprise the most notable features. Gothic tracery windows line each side of the first floor of the main block or stem of the "Y," and above each row is a loggia, now glassed-in for security reasons. The rear facade is unfinished, and there are indications that Hearst intended to expand the building by adding another grand assembly room or perhaps a ballroom at the rear of the main block, in what is now the courtyard. Whether that was his plan or not, the one-story, shedroofed, frame workshed used by Hearst and Julia Morgan still stands in the courtyard against the north wall of the south wing. During various stages of construction, the shed was moved from place to place as needed. Finally, the roof of La Casa Grande is covered with red tiles that have largely been relaid.

Inside, as out, La Casa Grande showcases priceless antiques that are blended with 20th-century recreations. Except in the service wing, where the decor is quite ordinary, each room is elaborately appointed. Most chambers have ancient, hand-carved, wooden ceilings, which are suspended by a series of wires and cables from the actual concrete ceilings. In many instances, room size was dictated by a particular ceiling or special wall tapestry that Hearst wanted to display.

The first floor of the main block consists of a vestibule, an assembly hall, the refectory, and a morning room. Especially interesting in the first of these is the mosaic floor, the centermost portion of which came from a 1st-century (A.D.) house in Pompeii. Leading from the vestibule is a handsome doorway created by 16th-century Italian sculptor and architect Jacopo Sansovino, designer of the famous Library of St. Mark's in Venice. The assembly hall is La Casa Grande's largest room, measuring about 100 by about 40 feet and rising two stories in Ranged about its walls are a group of centuries-old choir height. stalls from an Italian momestery. On the walls above them hang four beautiful Flemish tapestries that once belonged to the Spanish royal Among the numerous other appointments are four 2,000-pound family. marble medallions created by Danish sculptor Albert Thorvaldsen. It was in this room that Hearst's guests gathered each evening before entering the adjoining refectory for dinner. That large chamber lies perpendicular to the assembly hall and features a 400-year-old, wood, Italian monastic ceiling that is divided into a series of elaborately



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carved panels, each of which has in the center a life-sized figure of a saint rendered in high relief. Rich tapestries, monastic dining tables and chairs, and a huge French Gothic mantel help complete the medieval setting. Beyond the refectory is another assembly chamber, known as the morning room. It features a 15th-century Spanish Moresque ceiling-from which hang Spanish and Genoan silver lamps, a 15th century Florentine cabinet, and a pair of chairs from the Convent of the Capuchins in Querétaro, Mexico, where Emperor Maximilian was executed.

The other rooms of La Casa Grande are, of course, too numerous to describe here, but several are of particular interest. Adjoining the morning room in the north ell is the game room where a 16th-century Spanish ceiling hangs over a rare French Gothic tapestry depicting a Two billiard tables rest on the travertine floor. From the game hunt. room, a passageway leads to Hearst's theater in the north wing. The scene of twice nightly movies, this 100-seat, fully-equipped theater is typical of the lavish motion picture palaces of the 1920's. While there is no grand stairway in La Casa Grande, there is at least one elevator, and in each end of the main block, there is an enclosed, narrow, winding These lead to the upper stories, where the rooms are no less stairway. grandly appointed. Directly above the assembly hall is the library, which contains a ceiling from a 16th-century Italian palace, more than 5,000 rare books, and one of the world's largest private collections of ancient Grecian and Egyptian urns. There is another library, sometimes called the Gothic study, on the third floor. This room served as Hearst's private work area. Its furnishings include an arched Spanish Gothic ceiling, a medieval stone mantle, and stained glass windows. Interestingly, Hearst's nearby private bedroom, while appointed with an antique ceiling and a 15th-century French oak bed, is one of the smallest and most simply furnished rooms in the mansion. Below these many rooms and suites, in the south ell, is the hotel-style kitchen, which has its own antique touches in the way of 15th-century Spanish tiles laid in the walls above the sinks. A large partial basement contains the workings of the movable theater stage, space for a bowling alley, storage rooms, and numerous vaults.

The guesthouses of La Cuesta Encantada are just as lavishly constructed and furnished as La Casa Grande. All three--Casa del Mar, Casa del Monte, and Casa del Sol--were either complete or underway when Hearst started work on the mansion, and they lie slightly below La Casa Grande on the slope toward the ocean. Each is a three-story, splitlevel, hip-roofed Mediterranean Renaissance structure with a red tile roof. Two of the cottages have been altered slightly to allow for



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the flow of tourists, but all are in the same good condition as La Casa Grande. The third cottage--Casa del Mar--is closed to the public and reserved for use by the Hearst family. Size of the guesthouses varies from 12 to 18 rooms.

As writer Oscar Lewis has noted, the grounds of La Cuesta Encantada "are laid out on the same imposing scale as the buildings themselves."⁹ There are acres and acres of terraces, plazas, flower gardens, statuary groups, antique wellheads, and many other objets d'art. Among them are intricately carved stone burial vaults from the 1st century B.C., glazed Italian urns, antique stone oil jugs, and two Egyptian cat goddesses that were carved from diorite more than 3,500 years ago.

Perhaps the dominant feature of the grounds, however, is the outdoor pool (Neptune Pool), which lies downslope northwest of La Casa Grande and the guesthouses. Oval in shape, 104 feet long, and capable of holding more than one-quarter million gallons of water, the beautiful structure is lined with slabs of white and verde antique marble, and it is framed by a striking Etruscan colonnade of Vermont marble. Rising from the ocean end of the pool is a Greco-Roman temple facade composed of parts of several ancient structures. In its pediment is a figure of Neptune. Gracing the opposite end of the pool is a statue of Venus rising from the sea. It was rendered by the Italian sculptor Cassou. On each side of the statue, balustraded steps surmount to a terrace and an elaborate bathhouse. But this is not La Cuesta Encantada's only pool. The last structure that Hearst completed on his Enchanted Hill was an indoor pool (Roman Pool). Constructed immediately northeast of La Casa Grande at a cost of about \$1 million, the structure is so large that two regulation-size tennis courts adorn its flat roof. The pool itself measures about 80 by 40 feet, and it, as well as the walls and floors of the remaining portion of the structure, is faced with millions of multicolored miniature tiles laid in a variety of intricate patterns. Ranging about the pool are marble copies of some of the ancient world's most famous statues.

⁹ Oscar Lewis, Fabulous San Simeon: A History of the Hearst Castle . . . (San Francisco, n.d.), 32.

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According to the State of California's own 1972 nomination of La Cuesta Encantada to the National Register, the principal buildings are in fair to good structural condition. In outward appearance, they seem in excellent condition. The State maintains a sizeable full-time maintenance crew, guide staff, and ranger contingent at the monument. These personnel use a small building northwest of and downslope from the outdoor pool and several small rectangular-shaped quarters and offices just south of and downslope from the main house. None of these buildings significantly infringe upon the historical integrity of La Cuesta Encantada.

Boundary Justification. The 127.06 acres delineated below contain the Hearst Castle, La Casa Grande; the subordinate guesthouses; and the terraces, pools, and landscaped grounds. In addition to encompassing these essential features of La Cuesta Encantada, the boundary passes around some scenic buffer acreage and conforms with the outer bounds of the hilltop grant made to the State of California by the La Cuesta Encantada Corporations. Lying within the historic area are two parcels--"B" and "D"--presented to the State by the Hearst Corporation.

Boundary. As indicated by a red line on the accompanying maps, all that real property situated in the County of San Luis Obispo, State of California, being a portion of the Rancho Piedra Blanca, more particularly described as follows: Beginning at a 14" iron pipe with brass cap stamped Div. B. & P. LS 2716, from which a 1" iron pipe marking the most Easterly corner of that certain tract of land described in deed to the County of San Luis Obispo, dated October 17, 1951, and recorded in Volume 641, page 452 of Official Records of the County of San Luis Obispo, bears South 12° 47' 40" West (Astronomical Bearing) 14,976.91 feet; Thence from said point of beginning, North 70 38' 40" East, 430.49 feet to a 2" x 2" stake; Thence North 300 22' 50" West, 118.25 feet; Thence North 460 37' 00" East, 288.14 feet; Thence North 180 10' 07" East, 250.00 feet; Thence North 550 39' 48" East, 1043.43 feet to a 1%" iron pipe and brass cap; Thence South 76° 18' 30" East, 595.71 feet to a $1\frac{1}{4}$ " iron pipe and brass cap; Thence North 71° 11' 20" East, 221.29 feet to a $1\frac{1}{4}$ " iron pipe and brass cap; Thence North 850 04' 50" East, 235.48 feet to a 14" iron pipe and brass cap; Thence South 720 30' 00" East, 983.70 feet to a 14" iron pipe and brass cap; Thence South 40° 11' 20" East, 470.22 feet to a



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14" iron pipe and brass cap; Thence South 3° 41' 40" West, 50.60 feet to a 14" iron pipe and brass cap; Thence South 43° 53' 44" West, 2261.80 feet to a 14" iron pipe and brass cap; Thence South 49° 57' 46" West, 197.06 feet to a 14" iron pipe and brass cap; Thence North 73° 30' 55" West, 343.14 feet to a 14" iron pipe and brass cap; Thence South 81° 53' 30" West, 289.88 feet to a 14" iron pipe and brass cap; Thence North 54° 49' 02" West, 159.38 feet to a 14" iron pipe and brass cap; Thence North 51° 32' 26" West, 121.92 feet to a 14" iron pipe and brass cap; Thence North 27° 48' 05" West, 246.87 feet, to a 14" iron pipe and brass cap; Thence North 77° 40' 04" West, 90.46 feet to a 14" iron pipe and brass cap; Thence North 36° 12' 01" West, 121.01 feet to a 14" iron pipe and brass cap; Thence North 11° 28' 35" East, 116.15 feet to a 14" iron pipe and brass cap; Thence North 11° 28' 35" East, 116.15 feet to a 14" iron pipe and brass cap; Thence North 11° 28' 35" East, 116.15 feet to a 14" iron pipe and brass cap; Thence North 34° 03' 20" West, 105.14 feet to a 14" iron pipe and brass cap; Thence South 67° 15' 38" West, 260.20 feet to a 14" iron pipe and brass cap; Thence South 89° 03' 26" West, 119.73 feet to a 14" iron pipe and brass cap; Thence North 30° 21' 40" West, 348.91 feet to the point of beginning. Containing approximately 127.06 acres. The principal maps referred to above are (1) U.S.G.S., 7.5' Series, Calif., San Simeon Quad., 1958, and (2) Hearst San Simeon State Historical Monument, California Department of Natural Resources, 1" = 600', 1957.

Continuation Sheet Hearst Monument Item Number 9 Page one

- Lewis, Oscar, Fabulous San Simeon: A History of the Hearst Castle . . . (San Francisco: California Historical Society, n.d.).
- Link, Arthur S., Wilson: The Road to the White House (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1947).
- Lundberg, Ferinand, Imperial Hearst: A Social Biography (New York: Equinox Cooperative Press, 1936).
- Schlesinger, Arthur M., <u>The Rise of the City</u> (New York: Macmillan Company, 1933).
- Swanberg, W. A., Citizen Hearst (New York: Bantam Books, 1963).
- Tebbel, John, The Life and Good Times of William Randolph Hearst (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, 1952).

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For the remainder of his life, Hearst was an erstwhile Democrat. He supported the party only when he could bend it to his will. On other occasions he promoted third party or Republican candidates. In 1912 he almost wrecked the candidacy of early frontrunner Woodrow Wilson by building Champ Clark into a formidable contender. Hearst exercised perhaps his greatest influence at the 1932 Democratic Convention. There he persuaded his candidate, John Nance Garner, to withdraw from contention and shift his support to Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

Intensely nationalistic, Hearst opposed American entrance into World Wars I and II and clamored against international organizations because of his distrust of the British and French. In his later years, he became increasingly conservative, largely because of financial losses which forced him to sell many of his newspapers. Still, he had proven, claims Arthur M. Schlesinger, that in an era of increasing depersonalization and bigness that "it was still possible for vigorous men to imprint their personalities on even mammoth newspaper enterprises."³

During his lifetime, Hearst lived in many apartments, houses, and mansions, but none of them represents his life and career as does the Hearst San Simeon State Historical Monument, a cluster of buildings that includes the magnificient Hispano-Moresque mansion La Casa Grande. The designated historic area includes 127.06 acres off California 1 about 250 miles north of Los Angeles in an area that Hearst always considered his home. He started his grand complex in 1919 and eventually spent \$30 to \$40 million on it. According to his biographer, W. A. Swanberg, La Casa Grande "offended classicists because of its extravagant presumption, its hodge-podgery of art and architecture, its violence to tradition, its excesses in decoration," but "it suited Hearst perfectly. It was a proper monument to this man of extravagance, violence and excess as no classic pile would have been."⁴

(continued)

3 Arthur M. Schlesinger, The Rise of the City (New York, 1933), 187.

4 Swanberg, Citizen Hearst, 603.



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Biography

William Randolph Hearst was born April 29, 1863, in San Francisco, Calif., the only child of George and Phoebe Apperson Hearst. Because George Hearst had made a fortune in the mining business, young William was indulged and given almost everything he wanted. At the age of 10, he took his first tour of Europe, had an audience with Pope Pius IX, and developed a lifelong interest in art, architecture, and antiquities. An extremely intelligent child, his formal education was limited by his pranks and refusal to accept discipline. He was expelled from most of the schools he attended.

In 1882 Hearst entered Harvard, where during his sophomore year he first demonstrated his penchant for journalism. At the request of a friend, he became business manager of the <u>Harvard Lampoon</u>, which had been losing money, and almost immediately he made it profitable. Despite his journalistic success, Hearst became restless, engaged in numerous pranks, and was expelled in 1885 shortly before the end of his junior year.

Infatuated with journalism, Hearst worked briefly as a reporter for John Pulitzer's <u>New York World</u> after leaving Harvard and soon developed a desire to own his own newspaper. In 1880 his father had purchased the <u>San Francisco Examiner</u> to further his own political ambitions, and now William began to implore the elder Hearst, who represented California in the U. S. Senate, to give the paper to him. Finally, in 1887, George Hearst acceded to his son's request. In choosing journalism as his life's work, young Hearst, says his biographer W. A. Swanberg, "showed an independence of mind unusual in rich men's sons when he picked the riskiest and least honored profession of all."⁵

Immediately after taking charge of the Examiner in 1887, Hearst made drastic changes in the paper's appearance, hired talented writers like Ambrose Bierce, and transformed what had been a rather stodgy paper into an exciting one. Following the example of Joseph Pulitzer, he aimed for mass appeal, emphasizing sensation, sex, scandals, crusades, crime, and human interest. Hearst also made his paper a voice for reform, working to get water rates lowered and

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carrying on a long battle with the Southern Pacific Railroad. Within 2 years he doubled the paper's circulation and soon had it operating on a profitable basis.

In 1895 Hearst made his entry into New York City journalism when he purchased the <u>New York Journal</u> and began to compete with Pulitzer's <u>World</u> by price cutting, luring his staff with higher salaries, and trying to outdo him in sensationalism--even if it meant printing false news. Hearst first attracted national attention in 1896 when his was the only major newspaper on the eastern seaboard to support the Presidential candidacy of William Jennings Bryan.

It was in 1898, however, that Hearst thrust himself fully into the national consciousness. In that year he played a significant role in bringing about the Spanish-American War. In 1897, he and Pulitzer, who were the foremost practitioners of what was coming to be called "yellow journalism," took up the cause of Cuban independence, partly out of idealism and partly out of a desire to outdo each other in their circulation war. Careless about the accuracy of their information, Hearst and Pulitzer, according to historian Harold U. Faulkner, "seized upon every incident calculated to shock, horrify, titillate, or disgust their readers and blew it up to fantastic proportions."⁶ In the process the two publishers aroused the Nation's martial spirit.

By 1900 Hearst had developed Presidential ambitions. Already an advanced progressive, he used his newspapers to espouse a number of reforms like regulation of big business; government ownership of railroads, telegraphs, and mines; implementation of a graduated income tax; popular election of U. S. Senators, municipal ownership of utilities; adoption of the 8-hour work day; and the recognition of labor unions. In 1900 he became president of the National Association of Democratic Clubs, and during his 4-year tenure, the organization grew to include 12,000 clubs with 3 million members.

In 1902 Hearst was elected to the first of two consecutive terms in Congress as a Democrat from New York. Heading the "Hearst Brigade," a group of 12 Congressmen who proposed radical measures,

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6 Faulkner, Politics, Reform and Expansion, 225.

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he alienated much of his party's leadership and made many enemies. In 1904 he was a serious contender for the Democratic Presidential nomination, but he failed to receive it largely because he was considered too radical by the conservatives who controlled the party's convention.

Hearst bolted the Democratic Party in 1905 and ran for mayor of New York City on the Municipal Ownership League Ticket, promising cheaper government, lower utility bills, and better schools. Although he lost by 4,000 votes, he increased his prestige and power. Also, according to historian John D. Buenker, Hearst "made great inroads into the traditional Tammany vote" and caused the machine to assume a more progressive stance.⁷ In 1906 Hearst won the Democratic and Municipal Ownership League nominations for Governor and faced Charles Evans Hughes in the general election. Hearst lost to Hughes by 58,000 votes while the remainder of the Democratic ticket won. This finished the publisher as a Presidential contender.

Frustrated in his own political ambitions, Hearst became an erstwhile Democrat. In 1908 he launched a third-party effort--the Independence Party--and nominated Thomas L. Higson of Massachusetts for President. Despite large expenditures on Hearst's part, his party polled less than 90,000 votes. Four years later, however, he showed that he still had considerable national power, as he almost wrecked Woodrow Wilson's candidacy by building Champ Clark into a formidable contender. According to Wilson biographer Arthur S. Link, "probably the most important factor in Clark's success as a presidential candidate was the support he received from William R. Hearst and his newspapers and magazines."⁸

As American involvement in World War I came closer to reality, Hearst, always an extreme nationalist, became a strident advocate of neutrality because of his distrust of the British and French. Even after the United States entered the war in 1917, he remained critical

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7 John D. Buenker, Urban Liberalism and Progressive Reform (New York, 1973), 31.

8 Arthur S. Link, Wilson: The Road to the White House (Princeton, 1947), 401.



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of the Allies despite the fact that his position cost him much circulation and advertising. After the war, he was one of the leading opponents of the League of Nations and anything smacking of what he considered internationalism.

In the 1920's Hearst became increasingly conservative, partly because of heavy taxes and financial problems, and in 1920, 1924, and 1928 he supported Republican Presidential candidates. During this period he entered the movie business in an effort to make his friend Marion Davies into a star. He also began the construction of his famous castle at San Simeon. His journalistic empire now reached its height with 37 newspapers circulating to 6,500,000 people, 15 magazines, 6 radio stations, 2 wire services, a newsreel company, and a movie company.

Shaken by the enormity of the Great Depression, Hearst returned to the Democratic Party by 1932 and advocated a program of government jobs for the unemployed. Backing John Nance Garner for the Democratic nomination, Hearst proved he was still powerful. His support enabled Garner to win the California primary. At the convention that year, however, Hearst persuaded Garner to withdraw from contention after the third ballot, enabling Franklin Delano Roosevelt to win the nomination.

By the mid 1930's Hearst had broken with Roosevelt over the National Recovery Act and Wagner Act, and in 1936 the publisher supported Republican Alfred M. Landon. Increasingly worried by the threat of communism, Hearst became more openly reactionary. An admirer of Benito Mussolini and fascism, he continued to espouse isolationism.

An unrestrained spender most of his life, Hearst by 1937 was in severe financial straits. He had to sell many of his newspapers and even some of his personal possessions in order to remain solvent. By 1940 only 17 daily newspapers remained in his once-large chain, but increased profits following the coming of war in 1941 put him back on his feet financially. He died in Los Angeles, Calif., on August 14, 1951, at the age of 88.