Historic Context Statement

FINAL

South of Market Area

San Francisco, California

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Prepared for
City and County of San Francisco Planning Department

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I. INTRODUCTION

The South of Market Area has been likened to San Francisco's back porch or loading dock, the place where the unglamorous service businesses and industrial enterprises could set up shop close to railheads, the waterfront, and their downtown customer base. Here, building lots are large and transportation networks well-developed. Since being almost totally reconstructed after the 1906 Earthquake, the South of Market Area has developed as an eclectic district of commerce, industry, and increasingly, entertainment and living space. Until relatively recently, the South of Market Area, or "SoMa" as it is now popularly known, was the primary light industrial and warehousing district of San Francisco. Located just south of downtown within an area once filled by a network of tracks and piers, the South of Market Area developed into an ideal venue for manufacturing, warehousing, and wholesale businesses.

The South of Market Area was once the domain of longshoremen, warehousemen, merchant mariners, day laborers, immigrant farm workers, and other manual workers who contributed immeasurably to the prosperity and economic development of the West. Many were newcomers—beginning with the Irish, Germans, and Scandinavians in the nineteenth century – and followed by waves of Greeks, Eastern European Jews, Ukrainians, and Japanese during the early twentieth century. Dustbowl refugees arrived during the Depression, and Central Americans, African-Americans, and Filipinos took up residence during the post-World War II era.

According to the 2000 Census, there are around 13,500 people living within the boundaries of the South of Market Area. Although this figure pales in comparison with pre-1906 figures of around 60,000, it is two-and-a-half times greater than the approximately 5,400 recorded in 1980.[1] Much of this new residential growth occurred in the 1990s when the population of the South of Market Area grew nearly 80 percent, compared with 11 percent growth at the citywide level.[2] Much of this growth has been propelled by worldwide market forces, making the South of Market Area a household name in much of the world as the center of the "New" or "Digital" Economy, more familiarly known as the "Dot-com Boom."

While the transformation of the South of Market Area from a light industrial district into a center of high technology has been positive in many ways, the growth has posed many challenges to the area's traditional industrial economy and working-class character. Many traditional sectors, such as garment manufacturing, auto repair, printing, wholesale furniture distribution, and lighting businesses, have been displaced by office uses, reflecting the demand spilling over from the Financial District and the high technology node of "Multimedia Gulch" near South Park. Furthermore, these new businesses have lured thousands of technology professionals and individuals from allied fields such as marketing and design to San Francisco. Their presence has resulted in a significant amount of pressure on the limited supply of existing housing and commercial space, leading to the conversion of light industrial space into office and residential uses. In addition, developers taking advantage of the pent-up demand for housing have replaced many existing historic buildings with sleek "live-work" lofts.

The Dot-com Bust around 2001 was quickly followed by the residential Real Estate Boom of the early-to mid-2000s. Demand for housing in San Francisco drove up real estate prices higher than ever before, continuing to apply pressure on legacy industrial uses. Responding to the ongoing hemorrhaging of industrial jobs and working-class residents, the San Francisco Board of Supervisors halted the construction of new live-work lofts. At the same time, the San Francisco Planning

[1] "South of Market Street: A Brief Guide to its Architecture," *Heritage Newsletter* Volume XIII, No. 2 (San Francisco: The Foundation for San Francisco's Architectural Heritage, n.d.), 7.
[2] San Francisco Planning Department, *Profiles of Community Planning Areas: San Francisco's Eastern Neighborhoods* (San Francisco: San Francisco Planning Department, January 2002), 70.

Department began to undertake long-range planning for the so-called "Eastern Neighborhoods," including the South of Market Area. Devised as a means to protect reservoirs of traditional production, distribution, and repair (PDR)-related businesses, ongoing planning has simultaneously recognized the need for new housing of various categories in the area, as well as the infrastructure needed to serve thousands of new residents.

A. PURPOSE

As part of ongoing long-range planning efforts in the South of Market Area, the San Francisco Planning Department contracted with Page & Turnbull in October 2006 to prepare this *Historic Context Statement*. In preparation for this work, Page & Turnbull collected previously identified environmental studies, surveys, and other planning reports to determine what properties in the South of Market Area have been surveyed in the past. Beginning in October 2007, Page & Turnbull conducted an intensive-level survey of 1,128 properties over 45 years of age within the South of Market Area. Page & Turnbull prepared Department of Parks and Recreation (DPR) 523 A (Primary) forms for all of these properties, DPR 523 B (Building, Structure, & Object) forms for 165 selected properties, and DPR 523 D (District) forms for four proposed historic districts. Despite the rapid pace of change, the South of Market Area continues to retain important concentrations of historic resources, particularly in the area bounded by 5th, Mission, 10th, and Harrison streets.

B. DEFINITION OF GEOGRAPHICAL AREA

The boundaries of the South of Market Area are relatively well-defined. Bounded by Market Street to the northwest, San Francisco Bay to the northeast, Mission Channel to the southeast, and Division and 13th streets and U.S. Highway 101 to the southwest, the South of Market Area is largely contained within readily understood natural and manmade boundaries **(Figure 1)**. Within these boundaries are several smaller neighborhoods that have been surveyed separately as part of other planning project areas. The northeastern third of the South of Market Area was surveyed in 2008 by Kelley & VerPlanck Historical Resources Consulting, LLC (KVP) as part of the Redevelopment Agency's Transit Center District Area Plan. The boundaries of this survey area are Market Street to the northwest, Spear Street to the northeast, Folsom Street to the southeast, and 3rd Street to the southwest. KVP also surveyed the extreme southwestern corner of the South of Market Area as part of the Showplace Square Area Plan, an area bounded by Bryant Street to the northwest, 7th Street to the southeast, and Division Street to the south. As illustrated in **Figure 2**, Page & Turnbull's survey area is concentrated in two contiguous areas: an eastern sector bounded by Folsom Street to the northwest, the Embarcadero to the northeast, Channel Street to the southeast, and 7th Street to the southwest. Overlapping this area is a second area bounded by Mission Street to the northwest, 5th Street to the northeast, Bryant Street to the southeast, and South Van Ness Avenue to the southwest.

Like the adjoining central business district, the South of Market Area is generally flat. However, in contrast to the orthogonal street grid north of Market Street, the South of Market Area features large blocks skewed approximately forty-five degrees off the primary street grid north of Market Street. In addition, its block lengths are on average the largest in the city, measuring 825 feet along their northeast-southwest alignment and 550 feet along the northwest-southeast alignment. When surveyor Jasper O'Farrell surveyed downtown San Francisco in 1847, he laid out the blocks south of Market Street four times larger than those on the north side of the street, possibly to encourage large-scale industrial or agricultural uses.[3] These eleven-acre blocks were generally unnecessary in the early days of San Francisco and they were quickly carved up into smaller blocks by intersecting back

[3] The *vara* is an archaic Spanish unit of measurement equal to approximately 33 inches in length. The name "100 Vara Survey" was bestowed on the blocks south of Market because O'Farrell laid out each block as six equal lots measuring 100 varas square.

streets including Tehama, Clara, Annie, and Jessie streets which provided access to interior lots and created additional valuable street frontage for businesses and housing.[4]

Unlike much of San Francisco, the South of Market Area is generally flat; presently only the stump of Rincon Hill beneath the Bay Bridge adds any noticeable topographic relief. Similar to other "made land" such as the Marina District and Mission Bay, the South of Market Area is almost entirely manmade. In its natural state prior to the 1860s, the South of Market Area was covered in towering sand dunes occasionally penetrated by narrow valleys and tidal streams and estuaries. Grading and filling operations throughout the latter half of the nineteenth century gradually deposited the sand dunes and other debris into the intervening hollows, watercourses, and tidal marshes bordering Mission Bay, evening out the topography and extending terra firma into what had once been water. Nevertheless, hints of the prior conditions remain in parts of the South of Market Area where declivities in the pavement hint at the location of sunken streambeds or uneven filling.

Figure 1. South of Market Area
Source: Google Earth; Annotated by Page & Turnbull, 2008

[4] San Francisco Department of City Planning, *Final Environmental Impact Report: Yerba Buena Center: Volume I* (San Francisco: 1978), III-1.

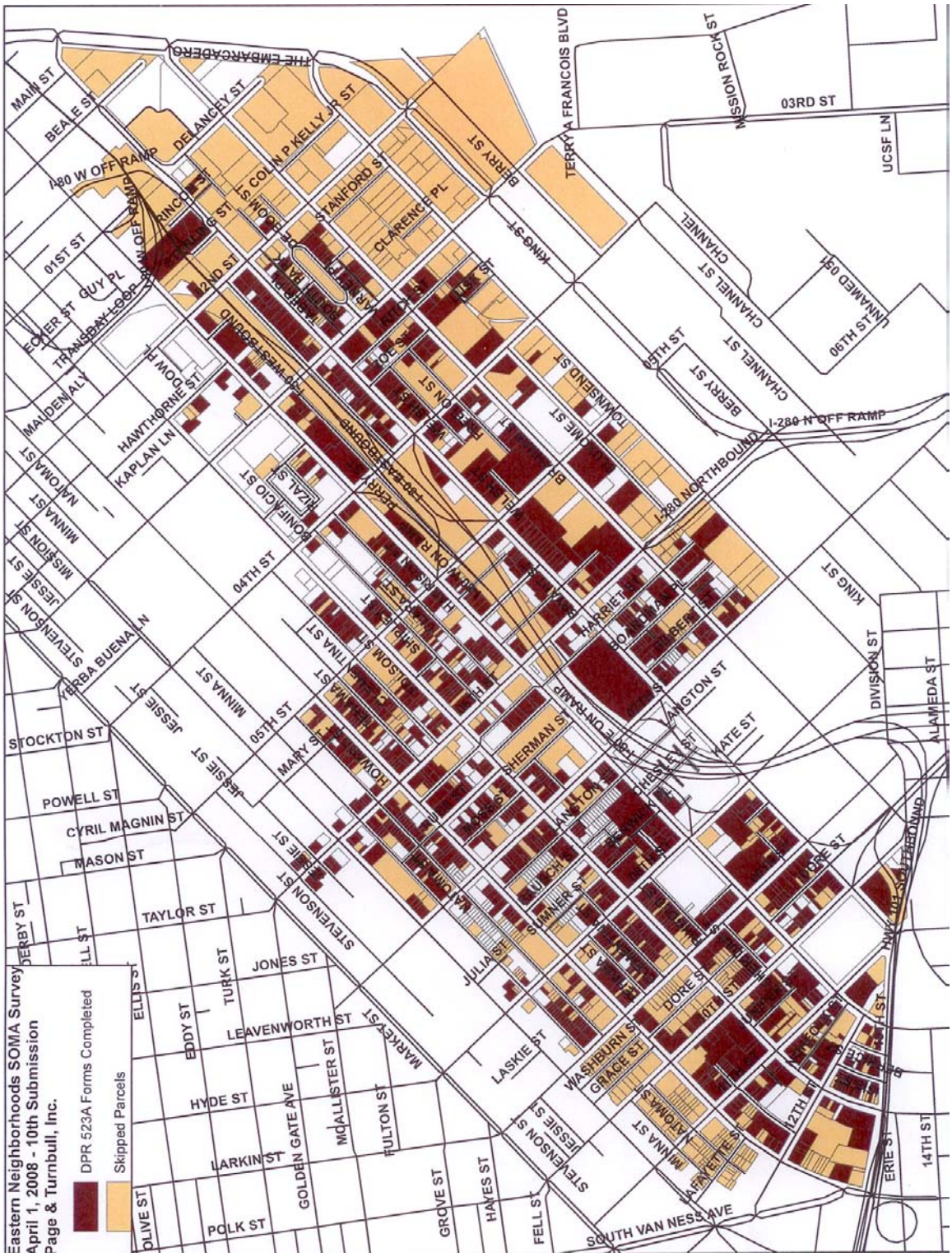

Figure 2. Survey Area
Source: Page & Turnbull, 2008

C. IDENTIFICATION OF HISTORIC CONTEXTS AND PERIODS OF SIGNIFICANCE

The South of Market Area embodies several important historical contexts. The most important of these is the post-1906 Earthquake Reconstruction, with a period spanning the years 1906-1929. During this period, the South of Market Area largely assumed its dominant physical character of low- and mid-rise masonry loft buildings and associated enclaves of frame dwellings and residential hotels. With certain notable exceptions such as the Old Mint and the U.S. Post Office/Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals, the South of Market Area was almost entirely destroyed during the 1906 Earthquake and Fire, including a substantial residential community. Residential uses, once prominently featured throughout the South of Market Area, were confined to large residential hotels built along Mission, Howard, and 6th streets and frame flats built along narrow interior alleys in the southwestern part of the neighborhood.[5] During the immediate post-quake period of 1906-13, insurance settlements led to the construction of new and in some cases, reconstructed light industrial buildings such as stables and warehouses. Another building boom occurred during the early-to-mid-1920s. During this period, industrialists and developers constructed hundreds of concrete, two- and three-story industrial loft buildings on the remaining empty lots, largely building out the South of Market Area by 1929.

The next important context is the era comprising the Depression and World War II, spanning the years 1929-1945. Long home to seamen and other maritime workers, migrant farm laborers, and other itinerant workers, the South of Market Area became a destination for thousands of war workers. Unlike earlier generations of laborers who were mostly white, many of the newcomers during this period were African-American, Latino, or Asian. Still others were native-born White and Native American refugees from the Dust Bowl-afflicted Southwest. Similar to earlier waves, the newcomers were mostly single males. Large numbers doubled and tripled-up in the residential hotels and flats of the South of Market Area. The 1930s, and to a lesser degree the 1940s, were a period of labor strife. As an area inhabited by thousands of single male workers, many of whom laboring in newly unionized industries, the South of Market Area became a hotbed of union activism, culminating with the 1934 Waterfront and General strikes.

A third important context is the postwar era. Beginning with demobilization in 1945, this era spans 45 years, culminating with Redevelopment during the 1970s and 1980s. Aside from the inevitable job losses associated with the closure of war plants, the immediate postwar period did not see great changes in the South of Market Area. For a decade or more it remained much as it had been—a largely industrial area inhabited by single male workers of various ethnicities trying to get by. By the late 1950s, many of the traditional blue collar industries had begun to close or relocate elsewhere and unemployment increased. Worsening poverty rates led to a perception of social breakdown, giving the city's leaders and developers a pretext for its redevelopment. Initially conceived in the mid-1950s by developer Ben Swig, the San Francisco Redevelopment Agency's Yerba Buena Center Area Plan led to the demolition of dozens of residential hotels and the displacement of thousands of residents. Although lawsuits extracted some concessions for the displaced, the damage to the South of Market Area's social fabric was largely completed. Throughout the 1970s and early 1980s, the fate of the transitional area remained in limbo, keeping rents cheap. This factor, combined with the social and physical isolation of the area from the rest of the city, attracted populations on the margins of mainstream America, such as artists, immigrants, radicals, and gays.

The fourth and final context is ongoing, consisting of the Dot-com and Real Estate booms of the 1990s and 2000s that have transformed the South of Market Area from the "workshop of San Francisco" into the increasingly upscale commercial and residential environment that exists today. The transformation of South of Market Area into an affluent residential and commercial district is concurrent with the transformation of the Embarcadero and the Northeast Waterfront to recreational uses. Other notable catalysts of the ongoing transformation of South of Market Area,

[5] Sanborn Fire Insurance Company Maps for San Francisco, California: 1899-1900 and 1913-15.

particularly the eastern portion, include modern Redevelopment Agency projects (which are more sensitive to existing buildings and populations than early projects were), the Giants ballpark, and light rail extensions.

II. METHODOLOGY

KVP prepared this *Historic Context Statement* for Page & Turnbull, Inc. In 2007, in advance of preparing this report and its attachments, Page & Turnbull consulted with the San Francisco Planning Department to obtain copies of Section 106 reports and other environmental compliance reports, DPR 523 A and B forms for properties within the South of Market Area, as well as other relevant planning documents and studies. Useful research repositories consulted include the San Francisco Public Library, the San Francisco History Center, the California Historical Society, the Mechanic's Institute, the California Historic Resource Information System (CHRIS), the San Francisco Office of the Assessor/Recorder, and the San Francisco Department of Building Inspection. This *Historic Context Statement* was reviewed in 2008 by San Francisco Planning Department staff and the Landmarks Preservation Advisory Board (LPAB) and revised accordingly. In 2009, KVP further revised the document to include historic documentation gathered by Page & Turnbull during their SOMA Area Plan Historic Resource Survey as well as incorporating additional data from KVP archives. This document was further reviewed by Page & Turnbull and the San Francisco Planning Department and revised accordingly.

III. IDENTIFICATION OF EXISTING SURVEYS, STUDIES AND REPORTS

A. HERE TODAY

The earliest major historic resources survey completed in San Francisco was The Junior League of San Francisco's *Here Today* survey, published in 1968 as *Here Today: San Francisco's Architectural Heritage*. The survey was adopted by the Board of Supervisors under Resolution No. 268-70 and contains information on approximately 2,500 properties within San Francisco County. The survey files compiled by the Junior League are available in the San Francisco History Center at the Main Library.[6] The *Here Today* Survey covered the South of Market Area but as a work that concentrated on distinguished architecture and sites associated with what the authors considered to be important events, the vernacular urban landscape of the South of Market Area was neglected. *Here Today* devotes a brief chapter to the South of Market Area, although for the purposes of the survey the authors considered the neighborhood to extend the extent of the entire eastern waterfront from Market Street south to the San Mateo County line. The book does list a handful of significant buildings within the South of Market Area, all four of which are 1906 Earthquake survivors: the Old U.S. Mint at 88 5th Street, the U.S. Post Office and Court of Appeals at 7th and Mission streets, St. Patrick's Church at 756 Mission Street, and the Audiffred Building at 11 Mission Street. Only one industrial building is included—the PG & E Jessie Street Substation at 222-6 Jessie—most likely because it was designed by architect Willis K. Polk.

B. 1976 CITYWIDE ARCHITECTURAL SURVEY

Between 1974 and 1976, the San Francisco Planning Department conducted a citywide inventory of architecturally significant buildings. An advisory review committee of architects and architectural historians assisted in determining final ratings for the roughly 10,000 buildings surveyed. The unpublished survey consists of sixty volumes of survey data on file at the San Francisco Planning Department. Both contemporary and older buildings were surveyed, but historical associations were not considered. Typically each building was assigned a numerical rating ranging from "0" (contextual importance) to "5" (singular importance). The inventory assessed architectural significance only,

[6] San Francisco Planning Department, *San Francisco Preservation Bulletin No. 11: Historic Resource Surveys* (San Francisco: n.d.), 3.

which was identified as a combination of design features, urban design context, and overall environmental significance. Unlike most surveys, contemporary buildings were also assessed. When completed, the 1976 Architectural Survey was believed to represent the top 10 percent of the city's architecturally significant buildings.[7] In the estimation of survey participants, buildings rated "3" or better represent approximately the top two percent of the city's architecture. The survey was adopted by the Board of Supervisors under Resolution No. 7831 in 1977 and the Planning Department has been directed to use it, but the methodology is inconsistent with CEQA Guidelines PRC 5024.1(g).

C. San Francisco Architectural Heritage

San Francisco Architectural Heritage (Heritage) is the city's oldest not-for-profit organization dedicated to increasing awareness of and advocating for the preservation of San Francisco's unique architectural heritage. Heritage has sponsored several major architectural surveys in San Francisco, including Downtown, the Van Ness Corridor, Civic Center, Chinatown, the Northeast Waterfront, the Inner Richmond District, and Dogpatch. The most influential of these is the 1977-78 Downtown Survey. Completed for Heritage by Charles Hall Page & Associates and published in 1978 as *Splendid Survivors*, this survey contributed to the formulation of San Francisco's Downtown Plan. Heritage ratings, which range from A (highest importance) to D (minor or no importance), are analogous to Categories I-V of Article 11 of the San Francisco Planning Code, although the Planning Department uses its own methodology to reach its independent findings.

The Downtown Survey primarily consisted of an intensive-level survey of the Financial District, the Union Square Retail District, and the Market Street Corridor. These three districts comprise what was known as the primary survey area. A small portion of the South of Market Area fell within the primary survey area, encompassing the area bounded by Beale Street to the northeast, Mission Street to the southeast, 4th Street to the southwest, and Market Street to the northwest. In addition, the primary survey area included both sides of New Montgomery Street as far south as Howard Street. The areas described have historically been considered to be a southerly extension of the Financial District and share little in common with the surrounding light industrial and residential districts of the greater South of Market Area.

The Downtown Survey also included a secondary survey area encompassing the rest of downtown San Francisco, including Nob Hill, the Tenderloin, Civic Center, and the South of Market Area. Only the most individually significant properties were included in *Splendid Survivors*, with write ups consisting of a small photograph and a brief bit of text. Some examples of South of Market Area buildings included in the Downtown Survey include the Union Oil Company Building at 425 First Street (demolished 2004), the SFFD Pumping Station at 698 2nd Street, the China Basin Building at 185 Berry Street (altered), the Sailors' Union of the Pacific at 450 Harrison Street, the United States Post Office and Court of Appeals, St. Michael's Orthodox Church at 345 Seventh Street, and the Juvenile Court and Detention Home at 150 Otis Street. In total, 72 buildings in the South of Market Area were included in *Splendid Survivors*.

[7] San Francisco Planning Department, *San Francisco Preservation Bulletin No. 11: Historic Resource Surveys* (San Francisco: n.d.), 3.

D. ARTICLE 10 OF THE SAN FRANCISCO PLANNING CODE

San Francisco City Landmarks are buildings, properties, structures, sites, districts, and objects of "special character or special historical, architectural or aesthetic interest or value and are an important part of the City's historical and architectural heritage."[8] Adopted in 1967 as Article 10 of the San Francisco Planning Code, the San Francisco City Landmark program protects listed buildings from inappropriate alterations and demolitions through review by the San Francisco Historic Preservation Commission. These properties are important to the city's history and help to provide significant and unique examples of the past that are irreplaceable. In addition, these landmarks help to protect the surrounding neighborhood development and enhance the educational and cultural dimension of the city. The San Francisco Landmarks Designation process utilizes the National Register criteria as the basis of evaluation for historic buildings.

Currently, only a small fraction of the 259 city landmarks and eleven locally designated historic districts in San Francisco are located within the South of Market Area, and most of these are in Rincon Hill. Within the boundaries of the neighborhood there are seven individually designated city landmarks, including St. Patrick's Church (Landmark no. 3), the Palace Hotel at 2 New Montgomery Street (Landmark no. 18), the Jessie Street Substation (Landmark no. 87), the Oriental Warehouse at 650 Delancey (1st) Street (Landmark no. 101), St. Joseph's Church at 1401 Howard Street (Landmark no. 120), the Jackson Brewery Complex at 1475 Folsom Street (Landmark no. 199), and the James Lick Baths/People's Laundry Building at 165 10th Street (Landmark no. 246). In addition, there is one locally designated historic district: the South End Historic District. Comprised of roughly seventy individual properties, the primarily light industrial and warehouse district is roughly defined by Bryant, 1st, King, and 3rd streets. The South End Historic District was designated as a National Register historic district in November 2008.

E. ARTICLE 11 OF THE SAN FRANCISCO PLANNING CODE/DOWNTOWN AREA PLAN

The *Downtown Area Plan* is an element of the *San Francisco General Plan*. The *Downtown Area Plan* contains a set of objectives and policies to guide decisions affecting the city's downtown. According to the Plan, San Francisco's downtown is a vital part of the city, recognized for its "compact mix of activities, historical values, and distinctive architecture and urban forms that engender a special excitement reflective of a world city."[9] Objective 12 of the *Downtown Area Plan* specifically references the conservation of resources that provide evidence of continuity with San Francisco's past. [10] Historical development, as represented by both significant buildings and by areas of established character, must be preserved to provide a physical and material connection to San Francisco's history. In order to achieve these aims, the *Downtown Area Plan* has devised a rating system for evaluating historical resources. Based in part upon the methodology developed as part of Heritage's Downtown Survey, the *Downtown Area Plan* contains three major policies for encouraging sensitive development in the downtown area:

> 12.1 Preserve notable landmarks and areas of historic, architectural, or aesthetic value, and promote the preservation of other building and features that provide continuity with past development.
>
> 12.2 Use care in remodeling significant older buildings to enhance rather than weaken their original character.

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[8] San Francisco Planning Department, *Preservation Bulletin No. 9 – Landmarks* (San Francisco: January 2003).
[9] San Francisco Planning Department, *Downtown Area Plan* http://sfgov.org/planning/egp/dtown.htm (accessed 30 December 2006).
[10] *Ibid.*

12.3 Design new buildings to respect the character of older development nearby.[11]

As part of the implementation strategy for these policies, the Planning Department requires the retention of the highest quality buildings and preservation of their significant features. Thus, the *Downtown Area Plan* maintains a list of all "Significant" and "Contributory Buildings." "Significant Buildings" are resources with "the highest architectural and environmental importance; buildings whose demolition would constitute an irreplaceable loss to the quality and character of the downtown." The *Downtown Area Plan* includes 251 Significant Buildings with classifications of either Category I or Category II. These resources have the highest level of significance and may be sensitively altered depending on their category. Contributory Buildings are of a slightly lower level of significance and they are classified as belonging to either Category III or Category IV. Owners of Contributory Buildings are encouraged to retain them, but are not required to do so.[12] Unrated or non-contributory buildings are assigned to Category V. This category includes all other buildings in the C-3 Downtown District not otherwise designated.

An important provision of Article 11 is the establishment of conservation districts. Section 1103 of the San Francisco Planning Code defines conservation districts:

> Portions of the C-3 District may be designated as Conservation Districts if they contain substantial concentrations of buildings that together create sub areas of special architectural and aesthetic importance. Such areas shall contain substantial concentrations of Significant and Contributory Buildings and possess substantial overall architectural, aesthetic or historic qualities justifying additional controls in order to protect and promote those qualities.

There are presently six conservation districts located throughout downtown San Francisco; they include: the Kearny-Market-Mason-Sutter Conservation District, the New Montgomery-Second Street, the Commercial-Leidesdorff, the Front-California, the Kearny-Belden, and the Pine-Sansome conservation districts. The only conservation district located within the South of Market Area is the New Montgomery-Second Street Conservation District. Section 5 of Appendix F of Article 11 explains the justification for the establishment of this particular conservation district. It begins with a brief history of the district and a description of some of its most notable buildings. It concludes with an analysis of what makes the district unique, including its uniqueness within downtown San Francisco, its visual and functional unity, its significance as a southward extension of Montgomery Street south of Market Street, and other reasons that justify its preservation.

F. UNREINFORCED MASONRY BUILDING (UMB) SURVEY

In the wake of the 1989 Loma Prieta Earthquake, the San Francisco Landmarks Board initiated a survey of all known unreinforced-masonry buildings in San Francisco. Aware that earthquake damage and vulnerability to further seismic activity would result in the demolition or extensive alteration of many vulnerable masonry buildings, the Landmarks Board sought to establish the relative significance of all unreinforced-masonry buildings in San Francisco. The completed report: *A Context Statement and Architectural/Historical Survey of Unreinforced Masonry Building (UMB) Construction in San Francisco from 1850 to 1940*, was completed in 1990.

In total, the survey examined more than 2,000 privately owned buildings in San Francisco. The Landmarks Board organized the UMB Survey into three categories: Priority I, Priority II, and Priority

[11] *Ibid.*
[12] *Ibid.*

III UMBs. The California Office of Historic Preservation (OHP) evaluated the survey and made determinations of eligibility for listing in the National Register on many of the 2,000 buildings.[13]

G. 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 significance criteria 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 determined eligible for listing in the National Register:

> *Criterion A (Event):* Properties associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history;
>
> *Criterion B (Person):* 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 to American history or culture or as an example of important architecture, archaeology, or engineering. Properties can be significant at the national, state, or local level.

The San Francisco Planning Department treats National Register-listed properties as historic resources per CEQA. There are eight properties in the South of Market Area (excluding Rincon Hill) listed in the National Register: a building at 465 10th Street, Hale Brothers Department Store at 901 Market Street, the Jackson Brewing Company, the Jessie Street Substation, the Old U.S. Mint, St. Joseph's Church and Complex, and the U.S. Post Office and Courthouse. In addition, there are three National Register-listed historic districts within the South of Market. They include the Second and Howard Streets District, the South End Historic District, and a portion of the Market Street Theatre and Loft District.

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[13] San Francisco Planning Department, *San Francisco Preservation Bulletin No. 11: Historic Resource Surveys* (San Francisco: n.d.), 3.

H. 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-eligible properties are automatically listed in the California Register.[14] Properties can also be nominated to the California Register by local governments, private organizations, or citizens. This includes properties identified in historical resource surveys with Status Codes of "1" to "5," and resources designated as local landmarks through city or county ordinances. 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 (Event)*: 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 (Person)*: Resources that are associated with the lives of persons important to local, California, or national history.

- *Criterion 3 (Design/Construction)*: 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.

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.[15]

Properties listed in or determined eligible for listing in the National Register or contributors to National Register listed districts are automatically listed in the California Register

[14] National Register-eligible properties include properties that have been listed on the National Register and properties that have formally been found eligible for listing.
[15] 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

I. SECTION 106 AND OTHER TECHNICAL REPORTS

Within the past three decades, a number of Section 106 reviews, environmental impact reports (EIR) and City-mandated historic resource evaluation reports (HRER) have been prepared by various consultants as part of the environmental compliance for proposed projects within the South of Market Area. The volume of reports has increased in response to the large number of development projects, both private-market and not-for-profit, that have been proposed and constructed within the South of Market Area. According to Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, any Federal undertaking or any that makes use of Federal funds or that applies for a Federal license must "take into account the effect of the undertaking on any district, site, building, structure, or object that is included in or eligible for inclusion in the National Register."[16] Section 106 reports completed in the South of Market Area in recent years for several affordable housing developments include the 8th and Howard, 9th and Folsom, 275 10th Street, and 8th and Natoma Supportive Housing Projects.

Environmental review at the state level has been required since the inception of the California Environmental Quality Act (CEQA) in 1970. Modeled on the National Environmental Protection Act, CEQA was amended in 1992 to include historic resources as an aspect of the environment that may be affected by potential undertakings. Since 2003, the San Francisco Planning Department has required that project applicants prepare HREs and DPR 523 A and B forms for any property that falls within Category B—Properties Requiring Further Consultation and Review—as defined in Planning Department's *CEQA Review Procedures for Historic Resources* (Preservation Bulletin No. 16).

[16] Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act (16 U.S.C. 470f).

IV. HISTORIC CONTEXTS

A. PREHISTORIC AND EARLY CONTACT ERA: PRE-1776

Prior to the era of European contact, California was home to what author Malcolm Margolin has called "the densest Indian population anywhere north of Mexico."[17] It has been estimated that between 7,000 and 10,000 Native Americans inhabited the Bay Region. When the Spanish arrived during the last quarter of the eighteenth century they were amazed by the large number of villages dotted around the edge of San Francisco Bay. The Spanish named the people *costeños*, or "coastal peoples." Today the term Ohlone is preferred by their descendents. The Ohlone spoke several languages of the Utian language family. Although mutually unintelligible, their language was related to the Coast and Bay Miwok languages spoken by their neighbors north and east of San Francisco Bay. The Ohlone who lived within what is now San Francisco spoke a dialect called Ramaytush, which was probably intelligible to other Ohlone bands living as far away as the Santa Clara Valley and the East Bay.[18]

Ohlone society was based on the extended family unit, consisting on average of fifteen individuals. The next larger unit was the clan, consisting typically of several related families living together in one village. Families were divided into moieties—the Bear and the Deer—following typical practice of Native societies in California. Above the clan was the tribelet, which consisted of several villages, comprising around 400-500 people under a single headman selected by the people. Each tribelet functioned as an independent political unit, although tribelets would cooperate with one another in wartime and in food gathering.[19]

Figure 3. Ohlone fishing
Source: Bancroft Library

The Ohlone were semi-nomadic people who inhabited small seasonal villages near streams and tidal flats where they had ready access to fresh water and food sources such as waterfowl, fish, and various kinds of shellfish **(Figure 3)**. Hunting small terrestrial and marine mammals and gathering seeds, nuts, roots, shoots, and berries provided other important sources of nutrition within the Ohlone diet. Acorns provided one of the most important sources of nutrients to the Ohlone people as suggested by the presence of grinding rocks and *manos* and *metates* near many Ohlone settlements where oaks were present.[20]

The Ohlone had a rich material culture that made use of both the materials at hand as well as goods traded with inland tribes. Tules harvested from coastal marshes were used to build houses and make baskets and canoes. Logs were also utilized to make seafaring canoes used for trade, fishing, and hunting. The Ohlone manipulated stone and bone fragments to make arrowheads, scrapers, knives, spears, hooks, sewing needles, and other tools. Furs were used to create cold weather clothing and

[17] Malcolm Margolin, *The Ohlone Way* (San Francisco: Heyday Books, 1978), 1.
[18] Allen G. Pastron, Ph.D. and L. Dale Beevers, *From Bullfights to Baseball: Archaeological Research Design and Treatment Plan for the Valencia Gardens Hope VI Project* (Oakland: December 2002), 16.
[19] *Ibid.*, 17.
[20] *Ibid.*

bedding. The Ohlone were particularly adept at decorative basketwork and making personal ornaments such as necklaces, earrings from feathers, shells, bones and other materials.[21]

It is uncertain when the first humans settled in the San Francisco area. Colder and less hospitable than the Santa Clara Valley or the East Bay, the area that is now San Francisco was probably settled at a later date than surrounding areas. The early history of the Ohlone is difficult to ascertain due to the fact that many prehistoric sites have probably been built over or destroyed to make way for buildings during various phases of the city's history. The earliest known occupation sites in San Francisco have been radio-carbon dated to about 5,000 to 5,500 years ago, and prehistoric middens containing both burials and artifacts have been dated to 2,000 years ago.[22]

According to several sources, the northern part of the San Francisco Peninsula was located within the Yelamu tribal territory of the Ohlone. The closest Ohlone village to what is now the South of Market Area was called *Chutchui* and it was located on Mission Creek, probably not far from Mission Dolores. The people who lived at *Chutchui* would move seasonally to another village on San Francisco Bay called *Sitlintac* to harvest shellfish on the tidal flats of what is now the Mission Bay area. The exact location of either village is not known but both were within a mile of the South of Market Area. Inhabitants of *Chutchui* probably hunted and gathered within the confines of what is now the South of Market Area, especially within the low-lying and swampy southwestern section.[23] The first Europeans to encounter the village of *Chutchui* and its inhabitants were members of Lieutenant Joaquin Moraga's settlement party who arrived in what is now San Francisco to establish Mission Dolores and the Presidio of San Francisco in October 1776.

Although there were no known Ohlone settlements in what is now the South of Market Area, this is not to say that there never were any. Unfortunately, most of the neighborhood had been extensively disturbed long before there was much interest in the prehistoric archaeology of California. Test bores and excavations for new buildings have encountered some significant prehistoric materials. In 1977, a test bore made at the corner of 3rd and Folsom streets revealed an obsidian scraper about 20 feet below the surface. In addition, in 1986, the archaeological firm Archeo-Tech excavated two previously unknown deeply buried shell mounds near the intersections of 1st and Mission and 5th and Mission streets. A third shell midden and 11 human burials were found in another excavation in the South of Market Area near 4th and Howard streets.[24]

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[21] *Ibid.*, 18.
[22] *An Unvanished Story: 5,500 Years of History in the Vicinity of Seventh & Mission Streets, San Francisco* (Unpublished paper prepared by the Southeast Archaeological Center (National Park Center), http://www.cr.nps.gov/seac/sfprehis.htm (accessed December 30, 2006).
[23] Allen G. Pastron, Ph.D. and L. Dale Beevers, *From Bullfights to Baseball: Archaeological Research Design and Treatment Plan for the Valencia Gardens Hope VI Project* (Oakland: unpublished report, December 2002), 18.
[24] *Ibid.*, 23.

B. EUROPEAN SETTLEMENT – SPANISH AND MEXICAN PERIODS: 1776-1846

Spanish Period (1776-1821)
The first known party of European explorers to encounter San Francisco Bay arrived in 1769 under the leadership of Don Gaspar de Portolá. An agent of the *Visitador General* of Spain, Portolá was instructed to "take possession and fortify the ports of San Diego and Monterey in Alta California."[25] In search of Monterey Bay, which they failed to recognize, the party strayed north to the San Francisco Peninsula and inadvertently came upon San Francisco Bay. Blocked from going any further north by the Golden Gate, the party explored the San Francisco Peninsula. In 1775, Spanish authorities decided to establish a military post and mission in what is now San Francisco. The location of two was determined by an expedition led by Lieutenant-Colonel Juan Bautista de Anza and Fr. Pedro Font in early 1776. Fray Font described his impressions of the San Francisco Peninsula and the Bay Region:

> From this table land (mesa) one enjoys a most delicious view, for there one observes a good part of the bay and its islands as far as the other side, and one has a view of the ocean as far as the farallones. In fact, although, so far as I have traveled, I have seen very good places and beautiful lands, I have yet seen none that pleased me so much as this. I do believe that, if it could be well populated, as in Europe, there would be nothing more pretty in the world; for this place has the best accommodations for founding on it a most beautiful city, inasmuch as the desirable facilities exist as well on the land as on the sea, the port being exceptional or capacious for dockyards, docks, and whatever could be wanted.[26]

Later that year, *Misíon San Francisco de Asís* (later called Mission Dolores) and the *Presidio de San Francisco* were established by Father Francisco Palou and Lieutenant Joaquín Moraga, respectively. The first mass was held in a brush chapel on June 29, 1776, near *Laguna de Nuestra Señora de los Dolores*, a brackish lagoon linked to Mission Bay. A more permanent adobe mission was completed in September 1776. Work on the third and final mission church began in 1782 on its present site.[27]

What is now the South of Market Area was by all accounts a beautiful place during the early days of Spanish and Mexican occupation. A traveler disembarking at Yerba Buena Cove would have initially encountered a pristine white pebble beach backed by towering sand dunes. Traveling westward would have taken the visitor over to a small lake sheltered beneath oaks in the vicinity of 2nd and Minna streets. Looming to the south would have been Rincon Hill, studded in oaks and coastal scrub and rising over 150' above San Francisco Bay. From this hill, the visitor could see Yerba Buena Cove and the much of San Francisco Bay to the south. To the northwest, the traveler would have seen a narrow lush valley filled with oaks and willows. Later called Happy Valley, this declivity was sheltered from the fierce afternoon winds and fog behind steep sand hills. Just south of Happy Valley was another valley later called Pleasant Valley. Moving westward from Rincon Hill, the traveler would eventually reach a large marsh in the area presently bounded by Mission, 4th, Folsom, and 10th streets. The marsh, which drained into Mission Bay via a network of creeks, was reportedly filled with thickets and droves of ducks and other waterfowl.

Mexican Period (1821-1846)
In 1821, Mexico declared its independence from Spain, taking with it the remote frontier territory of Alta (upper) California. In contrast to Spain, Mexico adopted a relatively enlightened policy toward

[25] Z.S. Eldredge, *The Beginnings of San Francisco, from the Expedition of Anza, 1774 to the City Charter of April 15, 1850* (San Francisco: self-published, 1912), 31.
[26] Z. Engelhardt, O.F.M., *San Francisco or Mission Dolores* (Chicago: Franciscan Herald Press, 1934), 38.
[27] Allen G. Pastron, Ph.D. and L. Dale Beevers, *From Bullfights to Baseball: Archaeological Research Design and Treatment Plan for the Valencia Gardens Hope VI Project* (Oakland: unpublished report, December 2002), 32.

foreign trade and settlement, encouraging Mexican and foreign settlers to settle the sparsely populated territory. Following the Mexican government's decision to secularize the Franciscan missions in 1833, settlers began acquiring the ex-mission lands and forming vast cattle ranchos. The rancheros produced prodigious amounts of tanned cattle hides and tallow, products both in demand in the United States and England, and as a result, increasing numbers of foreign traders began making San Francisco Bay a port of call. Most anchored in Yerba Buena Cove, an excellent natural anchorage protected from wind and storms by Rincon Point and Clark's Point. Here traders would set up temporary camps while trading manufactured goods for hides and tallow.[28]

Before long, ambitious entrepreneurs like naturalized Mexican citizen William A. Richardson began building permanent structures at Yerba Buena Cove. Richardson made his living transporting goods across the bay and supplying foreign whalers and traders with wood and water. In 1835, he built the first known structure at Yerba Buena Cove, described by author and sailor Richard Henry Dana as a "rough board shack." Replaced a year later by an adobe structure named "Casa Grande," Richardson's store and home became the nucleus of what would become the Pueblo of Yerba Buena.[29]

Between 1835 and 1841, the tiny isolated outpost on the fringes of the North American continent continued to attract settlers. In 1841, Eugène Duflot de Mofras, a French visitor to Yerba Buena, described the settlement as consisting of some 20 houses grouped around Yerba Buena Cove. Most belonged to foreigners and naturalized Mexican citizens engaged in trade with the American, Russian, and British ships that came into the bay in search of hides and tallow. Businesses in Yerba Buena included a grocery store owned by a former sea captain named Jean Jacques Vioget, two grog shops, a blacksmith's shop, and three carpenter shops.[30]

Initially bereft of a town plan, aside from a trail called *Calle de la Fundacíon*, the settlement of Yerba Buena grew haphazardly on the gradual slope rising up from the mud flats of Yerba Buena Cove. Cognizant that the village was growing too large for such an informal structure, *Alcalde* Francisco de Haro commissioned Jean Jacques Vioget, who evidently knew a bit about surveying, to prepare a map laying out streets and property lines in 1837. Vioget, probably inspired by the Spanish Laws of the Indies, laid out a small grid of streets surrounding a small plaza near Yerba Buena Cove. His survey covered the area bounded by Pacific Avenue and Montgomery, Sacramento, and Dupont (now Grant Avenue) streets. *Calle de la Fundacíon* (Montgomery Street), which lay closest to the water, remained the primary street of the settlement of approximately fifty residents.[31] By 1845, the gangly settlement had expanded beyond the confines of Vioget's survey, and *alcalde* José Sánchez ordered the expansion of the surveyed area, enlarging the confines of the settlement south to Sutter Street, west to Stockton Street, and north to Green Street.[32]

Meanwhile, forces beyond the borders of Alta California were conspiring to upset the easy status quo that had grown up between the Mexican government and foreign traders. It was no secret that England, France, and Russia, all had interest in Alta California. England's claims dated back to Sir Francis Drake's winter stay over at Drake's Bay in 1579. Meanwhile, the Russians had established an outpost at Fort Ross in 1812. France too sought to resurrect its North American empire. Such ambitions worried the American authorities in Washington, D.C. One of the foremost stated arguments for America acquiring California was that many Americans had already settled there. In addition to safeguarding its overseas American citizens, many Americans believed in the idea of

[28] Oscar Lewis, *San Francisco: Mission to Metropolis* (San Diego: Howell-North Books, rev. ed. 1980), 22.
[29] *Ibid.*, 23.
[30] *Ibid.*, 25.
[31] *Ibid.*, 27.
[32] *Ibid.*, 28.

Manifest Destiny, whereby the United States was honor-bound to occupy the North American continent from the Atlantic to the Pacific oceans. San Francisco Bay, with its tremendous natural harbor and proximity to Asia, was particularly valued by America.[33]

Mexican American War
From 1835 on, the American government initiated negotiations with the Mexican government to acquire California. Mexico, understandably not anxious to dispense with its northern territory, rebuffed American overtures. In 1845, James K. Polk assumed the presidency and events came to a head. Spurred on by American incursions across the Rio Grande in Texas and the Bear Flag Revolt – both in 1846 – war broke out between the United States and Mexico on May 12, 1846. After a year of fighting, the Mexican government capitulated. On February 2, 1848, the two nations signed the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo, by which Mexico ceded 525,000 square miles of its northern territory to the United States (including all of what are now the states of California, Nevada and Utah, and parts of Wyoming, Colorado, New Mexico, and Arizona) in return for a lump sum payment of $15 million and the assumption of $3.5 million of debts Mexico owed to citizens of the United States.

Throughout this time of conflict and confusion, the village of Yerba Buena remained largely detached from the troubles. On the eve of the American conquest, the population was probably around 850 people occupying approximately 200 structures.[34] The pueblo played little part in the American conquest. As a community comprised mostly of naturalized and assimilated Mexican citizens, residents of Yerba Buena may have had little sympathy for the motives of the more recent American arrivals in rebelling against the Mexican government. Nevertheless, on July 9, 1846, Captain John B. Montgomery landed at Yerba Buena and raised the American flag above the Custom House at Portsmouth Square and Mexican rule in Yerba Buena came to an end without a shot.[35] On August 26, 1846, Captain Montgomery named Lieutenant Washington A. Bartlett as the first American *alcalde*, or mayor, of Yerba Buena. His appointment was approved by the pueblo's roughly one thousand voters in elections held on September 15, 1846.

Early Building Activity in the South of Market Area
From documentary and archaeological data, it seems unlikely that there was any sustained activity in what is now the South of Market Area during either the Spanish or Mexican periods. Early accounts do reference occasional hunting, fishing, or picnicking expeditions in what is now the South of Market Area, and it is also likely that Mexican or Californio vaqueros may have grazed sheep or cattle in the valleys to the west of Rincon Hill. However, cultural remains that may be attributable to this era would have been limited to isolated items discarded or lost within a generally seldom traveled place.[36] The area had few if any settlers, in part because one-third of it lay underwater or as marshland and much of the rest was occupied by sand dunes. The first recorded structure on Rincon Hill was erected in 1846, the year that the American government first occupied California. As part of an overall reinforcement of San Francisco Bay, the U.S. Army designated Rincon Hill a military reserve and installed a battery armed with 32-pound cannons on the summit.

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[33] *Ibid.*, 29
[34] Allen G. Pastron, Ph.D., *869 Folsom Street, San Francisco, California: Archival Cultural Resources Evaluation* (Albany, CA: unpublished report, September 1990), 20.
[35] Oscar Lewis, *San Francisco: Mission to Metropolis* (San Diego: Howell-North Books, rev. ed. 1980), 41.
[36] Allen G. Pastron, Ph.D., *869 Folsom Street, San Francisco, California: Archival Cultural Resources Evaluation* (Albany, CA: unpublished report, September 1990), 17.

C. EARLY AMERICAN SETTLEMENT: LAND SUBDIVISION AND EARLY DEVELOPMENT: 1847-1865

On January 30, 1847, Alcalde Bartlett announced in the *California Star* that henceforth Yerba Buena would be known as San Francisco. Shortly thereafter, he hired an Irish immigrant named Jasper O'Farrell to resurvey the settlement. O'Farrell's plan, which enlarged the city to almost 800 acres, extended the pueblo boundaries south to Post Street, west to Leavenworth Street, north to Francisco Street, and some distance eastward into Yerba Buena Cove. Anticipating the need for a more direct route from the fast-growing city to Mission Dolores, he laid out a one-hundred-foot-wide thoroughfare that ran southwest from Yerba Buena Cove to the vicinity of the mission. Due to the relative position of both settlements, combined with the need to avoid the marshlands in the South of Market Area, O'Farrell laid out the new street, Market Street, on a diagonal alignment. O'Farrell also created another grid south of Market Street. These blocks, which lay parallel to Market Street, were called the "100-Vara Survey" in reference to their dimensions. O'Farrell laid them out to be four times larger than the "50-Vara Survey" north of Market Street. The different size of the blocks meant that the north-south streets of the two opposing grids did not align, hampering direct communication between the two street grids.[37]

O'Farrell's plan superimposed a grid of "paper" streets across all varieties of topography in the South of Market Area, with arrow-straight streets extending over the 150-foot outcropping of Rincon Hill and into the tidal flats of Mission Bay and Yerba Buena Cove. The *Original and Authentic Plan of San Francisco*, published in 1847, illustrates the original street grid of the South of Market Area. From Yerba Buena Cove west to 1st Street, the street grid replicated the 50 Vara Survey north of Market Street but from 1st Street west to 5th Street, O'Farrell adhered to the larger blocks of the 100-Vara Survey. This map shows that the grid initially ended at 5th Street, where it encountered vast tidal marshes **(Figure 4)**.

Gold Rush

The discovery of gold at Sutter's Mill in January 1848 brought on an unprecedented population explosion in San Francisco and the South of Market Area. News of the discovery of gold moved slowly at first; it was not until May 1848 when the exuberant publisher of the *California Star,* Sam Brannan began striding through the streets of San Francisco crying out "Gold! Gold! on the American River!" that people began to take notice. The news quickly spread to ports in Central and South America, and eventually to Europe and the East Coast of the United States. By the end of 1848 and early 1849, thousands of gold-seekers from all over the world—dubbed "Forty-niners"—began making their way to San Francisco. Between 1846 and 1852, the population of San Francisco grew from fewer than one thousand people to almost thirty-five thousand.[38]

[37] Oscar Lewis, *San Francisco: Mission to Metropolis* (San Diego: Howell-North Books, rev. ed. 1980), 43.
[38] Rand Richards, *Historic San Francisco. A Concise History and Guide* (San Francisco: Heritage House Publishers, 2001), p. 77.

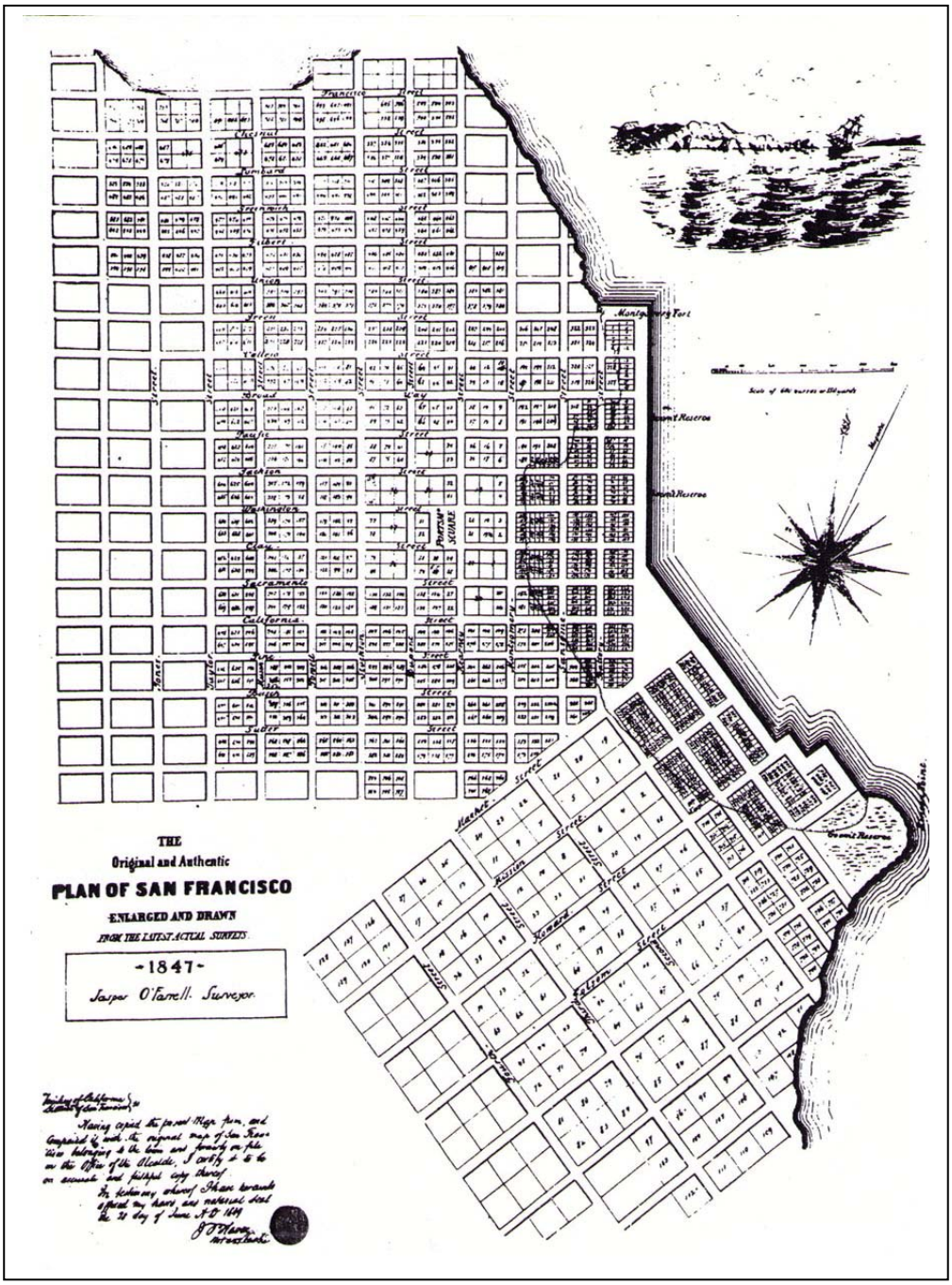

Figure 4. Official and Authentic Plan of San Francisco, 1847
Source: San Francisco History Center, San Francisco Public Library

One consequence of population growth was the rapid increase in value of real estate as land close to Portsmouth Square came under increasing demand for stores, houses, gambling halls, theaters and saloons. A lot facing Portsmouth Square worth $16.50 in the spring of 1847 sold for $6,000 in late spring 1848, and resold for $45,000 by the end of the year.[39] Development quickly expanded outward from Portsmouth Square. Initially, settlement was hemmed in by significant physical barriers. To the east was Yerba Buena Cove, a shallow tidal mud flat that was gradually filled in during the 1850s. Rising steeply to the north and west were Telegraph and Nob Hills and to the south were the massive sand dunes south of Market Street.

Happy Valley

Despite the physical impediments to growth, it did not take long for the Forty-niners to take possession of habitable sections of the South of Market. As early as 1851, the beach at the foot of 1st Street, which had deep water access, became the location of several boatyards, giving the area the name Steamboat Point.[40] Protected from the harsh onshore winds, the South of Market Area enjoyed some of the sunniest weather in San Francisco. A protected valley in the middle of the sand dunes bounded by Market, Howard, 1st, and 2nd streets soon became known as "Happy Valley" among pioneer miners who erected tents and temporary wood houses in the area.[41] Soon, another valley to the south bounded by Howard, Folsom, 1st, and 2nd streets, became a secondary squatter settlement known as Pleasant Valley. Forty-niner George F. Kent remembered the settlements:

> A part of the city worthy of notice is Happy Valley so called—a large collection of tents pitched in a valley near the beach which may contain two thousand inhabitants, mostly new comers waiting to go to the mines…These locate in Happy Valley wherever they see fit. Any attempt to collect rent (there have been several such attempts made) is rejected as absurd. There appears to be a regular FREE SOIL movement carried out into pretty effectual operation, for half a mile above there any piece of land large enough to pitch a decent sized tent will rent for a very high price. In the valley, a variety of trades are carried on and there are a number of small shops with the sale of small articles and liquor.[42]

The settlers who settled in Happy and Pleasant valleys happened to have pitched their tents and shacks on land recently purchased by the business partners W.D.M. Howard and Henry Mellus, and Joseph L. Folsom. These men apparently struggled with squatters/settlers on their property. Eventually, Howard did manage to collect rents on his holdings with assistance from the San Francisco Police Department.[43]

The character of the South of Market—still known in the local press as Happy Valley—continued to evolve very quickly during the Gold Rush era. By the summer of 1850, residents were starting to erect permanent stores and houses in the vicinity of First and Mission streets. An early settler, Stephen Sears Smith, described his own business and abode:

> I have a regular grocery store, with one corner parted off in which there is a good bed and where I sleep as sound as one need (sic) to …The building is about ten feet from the water and on one side is a pile of Boards and on the other is a pile of Shingles. It is at the foot of Mission Street "Happy Valley" which is on the side of

[39] Oscar Lewis, *San Francisco: Mission to Metropolis* (San Diego: Howell-North Books, rev. ed. 1980), 55.
[40] Roger Olmsted and T.H. Watkins, *Here Today: San Francisco's Architectural Heritage* (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1968), 92.
[41] *Ibid.*
[42] Allen Pastron, *The Archaeology of 100 First Plaza, San Francisco, California* (unpublished report prepared by Archeo-Tec for the Barker Interests Limited, n.d.), 17.
[43] *Ibid.*, 19.

> the city where most of the people live in tents…We have a tent where we cook and eat.[44]

Many personal accounts testify to the incredible growth of Happy Valley during the early years of the Gold Rush; especially prominent are recollections of those who had initially settled in the area, gone off to the gold fields, and returned subsequently to find no sign of where they had pitched their tents. One such account by Samuel Upham describes Happy Valley upon his return from the Gold Fields:

> San Francisco, during my absence of two months, had become so changed that I scarcely recognized it. Substantial frame buildings had superseded frail canvas tenements, and piers had been extended many hundred yards into the bay, at which vessels from the four quarters of the globe were discharging their cargoes. I visited the gold-diggers' encampment, Happy Valley, but that too was so changed, that I could scarcely recognize a familiar spot or countenance. A three story warehouse was being erected on the spot where I had pitched my tent two months previously. The saw and hammer of the carpenter could be heard in every square, and the voice of the crier and auctioneer at the corner of nearly every street.[45]

Grading and Filling Operations

The transformation of the South of Market Area from a temporary camp of gold miners into a permanent residential neighborhood integrated with the rest of the city required Herculean efforts. First, the sand dunes that divided Happy Valley from Portsmouth Square had to be removed. Prior to the adoption of the "steam paddy" in 1852, the laborious task of shoveling sand into wheelbarrows and wagons was undertaken by manual laborers, many of whom were of Irish descent. The clearing of the last major sand dunes occurred by the end of 1858, although sand removal continued into the 1870s. J.S. Hittell described the work:

> [The steam paddy] at one move would dig up a cubic yard of sand or gravel (or nearly twice as much as could be hauled by a single horse and cart) and then swing it round by a crane over a railway car into which the load was discharged. The steam paddy was at work from 1852 till 1854, and from 1858 till 1873 almost constantly, sometimes moving two-thousand acres of it that needed leveling.[46]

The sand and gravel was taken to Yerba Buena Cove and used as fill by horse-drawn carts or railroad cars.

The removal of the sand hills allowed street grading to continue in the South of Market. Due to the sandy and sometimes swampy nature of the ground, many of the early streets were paved with thick wood planks laid on the ground. This work was expensive and the City fathers granted franchises to entrepreneurs who would be allowed to charge tolls once the work was completed for a defined period of time. Accordingly, in November 1850, the City awarded Charles Wilson a franchise to construct a plank road between downtown San Francisco and Mission Dolores along Mission Street.[47]

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[44] Letter from Stephen Sears Smith (April 28, 1850).
[45] Diary of Samuel Upham (1857), 257.
[46] J.S. Hittell, *A History of the City of San Francisco and Incidentally the State of California* (San Francisco: A.L. Bancroft Co., 1878), 438.
[47] Gladys Hansen, *San Francisco Almanac* (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1975), 36.

Early Industrial Development
As early as 1850, the South of Market Area was well on its way to becoming San Francisco's primary industrial district. Important pioneer foundries such as Union Iron Works, Vulcan Iron Works, Sutter Iron Works, the Alta Foundry, and Pacific Iron Works set up shop on the waterfront, which at that time—before major filling occurred—was located along First Street. During the Gold Rush era, this compact industrial district served as the most productive industrial zone on the West Coast, manufacturing mining equipment and machinery, steam engines and boilers, water wheels, gearing and mill work, and steamboat repairing.[48] Ironically, it was the frequent conflagrations that periodically broke out in San Francisco that gave sustenance to the pioneer iron foundry business. In 1849, the high cost of raw materials (most of which would have to be imported from the East Coast) made iron foundry work economically infeasible. The six major fires that broke out in San Francisco between 1850 and 1851 reduced much of the original pueblo to scrap. It was the iron scrap—remains of wood stoves, safes, and prefabricated iron walls and shutters—that foundries purchased for next to nothing and converted into valuable finished goods. By 1875, there were forty-two foundries operating in the South of Market; together they supplied the entire West Coast with mining equipment, heavy machinery, and other manufactured goods.[49]

The industrialization of the South of Market Area was the result of several factors. The first was the district's proximity to the piers and wharves of the waterfront, through which passed virtually all of San Francisco's trade with the rest of country and the world. Also important for the South of Market's industrial future were the large 100-Vara Survey blocks laid out by O'Farrell. The streets were also flatter and wider (30 varas wide) than north of Market (where they were 25 varas wide), making the transportation of goods via wagon and eventually train and truck much easier. The wide streets and proximity to the bay also provided a means of fire protection in a city that experienced major fires every year or two.[50] Beyond the primary streets such as Mission, Howard and Folsom, the large 100-vara blocks south of Market Street were interlaced by a network of smaller back streets and alleys such as Jessie, Tehama, and Annie streets, which assisted in the industrial development of the area by providing light traffic areas in which to load and unload goods. There are no above-ground resources remaining from this period of development.

Early Residential Development
By no means did the South of Market Area (the core of which was still known as Happy Valley) evolve into a monolithic industrial neighborhood in the years following the Gold Rush. Before the introduction of cheap and efficient public transit, most industrial workers walked to work. Consequently, residential uses were developed in conjunction with industrial facilities. The residential character of much of the district was such that by 1852 the area was known as the city's chief residential district.

Before the introduction of Andrew Hallidie's cable car lines in 1873, the steep slopes of Nob and Russian Hills discouraged all but the hardiest individuals from walking up and down these hills, although there was historically a working-class residential community on Telegraph Hill. Consequently, the level South of Market Area became a magnet for housing for all social classes. Much of the area was developed with pre-fabricated wood houses from New England and even a few from China. In November 1849, twenty-five prefabricated clapboard cottages made in Boston arrived in San Francisco on the *Oxnard* for merchant William Howard. Howard sold half of the houses to Joseph L. Folsom who placed them along Mission near 3rd Street. Other prefabricated houses went up along Howard and Folsom Street and along the narrow mid-block alleys like Minna,

[48] James M. Parker's San Francisco City Directory 1852-53 (San Francisco: James M. Parker, 1852-53).
[49] Allen G. Pastron, Ph.D., *869 Folsom Street, San Francisco, California: Archival Cultural Resources Evaluation* (Albany, CA: unpublished report, September 1990), 25.
[50] *San Francisco Picayune* (June 16, 1851).

Tehama, and Natoma streets.[51] In 1850, John C. Frémont and his wife Jessie Benton Fremont took up residence in a Chinese-made prefabricated house in Happy Valley. Charles Frémont described the house:

> It was put up without nails, except the shingling on the roof, all the rest fitting in together like a puzzle, and was of pretty smooth wood, making a very good temporary lodging…Our little house had but two rooms, but they were large and clean.[52]

Early photographs of the South of Market Area illustrate a landscape of unpaved streets, remnant sand hills, and pockets of gable-roofed wood-frame cottages and two-story dwellings. Commercial buildings and churches are also present, interspersed among the dwellings. **(Figure 5)**.

There are no above-ground resources remaining from this period of development.

Figure 5. View from 2nd and Folsom streets, 1856
Source: San Francisco History Center, San Francisco Public Library

[51] Charles Lockwood, "South of the Slot," *San Francisco Sunday Examiner and Chronicle* (June 10, 1979), 75.
[52] John C. Frémont, *Memories of My Life: including in the narrative five journeys of western exploration* (Chicago: Belford, Clarke & Co., 1886), 96.

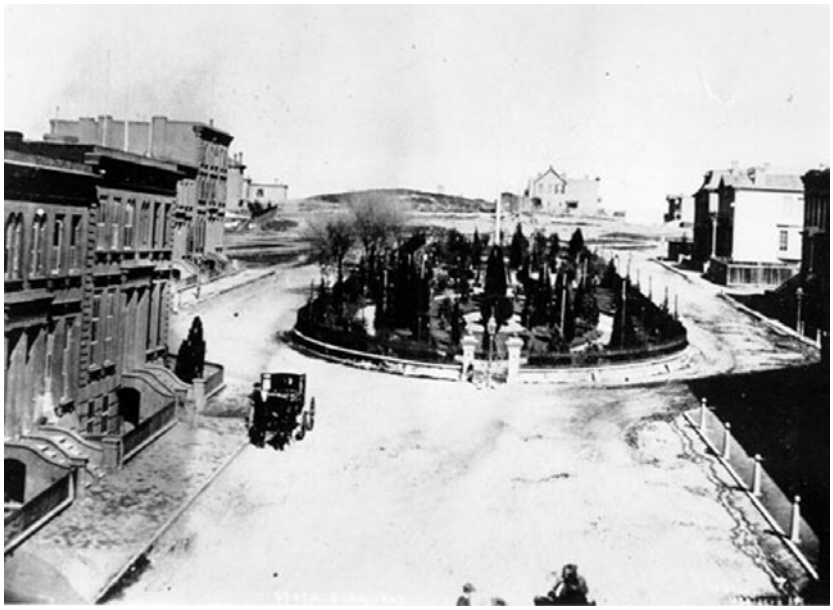

Figure 6. South Park, 1860s
Source: San Francisco History Center, San Francisco Public Library

South Park and Rincon Hill

One of the city's first residential enclaves for wealthy San Franciscans was also located in the South of Market Area, at South Park and on the southern slope of Rincon Hill. Attracted by the area's pleasant climate, panoramic views, and proximity to downtown, Englishman George Gordon started purchasing lots between Bryant and Brannan and 2nd and 3rd Streets in 1852. He described this area at "the only level spot of land free from sand in the city's limits."[53] It was just south of Rincon Hill, the elite neighborhood at the time. Calling his development South Park, Gordon erected sturdy and luxurious brick townhouses arrayed in a crescent around the north side of the park in the manner of the residential "crescents" of London, New York, and Boston, where expensive masonry rowhouses were built around a gated lozenge-shaped park, to which only residents had keys **(Figure 6)**. In order to make a respectable and insulated neighborhood in San Francisco, Gordon prohibited uses other than housing, which included stores, warehouses, and saloons.[54]

Gordon selected George H. Goddard, Esq. (1817- 1906), a noted artist, surveyor, mapmaker, and architect, to develop the architectural designs for South Park. Gordon selected Goddard as architect of South Park in 1854 because he had previously laid out Holland Park Estate for Lord Holland in London.[55] Development of the oval garden began in 1854 when 1,000 young trees and shrubs, including elm trees, boxwoods, geraniums, and fuchsias, were planted.[56] The garden was 75 feet wide and 550 feet long, and surrounded by an ornamental railing. A Dutch windmill in the middle of the park pumped water for residents who paid a monthly fee for maintenance of the property. Later, the windmill was replaced with a fountain. Streets and sidewalks at South Park were the first in the city to be paved.[57] The City of San Francisco did not acquire the garden as a public park until 1897.

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[53] Albert Shumate, *Rincon Hill and South Park: San Francisco's Early Fashionable Neighborhood* (San Francisco: 1988), 30.
[54] Ibid.
[55] Ibid, 10.
[56] Ibid, 31.
[57] Jeanne Alexander, "South Park Revisited History," San Francisco Neighborhood Parks Council, Website accessed on September 15, 2008 from: http://www.sfnpc.org/southparkrevisitedhistory

The northwest section of South Park, near 3rd Street, was the first to be built. It was completed by the end of 1854. The section contained 17 rowhouses on lots 97 to 137 ½ feet deep, with frontages of only 20 ½ to 29 feet. Though San Francisco had abundant open space, the crowded rowhouse subdivision was thought to be desirable because it was located a distance away from the central part of the city, with its gambling, drinking, and prostituting establishments. Also, the distance and brick construction were considered less of a fire hazard. Most importantly, perhaps, it gave the residents "a sense of urbanity amid the sand hills that hemmed them in."[58] The compactness reminded them of the cities from which they originated. The houses were built of brick and stuccoed to resemble London's stone residential architecture. Architectural historian Harold Kirker classified them as the "severe English Roman style" with their uniform cornices and quoining. Each rowhouse had its own English rose garden and rear carriage house. Most of the homes were two stories in height with an English basement. The basement contained the dining room, kitchen, servant rooms, and pantries. The first floor contained parlors, and the second floor contained about five bedrooms. [59]

South Park did not flourish as Gordon had hoped, probably due to the economic downturn that afflicted California after the end of the Gold Rush, as well as the increasing industrial pollution from nearby 1st Street. Gordon optimistically predicted the entire four quarters of South Park would be completed by the end of 1855. However, the remaining sections took much longer to sell and develop. One factor in the slowing of sales was the depression California suffered in 1855, the year South Park opened. The first wave of the Gold Rush was reaching its end, but new mining technologies had yet to be implemented or invented. Gordon continued to advertise the sale of his lots and unfinished buildings in the other quadrants through at least 1864. South Park was never built out as planned; instead individuals constructed wood-frame dwellings and multi-family buildings around the south end of the park.[60] Today all that remains of the original pre-1906 South Park development is the ovoid park itself, and the street and lot patterns.

Another concentration of housing for affluent San Franciscans began to develop on the south slope of Rincon Hill. The relatively benign climate, combined with the good views from the 150' summit, inspired several of San Francisco's early mercantile leaders to construct large mansions on the hill's crest. Several of the most notable included John Parrott's Italianate-style residence at 620 Folsom Street (1854), the Milton S. Latham House at 630 Folsom Street (1853), and Peter Donahue's mansion at the northeast corner of Bryant and 2nd streets (1860s). Located on large lots with ample room for rose gardens or small orchards, Rincon Hill was San Francisco's most desirable address until it was undermined in 1869 by the Second Street Cut.[61]

Institutions

Institutional uses were also located in the South of Market Area. The neighborhood's growing population of children led to the establishment of several schools, including a new schoolhouse for District No. 1 (Happy Valley) in November 1851 and the city's first "orphan asylum" in April of that same year. According to an article in the December 27, 1851, edition of the *San Francisco Picayune,* the new school, run by a Mr. Denman and Mrs. Hyde, housed two hundred pupils. Within a month, the school was overcrowded and a second school was soon built at Rincon Point.[62]

The area's benign climate and proximity to downtown led to the construction of several hospitals and convalescent homes in the South of Market Area. Most of these hospitals were built to serve the sick and injured of particular occupational or ethnic groups living in the city. The first was the

[58] Albert Shumate, *Rincon Hill and South Park: San Francisco's Early Fashionable Neighborhood* (San Francisco: 1988), 33.
[59] Harold Kirker, *California's Architectural Frontier: Style and Tradition in the Nineteenth Century* (San Francisco: 1973), 69.
[60] "City to Have South Park," *The San Francisco Call* (June 10, 1904).
[61] More information on the Second Street Cut is found on page 31 of this document.
[62] *San Francisco Picayune* (December 27, 1851).

Sailor's Home, constructed on Rincon Hill in 1852. The British Government Hospital came next in 1852 with a building east of 1st Street. Next came the German Hospital at Steamboat Point in 1858. It was followed shortly thereafter by the Italian Hospital at 3rd and Folsom streets and then the French Hospital on Bryant Street.[63] Patient care at these hospitals was frequently paid for by ethnic mutual benevolent societies. As the South of Market Area assumed its industrial character during the Civil War, most of the early hospitals relocated to Nob Hill, the Western Addition, and other districts north of Market Street where pollution was not as bad.

Expansion of the Grid

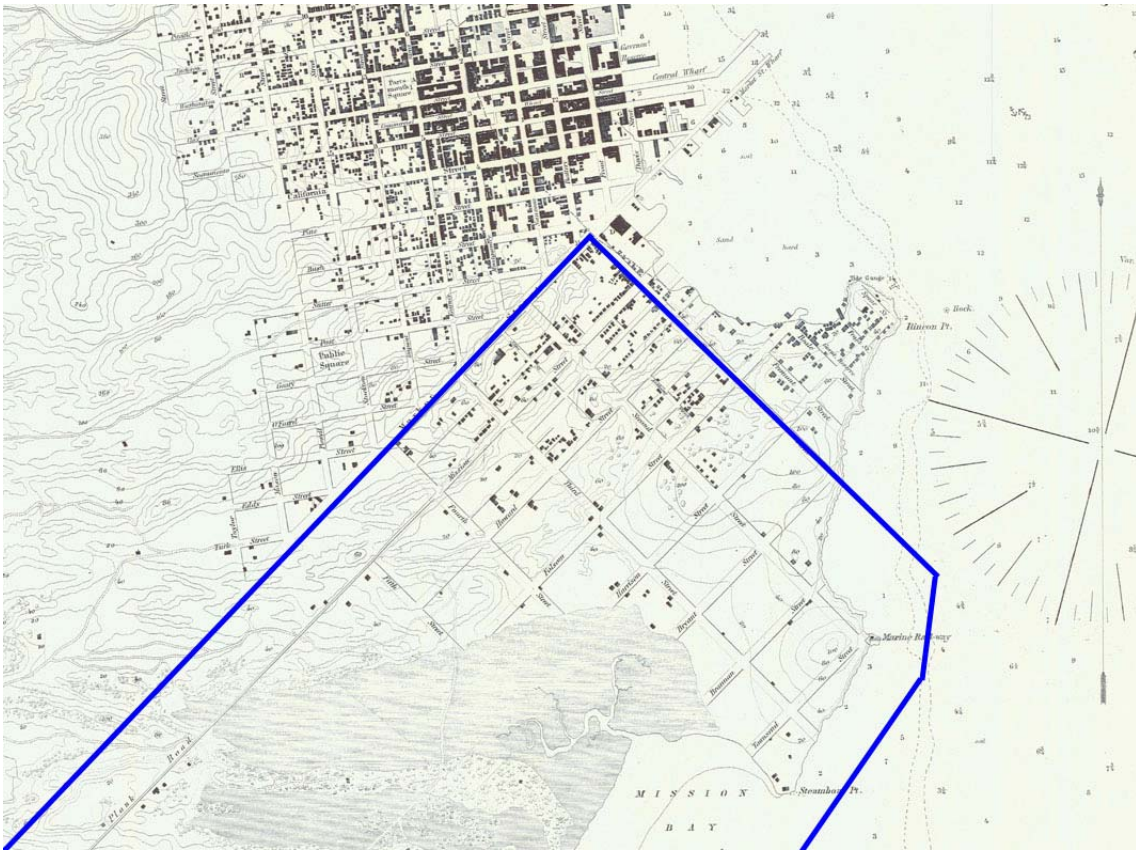

Figure 7. Section of 1853 Coast Survey Map showing developed part of the South of Market Area
Source: National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration
Map annotated by Christopher VerPlanck

Coast survey maps of San Francisco are good guides to ascertaining the extent of development between 1850 and 1870. The *1853 Coast Survey* Map, the first one made for the San Francisco Peninsula, indicates that development was concentrated around Portsmouth Square, Jackson Square, and the filled sections of Yerba Buena Cove **(Figure 7)**. Market Street, which had not yet become the primary commercial and retail district of the city, petered out into sand dunes near Larkin Street. The only passable route through the marshlands of the South of Market Area to Mission Dolores was Wilson's plank road along Mission Street. Development south of Market Street was highly evident but it was concentrated within a relatively small area bounded by Market, 1st, Folsom, and 3rd streets. The street grid had yet to be extended west of 5th Street due to the impassable nature of the land in that direction.

[63] Anne B. Bloomfield, "A History of the California Historical Society's New Mission Street Neighborhood," *California History* (Winter 1995/96), 377.

Surveyed by City Surveyor William Eddy, the *1854 Map of San Francisco* shows O'Farrell's 100-Vara Block Survey extended in a southwesterly direction from 5th Street to what is now 9th Street, roughly doubling the platted extent of the South of Market Area. This extension occurred – at least on paper – in 1850, although it does not appear on the 1853 Coast Survey Map. The 1854 map shows that the north-south streets, instead of being numbered as they are today, were named. Therefore, 6th Street was Simmons Street, 7th Street was Harris Street, and 8th Street was Price Street, and so on. Southwest of 8th Street, the large 100-Vara blocks were reduced in length, probably to assist in the complicated realignment of the north-south streets around the marshlands Mission Bay to achieve their present east-west orientation south of 13th Street. This change in street alignment was not achieved without some idiosyncratic intersections; what is now 13th Street (labeled on the Eddy map as Ellen Street) terminated awkwardly at a wedge-shaped plaza located between Mission and Otis streets (now the site of the San Francisco Planning Department) **(Figure 8)**.

Infrastructure

The pace of growth in the South of Market Area began to slow during the mid-1850s, mostly due to the recession that followed the end of the Gold Rush. Nevertheless, the city's privately operated infrastructure continued to expand to the south and west, linking the South of Market Area with its new suburb, the Mission District. Significant changes occurring between 1853 and 1857, including the grading of 3rd Street from Market Street to Steamboat Point, the initiation of omnibus service between South Park and North Beach, the completion of the Folsom Plank Road to the Mission, and the enclosure of the southern part of Yerba Buena Cove from Market Street to Rincon Point behind a seawall along the line of present-day Steuart Street.[64]

By 1860, Market Street had finally been graded for street traffic all the way to Twin Peaks. The Market Street Railroad also opened for business in July of that year, operating steam trains along Market Street to Valencia Street.[65] David Hewes, the owner of the famous steam paddy that cleared much of the South of Market Area, described the process of opening Market Street:

> I commenced the work of grading Market Street at the corner of Third and Market, where a hill was nearly as high as the present Call Building, in the fall of 1858. I also proceeded, on the same plan, with the work of grading Market Street and filling in water lots on the south side of Market from Fremont to Steuart, which was the east line of the bay south of Market Street. When this was done, I began filling in the Bay on the north side of Market Street from Battery down to East, taking the material from Market Street between Third and Fourth, and the sand hills between Market and Mission. When this was completed, I took up my track and laid it down Fourth Street, from Market to King Street, filling Fourth and lots on the east and west side.[66]

[64] Allen G. Pastron, Ph.D., *869 Folsom Street, San Francisco, California: Archival Cultural Resources Evaluation* (Albany, CA: unpublished report, September 1990), 30.
[65] Gladys Hansen, *San Francisco Almanac* (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1975), 40.
[66] *Ibid.*

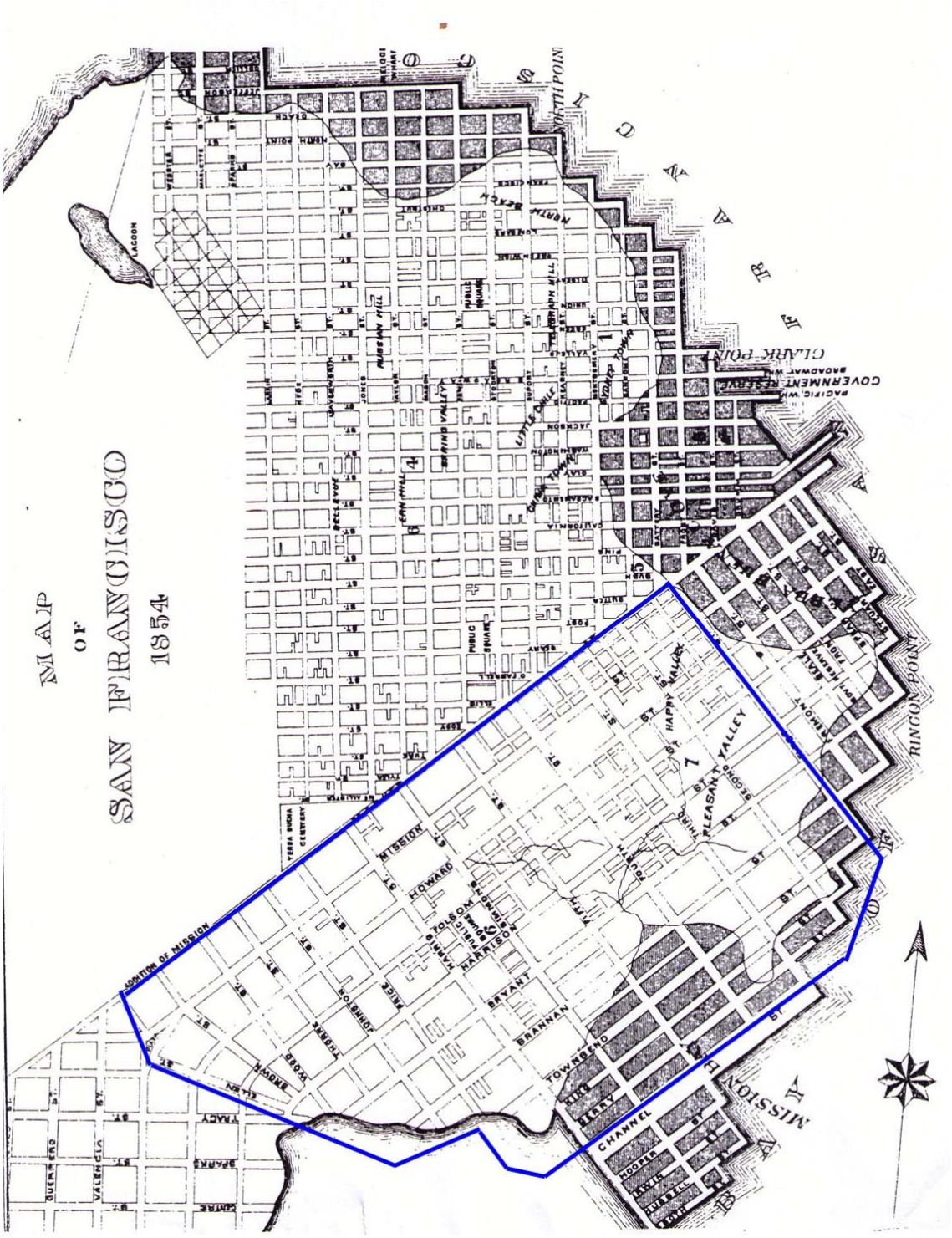

Figure 8. Eddy Map of San Francisco, 1854
Source: San Francisco History Center, San Francisco Public Library
Map annotated by Christopher VerPlanck

Water service was a critical part of civic infrastructure in any American city and increasingly necessary as domestic water sources were gradually contaminated, paved over, or exhausted. It wasn't until 1930 that San Francisco hosted a municipal water department. Before then, water was supplied by the privately held Spring Valley Water Company. Never one to distinguish itself by good service, the Spring Valley Water Company dragged its feet in establishing water lines in the South of Market Area, lagging quite far behind other more affluent parts of the city. Research conducted by architectural historian Anne Bloomfield indicates that most households South of Market Area were not connected to water mains until the early 1860s, with water service to the entire South of Market Area not provided until 1890.[67] Public bathhouses provided a valuable service to residents of the South of Market Area who did not have indoor plumbing. The James Lick Bathhouse at 165 10th Street (later known as the Peoples' Laundry-extant), was built in the 1890s as a public bath house because it was located near a well and within a section of the South of Market Area where public water service was evidently still not universal.

Public Open Space and Recreation
With a few exceptions, San Francisco's pioneer city fathers did little to provide open space for its residents. The South of Market Area was especially ill-served. The 1854 Map of San Francisco shows a public square reserved on a portion of the block bounded by Folsom, 6th, Harrison, and 7th streets. A smaller portion of this reservation eventually became a park known as Columbia Square. Utilized as an earthquake refugee camp after the 1906 Earthquake, Columbia Square was converted into a surface parking lot and school site in 1953. Not utilized as a park for a generation, Columbia Square has recently reopened as Victoria Manalo Draves Park. South Park, originally a private reserve for property owners facing it, became a public park in 1897. The fence that surrounded the park was taken down and was opened to all neighborhood residents.[68]

Although largely bereft of official public open space, the early South of Market Area did become home to private weekend picnic and pleasure grounds like J. C. Russ' Russ Gardens at 6th and Harrison streets.[69] Although it may seem incomprehensible today, the industrial South of Market Area spawned most of San Francisco's early boating, yachting, and swimming clubs, beginning with the San Francisco Yacht Club, which was established at Steamboat Point on October 9, 1869.[70] None of these institutions remain extant in the South of Market Area.

Comstock Lode Boom
After the post-Gold Rush slump, the South of Market Area – indeed the entire city – began to grow again during the early 1860s, especially after the discovery of the Comstock Lode silver mines in Virginia City, Nevada in 1859. Multi-story brick and stone buildings began to take the place of the simple, one-and two-story frame buildings that had been built during the Gold Rush. In 1861-62, W.M. Ladd built a row of eight houses along the south side of Folsom Street, between 1st and 2nd streets. Built in the style of Boston rowhouses, they had bow front facades of pressed brick. Built for the middle class, each house had a kitchen, dining room, front and back parlors, and several bedrooms. They also had amenities generally not yet widespread outside homes of the wealthy,

[67] Anne B. Bloomfield, "A History of the California Historical Society's New Mission Street Neighborhood," *California History* (Winter 1995/96), 376.
[68] Jane Alexander, "South Park," Neighborhood Parks Council website, http://www.sfneighborhoodparks.org/parkhistories/southpark.html (accessed February 22, 2007).
[69] Gladys Hansen, *San Francisco Almanac* (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1975), 37.
Anne B. Bloomfield, "A History of the California Historical Society's New Mission Street Neighborhood," *California History* (Winter 1995/96), 376.
[70] Gladys Hansen, *San Francisco Almanac* (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1975), 44.

including kitchens with stoves and ice boxes, hot and cold running water and water closets.[71] None of these cottages survive.

"Tar Flat"
The increasing dominance of heavy industry in the South of Market Area gradually displaced the bucolic Gold Rush-era neighborhoods of Happy Valley and Pleasant Valley. Increasingly, the neighborhood became known by another name: "Tar Flat," the result of by-products generated by the Donahue Brothers' gas works located at the corner of 1st and Howard streets. Built in 1854, the plant manufactured illuminating gas for street lighting. During the 1860s, the process of converting coal to gas was very crude and inefficient, generating large amounts of noxious byproducts such as tar sludge, which was dumped into San Francisco Bay at Fremont Street.[72] At low tide, the once pristine gravel beach became covered in a gooey, foul-smelling tarry substance.

As mentioned previously, the marshes at 4th Street prevented development from spreading much further toward the Mission during the 1850s and 1860s. Called an "impassable morass," any person venturing to go any further than 4th Street would be, according so some, "likely to sink out of sight." The only route around the marshes was on the plank roads that followed the alignment of present-day Mission and Folsom streets. Gradually, however, the steam paddies were brought to bear and the once pristine wetlands were filled with garbage, construction debris, and sand. The tide of urbanization followed closely on the heel of the steam paddy as the blocks west of 4th Street filled in with a tightly woven grid of graded streets and rows of frame dwellings all the way to the frontier of the Mission District. Efficient mass transit in the form of Peter Donahue's Omnibus Railroad Company, a horse car line, helped to develop the western portion of the South of Market Area. Launched in 1861, Donahue's line provided regular service between its downtown terminus at 3rd and Howard and its outbound terminal at 16th and Dolores streets. [73] The line maintained 30 minute headways, which were later reduced with competition from the Red Line omnibuses.

D. INDUSTRIAL AND RESIDENTIAL DEVELOPMENT: 1866-1906

Immigration
Much of San Francisco's growth during the latter quarter of the nineteenth century can be attributed to the massive number of Irish immigrants who made their way to the Bay Area after the opening of the Civil War, particularly after the completion of the Transcontinental Railroad in 1869, which provided a direct link with the major East Coast ports of entry. Many of these immigrants, once they arrived in San Francisco, moved into the South of Market Area and Mission District. San Francisco was indeed a city of immigrants; by 1879 the city housed a higher percentage of foreign-born residents than any other major U.S. city. According to the 1880 census, half of all residents were foreign-born, with four of every five San Franciscans either foreign-born or of foreign parentage. As late as 1900, this figure was still three of every four residents. The three largest immigrant groups during the post Civil War era were Irish, German, and Chinese. Irish immigrants and their children dominated the South of Market Area. By 1880, one in eight San Franciscans had been born in Ireland, but a third of all city residents were of Irish descent. In the South of Market Area, this figure was much higher with Irish comprising roughly half the population. Although many were poor, the Irish quickly established social and labor organizations and religious institutions unique to their culture, including churches, benevolent societies, fraternal orders, militias, fire companies, trade

[71] Charles Lockwood, "South of the Slot," *San Francisco Sunday Examiner and Chronicle* (June 10, 1979), 75.
[72] Anne B. Bloomfield, "A History of the California Historical Society's New Mission Street Neighborhood," *California History* (Winter 1995/96), 376.
[73] Allen G. Pastron, Ph.D., *869 Folsom Street, San Francisco, California: Archival Cultural Resources Evaluation* (Albany, CA: unpublished report, September 1990), 35.

unions, political clubs, Irish independence unions, and even temperance societies.[74] Though low on the class hierarchy in the eastern United States, the Irish in San Francisco grew politically powerful, mostly because there was no established Anglo-Saxon elite as there was in eastern cities.

Figure 9. Orphanage (left) and old St. Patrick's (right), 1856
Source: San Francisco History Center, San Francisco Public Library

Religious Institutions

Churches were very important to Irish immigrants, serving as a bedrock of traditional Catholic and ethnic culture and identity in the midst of a strange land that could at times be quite alien toward newcomers. St. Patrick's parish, the oldest Catholic parish in the South of Market Area and the third-oldest in the city, was established on June 9, 1851 after Father John Maginnis celebrated mass in a rented hall on the corner of 4th and Jessie streets. The parish later constructed a simple wood chapel in 1854 on the south side of Market Street near 2nd Street **(Figure 9)**. This building, which has been moved twice, still stands at 1820 Eddy Street in the Western Addition. It is San Francisco Landmark #6. After the Civil War, growing numbers of Irish Catholic parishioners led Father Peter J. Grey to purchase a lot on the north side of Mission Street, between 3rd and 4th streets. Construction of the new St. Patrick's began in April 1870 and the church was dedicated on March 17, 1872. By the time it opened, the parish served a predominantly Irish immigrant population of approximately 30,000. The church was intended to serve as the Irish national church of San Francisco, and indeed, the entire West Coast. St. Patrick's was heavily damaged in the 1906 Earthquake and Fire and the existing church had to be reconstructed.[75] It still stands at 756 Mission Street **(Figure 10)**.

The continued growth of the South of Market Area in the 1860s led to the creation of additional Catholic parishes. The first was St. Ignatius. Affiliated with what is presently the University of San Francisco, St. Ignatius church was originally built on the south side of Market near 4th Street in 1856. St. Joseph's was the next parish created. Established in 1861 by the Reverend Hugh Gallagher and Archbishop Alemany on the corner of 10th and Howard streets, St. Joseph's grew so quickly that a new church had to be built in 1865. The 1906 Earthquake and Fire destroyed St. Joseph's and its associated convent and boys' and girls' schools. The existing church complex was constructed in 1913 by architect John J. Foley. Originally an Irish parish, St. Joseph's became a predominantly

[74] Robert W. Cherny and William Issel, *San Francisco: Presidio, Port and Pacific Metropolis* (Sparks, NV: Materials for Today's Learning, 1988), 29.
[75] *The History of St. Patrick's, San Francisco* (South Hackensack, NJ: Custombook, Inc., 1976), 8.

Filipino parish in the 1960s and 1970s. In 1979 it became the home to the Image of the Santo Niño de Cebu, the patron saint of the Philippines.[76] The Archdiocese of San Francisco closed St. Joseph's in the early 1990s following the 1989 Loma Prieta Earthquake.[77] St Joseph's Church at 1401 Howard Street is San Francisco Landmark # 120, and along with the Rectory at 1415 Howard, it is listed in the National Register.

Figure 10. St. Patrick's, 1949
Source: San Francisco History Center, San Francisco Public Library

In addition to the Catholics, other large religious denominations in the South of Market Area included the Presbyterians and the Methodists. As frontier society in San Francisco began to settle down, religious institutions began to take hold. The first Protestant church constructed in the South of Market Area was a white-painted Presbyterian chapel on Howard Street. The chapel was named after its benefactor, W.D.M. Howard, who donated the land to the congregation. In 1867, the congregation sold the church to the African-American Third Baptist Church and moved to the south side of Mission, between 3rd and 4th streets. By the last decade of the nineteenth century, it was the largest Presbyterian church in San Francisco. By 1896 the congregation, following its congregation, built a new church in the newly developing Haight District.[78]

The mainstream American Methodists occupied a church on Howard Street and the Southern Methodists worshipped in a church on Minna Street, before moving to a former Baptist church facing Columbia Square. The German Methodists soon followed with a church on Folsom Street near 4th Street. Other churches included the Columbia Square Baptist Church at 5th and Jessie, the Episcopalian Church of the Advent on Howard Street at New Montgomery, and St. Paul's German Evangelical Lutheran Church, founded at 5th and Mission streets in 1869. Prior to the 1906 Earthquake, the western South of Market area was home to a Swedish enclave. Churches serving this community include the Swedish Evangelical Lutheran Ebenezer Church on the south side of Mission Street between 8th and 9th streets, Our Savior's Scandinavian Evangelical Lutheran Church at 8 Sherman Street, organized in October 1870; and the First Swedish Methodist Episcopal Church at 1220 Howard Street.

In addition to these mainline Christian congregations mentioned above, were other smaller sects such as the First Universalists, Disciples of Christ, the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, the San Francisco Spiritualists Union, and a small Jewish congregation that convened at the Nevah-Tzedek Synagogue located at 948 Mission Street from 1896 to 1904.[79] A Japanese Methodist Episcopal Mission was located at 535 Jessie Street. The Holy Trinity Greek Orthodox Church was built in 1903 on 7th Street near Folsom (the original building was destroyed in the 1906 Earthquake and Fire, but was rebuilt in the same location later in 1906). None of the pre-earthquake buildings remain extant.

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[76] *National Register of Historic Places Inventory – Nomination Form: St. Joseph's Church and Complex* (San Francisco: unpublished nomination form, 1981), 1.
[77] *Diamond Jubilee of St. Joseph's Church (1861-1936) and Golden Jubilee of Brothers School (1886-1936)* (San Francisco: unpublished commemorative brochure on file at the San Francisco History Center, 1936).
[78] Anne B. Bloomfield, "A History of the California Historical Society's New Mission Street Neighborhood," *California History* (Winter 1995/96), 374.
[79] *Ibid.*, 377.

Infrastructure

Long Bridge
As mentioned above, significant changes in the natural landforms and infrastructure had to occur before the South of Market Area could assume its role as the primary industrial center of the West Coast during the nineteenth century. During the 1850s and 1860s, the sand hills were leveled, creeks and marshes filled, and streets built. During the 1860s and 1870s, the focus turned to the construction of major physical infrastructure projects such as bridges, road cuts, and the provision of rail service – both local passenger and long distance freight and passenger – to the South of Market Area. One of the first and most important projects was Long Bridge. Envisioned in 1865 as a means to open up the isolated Mission Bay, Potrero, and Bayview districts to industrial development, investors funded the construction of Long Bridge from Steamboat Point, across Mission Bay, to Point San Quentin in the Potrero District, and then onward across Islais Creek to Hunters Point. The bridge, which was mostly a non-permeable earthen causeway, followed the current alignment of 3rd Street. With its completion in 1867, Long Bridge allowed space-intensive and noxious industries that were being crowded out of the South of Market Area, such as shipyards, tanneries, butchers, and iron works, to move southward into the Potrero and Bayview districts. Within a year of its completion, the Potrero & Bay View Company installed railroad tracks along 3rd Street, Kentucky (now 3rd) Street, and Railroad Avenue, initiating horse car service between downtown San Francisco and "South San Francisco," the original name for Bayview/Hunters Point.[80]

The completion of Long Bridge was the beginning of the end for Mission Bay. The causeway only had a few openings for boats to travel beneath it, which blocked off the natural tidal surges, causing the marshes to dry up and the plants and animals that depended on them to die. The dying bay and creeks, combined with the intensifying pollution being dumped into the bay, caused it to smell horrendous. Aside from its usefulness as an open sewer, it increasingly was perceived as a nuisance. Private individuals, and especially the railroads, began to fill in the bay, starting near the bridgehead at Steamboat Point. Long Bridge also provided a convenient platform for expanding filling operations to the east and west. Filling in earnest began in 1869 with the excavation of the Second Street Cut through Rincon Hill. The rock blasted from the hill was used to fill a section of the northern shore of Mission Bay. Meanwhile the railroads and industries of Potrero Point began to fill in the southern part of Mission Bay with 100,000 cubic yards of serpentine rock blasted to create the Kentucky Street Cut.[81]

Mission Creek Channel
Because Mission Creek had been designated a navigable creek in 1854, further filling was stopped in 1872. Seawalls were constructed on either side of the creek, preserving a 200-foot wide channel from 7th and Townsend to the Bay, in effect making what remained of Mission Creek a canal. In 1874, Mission Creek west of 7th Street was abandoned as a navigable stream, recognizing the informal filling that had blocked much of its bed.[82] Following the completion of the Mission Creek canal, various entrepreneurs built wharves and finger piers from the south side of the canal into Mission Bay proper. The Central Pacific created a narrow strip of filled land 1,600 feet out into Mission Bay following the alignment of 6th Street. By 1903, more than two-thirds of the Southern Pacific Railroad (as the Central Pacific was renamed in 1885) holdings in Mission Bay had been filled, leaving only a stagnant lagoon at the center of the former bay. Meanwhile, the tidal marshes along the southern edge of the bay

[80] Roger and Nancy Olmsted. *San Francisco Bayside Historical Cultural Resources Study* (San Francisco: San Francisco Clean Water Program, 1982), 99.
[81] Nancy Olmsted, *Vanished Waters: A History of San Francisco's Mission Bay* (San Francisco: Mission Creek Conservancy, 1986), 30.
[82] City and County of San Francisco Planning Department, *City within a City: Historic Context Statement for San Francisco's Mission District* (San Francisco: November 2007), 27.

within the survey area died because they no longer had access to the daily flows of tide water that had once sustained them.[83]

Second Street Cut

The fate of the South of Market Area as an industrial district was further solidified by the completion of the Second Street Cut in 1869. Constructed by private investors to ostensibly improve access from Market Street to the Pacific Mail Wharf at 1st and Brannan streets, the cut was crudely blasted through the center of Rincon Hill, transforming what had been a semi-rural lane over the top of the hill into a wide thoroughfare suitable for teams of horses at street grade. The cut physically damaged several properties and significantly impaired its desirability to the remaining residents who lived on Rincon Hill, the lone upper-class enclave in the South of Market Area **(Figure 11)**. J.S. Hittell describes the scene:

> The cut or ditch, at one place sixty feet deep, has ugly steep banks, which have slid down in wet weather; the falling dirt has destroyed the sidewalks; the despoiled lot owners have refused to keep the pavement in repair; heavy teams have found it more convenient to pass through other streets in going and coming from the Pacific Mail wharf…The most active advocates of the scheme made nothing by it; and the direct expense of the "improvement" was three hundred and eighty five thousand dollars, while the loss to the citizens beyond all benefit was not less than one million dollars.[84]

Figure 11. Second Street Cut, 1869
Source: San Francisco History Center, San Francisco Public Library

Following the completion of the Second Street Cut in 1869, most of the remaining residents of Rincon Hill fled for more desirable districts north of Market Street. Gradually, their mansions atop the hill were either torn down or converted to boarding houses.

[83] Gerald R. Dow, *Bay Fill in San Francisco: A History of Change* (Master of Arts thesis submitted to the faculty of California State University, San Francisco, 1973), 130.
[84] J.S. Hittell, *A History of the City of San Francisco and Incidentally the State of California* (San Francisco: A.L. Bancroft Co., 1878), 379-80.

It may seem remarkable today that the wealthy were not able to protect their neighborhood against such "improvements," but an article that appeared in the *San Francisco Chronicle* in 1928 may shed some light on what may have really happened:

> During the 1867-68 session of the State Legislature an act was passed authorizing the San Francisco supervisors to modify the grade of Second Street. At the same time the Legislature passed an act granting 30 acres of submerged land in Mission Bay south of Channel Street to the Western and Southern Pacific railroads (whose management was identical) for terminal facilities. It was believed that the Southern Pacific planned to come through Second Street to a terminal at Market Street. Although Rincon Hill residents numbered among them men powerful enough to stop the Second Street cut, it was reckoned at the time that there were 'wheels within wheels' and that 'some reckoned leaders against the project may have been secretly assisting it, or at any rate, not really fighting it.'[85]

Although the Southern Pacific never utilized it as a right of way downtown, the Second Street Cut did eventually facilitate direct transportation of people and goods between downtown and the Southern Waterfront, increasing property values along its extent and spurring on the development of cargo handling and warehousing uses in the South of Market Area.

Railroads: 1867-1906

Railroads played a huge role in the industrialization of the South of Market. In regard to rail transport, San Francisco has always been at a geographical disadvantage because of its isolation at the end of a peninsula. Until the construction of the Dumbarton Bridge in the 1920s, the only way for trains to reach San Francisco from the railheads in Oakland was to either go all the way around the southern end of San Francisco Bay or travel across the Bay on specially designed car ferries to rail slips. Lines that came into the city from the south faced the formidable bulk of San Bruno Mountain, forcing railroads to squeeze the tracks through a narrow gap called "La Portazuela" by the Spanish. Later, between 1904 and 1907, the Southern Pacific tunneled beneath University Mound and Potrero Hill and filled Visitacion Bay on the east side of San Bruno Mountain to create the Bayshore Cutoff, providing a level and more direct route from San Jose and the Peninsula.[86] The earliest rail line to enter San Francisco was the San Francisco & San Jose Railway. Completed in the mid-1860s, the railroad built a spur from its terminus at Valencia and Market Street to the intersection of 4th and Bryant streets in the South of Market Area.[87] However, the biggest player in San Francisco's railroad wars was the Central Pacific, otherwise known as "The Octopus," in recognition of its extensive influence in all areas of state and local government.

Central Pacific Railroad

Founded in 1863 by a group of small-time merchants from Sacramento— Collis Huntington, Leland Stanford, Mark Hopkins, and Charles Crocker (cumulatively known as the "Big Four")— the Central Pacific surprised many San Francisco leaders by winning the contract to build the western segment of the Transcontinental Railroad. In 1868, the State of California granted title to 192 acres of Mission Bay to the Central Pacific, nominally in exchange for the railroad agreeing to fill in the large body of shallow tidal flats. The Central Pacific initiated filling operations not long after, although it would not finish the job until after the 1906 Earthquake. The State compelled the Central Pacific to preserve a 200-foot wide strip of Mission Bay parallel to King Street, allowing navigation to penetrate as far inland as 7th Street, near the mouth of Mission Creek. Except for the channel, which until recently

[85] E.G. Fitzamon, quoted in *San Francisco Article in* San Francisco Planning Department, *South End Historic District Case Report* (San Francisco: unpublished report, 1990), 18.
[86] "Guests Inspect the New Bay Shore Cutoff," *San Francisco Call* (December 8, 1907), 24.
[87] Mitchell Schwarzer, *Draft South End Historic District* (San Francisco: unpublished report on file with the San Francisco Planning Department, n.d.), 7.

was called "Shit Creek" due to the fact that the city's sewer outfall terminated there, Mission Creek was completely submerged beneath fill by the late 1880s.[88]

Completed in 1869, the Transcontinental Railroad terminated in Oakland, not San Francisco. Concerned that they were being outflanked, San Francisco businessmen William Ralston and Peter Donahue formed the Southern Pacific Railroad and made plans to purchase and extend the existing San Francisco & San Jose Railroad from its southern terminus at Gilroy over Pacheco Pass to connect with a second proposed transcontinental railroad, the Atlantic & Pacific Railroad. Unfortunately for San Francisco, the Central Pacific purchased the San Francisco & San Jose Railroad in 1870, shutting off the outlet for a line to the south.[89] The Central Pacific then demanded a subsidy of $1 million and the exclusive right to build a new terminal on state-owned land in Mission Bay. Annoyed with the machinations of the Big Four, San Francisco voters defeated the bond that would have paid for the subsidy.[90]

Realizing that they would have to deal with the Central Pacific, in October 1872, San Francisco's business and political leaders offered to build a railroad bridge from San Francisco to Oakland. They also offered to fill in Mission Bay and build a union railroad terminal for the use of the Central Pacific and any other railroads that might come to San Francisco in the future. The Central Pacific countered by offering to build the bridge itself in exchange for $2 million and the exclusive right to operate the proposed Mission Bay terminal. When Central Pacific's executives determined that San Francisco was willing to consider the railroad's offer, they tacked on a proviso that the railroad be allowed to withdraw from the city in the future if business did not support the line. This final demand was too much for Mayor Alvord, who vetoed the deal, stalling the filling and development of Mission Bay for several years.[91] In the meantime, by 1872, the Central Pacific had finished building its freight and passenger terminals at 4th at Townsend streets in the heart of the South of Market Area.[92]

State Belt Line Railway
Sanborn Maps from 1886-87 indicate that railroad tracks crisscrossed the entire South of Market Area, hauling freight from the waterfront to the warehouses of the South End. Beginning in 1889, the network of Southern Pacific tracks, which were formerly used by the Central Pacific, was augmented by the tracks of the short-line State Belt Line Railroad. Built by the Port of San Francisco, a State agency, the State Belt Line Railroad evolved into a 67-mile network of tracks linking the piers to the warehouses of the South End, Northeast Waterfront, and eventually Fort Mason and the Presidio. According to maritime historians Roger and Nancy Olmsted, San Francisco's shipping system was unique in North America for its integrated maritime and railroad infrastructure. The Belt Line Railway was instrumental in providing access between wharves and warehouses, and in unifying the northern and southern waterfronts.[93]

Market Street Railroad Company
San Francisco's most important local transit provider during this period was the Market Street Railroad Company. Opening on July 4, 1860, the company initially operated horse cars and steam trains along Market Street between 3rd and Valencia streets. The *1863 Official Map of the City and County of San Francisco* illustrates several street railroads in the South of Market Area. In addition to Market

[88] Roger and Nancy Olmsted, *San Francisco Bayside Historical Cultural Resource Survey,* (San Francisco: unpublished technical report prepared for the San Francisco Clean Water Program, April 1982), 223.
[89] Nancy Olmsted, *Vanished Waters: A History of San Francisco's Mission Bay* (San Francisco: Mission Creek Conservancy, 1986), 40.
[90] *San Francisco Evening Bulletin* (June 17, 1870).
[91] Nancy Olmsted, *Vanished Waters: A History of San Francisco's Mission Bay* (San Francisco: Mission Creek Conservancy, 1986), 40.
[92] *Ibid*., 42.
[93] *Ibid*, 350.

Street, the Market Street Railroad Company ran a line from Market Street along 9th Street to the vicinity of Mission Creek (Brannan Street). Other companies operating in the area included the North and South Beach Railroad, which ran along 4th Street from Market to Mission Bay and along Folsom Street to Mission Dolores. Meanwhile, the Omnibus Railroad ran down Mission Street from 2nd and Market to Mission Dolores.

In 1882, Leland Stanford of the Central Pacific Railroad purchased the Market Street Railroad Company and converted its lines to cable power. The change in motive power necessitated a name change, and the company was renamed the Market Street Cable Railway Company.[94] Lines operated by the company in or near the survey area included lines running along Market, Mission, Howard, and several of the numbered streets, providing excellent geographical coverage of the densely populated neighborhood. In 1893, following the death of Leland Stanford, business associates took over the Market Street Cable Railway Company and converted its growing number of lines to electric power. Reflecting the changes, the company was renamed the Market Street Railway Company. The conversion to electric power resulted in the expansion of the number of lines, including several within the survey area.[95]

Commercial Development

The primary zone of commercial development within the South of Market Area grew up along Market Street and the major east-west streets that were parallel to it, especially Mission and Howard streets between 1st and 4th streets and the intersecting numbered streets. This area contained many of San Francisco's wholesale and some retail industries, including department stores along Market Street, and later, a significant enclave of cultural and hospitality-related buildings along New Montgomery Street. Outside of the "Wholesale District" (centered at the intersection of 2nd and Mission streets) commercial activity was generally found on the first floor of residential hotels, including corner groceries, bars, cafes, and general merchandise stores. Shopkeepers often lived above their shops, and frequently belonged to the same ethnic group as their customers. Serving as a virtually self-contained city for its residents, the South of Market Area contained everything necessary to sustain urban existence, including saloons, groceries, dry goods stores, bakeries, butchers, shoemakers and cobblers, seamstresses, public bathhouses, doctors and dentists (many of whom probably had little professional training), ethnic and social organizations, houses of prostitution, and undertakers.

New Montgomery Street

One of the most important commercial developments built south of Market Street during this period was New Montgomery Street. As San Francisco's business district began to move south toward Market Street during the 1870s, it was only natural that capitalists would envision commercial development jumping Market Street to the South of Market Area. As mentioned earlier, Jasper O'Farrell's 1847 survey hampered trade and communication between the two areas because the two street grids did not align. In the early 1870s, two wealthy San Francisco businessmen, Asbury Harpending and banker William Ralston, hoped to break the logjam by extending Montgomery Street from the north side of Market Street well into the South of Market Area. They envisioned, privately financed, and built the street extension, which they called New Montgomery Street, as an upscale office, banking, retail, and hospitality district. Beginning around 1870, the two men bought up all the land on either side of the proposed street as far south as Howard Street and began demolishing buildings and building the new street. In order to ensure that the new development was attractive,

[94] "A Brief History of the Market Street Railway." http://www.streetcar.org/msr/about/history/index.html Accessed September 3, 2008.
[95] "A Brief History of the Market Street Railway." http://www.streetcar.org/msr/about/history/index.html Accessed September 3, 2008.

they specified that new buildings were to be of uniform height and feature similarly detailed classical facades **(Figure 12)**.[96]

New Montgomery Street was developed largely along the lines envisioned by Harpending and Ralston. However, neither man was able to convince property owners south of Howard Street to sell, effectively stopping the street where it now terminates, only two blocks south of Market. Nevertheless, important buildings soon arose on the sites of former frame houses and industrial buildings, including the Palace Hotel—which opened for business on October 5, 1875 on the corner of Market and New Montgomery streets. Designed by New York architect John P. Gaynor, the Palace was reputedly the largest and most well-appointed hotel in the United States. The Grand Hotel, also designed by architect John P. Gaynor, opened nearby. The block of New Montgomery Street between Mission and Howard streets acquired three elegant brick commercial buildings, including the Grand Army of the Republic Hall (GAR), the Olympic Club, and the Armory Block. All three buildings conformed to a unified design scheme of classically detailed facades and mansard roofs. Other important buildings came to New Montgomery Street, including the U.S. Army Quartermaster's Depot and the New Metropolitan Market.[97] None of these buildings exist today within the South of Market Area.

Figure 12. New Montgomery Street, 1885
Source: San Francisco History Center, San Francisco Public Library

To a slightly lesser degree, the area flanking New Montgomery Street began to be transformed from the generally prevailing low-rent industrial and residential character into a more intensive commercial, civic and entertainment zone due to its proximity to downtown San Francisco. This redevelopment concentrated on Market and Mission streets, between 1st and 5th streets, as well as along the intersecting numbered streets. Several of the most important buildings erected in this area during the 1870s included the U.S. Mint, which opened at 5th and Mission streets on November 5, 1874, and the Grand Opera House which held its opening night on January 17, 1876. The luxury hotels and Opera House, in turn, began to attract milliners, jewelers and other businesses that catered to the "carriage trade." By the late 1870s, Mission Street between 2nd and 3rd streets had attracted several large

[96] *Ibid.*, 379.
[97] Anne B. Bloomfield, "A History of the California Historical Society's New Mission Street Neighborhood," *California History* (Winter 1995/96), 379.

wholesale furniture, carpet, and bedding businesses, eventually earning it the nickname "the Wholesale District."[98]

Baseball Parks
Commercial baseball parks were also located in the South of Market Area, including Central Park (1897-1906) at 8th and Market Street, and Recreation Park (1897-1906) at 8th and Harrison streets. Recreation Park hosted the City's first Pacific Coast League game in 1903. During the latter half of the nineteenth century, across the nation, commercial baseball parks typically developed in the industrial districts and outlying areas of major cities. Only racetracks rivaled them as large entertainment venues for the working masses. In addition to providing glimpses of open sky and natural turf in the midst of the dense urban jumble, ballparks were venues of civic boosterism and American acculturation. After the South of Market Area ballparks were destroyed in the 1906 catastrophe, commercial baseball followed its shifting customer base – the middle and working class population – from the South of Market Area to the Mission District, where a new Recreation Park (which became known as "Old Rec") was built.[99]

Industrial Development
The transformation of the South of Market Area into San Francisco's largest pre-1906 industrial district after 1865 is an important theme in the history of the district. The birthplace of the West's industrial sector, the South of Market Area continued to evolve as the most important industrial zone on the West Coast, especially in the areas of shipping, warehousing, iron and steel working, and manufacturing. In addition, the areas closer to downtown along Mission and Howard streets attracted dozens of wholesale and service industries that served the central business district. The location was ideal because businesses could be close to, but not within, the congested and high-rent downtown district. Even today, businesses that service the financial, retail, and hospitality sectors typically cluster within the South of Market Area in order to be close to their customers.

Maritime Industry
As the shipyards, iron works, and foundries moved south to Potrero Point in the 1870s and 1880s, the maritime shipping industry and related warehousing operations came to dominate the industrial economy of the South of Market Area. Until the mid-1960s, much of San Francisco's prosperity depended on its excellent harbor and port facilities. In addition to being the closest natural harbor on the United States mainland to Asia, San Francisco Bay is unique on the West Coast in that navigable rivers penetrate the Coast Range and provide easy access to the inland valleys. Despite its isolated position at the end of a peninsula, San Francisco did not initially suffer a competitive disadvantage in comparison with the East Bay (where the railheads were located) until the 1960s because the majority of the state's agricultural goods continued to be moved by water well into the twentieth century. San Francisco dominated maritime trade in the West; as late as 1880, 99 percent of all merchandise imported into the Pacific states and 83 percent of all exports passed through the Port of San Francisco. Although the Port of San Francisco was eventually eclipsed by the ports of Los Angeles/Long Beach and Seattle, it continued to dominate the Bay Region until the rise of containerized shipping in the 1960s resulted in the relocation of the shipping industry to new container ports in Oakland and Richmond.[100]

During the Mexican and Early American periods, shipping was at first concentrated along Yerba Buena Cove. As piers were extended into the cove, filling operations gradually converted them to streets and the adjoining tidal flats into dry lots. The piers and wharves continued to move eastward

[98] *Ibid.*, 380.
[99] Allen Pastron, *From Bullfights to Baseball: Archaeological Research Design and Treatment Plan for the Valencia Gardens Hope VI Project* (San Francisco: unpublished technical report prepared by Archeo-Tec for EIP Associates, December 2002), 57.
[100] Robert W. Cherney and William Issel, *San Francisco: Presidio, Port and Pacific Metropolis* (Sparks, NV: Materials for Today's Learning, Inc., 1988), 20.

into the Bay with the fill and by the 1870s the Waterfront had reached its approximate eastern extent just beyond the Seawall. With no further room for expansion downtown, warehouse operators began to turn to the still largely undeveloped waterfront of the South of Market Area, creating by the 1890s the core of the South End Warehouse District.

As mentioned earlier, Steamboat Point was an important node of the maritime economy in the South of Market Area. Recognized as an important deepwater access point on Mission Bay since the Gold Rush, it became an important center of boat and shipbuilding in San Francisco. John G. North was one of the most important early shipbuilders, with a yard at the Foot of 3rd Street from 1857 onward. Other ship builders included Domingo Marcucci, Patrick Tiernan, Henry Owns, and Henry B. Tichenor. During the 1860s, increasing land values and expansion of port activities gradually displaced the shipyards south to the Potrero District, especially after the completion of Long Bridge in 1867.[101]

Other Industries

Several non-maritime-related businesses took root in the South of Market Area during the 1860s and 1870s, although most depended on access to water for transportation, cooling, or disposal of industrial wastes. Some of these early industries included Citizens Gas Company, which in 1864 erected a large plant on a filled water lot bounded by Townsend, 2nd, King, and 3rd streets. The complex consisted of a large 60' x 170' brick furnace building, a gas tank, a 50' high coal depot, and several wharves. The company produced coal gas to light the streets of San Francisco.[102] In 1866, Pacific Lead Works opened a plant across the street from Citizens Gas Company, on Townsend Street between 2nd and 3rd streets. The company produced linseed, castor, and coconut oil, zinc, and lead paints. Not long afterward, in 1867, Union Lumber Company filled much of the water block bounded by Townsend, 1st, 2nd, and Brannan streets for a large lumber yard that remained in operation for many years.[103]

Figure 13. Selby Shot Tower, First and Howard Streets, 1868
Source: San Francisco History Center, San Francisco Public Library

In 1864, the Selby Smelting and Lead Company built the Selby Shot Tower, a 200' structure designed for the purpose of manufacturing bullets and shot. Built in part to satisfy the demand for ammunition during the Civil War, the structure, which sat at the corner of 1st and Howard streets, served as the South of Market's most prominent industrial structure for almost four decades until it was destroyed in the 1906 Earthquake

[101] San Francisco Planning Department, *South End Historic District Case Report* (San Francisco: unpublished report, 1990), 16.
[102] City and County of San Francisco, *San Francisco Municipal Reports* (San Francisco: 1868).
[103] Mitchell Schwarzer, *Draft South End Historic District* (San Francisco: unpublished report on file with the San Francisco Planning Department, n.d.), 7.

(Figure 13).[104] Meanwhile, some of the foundries that had congregated along 1st Street in the 1850s began relocating south to Potrero Point. Nevertheless, other heavy industry stepped in to take their place, particularly along Mission and Howard streets in the vicinity of 1st, Main, and Spear streets. None of these buildings are extant in the South of Market Area today.

South End Warehouse Development

By now tied into the national and world economy by sea and by rail, warehouse construction in the South of Market Area boomed, particularly in the area bounded by Harrison, 1st, King, and 3rd streets, an area that eventually became known as the South End. The first major warehouse completed was the Pacific Mail Steamship Company's Oriental Warehouse at 650 Delancey Street/ 620 1st Street. Built in 1867 to house goods imported from Asia, the company erected "extensive and commodious wharves" at the foot of Townsend Street and this colossal brick warehouse. The company operated four steamers operating from San Francisco to Yokohama, Shanghai, and Hong Kong. Before the establishment of the immigration station at Angel Island in 1910, the majority of the Chinese immigrants coming to the United States landed at the docks of the Pacific Mail Steamship Company. Accordingly, anti-Chinese agitators under the leadership of Denis Kearny's Workingman's Party attempted to burn down the wharves several times. The exterior walls of the Oriental Warehouse continue to exist, and the building is a contributor to the locally designated South End Historic District, and is San Francisco Landmark # 101 **(Figure 14)**.[105]

Figure 14. Oriental Warehouse, 650 1st Street
Source: Page & Turnbull

The California wheat industry led to the construction of several of the earliest warehouses in the South End neighborhood, several of which still exist. Beginning in the mid-1850s, California began to export wheat to Europe. Known for its high quality, "California Gold" was grown in the San Joaquin and Sacramento valleys in huge quantities and shipped to San Francisco, where it was stored prior to shipment overseas. In 1868, 20,000,000 bushels were harvested, and by 1889, double that amount was being shipped through the Golden Gate annually, mostly on specially-built British grain

[104] Anne B. Bloomfield, "A History of the California Historical Society's New Mission Street Neighborhood," *California History* (Winter 1995/96), 374.
[105] Charles Hall Page & Associates, *Oriental Warehouse: 650 First Street, San Francisco, California* (San Francisco: unpublished report, 1982).

ships like the *Balclutha*. The second-oldest surviving warehouse in the South of Market Area, Hooper's South End Warehouse at 64-72 Townsend, was built for this trade in 1874. It stands at the northwest corner of Townsend and Colin P. Kelly (formerly Japan Street) streets and is a contributor to the locally and nationally designated South End Historic District.[106]

By the mid-1880s, dozens of warehouses were constructed in the South End to house import and export goods. Most were one or two-story brick buildings with load-bearing brick walls and slow-burning heavy timber structural systems. Goods typically housed in these warehouses included coffee, sugar, rice, beans, pharmaceuticals, chemicals, liquor, candy, and manufactured goods. According to prominent warehousemen Samuel Haslett, rates for storage typically ran 50 cents a pound for the first month (including transportation from the piers) and 25 cents for subsequent months. Public warehouse proprietors also rented out office space to affiliated businesses such as importers and shipping companies.[107]

In addition to warehouses, there were other heavy and light industrial plants. A selection of industries in the area included the V.G. Smith Cannery on 3rd Street between King and Townsend streets, the Overland Warehouse on the opposite side of 3rd Street, the California Warehouse on the northeast corner of 2nd and Townsend streets (a portion of which still exists today), the Los Gatos Cement Company, and the American Paint Company, both adjacent to the Second Street Wharf; and an ever-expanding network of lumber and brick yards along Mission Channel. One of the most interesting industrial buildings constructed in the South End during this era was the California Electric Light Company plant at 178 Townsend. Built in 1888 as an arc light generating facility, the brick power plant featured a 150' high smokestack to the rear. Somehow the smokestack survived the quake, although the front portion of the building was heavily damaged when machinery on the upper floors came crashing through to the first floor. However, the rest of the building survived and it was subsequently converted into a feed mill and drayage warehouse. The building stands today, although the stack was removed in 1995 in response to concerns over its seismic vulnerability.[108]

Residential Development

Boarding houses and lodging houses grew up simultaneously with the industrial plants and commercial buildings in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. During the 1870s, the South of Market Area contained fully one-quarter of the boarding houses and one-half of the 655 lodging houses in the city. City directories from the 1870s noted "numerous small hotels and about fifteen hundred boarding and lodging houses in the city. An unusually large number have been erected during the past few years—notably on Mission from 3rd to 9th and on various other streets, especially Market."[109] Typically of wood-frame construction, these hotels usually consisted of ground floor commercial space, with a small entrance lobby for the hotel, while the upper floors were typically occupied by a warren of rooms inhabited by primarily single male workers. Many of the hotels were run by women and almost all were named, frequently with names designed to attract particular segments of the population, such as the Union Hotel, America House, St. David's House, the Light House, etcetera. One observer, describing the 3rd and Mission Street intersection, wrote in 1878:

> The scene is a long busy street in San Francisco. Innumerable small shops lined it from north to south; horse cars, always crowded with passengers, hurried to and fro; narrow streets intersected the broader one, these built up with small dwellings, most of them rather neglected by their owners. In the middle distance were other narrow

[106] San Francisco Planning Department, *South End Historic District Case Report* (San Francisco: unpublished report, 1990), 21.
[107] Mitchell Schwarzer, *Draft South End Historic District* (San Francisco: unpublished report on file with the San Francisco Planning Department, n.d.), 11.
[108] Wendy M. Hillis and Page & Turnbull, "178 Townsend Street, San Francisco, CA: California Environmental Quality Act Analysis" (San Francisco: Unpublished report, October 2005).
[109] "South of Market Street: A Brief Guide to its Architecture," *Heritage Newsletter* (Volume XIII No. 2): 7.

> streets and alleys where taller houses stood, and the windows, fire-escapes, and balconies of these added great variety to the landscape, as the families housed there kept most of their effects on the outside during the long dry season.
>
> …All the most desirable sites were occupied by saloons, for it was practically impossible to quench the thirst of the neighborhood. There were also in evidence barbers, joiners, plumbers, grocers, fruit-sellers, bakers, and vendors of small wares, and there was the largest and most splendidly recruited army of do-nothings…[I]n many cases the shops and homes…were under one roof, and children scuttled in and out, behind and under the counters and over the thresholds into the street.[110]

Schools

The observer was Kate Douglas Wiggin, author of *Rebecca of Sunnybrook Farm*. Wiggin, fresh from college with a teaching degree, came to San Francisco with the ambition of establishing a free kindergarten "in some dreary, poverty-stricken place in a large city, a place swarming with unmothered, undefended, under-nourished child-life." Her efforts were apparently successful and in September 1878, Wiggin established the first free kindergarten in the West. Called the Silver Street Free Kindergarten, it was located on a small midblock alley called Silver (now Stillman) Street between 3rd and 4th streets, about five blocks south of Market.[111] Kindergartens were initially a form of childcare for children too young to go to school; free kindergartens typically served poor or working-class neighborhoods where women often had no other childcare options. Eventually, the western South of Market Area had at least four kindergartens, including the Free Kindergarten at 221-23 9th Street, and three others at 13th and Treat Avenue, 934 Harrison Street, and 1018 Folsom Street. None are extant today.

There were also public schools in the South of Market serving the growing numbers of families, particularly in the southern and western parts of the district. Primary schools were located on 5th, Howard, Silver, and 8th streets. Cleveland Grammar School was located on Harrison Street, between 10th and 11th streets. There was also a "colored" school on Howard Street.[112] Catholic institutions continued to educate many of the neighborhood's residents, including schools associated with both St. Joseph's and St. Ignatius. None of these buildings exist today.

"South of the Slot"

By the 1870s and 1880s, the South of Market Area's reputation as an immigrant and working-class district was firmly established. Contemporary photographs and birds eye views reveal the impact of the explosive residential and industrial growth that had come to the neighborhood since settlement in the 1850s **(Figure 15)**. Many of the once-expensive single-family houses were either taken down and replaced by tenements or converted into rooming houses. First and 2nd streets acquired a mixture of large boarding houses for sailors and industrial workers, Irish-owned saloons, a large gas works, German groceries, and workshops of various types. The character of the South of Market Area, still called "Tar Flat," or increasingly "South of the Slot," in reference to the Market Street Railway cable car tracks running down the center of Market Street, is reflected in the writings of Jack London. London was born on 3rd Street, a few blocks from Rincon Hill. London wrote of his erstwhile neighborhood in "South of the Slot."

> Old San Francisco, which is the San Francisco of only the other day, the day before the Earthquake, was divided midway by the Slot. The Slot was an iron crack that ran

[110] Quoted in Anne B. Bloomfield, "A History of the California Historical Society's New Mission Street Neighborhood," *California History* (Winter 1995/96), 382.
[111] *Ibid.*
[112] *Ibid.*

> along the centre of Market Street, and from the Slot arose the burr of the ceaseless, endless cable that was hitched at will to the cars it dragged up and down. In truth, there were two slots, but in the quick grammar of the West time was saved by calling them, and much more that they stood for, "The Slot." North of the Slot were the theatres, hotels, and shopping district, the banks and the staid, respectable business houses. South of the Slot were the factories, slums, laundries, machine-shops, boiler works, and the abodes of the working class.[113]

Conditions in the South of Market Area were frequently harsh. Crowding was the norm as workers seeking to save money and live within walking distance of their jobs doubled and tripled up in apartments and flats. Raw sewage ran down the center of the still unpaved streets, and residents died in periodic outbursts of cholera, typhoid, and diphtheria. Many of the residents were single men employed seasonally as miners, farm workers, loggers, fishermen, or sailors. Most lived in boardinghouses or cheap hotels. Without families to care for and with bleak occupational outlooks, some drank heavily, gambled, and spent what little money they had left on prostitutes. They followed work outside of town when it was available. In 1871, newspaper reporter Henry George observed that migrant workers "disappeared from the farms after the harvest into the flophouses of San Francisco—to come back the next season like so many ragged crows." Many men, when they grew too old to work, worked odd jobs locally, scavenged, or begged. When they could no longer afford the flophouses, some took up residence in the lumber yards at Steamboat Point or in the scrap metal shacks at the City Dump south of Townsend Street, an informal settlement called variously "Ragtown," or "Dumpville."[114] The lucky ones may have been sent to the Almshouse near Laguna Honda, where they would have had a comfortable bed and ample food in exchange for working on the grounds of the institution.

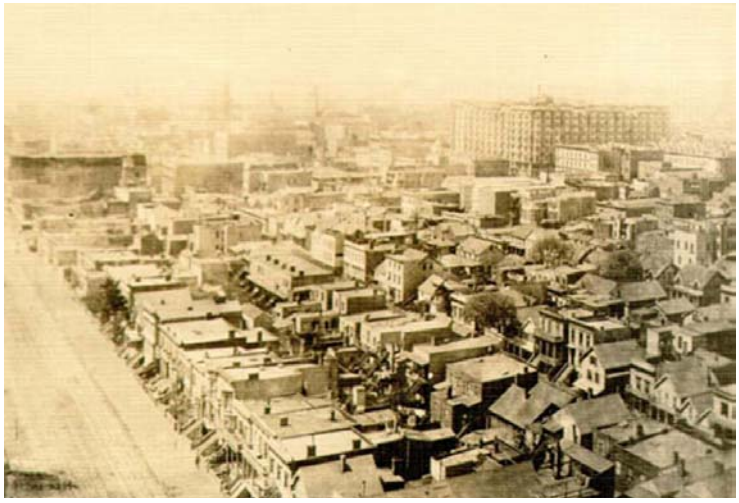

Figure 15. Birdseye view of the South of Market Area, looking northwest toward the Palace Hotel, ca. 1880
Source: San Francisco History Center, San Francisco Public Library

Labor Agitation

As a concentrated area of workingmen, the South of Market Area became home to several labor movements and was frequently the venue for strikes and demonstrations. During the 1870s, the Workingmen's Party, led by teamster Denis Kearney, maintained its headquarters in the South of Market Area at Union Hall, on Howard Street, between 3rd and 4th streets. Armed with the slogan: "The Chinese Must Go!" Kearney attracted many members among his fellow Irish working-class residents of the South of Market. Stumping from the empty "sand lots" of the South of Market Area, Kearney exploited the Panic of 1873 and the ensuing depression to blame widespread unemployment on the Chinese and the capitalists who employed them to keep wages low. In 1877, 5,000

[113] Jack London, "South of the Slot," *Saturday Evening Post* (May 1909).
[114] Charles Lockwood, "South of the Slot," *San Francisco Sunday Examiner and Chronicle* (June 10, 1979), 77.

unemployed white men demonstrated at 5th and Mission streets against further Chinese immigration before moving on to picket the Silver and Railroad Barons in their Nob Hill mansions.[115]

Demographic Trends in the South of Market

Although the South of Market Area was heavily Irish, it was not exclusively so. Unlike Eastern cities with their ethnic ghettos, San Francisco's residential districts were rarely (with the notable exception of Chinatown) exclusively the province of one particular ethnic group or other. Research performed by the late Anne Bloomfield has revealed that the South of Market Area, while heavily Irish, remained ethnically mixed. Her analysis of the 1880 Census schedules for a census tract near the corner of 3rd and Mission streets revealed that the area's population was a little over a third Irish-born. Including native-born children, persons of Irish descent comprised nearly half the population, which was probably true for most of the South of Market. Almost one-quarter of the total population of this census tract was born elsewhere in the United States. The remaining population—comprising about one quarter of the total—were born in nations other than Ireland or the United States, including Germany, Austria, England, Scotland, Canada, Italy, Mexico, China, and various Scandinavian nations.[116]

The Irish also dominated local Democratic Party politics with figures such as Bill Higgins, Sam Rainey, and Christopher "Blind Boss" Buckley. Despite efforts from the city's elite to dilute Irish voting power, the demographics generally moved in favor of the Irish and during the latter part of the nineteenth century and up until the 1906 Earthquake, San Francisco's Irish and Irish-Americans dominated the political landscapes from their strongholds in the South of Market Area and the Mission District.

By the turn of the twentieth century, the U.S. Census records for the area reveal that the residential population of the South of Market Area had grown poorer and more diverse than it had been in 1880. This state of affairs resulted both from the exodus of some residents to the Mission District and other outlying areas and the growing influx of foreign-born immigrants, most of whom were single males. An examination of a sample census tract near 3rd and Mission streets in the 1900 Census reveals that all residents (about 500 persons) rented their housing. Ninety-three percent of all residents were either adults or working teenagers, and only about a quarter had children. Sixty percent were single, and of the thirty-one percent who were married, almost a third lived apart from their spouses. Half were foreign-born. Of the total population of the tract, 10 percent were born in Ireland, 12 percent in Germany and another 12 percent from the rest of continental Europe. Four percent were Canadian and 6 percent British. Only a few were not of European descent, with 18 African-Americans, seven Japanese, five Chinese and three Mexicans. Of the remaining half that was native-born, 21 percent were born in California and the remaining 29 percent were born in another state.[117]

Other ethnic groups that arrived in the South of Market Area between 1880 and 1906 include a small colony of Greeks who lived in the decaying mansions and boarding houses of Rincon Hill, and a small cluster of Eastern European Jews who lived along Tehama, Clara, Shipley, and Clementina streets, between 5th and 6th streets.[118]

The employment prospects for South of Market Area residents were not all that good at the turn of the last century. Of the same census tract examined above, unemployment ran upwards of one

[115] "South of Market Street: A Brief Guide to its Architecture," *Heritage Newsletter* (Volume XIII No. 2), 7.
[116] Anne B. Bloomfield, "A History of the California Historical Society's New Mission Street Neighborhood," *California History* (Winter 1995/96), 378.
[117] *Ibid.*, 383.
[118] Susan Shepard, *In the Neighborhoods: A Guide to the Joys and Discoveries of San Francisco's Neighborhoods* (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1981), 62.

quarter of the resident workforce, although this figure included seasonally unemployed workers such as sailors and agricultural laborers. According to the census schedules, approximately two-thirds of the workforce consisted of manual workers, either skilled or unskilled. Clerks comprised 7 percent of the workforce, and small proprietors were 14 percent of the total. Professionals, including lawyers, musicians, accountants, teachers, and other educated workers comprised the remaining 12 percent of the population. The South of Market Area was a heavily transient place. In each of three five-year periods from 1885 until 1900, up to 21 percent of the population remained at one address, while 40-45 percent of the population moved elsewhere in the city, with the remaining either dying or leaving the city altogether.[119]

The Depression of 1893 harshly affected the lives of South of Market Area residents. The legions of unemployed and underemployed foraged for food and money as best they could in the absence of government assistance. Several private and religious organizations stepped in to assist. The Salvation Army was one of the first organizations to establish itself in the South of Market Area when it built a mission, appropriately enough on Mission Street, opposite the Grand Opera House. The Salvation Army created a wood yard where hungry or homeless individuals might chop wood in return for a meal and lodging. Associated Charities established another wood yard nearby on Main Street and the Episcopal Church organized a school, parish church, dispensary, mothers' group, sewing school, gymnasium, nursery and a home for working boys. Other charitable organizations included free medical clinics, various missions dedicated to reforming prostitutes and aiding recent immigrants, orphanages, and assistance for alcoholics and opium addicts.[120]

By 1905, the South of Market Area was essentially built out and very urban in terms of its population, its mixture of industry and residential uses, and its cosmopolitan population. According to the 1899 Sanborn Map, the general pattern of development consisted of a large concentration of masonry commercial buildings along Market Street between 1st and 5th streets and along the numbered cross streets as far as Howard Street. These more expensive buildings were increasingly interwoven with large wood frame tenements and hotels as one moved further away from Market Street. Heavy and light industrial plants and warehouses were evenly distributed among residential buildings in the eastern half of the neighborhood. The western portion of the neighborhood, from 5th Street west to 12th Street, was more residential in character although there were also many industrial plants ranging from warehouses to breweries.

1906 Earthquake and Fire

On April 18, 1906, San Francisco was devastated by a great earthquake. The South of Market Area was especially hard hit by both the temblor, which liquified the extensive filled or "made" ground, and the eleven fires that erupted from broken gas mains in the area. The fires quickly grew out of control as they fed on the densely packed frame boarding houses, hotels, and rows of aging wood houses. Many of the water mains were broken and fire fighters were consequently powerless to stop the flames from consuming virtually the entire neighborhood within six hours of the earthquake. The death toll in the South of Market Area was much higher than the rest of the city. According to the research of Gladys Hansen, the number of those killed was drastically undercounted, especially in the South of Market Area, where many of the hotels and boarding houses collapsed on their inhabitants. The fires quickly swept through the area, killing trapped survivors and erasing much of the evidence. In addition, many of its inhabitants were single male workers without local families who would miss them, which contributed to the undercount.[121]

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[119] Anne B. Bloomfield, "A History of the California Historical Society's New Mission Street Neighborhood," *California History* (Winter 1995/96), 383.
[120] *Ibid.*, 384.
[121] Gladys Hansen, *Denial of Disaster* (San Francisco: Cameron & Company, 1989).

E. RECONSTRUCTION: 1907-1929

Earthquake Survivors

Figure 16. Post-1906 South of Market Area; view toward southeast
Source: San Francisco History Center, San Francisco Public Library

The 1906 Earthquake and Fire destroyed virtually every building and structure in the South of Market Area, with some important exceptions **(Figure 16)**. Two buildings that survived (both exterior and interior) were the well-fortified U.S. Mint and U.S. Post Office and Court of Appeals. According to recent scholarship completed by retired University of California-Berkeley professor Stephen Tobriner, both buildings were extensively reinforced to withstand earthquakes, although the U.S. Post Office was damaged because a submerged creek beneath the building caused the soil to liquefy. These public buildings, both of which still stand, had thick stone and brick walls, cast iron fire shutters, internal fire suppression reservoirs, and committed workforces that valiantly extinguished any fires that entered the buildings. In addition, a small brick building at the northwest corner of 2nd and Mission streets entirely survived the quake and fire because it was sheltered behind the much larger Atlas Building next door. Aside from these three buildings, the shells of the Aronson Building on the corner of 3rd and Mission, the Grant Building at 1095-97 Market Street, the California Casket Company Building at 943 Mission Street, and St. Patrick's Church survived. The core of the James Lick Baths at 165 10th Street also survived, likely because it had a well and a huge water reservoir in the tower.[122]

In addition to the handful of buildings listed above, a narrow belt of bay front warehouses along Townsend Street in the South End was spared because fire crews were able to pump salt water from Mission Channel to extinguish the fires. The three warehouses that survived include the South End/California Warehouse on the northeast corner of 2nd and Townsend streets, Hooper's Grain Warehouse at 74 Townsend Street, and the Oriental Warehouse at 650 1st (now Delancey) Street. In addition, the former California Electric Light Co. plant at 166-78 Townsend—described above—survived.

Refugee Camps

The 1906 Earthquake and Fire rendered thousands of South of Market Area residents homeless by destroying most of the district's housing. Many fled the destruction, setting up ad hoc camps on parks and vacant land in the undestroyed portions of the nearby Mission and Potrero districts. Initially, the refugee camps were informal affairs, but within a month or two, City officials realized that the management of refugee camps would need to be taken over by the government in order to ensure that sanitation and minimal housing standards were maintained. Incorporated July 20, 1906, the San Francisco Relief and Red Cross Funds Corporation (Relief Corporation) administered and

[122] Stephen Tobriner, *Bracing for Disaster: Earthquake-Resistant Architecture and Engineering in San Francisco, 1838-1933* (Berkeley, CA: Bancroft Library and Heyday Books, 2006), 195.

disbursed relief funds, gathered from people the world over, to provide food, shelter, and clothing to destitute and homeless earthquake refugees who comprised more than half of San Francisco's 410,000 residents. Concerned that the rainy season would arrive before the refugees were re-housed, the Relief Corporation hired union carpenters to construct thousands of small redwood and fir "refugee cottages" (more popularly known as earthquake shacks). The cottages were assembled in tidy camps throughout the city, many of them in public parks and open space.[123]

Figure 17. Columbia Square Refugee Camp
Source: San Francisco Public Library

Figure 18. South Park Refugee Camp
Source: San Francisco Public Library

In the South of Market Area, the relative scarcity of open land restricted the number of official refugee camps to two: Columbia Square (Camp No. 24) and South Park (Camp No. 28). Columbia Square was the second camp to be converted from tents to cottages, occurring on September 29, 1906. This camp, which housed 1,500 people in 605 two-room cottages and 40 three-room cottages, occupied the small park located on a block bounded by Folsom, 6th, Harrison, and 7th streets **(Figure 17)**.[124] The dearth of useable space in South Park rendered infeasible the single-family refugee cottages used elsewhere. Instead of cottages, the Relief Corporation erected 14 two-story barracks housing eight two-room apartments.[125] The barracks were clad in board and batten and painted green just like their counterparts in the cottage camps **(Figure 18)**. By October 1906, South Park housed 648 residents in these apartments.[126]

Recovery

Unlike certain parts of the city, such as North Beach, which were reconstructed quite rapidly after the 1906 Earthquake, the South of Market Area took a decade or longer to fully recover. In 1908, a booster organization published a map, entitled *Two Years After: Map of Part of San Francisco, California, April 18, 1908*, showing which areas of the city had been rebuilt **(Figure 19)**. The map, which highlighted all parcels with new construction, temporary structures, or wrecked buildings scheduled to be repaired, indicated that most of the South of Market Area remained vacant. The process of recovery for the entire city was a lengthy process, necessitating not only the demolition of ruined structures and removal of debris, but also the settlement of insurance claims, resolution of any outstanding title concerns, acquisition of building permits, and, most important, the will to financially commit financial resources to a city so clearly in potential danger of future obliteration. In many

[123] San Francisco Relief and Red Cross Funds Corporation, *Department Report of the San Francisco Relief and Red Cross Funds Corporation* (San Francisco: March 19, 1907), 20.
[124] *Ibid.*
[125] Horatio F. Stoll, "The Romantic Story of South Park," *The San Francisco Call* (February 24, 1907).
[126] San Francisco Relief and Red Cross Funds Corporation, *Department Report of the San Francisco Relief and Red Cross Funds Corporation* (San Francisco: March 19, 1907), 20.

ways, the South of Market Area was uniquely affected by the earthquake and lingering uncertainty over its historical patterns of development delayed reconstruction longer than many other areas.[127]

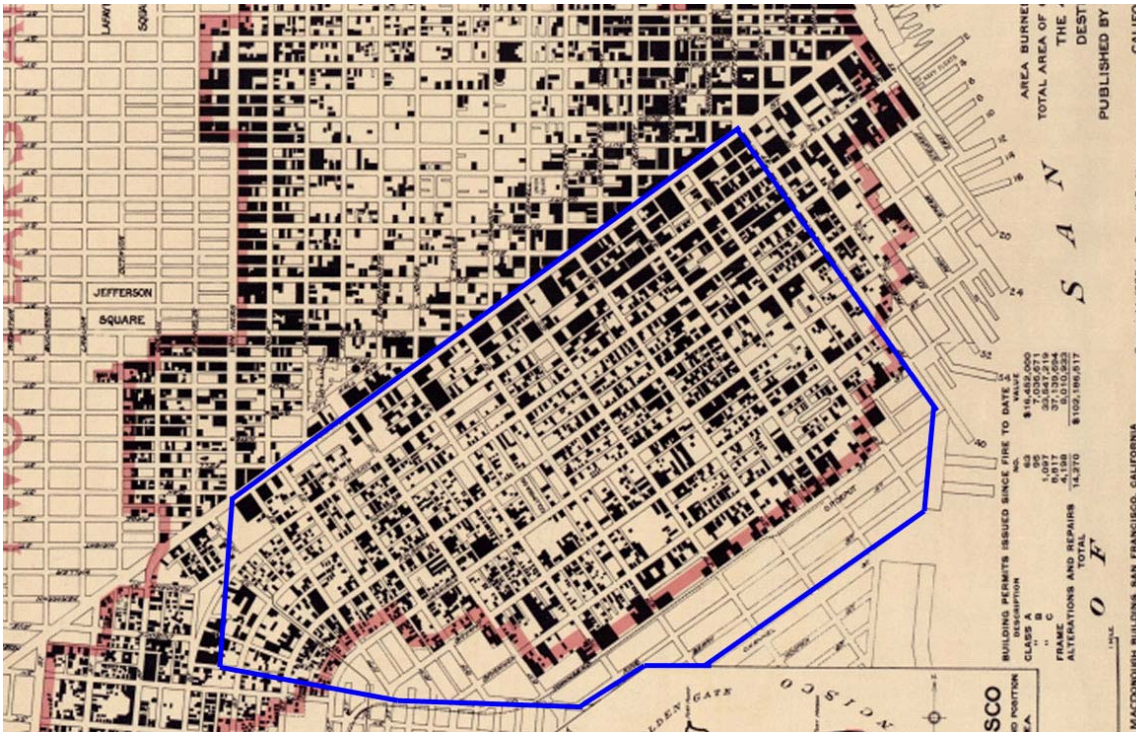

Figure 19. Two Years After, 1908 Map of San Francisco
Source: Library of Congress
Map annotated by Christopher VerPlanck

Economic Insecurity

The first and most important factor was economic insecurity. Although San Francisco's business community launched a public relations blitz to convince potential investors that San Francisco was a safe place in which to do business, many eastern investors were not convinced that San Francisco would ever recover. Many investors were concerned that earthquakes would be a continual menace to stable property values in San Francisco, and some simply looked elsewhere to spend their money.[128] In response, San Francisco's business community mounted a full court press to convince outsiders that the damage the city sustained stemmed from the fire and not the earthquake. After all, any city in the country could suffer a disastrous fire.

Insurance Claims

A second and often overlooked factor is the reluctance of insurance companies to pay their customers' claims in San Francisco, with some falling back on the excuse that the earthquake was an "act of God" not covered by their policies. Other insurance companies were simply unable to pay out the large quantity of claims and went out of business, leaving many commercial and industrial property owners holding the bag. Eventually, San Francisco's business leaders were able to pressure most solvent insurance companies to pay fair settlements, although this often took some time, especially for commercial enterprises.[129]

[127] *Ibid.*
[128] *Ibid.*
[129] *Ibid.*

Fire Limits

A third factor in the slow pace of recovery in the South of Market Area was the ongoing debate over how far the city's fire limits should be expanded after the disaster. Following the six disastrous fires of the 1850s, city authorities forbade frame buildings within the central business district and periodically these limits had been adjusted to encompass dense and valuable real estate surrounding the city's core. Prior to 1906, the only parts of the South of Market Area included within the fire limits included a narrow strip along the south side of Market Street and a small section corresponding to the Wholesale District along 2nd, New Montgomery, 3rd, 4th, and 5th streets, extending as far south as Howard Street. Otherwise, property owners in the South of Market Area had basically been free to build in any material they saw fit, which over time resulted in the hodgepodge of masonry and wood-frame buildings. The majority of pre-quake industrial and commercial buildings had been built of masonry (mostly brick) due to functional requirements and insurance regulations, but the vast majority of the residential buildings were built of wood. These old and often tinder-dry frame buildings with wood shingle roofs were responsible for feeding the fire storms that had so utterly destroyed the district.[130]

Understandably, industrialists did not favor the continued close proximity of frame dwellings to their industrial plants. Some decided that it would not be prudent to rebuild in the South of Market Area at all, relocating their businesses to the unburned Potrero or Bayview districts or outside the city altogether. Other businesses hoped to discourage the reconstruction of frame dwellings in the South of Market Area by advocating for the extension of the fire limits to encompass the entire district. In the summer of 1906, the Board of Supervisors heard testimony in support of and in opposition to the extension of the fire limits. The extension was, perhaps not surprisingly, supported by the interim fire chief and most business owners and opposed by small property holders and residents. Reverend John Rogers, a priest at St. Joseph's Church, led the opposition. He convened a summit in the burned-out shell of St. Joseph's while the Supervisors deliberated on the matter a few blocks away in temporary City Hall. Rogers summed up the frustration of many South of Market Area residents in the following quotation:

> We should demand of the supervisors that the present fire limits be not increased. We are not opposed to a greater and more beautiful San Francisco, but we cannot forget that the calamity has left us poor. It is all right for the man from Chicago [Daniel Burnham] to camp on Twin Peaks and talk of cutting boulevards here and there, but who is to pay for them? We can hardly pay our taxes…I stand for the people before I stand for the beauty and grandeur of the city. Better a city of shacks owned by the people than a city of sky-scrapers owned by Eastern capitalists. The extension of fire limits will mean our ruin. We cannot afford to put up Class A buildings and who wants to live in a…[brick] building? Frame buildings are our safeguard. The fire stopped at the wooden buildings at Van Ness Avenue and Twentieth Street.[131]

Although the Board of Supervisors eventually backed off from extending the fire limits into the South of Market Area (settling instead for a blanket prohibition on flammable roofing materials), the uncertainty over the fate of the neighborhood led many homeowners who had lived there before the quake to sell out to the industrialists. Investors and industrialists who were more than willing to snap up these lots gradually assembled them into larger parcels on which to build larger industrial buildings.

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[130] Stephen Tobriner, *Bracing for Disaster: Earthquake-Resistant Architecture and Engineering in San Francisco, 1838-1933* (Berkeley, CA: Bancroft Library and Heyday Books, 2006), 200.
[131] *Ibid.*, 203.

Reconstruction: General Trends

Reconstruction proceeded in several distinct periods, beginning with an initial flurry of building activity between 1906 and 1913. This was followed by a recession during the First World War, but by the early 1920s, construction rebounded along with the nation-wide real estate boom. The first step was to remove the earthquake debris, a laborious process that involved the labor of thousands of men who cleaned up brick and hauled debris by hand to temporary trains. The train took the debris to be dumped in San Francisco Bay and several other locations. Any buildings that could be salvaged generally were **(Figure 20)**. Seven years after the disaster, the 1913-15 Sanborn maps illustrate a neighborhood that was still only partially recovered. In the western part of the district, rubble had been mostly hauled away, although some ruins remained. Much was salvaged from the wreckage, and the area around the intersection of 12th and Market streets and Valencia and Market streets became the center for salvage yards and stores selling salvaged building materials like bricks, timber, doors and windows, trim and basically anything that could be reused.

Figure 20. Clearing of Debris near Third and Mission, 1906
Source: San Francisco History Center, San Francisco Public Library

Initially, many property owners erected temporary buildings on their properties until they could obtain insurance settlements or figure out what to do long term. Many of the earliest buildings were livery stables, storage yards, or other lightweight frame structures that could be easily dismantled or moved. According to the Sanborn maps, many of these "temporary" structures housed lumber and construction materials, coal yards, junk stores, laundries, plumbing supply stores, and second-hand stores. The maps also illustrate permanent buildings such as breweries and factories. Although residential uses were largely erased from the eastern part of the South of Market Area, within the western and central portions, particularly along Mission Street, prominent corners were redeveloped with three- and four-story brick residential hotels and lodging houses (with first floor commercial spaces), while mid-block alleys were occupied by frame cottages and multi-family flats.

The 1913-15 Sanborn maps indicate that ethnic communities in the South of Market Area were busy rebuilding structures lost in the earthquake. Although many long-term immigrant communities dispersed to the Mission District and other outlying neighborhoods, they were in many cases replaced by new immigrant groups, including Greeks, Japanese, and Eastern Europeans. Banking on

the recovery of the Irish community, St. Joseph's Church – a large complex consisting of two churches, a school, convent, and rectory at 10th and Howard streets – was under construction in 1913 and rededicated in 1914. The buildings that comprise this complex still stand. Holy Trinity Greek Orthodox Church, another important ethnic religious building erected during this time, was completed in 1906 at 345 7th Street. This church, now St. Michael's Ukrainian Orthodox Church, still stands. Other religious buildings and ethnic associations shown on the 1913 Sanborn map, include St. Paul's German Lutheran Church, which still stands at 1419 Howard Street; a Swedish Lutheran Church at 1663 Howard Street (no longer extant), and a German turnverein (gymnasium) at 237 12th Street (no longer extant).[132]

Infrastructure
Investors lobbied the City to reconstruct the South of Market Area's infrastructure as rapidly as possible. In November 1908, the South of Market Improvement Association lobbied the City to clean up the remaining earthquake debris, repave the streets in basalt and bitumen, re-establish public transit lines, and improve the physical infrastructure of the area. In an article published in the November 16, 1908, edition of the *San Francisco Call*, association secretary Oliver G. Lansing discussed the need for improved lighting in the South of Market.[133] Headquartered in the newly built (and still extant) Williams Building, at 101-07 3rd Street, the association consisted of some of the neighborhood's largest property owners, including Joseph Rothschild, E.R. Lilienthal, Robert O. Parker, Charles Schlessinger, Samuel N. Rucker, E.W. Crellin, and others. It laid out its goals in the December 11, 1909, edition of the *San Francisco Call*. In addition to securing better lighting, the association sought improved postal facilities; gas, water, and electricity; public transportation, more efficient police and fire protection, favorable insurance rates, and other incentives to speed up the reconstruction of this part of the city.[134]

Industrial Reconstruction
Industrial buildings were typically constructed to accommodate production, distribution, and repair uses. Sometimes purpose-built for a particular industry, industrial buildings were also often built on a speculative basis to accommodate a variety of industries and uses. In contrast to the wholesale commercial district located closer to Market Street, or scattered residential enclaves located throughout the South of Market Area, industrial districts are found nearly everywhere south of Howard Street, with heavy concentrations along rail lines and closer to the Waterfront. Industrial areas typically took longer to recover than either the residential or commercial sectors, a function of a variety of factors, including delayed insurance payments and the relatively tedious process of assembling larger lots suitable for manufacturing and warehouse uses. Unlike much of the contemporary residential construction, most industrial construction of the late 1910s and 1920s in the South of Market Area was executed in either steel frame and brick or reinforced concrete, more expensive construction techniques. The physical plan of industrial buildings also required larger footprints to function properly.

The South End warehouse and manufacturing district was rebuilt in the years immediately following the 1906 earthquake. Many of the new buildings were erected on the foundations of the warehouses that had stood on the same sites prior to 1906, and took advantage of the Belt Line Railway and Southern Pacific Railroad spurs that criss-crossed the neighborhood. Examples of warehouses and industrial buildings built during the Reconstruction Era in the South End include the H.S. Crocker Building at 230 Brannan Street (1906), the Rosenberg Brothers' Warehouse at 275 Brannan Street (1909), the Cape Horn Warehouse at 540 1st (Delancey) Street (1907) **(Figure 21)**, and the D.N. & E.

[132] Sanborn Fire Insurance Company, Sanborn Maps for San Francisco, California (New York: 1913-15).
[133] "Plans Campaign to Aid District," *San Francisco Call* (November 16, 1908).
[134] "To Improve South of Market Street," *San Francisco Call* (December 11, 1909).

Walter Co. Building at 601 2nd Street (1909).[135] The South End is a locally designated historic district that is also listed in the National Register of Historic Places.

Another concentration of warehouses in the South of Market Area is located at Bluxome and Townsend streets, between 5th and 6th streets. The Southern Pacific Railroad terminated at a Spanish-Mission style Southern Pacific Railroad passenger terminal, located at 3rd and Townsend streets. Built out of semi-permanent materials as a gateway to complement the 1915 Panama Pacific International Exposition, the station was a notable symbol of post-1906 reconstruction in San Francisco (it was demolished in 1977 due to structural concerns).[136] Around the time that the station was constructed, industrialists were also rebuilding the destroyed area located just north of the Southern Pacific facility, creating a notable concentration of large masonry warehouses of nearly uniform height and lot coverage that took advantage of the Southern Pacific rail spurs. Beginning with the Nathan, Dohrmann & Co. warehouse at 410 Townsend Street (1912), the node today consists of nine warehouses constructed between 1912 and 1936. Several contributors of the district include the H.H. Larson & Co. warehouse at 460 Townsend Street (1915), the F.S. Moody California Wool Depot at 149 and 157 Bluxome Street (1916), and several other general-purpose warehouses constructed during the 1920s and early 1930s on land belonging to the Moody Estate.[137] Page & Turnbull has identified and documented a potential historic district of nine intact industrial buildings in this area.

Figure 21. Cape Horn Warehouse (1907).
Source: Page & Turnbull, 2007

Commercial Reconstruction

Commercial buildings were erected for the primary purpose of housing retail or office use. Sometimes commercial buildings housed ancillary uses such as residential units or industrial – defined as production, distribution, or repair (PDR) facilities – but typically differed from purpose-built industrial or residential buildings in that they contained a preponderance of retail or office space. This was frequently indicated by the presence of large storefronts on the ground floor levels and the absence of signifiers of industrial construction such as vehicular bays, loading docks, and smokestacks. Commercial buildings were often concentrated along important arteries to

[135] Christopher VerPlanck, "South End Historic District Certification" (San Francisco: unpublished report prepared by Page & Turnbull, 2006), 8-10.
[136] Roger and Nancy Olmsted, *San Francisco Waterfront: Report on Historical Cultural Resources for the North Shore and Channel Outfalls Consolidation Projects* (San Francisco: City and County of San Francisco Wastewater Management Program, 1977).
[137] Page & Turnbull, "Bluxome and Townsend Warehouse Historic District" (San Francisco: unpublished DPR 523 D form, 2009).

accommodate customers and clients, and as such, they often embodied higher architectural values than a general-purpose industrial building.

For example, on the 6th Street commercial corridor, seven of the nine buildings on the west side, between Mission and Howard streets, were constructed between about 1906 and 1915 as mixed-use buildings with commercial spaces on the ground floor and a residential hotel above. They were designed in a style consistent with the Edwardian era. In contrast, buildings with a strictly commercial function generally resembled light industrial buildings, though they did not contain vehicular and service entrances common to the industrial type. They were used as restaurants, retail or service shops, or offices. Many were constructed during the area's second building boom that occurred in the 1920s. They were most often one- to three-stories in height and constructed of concrete. The ground floors featured storefronts with large sheet glass display windows. Office buildings sometimes containd a primary entrance leading to interior corridors and fixed sheet glass or multi-light windows on the upper stories. Commercial buildings often incorporated ample Classical Revival, Spanish Colonial Revival, or Art Deco ornament, in contrast to their more utilitarian industrial counterparts.[138]

Figure 22. Palace Hotel, 1906
Source: San Francisco Public Library, AAB-2299

Closer to the central business district, where land values remained higher, much of the South of Market Area's real estate remained in the hands of pre-quake investors, family estates, and realty companies. Located next to San Francisco's most important financial, entertainment, and retail districts north of Market Street, this part of the South of Market Area was rebuilt with the most expensive and elaborate commercial buildings. The Sharon Estate Company, owner of much of the land in the vicinity of Market, Mission, and New Montgomery streets, built the Sharon Building at 39-63 New Montgomery Street in 1912, and many of the more significant buildings along 2nd and New Montgomery streets.[139] Although salvageable, the heavily damaged Palace Hotel was demolished by the Sharon Estate and constructed of steel, concrete, and brick in a more up-to-date style in 1909 by the New York firm of Trowbridge & Livingston **(Figure 22)**.[140] The Palace Hotel and the Sharon Building still stand, as do most of the post-quake buildings along New Montgomery Street, which is a

[138] According to the San Francisco Planning Department's Preservation Bulletin No. 18, buildings designed in the Classical Revival style (1893-1920) are typically massive in form and often feature pediments, porticos, and large windows with lintels. They also may feature columns, pilasters and entablatures. The Spanish Colonial Revival (1915-1930) is characterized by smooth stucco walls, clay tile roofs, elaborate molded ornament around doors and windows, polychrome tile at entries, and wrought iron grilles and balconies. The Art Deco style (1925-1950) was named for an international exposition held in Paris in 1925. Ornamental designs were derived from a variety of sources including Egyptian, Mayan and "Oriental" art and architecture. The style is noted for its use of rich materials and profuse ornament of zigzags, rays and chevrons. Buildings designed in the 20th Century Commercial style generally have very little ornamentation, though they may have a moderately projecting cornices and applied plaster cartouches or garlands.

[139] Anne B. Bloomfield, "A History of the California Historical Society's New Mission Street Neighborhood," *California History* (Winter 1995/96), 385.

[140] *Ibid.*

spine of the New Montgomery-Second Conservation District. Commercial buildings that were salvageable were generally repaired. In 1908, the Aronson Building, which still stands at 700 Mission Street, was outfitted with a new interior. Also in 1908, Albert Pissis and Joseph Moore rebuilt the heavily damaged Emporium department store at 835-65 Market Street. Several lesser-known pre-quake commercial buildings were reconstructed or repaired, including the Atlas Building at 602-06 Mission Street (1907) and the Wells Fargo Building at 71-85 2nd Street (1902, rebuilt 1907).[141]

The initial flurry of reconstruction was followed by a brief recession, but by 1910 many new commercial buildings, including several new office buildings and hotels, were underway along New Montgomery, 1st, 2nd, and 3rd streets, including the Rialto Building at 116 New Montgomery Street (1902, rebuilt 1910), the Call Building at 74 New Montgomery Street (1914), and the Gunst and Williams buildings, completed in 1907 on the southwest and southeast corners of 3rd and Mission streets, respectively.

Residential Reconstruction

The South of Market Area was a heavily residential district prior to the 1906 Earthquake, but was reconstructed as a primarily industrial district after the disaster. Nonetheless, residential uses were preserved within several enclaves like South Park **(Figure 23)** and in the southwestern part of the district where small interior lots were generally unsuitable for industrial uses. Because of the urgent need to build housing, residential reconstruction occurred at a more rapid pace than either industrial or commercial building, with a large number of residential hotels, boarding houses, and flats, and the occasional single-family dwelling and cottage court erected between 1906 and 1913. Residential buildings constructed during this period fall into three major categories: large three-to six-story wood-frame or masonry apartment buildings and residential hotels, wood-frame multi-family flats, and smaller wood-frame, single-family dwellings and cottages. The apartment houses and hotels were often designed either in the Classical or Colonial Revival styles, while the flats and cottages were typically designed in the Classical Revival, or "Edwardian-era," Mission Revival and Craftsman styles. Based on anecdotal information and census records, residents of the hotels and boarding houses tended to be single male seasonal workers or elderly, while the cottages and flats more often housed families and their boarders.

Residential Hotels

Residential hotels, a dominant feature of the 1906 Reconstruction Era, were primarily located on large corner lots measuring between 75' and 150' square, or on narrower mid-block parcels along 6th, 7th, and Mission streets. Former concentrations along 3rd, 4th, and 5th streets have mostly been demolished. Residential hotels were often three- to six-stories in height and were built of either wood-frame or concrete construction, often with brick masonry cladding. Residential hotels built immediately after 1906 were most often designed in styles popular during the Edwardian era,

Figure 23. South Park, ca. 1945
Source: San Francisco Public Library, AAA-7042

[141] Michael Corbett, *Splendid Survivors: San Francisco's Downtown Architectural Heritage* (San Francisco: California Living Books, 1978).

including Classical Revival, Mission Revival, and Craftsman. The most notable examples were articulated by a profusion of angled bay windows, rounded corner bay windows, and elaborate projecting cornices. Most featured a centrally located primary entrance (typically oriented to the principal thoroughfare) and a lobby containing a reception desk and residents' mailboxes. From the lobby, stairs provided access to the rooms on the upper floors. Good extant examples of Reconstruction-Era residential hotels and boarding houses, many with ground-floor commercial space, include the Hotel Utah at 500 4th Street (1908), the Hotel Howard at 182-86 6th Street (1907), the Orlando Hotel **(Figure 24)** at 201-209 6th Street (1907), the Hotel Potter at the northeast corner of 9th and Howard streets (1911), and the Madrid Hotel (formerly Eimoto Hotel, 1915) at 22-24 South Park Street.

Figure 24. Hotel Orlando (1907), 1960s
Source: San Francisco History Center, San Francisco Public Library

Flats
Most residential flats in the western South of Market Area were built in the first few years after the 1906 Earthquake, although a few later infill examples exist. The British term "flat" is widely used in San Francisco to describe a multiple-family dwelling consisting of a floor-through unit on each level. The exterior by porches were constructed to shelter two or more entrances located side-by-side, with one accessing the first floor unit and the other(s) accessing an internal stair(s) to the units on the upper floors. Flats in the South of Market Area were often built atop a raised basement where either a basement, a garage (typically installed in the 1920s), or a residential unit were be located. They were primarily designed in popular Edwardian-era styles and were usually located along side streets and alleys. Approximately 60 percent of extant residential buildings in the Western SoMa Light Industrial and Residential Historic District are standard flats. A few examples with architectural integrity include: 110 Langton Street (1906), 644-48 Natoma Street (1907), a large Mission Revival/Craftsman building at 12-14 Rausch Street (1914), and a three-flat building at 653 Minna Street (1915).

Romeo Flats
A sub-category of residential flats, called "Romeo flats," appear to have been widely built in the five years following the 1906 Earthquake, with very few built after 1915. Romeo flats are multi-story, multiple-family buildings consisting of multiple stacked modules of flats connected at the center by

recessed or extruded stair towers. The Romeo flat earned its name by virtue of its frequently open-air stair landings reminiscent of the stage setting of Shakespeare's "Romeo and Juliet." The earliest in the South of Market, built in 1906 and 1907, often featured flat fronts and simple cornices. Later Romeo flats were designed in popular Edwardian-era styles, usually with angled bay windows. In the South of Market Area, Romeo flats can be found in the same locations as regular flats, mostly on narrow back streets and alleys, such as Minna and Natoma streets. There are at least fifty Romeo flats in the Western SoMa Light Industrial and Residential Historic District, including small clusters on Natoma, Russ, Shipley, and Tehama streets. Good examples of Romeo flats include 204-14 Dore Street (1907), the Classical Revival flats 335-339 10th Street (1909), 146-50 Russ Street (1909), and 972-74 Harrison Street (1911).

Figure 25. 229-31 Shipley Street (1916).
Source: Page & Turnbull, 2007

Residential Courts

The South of Market Area contains at least five residential courts, more popularly known as "bungalow courts" in Southern California. These are one-story, multiple-family dwellings consisting of a narrow patio or walkway flanked by rows of two to five individual cottages on either side. Residential courts gave occupants the sense of a single-family lifestyle within a multi-family property. The residential courts in the South of Market Area were either designed without a particular style or with simple Classical Revival or Craftsman influences. Most examples in the neighborhood feature a screen wall facing the street, often with an enclosed arched portal accessing the central patio/walkway. Specific examples include: 1033-1041 Minna Street (1924), a complex of five duplex buildings separated by a walkway and designed in a simple Craftsman style; 775-795 Minna Street (1906), three buildings containing multiple units and separated by a walkway; and 229-31 Shipley Street (1916), four single-family cottages organized around a central walkway and unified by a single Classical Revival style façade **(Figure 25)**.

Single-Family Dwellings

As a densely developed urban district with relatively high property values, the post-quake South of Market Area contains relatively few single-family dwellings. Most extant single-family dwellings are concentrated in the western portion of the district, primarily within the Western SoMa Industrial and Residential Historic District identified and documented by Page & Turnbull in 2009. Within this district, there are 33 contributing single-family residences, several of which feature industrial uses on their ground floor. Of the 33, 18 were built between 1906 and 1907. They were designed either in popular Edwardian-era styles or in a vernacular mode without reference to popular styles. Nearly all are clad in shiplap or channel drop wood siding, although some are shingled and still others are clad in non-historic materials like aluminum and vinyl siding. After the First World War, the handful of single-family dwellings built in the area were designed in the Spanish Colonial Revival or Mediterranean styles with ground level integral garages. Some examples of single-family residences include: 62 Kissling Street (1906), a two-story residence designed in the Classical Revival style; 22 Bernice Street (1907), a vernacular dwelling featuring elements of the Greek Revival style; and 44 Sheridan Street (1922), a two-story Mission Revival-style flat.

Post-1906 demographic trends

In addition to destroying most of the Victorian-era buildings of the South of Market Area, the 1906 Earthquake and Fire dramatically changed the demographic characteristics of the entire district. After the disaster, the rebuilding of the neighborhood as an industrial area caused the residential population to plummet. Although, as demonstrated above, limited residential construction did occur, sporadic insurance settlements and unwilling banks helped to squeeze out many members of the pre-1906 working-class population. Many residents, most of whom were renters, moved further out to the similarly working-class and mixed residential/industrial Mission and Potrero districts, where some were eventually able to purchase houses in outlying parts of the city. Census records document the diaspora; between 1900 and 1910, the residential population of the South of Market Area declined from 62,000 to 24,000.[142]

General Population Characteristics

Census records indicate that the resettled population of the South of Market Area during the post-quake era remained largely white, single, male, and predominantly American-born. These characteristics did not change much until the Second World War. Restrictive immigration laws passed during the early twentieth century drastically reduced the number of immigrants to the United States, causing the proportion of American-born residents to gradually increase. Families were also conspicuously absent; observers reported during the first decades of the twentieth century that fewer women and children were visible on South of Market Area streets than in any other residential or commercial district of the city.[143] Bloomfield's sampling of the 1920 Census reveals that a census tract location within the vicinity of 3rd and Mission contained fifteen residential hotels. Of their occupants, 98 percent were male and 70 percent were single (although none of the married men lived with their wives). Of the entire cohort, 64 percent were American-born, with 12 percent born in California and 52 percent born elsewhere in the United States. The remaining population was foreign-born, with Scandinavians at 8 percent, Germans and Irish at 6 percent each, British (including Scottish) at 5 percent, and other Europeans at 7 percent. Only five individuals of the total population were born outside Europe or North America.[144]

Ethnic Communities: Greeks

Although Bloomfield's census tract sampling is largely representative of demographic trends in the South of Market Area as a whole, concentrations of ethnic groups not represented in this tract existed in other areas of the neighborhood. Research performed by Page & Turnbull as part of the Western SoMa Light Industrial and Residential Historic District reveal the presence of several vigorous ethnic communities in the South of Market Area. The Greek immigrant community was one of the largest and most conspicuous. Greeks had begun coming to San Francisco even before the 1906 Earthquake, as evidenced by the presence of Holy Trinity Greek Orthodox Church at 335 7th Street, which was originally built in 1903 and rebuilt after the earthquake in 1906. San Francisco's Greek community grew rapidly prior to the First World War as Greeks escaped their war-torn and poverty-stricken homeland. Many made their way across the country as railroad workers. By 1923, 11,500 Greeks lived in San Francisco.[145] In that year, San Francisco contained 26 Greek-owned coffee houses, 380 Greek grocery stores, and 120 Greek shoe shine stands. Many other Greeks worked in auto repair shops, banks, or upholsterers' shops. Some leveraged their transit experience to get jobs with the San Francisco Municipal Railway. San Francisco's Greek community, although dispersed across the city, was centered on the intersection of 3rd and Folsom streets in the South of

[142] "South of Market Street: A Brief Guide to its Architecture," *Heritage Newsletter (*Volume XIII, No. 2): 7.
[143] Paul Groth, *Living Downtown: The History of Residential Hotels in the United States*. Berkeley (University of California Press, 1994), 155.
[144] Anne B. Bloomfield, "A History of the California Historical Society's New Mission Street Neighborhood," *California History* (Winter 1995/96), 388.
[145] Robert H. Wilson, "The Greeks," *San Francisco Examiner* (December 9, 1923).

Market Area, where many of their coffee shops, short order restaurants, and other businesses were located. For a while, the presence of so many Greek businesses gave the area the name Greek Town.

Ethnic Communities: Japanese

Although traditionally identified with the more well-known Japantown neighborhood in the Western Addition, South Park was actually the first predominantly Japanese enclave in San Francisco, remaining so until around 1933. Due to its low rents and proximity to Piers 30-32, where the Japanese steamships docked, South Park began to attract newly arrived Japanese immigrants after the 1906 Earthquake. City directories reveal a large number of Japanese residents and businesses around South Park by 1910. The increasingly Japanese character of South Park is indicated by the application by an S. Nakahara in 1916 for a permit from the Park Commission to erect two Japanese tori gates in the park – both remnants of the 1915 Panama-Pacific International Exposition. However, anti-Japanese sentiment in San Francisco was strong and opponents prevented the gates from being installed.[146]

Further evidence for Japanese settlement in South Park includes information from Albert P. Wheelan, who wrote in the South of Market Journal in 1927 that South Park consisted of "squalid tenements occupied largely by Orientals."[147] Serving their countrymen, Japanese immigrants operated four residential hotels in South Park: the Eimoto Hotel at 22–24 South Park Street, the Kumamoto Hotel (no longer extant), the Bo Chow Hotel at 102 South Park Street, and the Hotel Omiya at 104–106 South Park Street. Other Japanese businesses gave South Park its distinctive character. Shokichi Morino owned and developed 108-110 South Park Street, which contained the Omiya Shoten Co. souvenir shop, and a storehouse at 112 South Park Street. A building near the Hotel Omiya also contained the Biwako baths.[148] By the early 1930s, growing prosperity had inspired many prosperous Japanese immigrants to move to the Western Addition where they could rent or purchase (only in the names of their native-born children) spacious Victorian-era rowhouses. Subsequently, the Japanese businesses in South Park closed or relocated to the Western Addition, giving way to an influx of Filipino immigrants during the mid-1930s.

One of the best-known Japanese-owned businesses beyond the bounds of South Park in the South of Market Area was People's Laundry **(Figure 26)**. In 1920, the former James Lick Baths at 165 10th Street was converted to the People's Laundry, a commercial laundry run by the Tsukamoto family. The Tsukamoto family lived in the building in the early years, and later moved into quarters across Grace Street in the rear. The all-Japanese work force, mostly single men who came to California from the Prefecture of Chiba-Ken in Japan, lived upstairs above the laundry. People's Laundry operated at this location until 1973, though the Tsukamoto family did not operate the business the entire time.[149]

Figure 26. People's Laundry Building
Source: KVP Consulting, 2008

[146] Randolph Stephen Delehanty, *San Francisco Parks and Playgrounds, 1839 to 1990: The History of a Public Good in One North American City* (1992), 110.
[147] Albert P. Wheelan, *South of Market Journal* 2 (February 1927), 4.
[148] The Japantown Task Force, Inc. *Images of America: San Francisco's Japantown* (2005), 18.
[149] Moses Corrette, Planning Department City and County of San Francisco, James Lick Baths DPR 523 A and DPR 523 B forms (8

Ethnic Communities: Filipinos
Filipino immigrants and their descendents have had a longstanding presence in the South of Market Area. Initially settled north of Market Street in an area called Manilatown, near the intersection of Washington and Kearny streets, by the early 1920s, Filipinos had established a toehold in the South of Market Area. As Japanese residents left South Park for the Western Addition, Filipinos began to purchase or rent buildings in the vicinity. As American nationals (the United States had acquired the Philippines as a prize in the Spanish-American War), Filipino immigrants were allowed to purchase property in the United States and become naturalized American citizens, in contrast to Japanese or Chinese immigrants.

One of the earliest Filipino-owned buildings in the South of Market Area is located at 104-106 South Park Street, the Gran Oriente Filipino Hotel. In 1921, Filipino merchant marines pooled their earnings with other Filipino workers and purchased the three-story wood-frame hotel building (formerly the Hotel Omiya) for $6,000. They renamed it the Gran Oriente Filipino Hotel in honor of a fraternal group in the Philippines. Originally, the 24-room hotel served as a meeting place and boarding house for members who worked in San Francisco and for farm workers from the Central Valley who visited on weekends. The members who were merchant marines worked as cooks, waiters, and other support crew on commercial passenger ships that terminated in San Francisco. By 1940, the Gran Oriente organization in the United States had 700 members, with lodges in California, Hawaii, Seattle, Phoenix, New York City, Brooklyn, and Newark, New Jersey. Aside from the lodge in San Francisco, California, others were established in Salinas, Stockton, and Sacramento. Still connected to the Gran Oriente in Manila, each member paid $9 in annual dues to the Philippines and $25 annual local dues.[150]

The local dues allowed the group to purchase two residential flats buildings (41-43 South Park Street and 45-49 South Park Street) and a lodge (95 Jack London Alley) across South Park in the 1950s. As a result of the merchant marines' purchase in 1921, there has been a Filipino presence at South Park ever since. Indeed, South Park figures into the establishment of a Filipino community in the South of Market Area as a whole. Filipinos are the largest minority group living in the South of Market Area today.

Occupational Trends
In regard to occupation, the population of Bloomfield's census tract at 3rd and Mission streets was quite diverse, with 34 percent of residents employed in skilled industrial trades, 6 percent in semi-skilled industrial trades, 16 percent in office work, 10 percent employed in the nearby hotels, and 20 percent employed in a variety of seasonal unskilled or semi-skilled occupations ranging from farm work to logging, mining, janitorial services, and night watch duties. Many South of Market Area workers, most notably agricultural laborers, loggers, fishermen, fish packers, and seamen, worked for part of the year away from San Francisco. When a particular job came to an end, these workers would make their way back to San Francisco to rent inexpensive quarters in the South of Market Area or the Tenderloin.[151] There, they would stretch out their saved wages or take on temporary jobs in the informal labor market. Operating on the margins of mainstream middle-class society, many migrant workers were responsible for the creation of much of the region's physical infrastructure and wealth, but rarely did they share in its prosperity.

The businesses and institutions that grew up to serve the residential population of the South of Market Area after 1906 were concentrated within two corridors, one along 3rd Street and the other

March 2004).
[150] Eddie Foronda, "The Gran Oriente: Savvy Filipino Seamen Maintain 75-Year-Old Presence in Chic SOMA," *San Francisco Examiner* (6 July 1997):
[151] *Ibid.*

along Howard Street. Residential hotels, cafeterias, second-hand clothing stores, pawn shops, saloons, gambling parlors, pool halls, public baths, a movie house, barber shops, and newsagents were concentrated along 3rd Street, between Market and Folsom streets. Meanwhile, employment offices (residents called it "the slave market"), missions, and other social service agencies were located along Howard Street.[152]

F. DEPRESSION AND WORLD WAR II: 1930-1945

"Skid Road"

The collapse of the Stock Market in 1929 launched a worldwide Depression that lasted ten years. The economic collapse affected broad sectors of society, but working-class residents, such as those who lived in San Francisco's South of Market Area, disproportionately felt the impacts. With many local businesses either closed or running on a reduced workforce, workers found themselves competing for increasingly scarce agricultural work, particularly after the arrival of large numbers of Dust Bowl migrants from Oklahoma, Texas, and Arkansas in the Central Valley and other farming regions. Although the New Deal work relief programs of the 1930s created work for some, a large percentage of South of Market Area residents were older and a portion were already crippled by a lifetime of hard work, poor nutrition, and heavy alcohol use. Although some turned to religious missions for assistance, others avoided them because a free meal often came with a sermon. State and federal relief programs were often of little use either, rejecting many of the older and less healthy individuals as being "unemployable."

Some long-term local residents of the South of Market Area remembered the neighborhood as being an intimate and enjoyable place to live, in spite of the challenges posed by poverty and underemployment. Peter Mendelsohn, a merchant seaman who later opposed the Redevelopment Agency's efforts to bulldoze his neighborhood for the Yerba Buena Center, recalled:

> Life along Third Street was the happiest in the City. All the gambling was on Third Street, and there were houses of prostitution above Breen's Restaurant—people came from all over to eat at Breen's. This life lasted until 1937, when the city closed all the gambling joints…The South of Market was a workingclass neighborhood…The men were floaters; 40% were seamen, stewards, engineers and deck-hands; the rest waiters, maintenance men, and part-time longshoremen…People spent their days sitting, dreaming, who knows what?…they always lived in the same hotel, though, because you like to live with your buddies. Drinking, talking, gossiping, playing cards or dominoes, the people had a sense of the neighborhood as their home…[153]

However, the cheap booze joints, gambling halls, and other vices attracted a hard core of alcoholics and others "on the bum." Very much visible on the streets of the South of Market Area, middle-class San Franciscans decried the sight of clusters of men drinking on street corners or hanging around in front of gambling halls and saloons in an area that popularly came to be known as "Skid Road" **(Figure 27)**.

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[152] Anne B. Bloomfield, "A History of the California Historical Society's New Mission Street Neighborhood," *California History* (Winter 1995/96), 388.
[153] *Ibid.*, 389.

Figure 27. Men on "Skid Road," 1940s
Source: San Francisco History Center, San Francisco Public Library

1934 Waterfront Strike

The South of Market Area was suddenly known on the world stage as one of the principal battlegrounds of the 1934 Waterfront Strike. Although largely confined to The Embarcadero and adjoining Rincon Hill district, the sporadic fighting that erupted between striking longshoremen and the San Francisco Police Department did spread west into the South End warehouse district, where many of the most notable scenes occurred. The 1934 Waterfront Strike remains one of the most important events in the history of San Francisco and the American labor movement. It began as an effort by the International Longshoremen's Association, or ILA, to replace the corrupt and degrading daily "shape-up" with union hiring halls and to raise wages from 85 cents to $1 an hour. The ILA also sought official recognition by the Waterfront Employers' Association as the primary union representing the Bay Area's longshoremen and warehouse workers. [154] The strike began when the Waterfront Employers' Union refused to recognize the union or to negotiate with its representatives. Other maritime unions soon joined in the strike, including the Marine Cooks and Stewards (MCS), the Marine Engineers' Beneficial Association (MEBA), the Masters, Mates, and Pilots (MMP), the Sailors' Union of the Pacific (SUP), and the Marine Firemen, Oilers, Watertenders and Wipers (MFOWW), along with the Communist-led Marine Workers Industrial Union.

On July 2, 1934, Albert Boynton, Director of the private Industrial Association (IA), announced that the Port of San Francisco, closed since the outbreak of the strike on May 9, would be reopened, by force if necessary. The following day, the IA began sending trucks loaded with coffee from Pier 38 to Atlas Drayage, a dummy drayage company located in the rented Garcia & Maggini Warehouse at 128 King Street in the South End. Under protection of the police, the two trucks steadily made their way from Pier 38 toward 128 King Street. Within minutes of leaving Pier 38, workers began to throw bricks and bottles at the police, who responded with batons and tear gas.[155] When the workers saw the trucks headed west on Townsend, they surged toward the intersection of 2nd and Townsend streets to intercept the trucks before they got to King Street. The police, under the leadership of Chief William Quinn, charged the workers and threw tear gas. The crowd of workers was too large to

[154] Robert Cherny, *Context Statement: 1934 Waterfront & General Strikes,* 2001.
[155] "Plans to Open Port Outlined," *San Francisco Chronicle* (July 3, 1934), p. 6.

subdue easily and the strikers began throwing the tear gas back at the police. The battle continued on unabated before moving west along Townsend Street, as far west as 4th Street **(Figure 28)**.[156]

Figure 28. Battle between Strikers and Police near Second and Townsend Streets, 1934
Source: San Francisco History Center, San Francisco Public Library

On July 5, the ship owners tried to break the strike by hiring scabs to transfer cargo from the ships to warehouses in the South End, and as a result, a riot exploded along The Embarcadero and up Rincon Hill where some of the longshoremen had been squatting in tin shacks. Called "The Battle of Rincon Hill" by the newspapers and "Bloody Thursday" by the maritime workers, the conflict left two men dead—a longshoreman and a member of the Marine Cooks and Stewards—and over 100 strikers injured. The governor responded to the riots by calling in the National Guard, which protected the strikebreakers with machine guns and tanks. The maritime unions asked all unions in the city to respond by declaring a general strike. They responded and the great San Francisco General Strike essentially paralyzed San Francisco for several days. The same month, the ship owners, shocked by the violence and level of support for the workers, agreed to arbitration and endorsed most of the demands of the maritime unions.[157]

Public Works Projects

San Francisco-Oakland Bay Bridge

The 1930s witnessed the construction of several significant buildings and public infrastructure projects in the South of Market Area. The first to be completed was the San Francisco-Oakland Bay Bridge, which was finished in the fall of 1936. Throughout the 1920s, business leaders fought a campaign to build a bridge from San Francisco to Oakland. By 1930, the project was assured. Designed by Daniel E. Moran with engineer Charles H. Purcell, construction started in June 1933, with the last rivet placed on October 25, 1936. The bridge opened on November 12, 1936 to much fanfare around the Bay Area. Although originally planned to begin at 12th and Harrison streets, the on-ramp to the bridge viaduct ended up being constructed at the corner of 5th and Harrison streets.

[156] "Curious Noncombatants Crowd Vantage Points as Police Club Stevedores," *San Francisco Chronicle* (July 4, 1934), p. 1A.
[157] Christopher VerPlanck and Eileen Wilde, "Historic Resources Evaluation: 340 & 350 Fremont Street," (San Francisco: unpublished report for Page & Turnbull, 2005), 11-12.

Because land prices had dropped in the area, it was relatively cheap to acquire land for the bridge approaches.[158] The viaduct resulted in the demolition of hundreds of buildings extending from 5th Street to Rincon Hill. The open lots flanking the viaduct were originally landscaped with lawns and trees, although this was removed in the 1950s with the construction of the Highway 50 (now Interstate 80) elevated freeway.[159] In addition to demolishing hundreds of buildings, the viaduct cut the South of Market Area into two sections, with Harrison Street marking the approximate dividing line between the north and the south. The western part of the South of Market Area was also affected by the increase in vehicular traffic headed for the bridge. After the construction of the bridge and associated infrastructure, the northern half of the South of Market Area became increasingly commercial due to its relative proximity to downtown San Francisco, whereas the area south of the viaduct remained predominantly industrial.

South Van Ness Avenue

Another major New Deal-era public works project executed in the South of Market Area during the 1930s resolved a long-standing traffic logjam by extending several streets from north of Market Street into the South of Market Area. The most ambitious of these projects was the extension of Van Ness Avenue from Market Street to where Howard Street pivoted toward the south **(Figure 29)**. Traffic had long been hobbled by the lack of direct communication across Market Street because the north-south streets of Jasper O'Farrell's 1847 Survey did not align due to the discrepancy in block sizes. South Van Ness Avenue, as the extension was called, absorbed Howard Street south of 12th Street and became part of U.S. 101 in 1933. To build South Van Ness Avenue, workmen cut through several blocks occupied by industrial buildings. The completed project left behind several irregularly shaped corner parcels. Within a few years, businesses began constructing replacement buildings along South Van Ness Avenue, many designed in the Art Deco or Moderne styles. Extant examples include the Dairymen's Building (now BMW of San Francisco) at South Van Ness and 13th streets (1937), the *San Francisco Recorder* printing plant at South Van Ness Avenue and Mission Street, and the TAP Plastics showroom at 154 South Van Ness Avenue.

Figure 29. South Van Ness Avenue Extension, 1931
Source: San Francisco Public Library

[158] "Buy Now, He Says of Bridge Approaches," *The San Francisco Chronicle* (August 17, 1933), 8.
[159] "City's Front Yard," *The San Francisco Chronicle* (February 25, 1935), 5.

Depression-era Commercial and Industrial Construction

Most private new construction in the South of Market Area came to a halt during the Depression. With very little money available and few vacant lots, some building owners turned to remodeling their existing buildings in either the Art Deco or Streamline Moderne styles. Examples include 271-275 9th Street, which was built in 1917 and remodeled in the Art Deco style in 1930. Another excellent example is the Atlas Building, a ten-story office building located near the northwest corner of 1st and Mission streets. Erected prior to the 1906 Earthquake, the ornate Renaissance/Baroque style building was repaired, serving its original function until 1931 when its ornate façade was removed and replaced with a Streamline Moderne façade of terra cotta tiles designed by the architect John V.D. Linden **(Figure 30)**.[160]

Meanwhile, with construction costs down, real estate investors attempted to renew interest in new industrial construction by saying that the low maintenance costs and economical movement of goods characteristic of the modern industrial buildings would benefit the occupant and eventually result in reducing the number of obsolete buildings in the South of Market Area. Boosters highlighted the fact that South of Market Area industries were in close proximity to three transcontinental railroads (Southern Pacific, Atchison Topeka & Santa Fe, and Western Pacific), two streetcar systems (Market Street Railway and MUNI), and modern highways (U.S. 50 and U.S. 101), which provided short delivery routes for goods.[161]

As the effects of the Depression lessened toward the end of the 1930s, industrialists began building new industrial and commercial buildings. Although relatively few buildings were constructed, those that were comprise some of the most aesthetically daring in the city, including many designed in the Art Deco and Streamline Moderne styles. A good example is the Eng-Skell Building at 1035 Howard Street **(Figure 31)**. Designed by Port engineer A.C. Griewank in 1930, the reinforced-concrete industrial building features molded concrete accordion spandrel panels between industrial steel-sash windows, applied geometric ornament above the entry, and a triangular parapet with molded Deco tulips, chevrons, and fluted pilasters. The Eng-Skell building has been owned and operated by the same food-processing and research company from its construction in 1930 to the present.[162] Another excellent example from this period is the proto-modern San Francisco Galvanizing Works building at 1170 Harrison Street **(Figure 32)**. Originally constructed in 1912 and redesigned in 1929 by architect Dodge Reidy, the concrete industrial building is an excellent (and very early) example of the Late Moderne style.

Figure 30. Atlas Building
Source: KVP Consulting

[160] Vincent Rainey, "Modernizing a Twenty-five Year Old Office Building," *Architect & Engineer* (October 1931), 61-4.
[161] "Comprehensive Survey of Area Made," *San Francisco Chronicle* (June 7, 1930), 6.
[162] Michael Corbett, *Splendid Survivors: San Francisco's Downtown Architectural Heritage* (San Francisco: California Living Books, 1978).

Other notable and perhaps better-known buildings erected in the South of Market Area during the late 1920s and 1930s include the Pacific Telephone and Telegraph Building at 134-40 New Montgomery Street (1925), the Western Furniture Exchange and Merchandise Mart at 10th and Market streets (1937), and the Pacific Telephone and Telegraph Exchange Building at 1 McCoppin Street (1937).

Figure 31. Eng-Skell Building (1930)
Source: Page & Turnbull, 2007

Figure 32. San Francisco Galvanizing Works (1912 and 1929)
Source: Page & Turnbull, 2007

World War II-era Demographic and Construction Trends

The Second World War brought great changes to the South of Market Area and to the rest of the Bay Area. With its many war plants, shipyards, and military bases, the San Francisco Bay region became known across the nation as the "Arsenal of Democracy." War workers lured by the prospect of relatively well-paying jobs, and perhaps a change of scenery, inundated San Francisco, Oakland, Richmond, South San Francisco, and other industrial communities ringing the Bay. Many of the newcomers were Dust Bowl refugees – both white and Native American – from Oklahoma, Texas, and Arkansas. Others were African Americans from Louisiana, Texas, and Mississippi seeking relief from chronic poverty and oppressive "Jim Crow" laws. In addition, Latin American immigrants began arriving from Mexico, El Salvador, and Nicaragua. Filipinos, already present in South Park, arrived in greater numbers to take jobs in wartime industries and agriculture. The migrants swelled the population and changed the racial and ethnic balance in the South of Market Area. In 1940, the entire South of Market Area was only 5 percent non-white, but by 1950 the figure had reached 14 percent.[163]

Very little was built in the South of Market Area during the 1940s, mostly due to wartime building restrictions. One notable exception was the Union Oil Company Building **(Figure 33)**. Completed in 1940 at 425 1st Street and expanded in the early 1950s, the Streamline Moderne-style office building included an otherwise non-functional tower whose primary purpose was to carry neon signage visible from the 1939 Golden Gate International Exposition as well as the legions of commuters arriving in San Francisco over the San Francisco-Oakland Bay Bridge. The Union Oil Company Building was recently demolished to make way for a high-rise luxury condominium project.

[163] Anne B. Bloomfield, "A History of the California Historical Society's New Mission Street Neighborhood," *California History* (Winter 1995/96), 389.

G. POST-WAR ERA: 1946-2009

Stasis

After the Second World War, the South of Market Area settled back into its longtime role as a provider of inexpensive housing for single male workers and retirees, although now with a large admixture of domestic migrants and foreign immigrants. Similar to the pre-war period, many of the residents of the area were poor and working-class, often eking out a living cobbled together from casual labor, scrounging, and charity. Although conditions were not necessarily optimal from a middle-class standpoint, many residents of the South of Market Area enjoyed living there, particularly for its relatively sunny weather, proximity to shops and social services, level and walkable streets, and tight-knit community feeling. In 1965, William Colvin, a retired painting contractor, reported:

> Most people don't understand, but let me tell you, a man can enjoy freedom here. All of us have many friends. To us, this has been a home for years. We enjoy life…Most of all there is something spiritual about all of this…We have something that couldn't be replaced with all the money the federal government could put in here. We like it the way it is. We want to stay."[164]

Figure 33. Union Oil Co. Building, 1940
Source: San Francisco History Center, San Francisco Public Library

Because of its central location and proud history of labor politics, the South of Market Area and adjoining Rincon Hill neighborhood became the center of labor union activity after the Second World War, with most of the major maritime labor unions building union halls in the area east of 1st Street between Mission and Harrison streets. The most notable remaining example is the Sailors' Union of the Pacific (SUP) hall at 1st and Harrison streets.

Redevelopment

City authorities envisioned a different future for the South of Market Area than the district's working-class residents. In 1953, the San Francisco Redevelopment Agency (SFRA) announced its intentions to redevelop twelve "blighted" blocks at the heart of South of Market Area.[165] As envisioned by local magnate Ben Swig, the project would condemn and clear the blocks bounded by 3rd, Mission, 4th, and Folsom streets and redevelop them with a large civic arena, convention center, and high-rise office and hotel buildings **(Figure 34)**. This solution – standard practice in many American cities during the post-war era – was ostensibly intended to reverse urban blight in the South of Market Area by removing "slum" housing and replacing it with a new convention center that would be the envy of any suburb. Nevertheless, other motives behind the project included the fact that its advocates had direct financial stakes in area real estate. Hinting at possible ulterior motives, Justin Herman, director of the San Francisco Redevelopment Agency, candidly stated in 1970, "This land is too valuable to permit poor people to park on it."[166] Located close to commuter

[164] As quoted in Anne B. Bloomfield, "A History of the California Historical Society's New Mission Street Neighborhood," *California History* (Winter 1995/96), 390.
[165] Chester Hartman, *Yerba Buena: Land Grab and Community Resistance in San Francisco* (San Francisco: Glide Publications, 1974), 13.
[166] Chester Hartman, *Yerba Buena: Land Grab and Community Resistance in San Francisco* (San Francisco: Glide Publications, 1974), 19.

routes into downtown San Francisco, large numbers of poor South of Market Area residents lived within plain view of suburban commuters and residents.

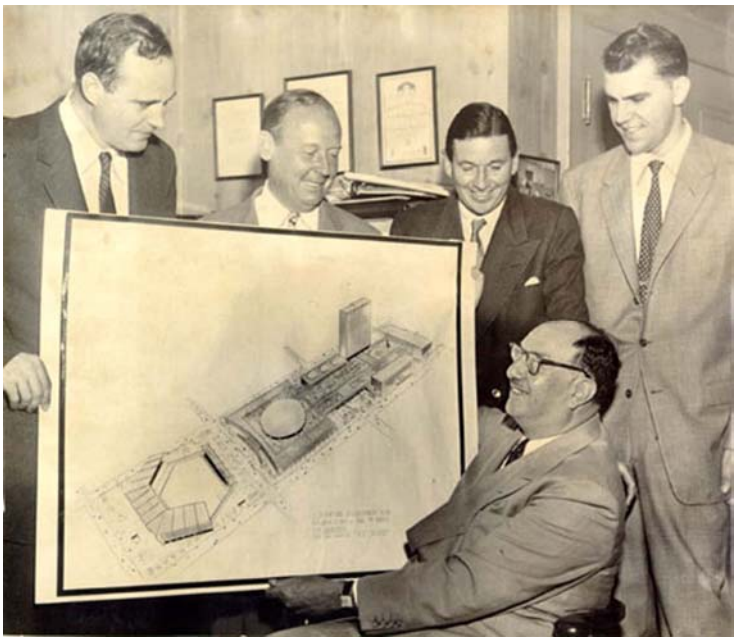

Figure 34. Ben Swig and friends unveil Yerba Buena Center
Source: San Francisco History Center, San Francisco Public Library

Although officially sponsored by the SFRA, the South of Market Area was clearly under pressure from the private sector, members of which envisioned the old Wholesale District and adjoining residential hotel district of the South of Market Area as a natural extension of the central business district. In addition to its proximity to the Financial District, the large 100-vara blocks of the South of Market Area were thought to be ideally suited for large-scale corporate projects. The only impediment was that thousands of people already lived there, including many of San Francisco's most economically vulnerable residents. According to the 1970 Census, a sample census tract within the South of Market Area contained 4,832 residents, three-quarters of whom were male and some thirty-five percent over the age of 60. Nearly two-thirds were unemployed within the formal labor market, and the median income was $2,734, barely a quarter of the city's average per capita income. Given their lack of economic means, the residents of the South of Market Area probably seemed like easy targets for redevelopment. Consequently, in 1967, the SFRA formed the Yerba Buena Redevelopment Area and began the lengthy process of condemning property, evicting residents, and demolishing buildings **(Figure 35)**.[167]

TOOR

The conditions of many residential hotels declined precipitously after they were acquired by the SFRA. In response, residents of the Milner Hotel at 117 4th Street formed an organization called Tenants and Owners in Opposition to Redevelopment (TOOR) during the summer of 1969. Many of its members, including its president George Woolf – a veteran of left wing labor organizing in the 1930s and one-time president of the Alaska Cannery Workers Union – were well suited to the job of opposing powerful interests and negotiating for a more favorable outcome on behalf of area residents. Following Woolf's death in 1972, the presidency of TOOR fell to Peter Mendelsohn, a retired merchant seaman and union leader. Aided by the Neighborhood Legal Assistance Foundation, TOOR organized petition drives, testified at public hearings, and organized public protests to attract wider attention to their cause.[168]

[167] Anne B. Bloomfield, "A History of the California Historical Society's New Mission Street Neighborhood," *California History* (Winter 1995/96), 391.
[168] Ibid.

TOOR's primary goal was to prevent displacement of its elderly members by ensuring the provision of decent replacement housing within the South of Market Area. In 1969, TOOR successfully enjoined the courts to grant an injunction against the SFRA to halt further demolition of residential hotels in the area. Four years later, TOOR and the SFRA signed an agreement guaranteeing former residents of the area replacement housing, some of it within the South of Market Area. Although by no means a unilateral victory for area residents – it has been estimated that approximately 4,000 people and 700 businesses were ultimately displaced – TOOR's actions forced powerful interests to take notice of the political power that could be brought to bear by poor people.

Delayed for several years by further lawsuits, the Yerba Buena Center was gradually built out during the 1980s and 1990s, beginning with the Moscone Convention Center (Moscone South) in 1981.[169] Constructed in following years were Moscone North (1992); Yerba Buena Gardens, including Yerba Buena Center for the Arts (1994); the San Francisco Museum of Modern Art (1995); the Children's Center (1998); and Moscone West (2003).

Resistance to Redevelopment

During the 1970s, widespread opposition to redevelopment began to grow among middle-class San Franciscans. City residents had grown fond of their urban environment, which had remained largely unchanged since the Stock Market Crash of 1929. In contrast to groups like TOOR that were founded simply to resist its members' own displacement, many groups that followed in their footsteps stated their opposition to redevelopment in general. Many resisted the SFRA's (and its private developer clients') seemingly unchecked authority in reshaping the city. In addition to the sense of loss brought about by the demolition of familiar buildings, those who opposed redevelopment frequently adopted a less well articulated unhappiness with the social changes that redevelopment wrought, in particular the displacement of working class people to make way for new upper-middle residents and businesses, a process now familiarly termed "gentrification." But the most vocal opposition developed in opposition to the sheer height of new buildings, represented in the pejorative "Manhattanization" of San Francisco. In a 1999 article, Dean Macris, Director of Planning between 1981 and 1992 (and again between 2004 and 2007) summarized the times thusly:

Figure 35. Future site of the Yerba Buena Center, ca. 1970
Source: San Francisco History Center, San Francisco Public Library

> Between 1965 and 1981, office space in San Francisco doubled, reaching a total of 55 million square feet. Bulk and density rules adopted in 1968, along with a 1972

[169] *Ibid.*

> height map that implemented the policies of the 1971 Urban Design Plan, guided this rapid growth. Though considered "cutting edge" at the time, the rules produced many buildings whose height and boxy profiles contrasted starkly with buildings produced a generation earlier. Moreover, with finer-grained, older buildings being demolished to make room for new construction, the physical character of the city's core was rapidly, irrevocably changing. Voter initiatives limiting building height lost in 1971, 1972, and again in 1979 though by increasingly smaller margins.
>
> Battles over the demolition of landmark-quality buildings mounted. The environmental impact reports for each new project documented, in increasing detail, the economic, social and aesthetic impacts of the new buildings. As the City Planning Commission, under the leadership of Toby Rosenblatt, grappled with the number of office project proposals being presented, it became more and more assertive in the use of its discretionary review powers to control the scale of buildings and mitigate their adverse impacts. However, it was clear that new planning policies and zoning regulations were urgently needed. [170]

Deindustrialization

Redevelopment of the South of Market Area coincided with the deindustrialization of the area during the postwar period. By the late 1970s, San Francisco had long since relinquished its title as the industrial powerhouse of the West, or even of the Bay Area – that title having gone to the East Bay, and later to Santa Clara County. By 1977, San Francisco retained only 12 percent of regional manufacturing jobs and only a quarter of wholesaling industries.[171] The trend intensified as remaining industries departed for industrial suburbs such as South San Francisco, San Bruno, San Leandro, and other cities. Although some industries remained in operation (particularly food processing, automotive repair, and warehousing), the future of manufacturing was clearly in the suburbs and increasingly overseas.

Meanwhile, San Francisco's white collar job base began growing in response to the growing number of jobs in fields such as banking and financial services, insurance, real estate, and other professional services. During the 1970s and early 1980s, most of these jobs were created in San Francisco's Financial District. As rents began to go up in the core of the central business district, commercial office space began to relocate to nearby industrial areas, especially the South of Market Area. This area contained an ample supply of relatively inexpensive properties occupied by smaller-scale and underutilized industrial buildings, particularly east of 1st Street and along Spear, Beale, and Fremont streets. Gradually, by the mid-1970s, most of this area was cleared and replaced with dozens of boxy glass and steel towers, less charitably called "refrigerator boxes."

Downtown Plan

The steady march of anonymous high-rise office buildings throughout the South of Market Area and the rest of downtown during the 1970s and 1980s revived charges of "Manhattanization" by those who opposed the rapid pace of change in downtown San Francisco. Although anti-high-rise ballot initiatives continued to lose at the polls, the opposition gained strength and support from those who disliked the wholesale demolition of San Francisco's pre-war downtown.[172] In 1983, in a separate process, the Planning Department devised its own *Downtown Plan*, a comprehensive revision of the Planning Code that included design standards, reduced height and bulk allowances, stronger historic preservation guarantees, and explicit encouragement to shift new high-rise development to the South

[170] Dean Macris and George Williams, "San Francisco's Downtown Plan; Landmark Guidelines Shape City's Growth," in *SPUR Newsletter* (August 1999).
[171] Robert W. Cherny and William Issel, *San Francisco: Presidio, Port and Pacific Metropolis* (Sparks, NV: Materials for Today's Learning, 1988), 70.
[172] Brian J. Godfrey, "Urban Development & Redevelopment in San Francisco," *Geographical Review*, Vol. 87, No.3 (July 1997).

of Market Area.[173] The plan strategically reduced floor area ratios (FARs), but tactically permitted building heights of up to 550 feet. Its most visible affect on new construction, however, was stylistic. In the words of one reviewer:

> Blaming the International Style for many of the city's woes, the plan banishes the style from San Francisco. [in favor of] A new slimmed-down high rise, inspired by the romantic skyscrapers of the 1920s.[174]

Further:

> As an antidote to the alien impersonality of the International Style the Downtown Plan calls for pepping up the new high-rises with decoration and ornament and articulating building mass with cornices, stepped parapets and terraces, domes and hip and mansard roofs.[175]

The intent and direction of the *Downtown Plan* were strongly influenced by the contemporary Postmodern movement, led by Robert Venturi and Charles Moore, which advocated a return to historic precedent in regard to design, albeit with a playful, or "whimsical" twist. In San Francisco, such policies led to a return of the 1920s-era 'Wedding Cake' silhouette, with firm street walls rising in recessed tiers to slender summits. These and the plan's other requirements have resulted in a distinctive type of building, one distinguishable from the glass and steel slabs of the preceding generation and from the buildings of the post-1906 rebuilding era. Within the South of Market Area, such designs include 33 New Montgomery Street (1986), 100 First Street (1988), 455 Market Street (1988), and 71 Stevenson Street (1986) **(Figure 36)**.

Figure 36. 71 Stevenson Street, 2007
Source: KVP Consulting

Another objective of the plan was to preserve and enhance the pedestrian environment. Regulations attempted to protect open spaces from shadowing and from downdrafts caused by tall buildings, and to discourage plazas and observation platforms in favor of active, public-serving uses at the ground level of most buildings.[176]

One of the most important and groundbreaking aspects of the Downtown Plan was its designation of 250 architecturally significant buildings as Category I, II, or III buildings, awarding them protection from demolition or significant alterations. Others were designated as contributors to conservation districts. An almost equal number were given partial protection, with certain restricted additions allowed. The *Downtown Plan* also liberalized the rules governing Transferable Development Rights (TDRs) to help compensate for preservation restrictions.[177] This allowed the owners of protected buildings to sell the right to further height development to the owner of another site,

[173] Ibid.
[174] David Winter, "The Downtown Plan," *ART News* (March 1984).
[175] Ibid.
[176] Dean Macris and George Williams, "San Francisco's Downtown Plan; Landmark Guidelines Shape City's Growth," in *SPUR Newsletter*, August 1999.
[177] Ibid.

allowing that site to be built higher than regulations would ordinarily permit. These protective provisions, as well as the prescriptive provisions for new construction discussed above, have had a powerful shaping effect on the survey area.

Although the *Downtown Plan* met with high praise in professional circles,[178] reactions elsewhere were less favorable:

> Critics of high-rise development were not appeased by the Downtown Plan, despite the accolades it generally received from architects, planners, and the local press corps. Neighborhood activists suspected that the plan served as little more than a rationale for new construction to continue at a rapid pace.[179]

Accordingly, the plan did not forestall politically oriented agitation over high-rise development. Before approving the *Downtown Plan*, the Board of Supervisors, responding to public pressure, added an absolute annual limit of 950,000 square feet of new office space to its requirements. This led to the institution of the annual "Beauty Contests" in which all pending projects are reviewed to select those that will be allowed to proceed under the new absolute square footage limit, thus thrusting the Planning Department into an ever more prominent design role.

But even the amended Plan did not ally public fears of Manhattanization. In 1987, public initiative enacted Proposition M, which halved the annual square footage allowance and created "the most restrictive growth control measure of any large U.S. city."[180]

New Populations
While the proposed redevelopment of the South of Market Area progressed through the courts, other groups on the margins of mainstream society, such as artists, gays and lesbians, and radicals and activists of all stripes, began to lay claim to the South of Market Area. Filipinos, outgrowing their South Park foothold, moved throughout the South of Market Area during the 1960s and 1970s. Once heavily Irish parishes like St. Joseph's and St. Patrick's became predominantly Filipino. One outcome of the stalled redevelopment process was uncertainty for the future direction of the area, resulting in rents remaining very low during the 1970s and 1980s. Cheap rents attracted artists and not-for-profit groups, as well as other marginalized groups, interested in rehabilitating underutilized industrial loft buildings. Some squatted and others built out industrial loft space with living quarters. Other minority groups, including sexual minorities, also moved to the South of Market. The lack of a significant residential population encouraged night-time bars and clubs catering to more daring segments of the nightlife without fear of disturbing neighbors or attracting unwanted attention.

Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender (LGBT) Communities
Composed of several different groups, San Francisco's LGBT community was one such group that made the South of Market Area its own during the postwar period. San Francisco's LGBT communities have a long history in San Francisco, which for much of its history has been known as an "open town," meaning that non-heterosexual identities were not actively suppressed even if not tolerated by the mainstream. Perched out on the left coast of the continent, San Francisco has long had a reputation for openness and freedom from traditional mores, conditions that nurture sexual and gender experimentation. Much of the very early history of the LGBT community in San Francisco is unclear, but beginning with the repeal of Prohibition in 1933, active lesbian, gay, and transgender communities began to emerge in San Francisco's North Beach neighborhood, with such

[178] David Winter and Sally Woodbridge, "Commentary: San Francisco Plan," *Progressive Architecture* 66 (December 1985).
[179] Brian J. Godfrey, "Urban Development & Redevelopment in San Francisco," *Geographical Review*, Vol. 87, No.3 (July 1997).
[180] Richard DeLeon, "The Birth of the Slow Growth Movement and the Battle for Proposition M," in *Left Coast City: Progressive Politics in San Francisco, 1965-1991* (Lawrence, KA: University of Kansas Press, 1992).

well-known bars like Mona's and The Black Cat, and in the Tenderloin with the Old Crow, College Inn, and the Pirate's Den.[181]

The influx of thousands of war workers and military personnel into San Francisco during the Second World War provided new venues and opportunities for gays and lesbians to gather and socialize. Emerging as a consequence of the social changes brought about by wartime, several groups began to organize in San Francisco with the goal of improving the social status of gays and lesbians. By 1956, the two most prominent national organizations dedicated to the improvement of gays and lesbians were headquartered in San Francisco: the Mattachine Society and the Daughters of Bilitis. The following decades witnessed the growth of LGBT consciousness and activity – both political and cultural. However, even in San Francisco, LGBT communities were not exempt from harassment from civil authorities. In August of 1966, Compton's Cafeteria, a Tenderloin all-night restaurant frequented by the neighborhood's poor and often gender-transgressive youth, was the site of an explosive reaction to on-going police harassment. It has been credited as the first act of resistance to police oppression by members of sexual minority communities in the United States.[182]

Throughout the 1960s, San Francisco increasingly gained the reputation as being a good place to live if you were gay. In 1964, a *Life* magazine article entitled "Homosexuality in America" identified the city as a "the capital of the gay world."[183] With increasingly prominent national media coverage, San Francisco's LGBT communities continued to grow thanks to the arrival of thousands of new migrants eager to escape the oppressive environments of less-tolerant regions. From 1960 through the end of the decade, the number of bars catering to a gay clientele in San Francisco rose from 53 to 86.[184] Coinciding with an increasing out-migration of native San Franciscans to the suburbs, the new arrivals began to take up residence in parts of the city that previously had no direct connection to sexual minorities. Bypassing North Beach and the Tenderloin – historically the centers of adult entertainments and sexual and gender transgression in the 1940s and 1950s –Polk Gulch, the Haight-Ashbury, and the South of Market Area increasingly gained a visible gay and lesbian presence in the 1960s.[185]

Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, various LGBT-oriented business establishments took up residence in the decaying industrial belt of the South of Market Area. Although the area eventually became known primarily for its "Bear" and "Leathermen" subcultures, the South of Market Area acquired a variety of establishments, including bars, bathhouses, and dance clubs, that catered to a cross-section of San Francisco's diverse LGBT communities. Examples within the South of Market Area include the former "Sutro Bathhouse" building 1015 Folsom Street. Originally designed in the Art Deco style, the 1932 concrete commercial building was occupied by its first LGBT business in 1973. From 1976 until 1977, the building housed "The Tubs," a gay bathhouse, one of the first to occupy a former industrial building in the area. From 1978 until 1979, it was known as Folsom Street Baths and from 1979 until 1984 it became known as the Sutro Bathhouse. The rapid spread of AIDS among San Francisco's Gay communities during the early 1980s made public bathhouses – often a venue for anonymous sexual behavior – a target for the San Francisco Public Health Department and by 1984, the bathhouses were closed.[186] Another important LGBT business establishment in the South of Market Area was the Trocadero Transfer, an after-hours dance club located at 520 4th

[181] Damon Scott, *Draft LGBT Historic Context Statement* (San Francisco: Friends of 1800, 2006), 1.
[182] From GLBT Historical Society, Partial List of Site in Mid-Market Area. Compton's was part of a chain of restaurants throughout the city. The Compton's riot occurred at 101 Taylor.
[183] From GLBT Queer Sites database. Tool Box, 399 Fourth (1962-1971); Jumping Frog, 2111 Polk (1960?-1964).
[184] Martin Meeker, *Come Out West: Communication and the Gay and Lesbian Migration to San Francisco, 1940s-1960s* [PhD]: History, University of Southern California; 2000.
[185] Damon Scott, *Draft LGBT Historic Context Statement* (San Francisco: Friends of 1800, 2006), 6.
[186] Page & Turnbull, Inc., *DPR 523 B Form: 1015 Folsom Street* (San Francisco: Page & Turnbull, 2008).

Street. Established in 1977 in a warehouse building constructed in 1930, the business remained open until 2000 when it was remodeled as the Glas Cat dance club.[187]

Another community that continues to thrive in the South of Market Area is the Gay "leather" community, so named because of their distinctive dress consisting of biker outfits and other accoutrements of overtly masculine outlaw American subcultures. During the 1970s, Folsom Street between 8th and 12th streets acquired the nickname of the "Valley of the Gods" (as opposed to the Castro, San Francisco's other famous gay neighborhood, which was correspondingly referred to as the "Valley of the Dolls"). The Valley of the Gods became home to a large and visible leather community that gathered (and continues to gather) at bars like the Eagle Tavern at 398 12th Street, The Stud at 399 9th Street, and at the annual Folsom Street Fair. The AIDS epidemic of the 1980s hit the leather community especially hard. This factor, in addition to increasing competition over commercial space during the Dotcom era, has taken its toll on the leather businesses and institutions that once dominated Folsom Street.[188] Nevertheless, bars such as The Eagle Tavern, The Stud, and The Hole in the Wall remain.

1989 Earthquake
On October 17, 1989, a magnitude 7.1 Earthquake hit the Bay Area. Although not many buildings were destroyed outright in San Francisco, the earthquake severely damaged several local freeways, including the Embarcadero and Central Freeways, parts of which passed through the South of Market Area.[189] The Embarcadero Freeway and a large portion of I-280 were demolished in the years that followed the 1989 Earthquake, freeing several blocks from the blighting influence of dark and oppressive freeway viaducts. Nevertheless, the neighborhood remains in the path of thousands of commuters who frequently speed through the district's wide one-way arterial streets with little regard for the pedestrians who attempt to negotiate the neighborhood on foot. Presently, the I-80/Bay Bridge viaduct is being retrofitted to contemporary seismic safety standards.

Dotcom Boom and Live Work Lofts
During the late 1990s, the popularization of the Internet for commercial purposes led to the development of hundreds of companies dedicated to selling all types of goods and services. Due in part to its proximity to Silicon Valley, San Francisco became a center of the nascent "Dot-com Boom." Beginning around 1996, the city attracted thousands of entrepreneurs, software developers, marketing people, and other workers from across the country seeking to participate in the boom. Lured by the availability of abundant and relatively inexpensive former industrial – not to mention the "industrial chic" qualities– of San Francisco's former industrial buildings south of Market Street, the Dot-com entrepreneurs quickly absorbed much of the available space in the district. Dot-com businesses were heavily concentrated within the eastern portion of the district, primarily around South Park, an area that for a while became known as "Multimedia Gulch." As rents for office space skyrocketed, owners of "underutilized" industrial buildings evicted long-term tenants and leased them to Dot-com companies who rehabilitated them for office use.

The physical impacts to the South of Market Area were not limited to office conversion. The new workers attracted to San Francisco needed somewhere to live, and local residential builders soon learned how to take advantage of a loophole in the Planning Code allowing for the construction of so-called "live-work" housing within the city's industrial belt. The live-work loft phenomenon in San Francisco dates back to 1988, when the Planning Department decided to relax existing restrictions on

[187] Page & Turnbull, Inc., *DPR 523 B Form: 520 4th Street* (San Francisco: Page & Turnbull, 2008).
[188] Gayle S. Rubin, "The Miracle Mile: South of Market and Gay Male Leather," in *Reclaiming San Francisco: History, Politics, Culture*, ed. James Brooks et al (San Francisco: City Lights Books, 1998), 258.
[189] Gladys Hansen, *San Francisco Almanac*, rev. ed. (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1995), 91-2.

artists or craftspeople living and working in industrial spaces. With the demand for housing soaring during the Dot-com Boom, enterprising builders – particularly members of the Irish immigrant-dominated Residential Builders' Association (RBA) – determined that by cleverly reclassifying internet workers as artists they could build new "live-work" housing in San Francisco's industrial districts. In order to purchase a live-work loft, all the purchaser had to do to remain in compliance with the live-work ordinance was to sign a voucher stating that he/she was an artist. In addition to the de facto legalization of residential construction within industrially zoned districts, the ordinance exempted the developer from having to comply with residential planning regulations governing rear and side yard setbacks or affordable housing set asides. Furthermore, they were exempted from providing contributions to local schools because the live work lofts were technically not residential buildings.[190]

Figure 37. 548 Brannan Street, 2008
Source: KVP Consulting

Because it is the closest largely industrial area to downtown, the South of Market Area was the district most heavily impacted by live-work loft construction, although much of the same was going on in the Northeast Mission, Potrero, Central Waterfront, and Bayview-Hunters Point districts. Realtors and property owners created bidding wars over industrial properties, creating conditions that led to the demolition of many industrial buildings to make way for new live work lofts. Between 1997 and 2000, more than 1,400 live-work loft units were completed in San Francisco, 90 percent of which were new construction.[191] Typically built with a concrete podium with frame construction above, many were designed in a generic modernist vocabulary with angled or rectangular bay windows, plywood, stucco panel, or foam-based dryvit finishes, and detailing made of contextualized "industrial" materials such as aluminum, plywood, glass, and corrugated steel **(Figure 37)**.

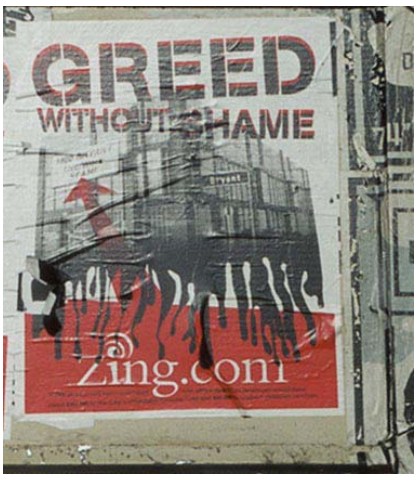

Figure 38. Anti-loft poster
Source: The Print Collective

Reaction to Gentrification

The Dot-com Boom has often been compared to the Gold Rush that occurred 150 years earlier. Although many greeted the innovative entrepreneurial creed that the boom engendered, others criticized it for importing an individualistic and opportunistic culture that proved harmful to existing working-class and artistic communities of San Francisco. What is certain, however, is that the influx of thousands of well-paid workers from outside the region did drive up property values and rents, leading to the displacement of many of San Francisco's remaining industrial businesses and working-class residents. Groups like the Mission Anti-displacement Coalition (MAC) formed to resist the influx of live-work lofts and the displacement of local residents and industries, a process many called

[190] Chester W. Hartman and Sarah Carnochan, *City for Sale: The Transformation of San Francisco* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 334.
[191] City and County of San Francisco, Office of the Budget Analyst, *Industrial Protection Zones, Live/Work Projects and Community Plans* (San Francisco: 2002), 1.

"gentrification" **(Figure 38)**. Others on the radical fringe, including the self-anointed anti-dot-com warrior "Nestor Mahkno" of the Yuppie Eradication Movement, unleashed a campaign of vandalism directed against the expensive cars belonging to the "Yuppie invaders."[192]

The Mission Anti-displacement Coalition decided to fight the "economic and social" cleansing of the Mission and Potrero districts through direct action, including public demonstrations and completing studies that supported the imposition of restrictions on the construction of live-work projects in the area. In 2000, MAC prepared its own study of the Northeast Mission Industrial Zone (NEMIZ), just south of the South of Market Area, to document the relationship of increased live-work housing and high tech office conversions and the resulting exodus of production, distribution, and repair (PDR) jobs, as well as the low- and middle-income residents who depended on these jobs. MAC and other groups used these studies to lobby the Planning Department to put an end to the fraudulent classification of live-work projects as industrial properties and to restrict the conversion of remaining industrial properties to residential or office use.[193]

By 2000, over 1,400 live-work units had been completed in San Francisco, approximately two-thirds of which were located in the South of Market Area, with another 3,148 in the "pipeline." MAC's 2001 study advocated establishing interim zoning controls within the industrial districts until the San Francisco Planning Department could finish planning for the so-called "Eastern Neighborhoods," a swath of east-central San Francisco comprising the Central Waterfront, Potrero Hill/Showplace Square, and Eastern South of Market Area. The Board of Supervisors passed interim controls in 2001, and by the fall of that year the Planning Department had begun a community planning process to implement permanent zoning controls within the city's eastern neighborhoods.[194]

Real Estate Boom

Although San Francisco's economy and housing markets slumped briefly following the end of the Dot-com Boom and the terrorist attacks on New York and Washington, D.C. on September 11th 2001, within a year or two the price of residential real estate began to once again climb. Although a worldwide phenomenon, the San Francisco Real Estate Boom of the first decade of the 21st century did assume some localized characteristics. It was considered a "Superstar City," a term defined by Wharton School economists Joseph E. Gyourko and Todd M. Sinai as a city with an inelastic supply of housing (that is, cities where it is difficult to construct new housing because of geographical constraints or zoning) and an appeal to a broad clientele of potential residents. Summarized in laymen's terms, San Francisco was widely thought to be exempt from the boom and bust fluctuations of the real estate cycle because of its finite size and inexhaustible demand among the world's moneyed elite. According to this model, the continual rise of worldwide wealth would lead to a perpetual bidding war for real estate in San Francisco, forcing out all but the most wealthy and powerful.[195] Recalling the determinist hype that fed the Dot-com Boom, the myth of unending property appreciation propelled a tremendous real estate bubble in San Francisco that only began to deflate in late 2007.

High-rise Towers

In San Francisco's South of Market Area, the Real Estate Boom of the 2000s resulted in the conversion of several remaining industrial buildings to residential usage, some of which had only recently been converted from industrial to commercial usage. However, this phenomenon was somewhat limited by the lack of remaining buildings, existing zoning regulations, and more restrictive

[192] Carol Lloyd, "Dot-Com Bust Left Behind a Transformed San Francisco Neighborhood," *San Francisco Chronicle* (May 2008).
[193] Mission Anti-Displacement Coalition, *The Hidden Costs of the New Economy: A Study of the Northeast Mission Industrial Zone* (San Francisco: 2001), 1.
[194] City and County of San Francisco, Office of the Budget Analyst, *Industrial Protection Zones, Live/Work Projects and Community Plans* (San Francisco: 2002), 1.
[195] "Boom! Bust! Boom? *Business Week* (November 6, 2006).

interim zoning controls put into place at the tail end of the Dot-com Boom. Nevertheless, the Planning Department and the Redevelopment Agency identified several sections of the South of Market Area where new housing could be completed prior to the completion of the Eastern Neighborhoods Plan, particularly Rincon Hill and several adjoining areas. Once home to San Francisco's elite, Rincon Hill had become a working-class residential and industrial enclave during the late nineteenth century. However, much of the old neighborhood had been cleared to build the Oakland-San Francisco Bay Bridge in the 1930s. By the early 21st century, the area was largely occupied by low-rise industrial buildings, union halls, and parking lots. Located close to freeway on-ramps, public transportation, and downtown, the Planning Department and the Redevelopment Agency determined that Rincon Hill should be redeveloped as a mixed-use residential/commercial district of high-rise condominium towers similar to what had been built along the old working waterfronts of Vancouver and San Diego.

Figure 39. One Rincon South Tower under construction
Source: Telstar Logistics

With the passage of the Rincon Hill Plan in 2005, the conversion of Rincon Hill and the adjoining Transbay Terminal area into a residential neighborhood for 20,000 new residents got underway. Developers filed plans to build several dozen major luxury high-rise towers, as well as many other smaller-scale developments. In addition to re-zoning much of the area for residential usage, the plan allowed new towers ranging from 250 to 550 feet on the top of Rincon Hill, creating a new element on San Francisco's skyline. Several projects either completed or underway within the Rincon Hill and adjoining Transbay District planning areas include One Rincon Tower (South) at 475 1st and Harrison streets (2005-) **(Figure 39)**, the two-tower Infinity Project at 300 Spear Street (2005-2008), and the Millennium Towers at 301 Mission Street (2006-2009). Several other high-rise towers proposed prior to the collapse of the Real Estate Boom are either on hold or have been canceled.

Transbay Terminal/Tower Project

Possibly the most important project proposal underway in the South of Market Area today is the redevelopment of the Transbay Terminal at 1st and Mission streets as part of the Transbay District Area Plan. Earmarked for replacement several times in the past, the fate of the existing 1939 Transbay Terminal (serving AC Transit, Golden Gate Transit, SamTrans, and MUNI bus lines) finally appears to be sealed. In 1999, San Francisco voters passed Proposition H, calling for the extension of Caltrain's Peninsula commuter rail service from its existing depot at 4th and Townsend Street to a new multi-modal transit center to be built on the site of the existing Transbay Terminal. Existing commuter bus lines and the proposed California High Speed Rail (CHSR) line to Southern California (if built) will also terminate at the Transit Center. In response, the Transbay Joint Powers Authority was formed to administer the construction of the Transit Center and the so-called "Transit Tower" that will mark this important node of downtown San Francisco **(Figure**

Figure 40. César Pelli's proposed Transit Tower
Source: César Pelli

40).[196] In 2007, a jury chose a submittal by César Pelli whose entry consists of a new transit center with an attached 1,200-foot tower. In addition to the "Transit Tower," the plan calls for the construction of at least three other "super tall" skyscrapers and at least ten other skyscrapers of conventional height. Several of these proposed towers have been designed and are in various stages of the entitlements process. Given the status of construction loans at the present time it is unknown how many (if any) of these towers will actually be built within the foreseeable future.

Mission Bay Redevelopment Area
Another important redevelopment project underway in the South of Market Area today is the Mission Bay Redevelopment Area. Although only the northernmost section of the redevelopment area is located in the South of Market Area, it is further along in regard to build-out than any of the other existing project areas. One of the primary catalysts in the area's redevelopment was the construction of the new stadium for the San Francisco Giants between 1997 and 2003. Variously called Pac Bell Park, SBC Park, and now AT&T Park, the stadium supplanted the Giants' old home at Candlestick Park. Part of the wave of "new urban" or "retro" ballparks like Oriole Park at Camden Yards (1992), the new Giants ballpark initiated a lot of interest in building new businesses and housing around the stadium at 3rd and King streets. The area located south and west of the ballpark – an area bounded by 3rd Street to the east, Mission Channel to the south, 7th Street to the west, and King Street to the north – is part of the Mission Bay Redevelopment Area. Once occupied by rail yards and other low-intensity uses, this area has been redeveloped with several large mid-rise mixed-use residential and retail projects including the 39-unit Glassworks condominium project at 207 King Street (2003), the 595-unit Beacon condominium project at 260 King Street (2004), and the 268-unit Arterra condominium project at 300 Berry Street (2008). Much of the success of this locale as a residential area stems from its accessibility to the I-280 freeway, the Caltrain station at 4th and King, and the extension of the MUNI N-Judah line along The Embarcadero and King Street in 1998.

H. ARCHITECTS, PROPERTY DEVELOPERS, AND BUILDERS

Architects and Builders: 1906-1913
Many of San Francisco's prominent and not-so-prominent architects, contractors, builders, and property developers have taken part in the shaping of the physical landscape of the South of Market Area. After the 1906 Earthquake, many design and construction professionals came to San Francisco to participate in the anticipated reconstruction. Although some left when the job was done, many others stayed behind to establish careers and lives in the region. Although California established architectural licensing exams as early as 1901, many contractors and builders persisted in calling themselves architects even if they were not trained or licensed. Even though it was not necessary to have an architectural license to design a relatively simple structure such as a wood-frame flat, it was often seen as a marketing advantage. Nevertheless, the practice gradually diminished by the First World War. Construction of housing was generally prioritized after the 1906 Earthquake, and although many of the flats, apartments, and single-family dwellings in the South of Market Area were designed and built by little-known contractors, several better-known architects became involved, including the O'Brien Brothers and Charles Paff.

More prominent architects received lucrative commissions to repair, rebuild, and construct new office buildings and industrial lofts in the Wholesale District and New Montgomery Street corridor of the South of Market Area. Architects active in that area after the disaster include such figures as Frederick H. Meyer, Trowbridge & Livingston, Hemenway & Miller, George Kelham, Reid Brothers,

[196] City and County of San Francisco Planning Department, *Request for Proposals: Environmental Impact Analysis and Report for the Transit Center District Plan and Transit Tower* (San Francisco, San Francisco Planning Department, July 23, 2007), 1-2.

and Meyers & Ward. Of these, Frederick H. Meyer and the O'Brien Brothers were some of the most prolific and prominent within the South of Market Area after the 1906 Earthquake.

Frederick H. Meyer
Frederick H. Meyer (1876 – 1961) partnered with architect Smith O'Brien from ca. 1902 until 1909. On his own, he designed many buildings from about 1907 into the 1920s, before teaming with Albin R. Johnson in the 1920s and Albert Evers ca. 1946-1961. Some notable Meyer works include the Humboldt Building at 783-5 Market Street (1906), the Banker's Investment Building at 722-42 Market Street (1912), the Union Trust Building at 744 Market Street, the Chinese Y.M.C.A. at 855 Sacramento Street, and the Beverly-Plaza Hotel at 334-52 Grant Avenue (1912), in addition to many other commercial and apartment buildings. In all, he designed more than fifteen large office and commercial buildings, ten industrial plants (including three breweries), eight hospitals, three schools, eight City of San Francisco projects (including fire houses, branch libraries, de Young art galleries in Golden Gate Park), and five major club and association buildings. He also served on the San Francisco Board of Consulting Architects in 1912, the force behind the creation of the Civic Center.

O'Brien Brothers
The O'Brien Brothers designed buildings in the western South of Market Area during this initial building boom (for example, 156-64 8th Street, 1911), and continued through at least the 1930s. The O'Brien Brothers firm was founded by brothers Albert L. O'Brien, C.J. O'Brien, and W.J. O'Brien, who specialized in commercial work. The firm designed at least 50 buildings in San Francisco, most in the 1910s and 1920s. Following the initial building boom in the South of Market Area, the O'Brien Brothers also designed 948-52 Folsom Street (1922), 938 Howard Street (1922), 951 Howard Street (1922), 953-955 Folsom Street (1923), 960 Folsom Street (1926), 465 10th Street (1927), and 1275 Folsom Street (1936). Their office was located at 315 Montgomery Street.

Architects and Builders: 1914-1919
The initial flurry of post-quake reconstruction was followed by a brief recession, which coincided with the First World War. A comparison of the 1913 Sanborn maps and the San Francisco Planning Department's annotated 1920 Sanborn maps reveal that only a few flats, commercial buildings, and small industrial buildings were constructed during the late 1910s. Some small buildings, most likely constructed immediately after the earthquake, were torn down by 1920. Often these buildings were earthquake shacks, stables, or sheds. Some were replaced with new buildings. Most of the buildings that were constructed during this time were built on unoccupied or underutilized lots along the primary thoroughfares, including the numbered streets and Folsom Street. However, a good number of lots remained vacant. Many of the buildings that were constructed during this era were mixed-use residential-over-commercial buildings. Various architects and builders who designed extant buildings in the South of Market Area during this time included William Wakeman, who designed the large clinker brick commercial/residential building at 282-298 9th Street (1916); William Beasley, who designed the elaborate Craftsman apartment building at 1155 Howard Street (1914); and Falch & Knoll, who designed the flats at 679-681 Minna Street (1916). Others, such as contractor George Wagner, designed industrial buildings, including the garage at 1019-1021 Mission Street (1915). Real estate developers like Bothin Real Estate were also active during this time.

Falch & Knoll
The architecture firm of Falch & Knoll was a partnership consisting of Walter C. Falch and Andrew H. Knoll that operated between 1913 and 1919. Individually, Falch practiced extensively throughout the Bay Area from 1910 into the mid-1940s. His designs include four residences built in 1919 for different clients in San Francisco's Forest Hill neighborhood. Falch & Knoll's collaborative projects included the Old Colony Apartments on Washington Street (1918) and the Emanuel Church of the Evangelical Association (1916) in San Francisco. In the South of Market Area, Falch designed 1069

Howard Street (1927), 508 4th Street (1925), 893 Folsom Street (1925), and 915 Howard Street (1925).

Bothin Real Estate Company
Bothin Real Estate Company commissioned several commercial and industrial buildings in the South of Market Area starting in the 1910s and continuing through the 1920s. Later examples include 425 Brannan Street (1924) and 410 Harrison Street (1927). Henry E. Bothin born in Ohio in 1853 and came to California around 1875. He later served as a director of Pacific Gas & Electric, the Natoma Co., and the Sausalito Land & Ferry Co. After the 1906 Earthquake, he organized the Bothin Real Estate Company, which included his own large holdings. When he died in 1923, he was considered one of the wealthiest individual owners of downtown property in San Francisco.[197]

Architects and Builders: 1920-1929
After the First World War, San Francisco entered the nationwide real estate bubble and associated building boom that lasted throughout the 1920s. Most remaining vacant parcels in the South of Market Area were developed during this decade and most of the surviving temporary frame structures erected during the immediate post-quake era were redeveloped. Architects and contractors from across the city participated in this boom, which consisted for the most part of industrial buildings, although residential buildings continued to be built as well. Some of the architects involved include Samuel L. Hyman, who designed the concrete industrial building at 926 Howard Street (1923); Joseph Pasqualetti, who designed a Moorish Revival concrete garage at 240 6th Street (1925); James H. Hjul, who designed concrete loft buildings at 234 9th Street (1925) and 45 Dore Street (1923); Arthur S. Bugbee, who designed a concrete industrial building at 1208 Howard Street (1923); Ashley & Evers, who designed a multi-story concrete industrial building at 650 5th Street; Alfred I. Coffey, who designed the elaborate Spanish Colonial Revival-style Southern Police Station at 360 4th Street (1925); and H.C. Baumann, who designed an industrial building at 218-20 Clara Street (1922). In addition to the architects, real estate developers like Louis R. Lurie were responsible for the construction of several speculative concrete industrial buildings throughout the South of Market Area.

Samuel L. Hyman
Of the architects and builders listed above, several made a tremendous contribution to the South of Market Area. Samuel Lightner Hyman (1885-1948) was born in Honolulu, Hawai'i. He studied architecture at the University of California, Columbia University, and the Ecole des Beaux Arts in Paris. Working from his offices at 68 Post Street, Hyman specialized in designing industrial, institutional, and charitable buildings – many for San Francisco's Jewish community – including San Francisco's Jewish Community Center. He designed at least nine other buildings in San Francisco in the early 1920s and planned a Victory Village defense housing project in Sunnyvale during World War II[198]

George Wagner
George Wagner (1881 – 1982) was born in San Francisco and graduated from Lowell High School in 1899. He found work in the construction trade, which flourished after the 1906 Earthquake and Fire. Wagner founded the Wagner Construction Company that, in partnership with the architecture firm Bakewell & Brown, constructed San Francisco City Hall in 1915. Wagner is also known for constructing Mather Field near Sacramento during World War II, the medical-dental building at 490 Post Street, the Oakland City Hall, Alameda County Courthouse, and the Paramount Theater in Oakland. In 1945, he formed a partnership with builder Adrian Martinez and the new Wagner-Martinez Co. built many of the major buildings at Stanford University, including the medical center.

[197] "Bothin, Rich Realtor, Dies," *San Francisco Chronicle* (October 16, 1923), 10.
[198] San Francisco Architectural Heritage file on Samuel Lightner Hyman.

Wagner worked until his late 80s. In the South of Market area, Wagner constructed 85 Columbia Square Street (1921), 1019-1021 Mission Street (1922), 927-931 Howard Street (1923), 414 Brannan Street (1924), 921 Howard Street (1924), 1061 Howard Street (1935 alteration), and 435 Brannan Street (1941 alteration).

Joseph A. Pasqualetti
Joseph A. Pasqualetti (1880-1966) was an Italian immigrant who built a successful career on designing a variety of buildings, including, flats, industrial buildings, and garages – many for San Francisco's influential Italian-American community.[199] Arriving in San Francisco before the 1906 Earthquake, Pasqualetti originally worked as a laborer helping to dynamite fire breaks. After studying engineering at Stanford, he joined Johnny Casaretto to form the American Concrete Company in 1908. As the co-owner of this company, he led the way in the use of reinforced-concrete and built several garages and buildings in the waterfront area, as well as numerous apartment buildings. Of note throughout the City were his projects at 1466 Greenwich Street, 1601-25 Bush Street, 550 Turk Street, 240 6th Street, 1575 Bush Street, 1550 Union Street, 2715 Hyde Street, 1355 Pacific Street, 1140 Powell Street, and 1565 Bush Street. In the South of Market, he designed 355-365 Brannan Street.[200]

James H. Hjul
James H. Hjul, a one-time port engineer turned building engineer, designed several industrial buildings in the South of Market Area. Some buildings were built on speculation by developers, including 1282 Folsom Street (1923) for the Helbing Company and various buildings for the Bothin Real Estate Company. Though not trained as a designer, he produced the designs of many, if not most, of the buildings erected by his firm. Hjul's major contribution to the urban environment is in the loft, warehouse, and industrial area in the South of Market Area. His designs are recognized for their straightforward clarity of function via their simple reinforced-concrete construction. Ornament is kept to a minimum, with perhaps a slight relief pattern along the cornice or indications of capitals at the tops of the piers. Hjul designed at least 16 other buildings in San Francisco. He acted as owner and designer for 1122-26 Folsom Street, 160-64 Russ Street, and 34-40 Harriet Street. Most of his designs were completed between 1922 and 1925.[201]

Arthur Bugbee
Arthur Bugbee designed a number of industrial, commercial, and residential buildings in the Bay Area from about 1915 until the late 1920s, including at least half a dozen industrial buildings in the western South of Market Area for the Bothin Real Estate Company. His office was located at 26 Montgomery Street. Shirmer & Bugbee Co., which operated from 1920 to 1927, was also known for its high-end apartment buildings in Oakland and they designed at least two car dealerships, Krestellar Motor Company (now S&C Motors) at 2001 Market Street (1920) and the Arthur Kiel Showroom at 2343 Broadway in downtown Oakland (1925).[202]

Ashley & Evers
George F. Ashley (1886 – 1962) was born in California and received his degree in architecture at the University of California, Berkeley, in 1908. He traveled to Paris to study design from 1908 to 1909. Ashley died in Alameda County at the age of 75. Albert J. Evers (1888 – 1977) was born in Iowa and attended UC Berkeley. He was student president of the Architectural Association of the University of California in 1911. Later in his career, he held the position of chief architectural supervisor for the Northern California Federal Housing Administration and was appointed to the board of the 1939 - 1940 Golden Gate International Exposition in San Francisco. Evers died in San Francisco at the age

[199] "Obituaries – Joseph A. Pasqualetti Dies; Builder," *San Francisco Chronicle* (March 17 1966), 44.
[200] San Francisco Architectural Heritage, vertical file "Joseph Pasqualetti."
[201] San Francisco Architectural Heritage file on James H. Hjul.
[202] San Francisco Architectural Heritage file on Albert S. Bugbee.

of 89. The firm of Ashley & Evers designed the Mandarin Café Building (1926) and the Scovill Manufacturing Company Building at 434 Brannan Street (1929), both in the Art Deco style.[203]

Alfred I. Coffey

Alfred I. Coffey (1866 – 1931) was born and raised in San Francisco. He graduated from St. Mary's College and subsequently specialized in designing public buildings such as schools and hospitals. From 1891 to 1908, he designed many high-end residences and two churches in San Francisco with his partner at the time, F.H. Martens. His later career included the designs of the Harkness Memorial Hospital, Saint Francis Hospital, the Cancer Institute and Psychopathic Building at the San Francisco Municipal Hospital (1931), and the Southern Pacific Hospital in San Francisco (1909). Coffey occupied the position of San Francisco City Architect from December 1910 to April 1912. In that capacity, he designed the Potrero, North End, and Richmond Police Stations. The Southern Police Station, in the South of Market Area, resembles the Golden Gate Park Police Station (1910), North End Police Station (1912), and Taraval Police Station (1944) in form, though they differ in style. The North End Police Station was designed by Coffey, F.H. Meyer, and John Reid, Jr. during Coffey's tenure as City Architect. The Taraval Station was also designed by Coffey in 1914. They all feature a tall (sometimes two-story) center pavilion with a hipped roof and arched entryway, flanked on either side by two one-story wings. Later in life, Coffey lived in Redwood City and designed several school buildings there, including Sequoia Union High School, McKinley Elementary School, and Eagle Hill Elementary School.[204]

H.C. Baumann

H.C. Baumann (1890-1960) was born in Oakland and grew up in the Potrero district of San Francisco. He studied architecture at the San Francisco Architectural Club and apprenticed to Thomas Edwards and Norman Sexton. Baumann opened his own practice in 1924. He specialized in residential buildings, particularly high-rise apartment buildings like the Allen Arms Apartments at 1900 Market Street (1931). He was a prolific designer of apartment buildings in the Pacific Heights neighborhood. Though he practiced in the Spanish Colonial, Renaissance, and Mediterranean Revival styles in his early career, by the late 1920s Baumann designed almost exclusively in the Art Deco style. Baumann's designs were inspired by more notable Bay Area Art Deco specialists, but he was known for creating his own unique molded ornament patterns and used angled bay windows with decorative detailing on the underside as his signature architectural element. Baumann designed more than 100 large-scale apartment buildings in his career. His partner, engineer Edward Jose, assisted with the design of many of these buildings. Despite the fact that Baumann primarily designed mid-rise apartments, he did also design several industrial warehouses, including 650 2nd Street (1923) and 148 Townsend Street (1922). His industrial buildings are constructed of reinforced-concrete and display minimal Classical Revival ornament.[205]

Louis R. Lurie

Louis R. Lurie is another person who greatly influenced development in the South of Market Area. Lurie (1888-1972) was a developer who became a multimillionaire in San Francisco as a result of his real estate investments from ca. 1914 until his death in 1972. Lurie bought, built, and sold warehouses, apartment buildings, government buildings, and office buildings. He constructed 295 buildings, most in the South of Market Area, many with the backing of A.P. Giannini, president of the Bank of America. He specialized in the development of factories in San Francisco because he believed that San Francisco was set to become the next big mercantile and industrial center in the country, second only to New York. Lurie bought the Mark Hopkins Hotel in 1962 and owned and leased several theaters in downtown San Francisco. He also built the city's first 20-story building at

[203] "George F. Ashley" and "Albert J. Evers," Architectural DB, accessed from: https://digital.lib.washington.edu/php/architect/ on 26 August 2008.
[204] "Alfred Coffey, Architect, Dies," *San Francisco Chronicle* (November 11, 1931), 13.
[205] San Francisco Architectural Heritage file on H.C. Baumann.

333 Montgomery Street in the 1930s. In the South of Market Area, Lurie developed properties such as 938 Howard Street (1922) and 960 Howard Street (1920).[206]

Architects and Builders: 1930-1945
As described above, building in the South of Market Area largely came to a close during the 1930s as a result of the Depression. The only areas that remained active included several major public infrastructure projects like the Bay Bridge, the Transbay Terminal and associated viaducts, and South Van Ness Avenue, remodeling of existing buildings, and limited new infill construction, much of it in the Art Deco and later, Streamline Moderne styles. Although not much was built during this era, much of it stands out based on its boldly modern aesthetic. Architects heavily involved in design and construction during this era include John H. Ahnden, who designed the Art Deco warehouse at 424 Townsend Street (1936); and A.C. Griewank who designed the Art Deco-style Eng-Skell Co. warehouse at 224 Townsend Street (1935).

John H. Ahnden
John H. Ahnden (? - 1945) designed the Art Deco-style warehouse at 424 Townsend Street (1936). Ahnden, a local San Francisco architect, worked with Henry Schulze in his early years. He also worked for many months on plans for the San Francisco City Hall while working with Bakewell & Brown. In association with John H. Powers and Bernard Maybeck, Ahnden assisted on the design of the Packard Automobile Showrooms on Van Ness Avenue in San Francisco (1926) and Oakland (1928) in the Classical Revival style. He later designed the Presidio Theatre (1937) – located in the Marina District – in the Art Moderne style.[207]

A.C. Griewank
224 Townsend Street (1935) was designed by A.C. Griewank, an engineer who also designed the Art Deco industrial building for the Eng-Skell Co. at 1035 Howard Street (1930). Both buildings feature fluted pilasters that divide the bays and a three-dimensional, stepped triangular parapet over the primary entrance. No information could be found about designer A.C. Griewank at the City of San Francisco, the San Francisco Public Library, and San Francisco Heritage.

[206] San Francisco Architectural Heritage file on Louis R. Lurie.
[207] "John H. Ahnden," *Architect and Engineer* (September 3,1945), 44.

V. DEFINITION OF PROPERTY TYPES

A. RESIDENTIAL BUILDINGS

Within the South of Market Area, there can be found a number of different housing types ranging from large masonry apartment buildings and single-room occupancy hotels (SROs) along Mission, Howard, 6th, 7th, and 8th streets, to smaller wood-frame single, double, and Romeo flats, as well as single-family dwellings. The apartments and SROs are generally located on large corner lots measuring between 75' and 150' square or narrower mid-block parcels along 6th, 7th, and 8th streets. Almost all the SROs appear to have been constructed between 1906 and 1927, with approximately half constructed during the first wave of development (1906-1913) and the rest constructed between 1918 and 1927. The flats and single-family dwellings are typically located on narrow, mid-block alleys, especially in the western part of the neighborhood on streets like Clementina, Tehama, Minna, Dore, Moss, and Rausch streets. Rebuilt within a short window of time between the 1906 Earthquake and the First World War, most residential buildings in the South of Market Area adhere to a relatively narrow range of architectural styles ranging from vernacular/utilitarian to more elaborate styles popular during the Edwardian Era, including Colonial Revival, Classical Revival, Mission Revival, Spanish Colonial Revival, Mediterranean, and Craftsman.[208]

Residential Hotels

Residential hotels were erected in large numbers in the South of Market Area from the 1860s through the early 1920s. Although downtown tourist and residential hotels have long existed for wealthy clients, residential hotels – especially single-room occupancy hotels – have traditionally been associated with working-class occupants and accordingly concentrated in very dense working-class neighborhoods like the Tenderloin, Chinatown, Mission District, and the South of Market Area. The 1906 Earthquake and Fire destroyed nearly all the residential hotels of the South of Market Area with great loss of life. After the earthquake, they were rebuilt along Mission, Howard, 3rd, 4th, 5th, 6th, and 7th streets, with many of the best examples located in the Sixth Street Lodginghouse National Register Historic District identified by Anne Bloomfield in 1997. More recently, Page & Turnbull has identified several good examples within the proposed Western SoMa Light Industrial and Residential Historic District. In contrast to those built before the disaster, the majority of post-quake residential hotels were built of masonry for fire resistance. Many feature independent rental commercial spaces and a lobby at the first floor.

Figure 41. Hotel Potter, 9th and Mission Streets (1911).
Source, Page & Turnbull, 2007

[208] For a full definition of architectural styles and periods of construction encountered in San Francisco, please refer to the following publication available from the San Francisco Planning Department: *San Francisco Preservation Bulletin No. 18: Residential and Commercial Architectural Periods and Styles in San Francisco* (San Francisco: January 2003). This bulletin can be accessed at: http://www.sfgov.org/site/uploadedfiles/planning/preservation/PresBulletin18ARCHSTYLES.pdf

Unlike an apartment building, a residential hotel typically features just one residential entrance to aid in surveillance. The lobby typically features a desk for the attendant and mail boxes for the residents. From the lobby, stairs provide access to the individual guest rooms on the upper floors. Although the rooms typically contain a sink, toilets are often located at the end of the hallway of each floor and there are typically no provisions for cooking. In the South of Market Area, residential hotels are frequently built of concrete or brick and feature an irregular grid of openings on the upper floors that correspond to the interior arrangement of rooms. Most residential hotels in the South of Market Area adhere to a relatively narrow range of architectural styles ranging from vernacular/utilitarian to more elaborate styles popular during the Edwardian Era, including Colonial Revival, Classical Revival, Mission Revival, Spanish Colonial Revival, Mediterranean, and Craftsman. Other more exotic styles include Georgian Revival, such as the Hotel Potter, built in 1911 at 9th and Mission streets **(Figure 41)**.

Apartments

Not as widespread in the South of Market Area as in other neighborhoods in San Francisco, apartment houses can be found on some of the outlying streets in the western part of the neighborhood, especially where the South of Market Area merges with the Mission District, particularly along Howard, Folsom, and 10th streets. Unlike a residential hotel, an apartment building can have more than one main residential entrance, depending on how the interior floor plan is arranged. The entrances provide access to a small lobby, which in turn, leads to corridors and stairs that access individual units within the building's interior. What distinguishes an apartment building from a residential hotel is that it does not have a staffed on-site office in the lobby and the units are usually larger and self-sufficient, including bedrooms, living room, a kitchen, and a bathroom. In contrast to residential hotels, apartment buildings within the South of Market Area are often smaller and of wood construction, either clad in flush wood siding or stuccoed. Ornament is typically restrained and consists of simple wood window and door moldings, raised or recessed spandrel panels, and modillion or box cornices. They can be found on important corner lots but are more typically located mid-block or on the corner of a main street and an alley to provide light and air into the interior units. Open courts provide additional light and air to the interior. Apartment buildings in the South of Market Area are designed in a variety of architectural styles, although since most of the apartments in the South of Market Area were built within a narrow period, they tend to be designed in the styles popular during the Edwardian Era, including the Classical Revival, Colonial Revival, Mission Revival, and Craftsman styles. An example is the Craftsman-style apartment building at 12-14 Rausch Street **(Figure 42)**.

Figure 42. Apartment at 12-14 Rausch Street (1914).
Source: Page & Turnbull, 2007

Flats

Although the building type is not unique to San Francisco, the use of the British term "flat" for a floor-through dwelling unit appears to be a local usage. Flats are found in almost all older residential neighborhoods in San Francisco and are usually recognized by their recessed and/or raised porches sheltering one to three individual entrances, one for each unit. Flats in San Francisco typically contain two or three units depending on the number of stories. While most flats consist of a single stack of units, some are comprised of two parallel stacks of units connected at the center (double flats), or if land allows this module can be expanded to include additional stacks comprising triple, quadruple or even quintuple flats. Flats in San Francisco are often built atop a raised base where either a garage (common after the First World War) or an additional residential unit may be located. Like apartment buildings, flats are typically wood-frame and the ornament is typically restrained and consists of mass-produced wood window and door moldings, raised or recessed spandrel panels, and modillion or box cornices. Flats comprise a relatively common residential building type in the South of Market Area. Most were built in the first decade after the 1906 Earthquake. Flats are usually located along main streets and some alleys in the western portion of the South of Market Area, although a few later infill examples exist elsewhere. Similar to apartment buildings, flats are usually designed in styles popular during the Edwardian Era, including the Classical Revival, Colonial Revival, Mission Revival, and Craftsman styles. A typical example of a frame flat is a 1913 building at 1556 Howard Street **(Figure 43)**.

Figure 43. Flats at 1556 Howard Street (1913).
Source: Page & Turnbull, 2007

Romeo Flats

The so-called "Romeo flat" appears to be unique to San Francisco and is commonly found in residential areas reconstructed after the 1906 Earthquake, although earlier examples are known to exist. Similar to conventional flats, Romeo flats are multiple-family buildings consisting of stacked floor-through units. In contrast to the conventional flat, which is typically grouped in stacked modules (usually two bays per module), represented by the rhythm of "AB," or if double flats, "ABBA," Romeo Flats are grouped in modules comprising three bays. The typical single Romeo flat features an open bay containing a winding stair at the center. This element is flanked on either side by stacked flats that are typically narrower than a conventional flat and most often have a railroad plan with a long corridor providing access to three or four rooms in sequence. Romeo flats are readily recognizable by virtue of their open-air central bays and staggered balconies that give the building type its name. Even if the stair bay is enclosed, the staggered windows aligning with the landings produce a distinctive staggered effect. Romeo flats are typically three bays wide, with a façade bay rhythm represented as "ABA" and a double Romeo flat as "ABAABA." Like apartment buildings and flats, Romeo flats are typically wood-frame and the ornament is typically mass-produced and consists of simple wood window and door moldings, raised or recessed spandrel panels, and modillion or box cornices. In the South of Market Area, Romeo Flats can be found in the same areas as conventional flats, mostly on narrow back streets and alleys. Similar to apartment buildings and conventional flats, Romeo flats are designed in the styles popular during the Edwardian Era, including the Classical Revival, Colonial Revival, Mission Revival, and Craftsman styles. A good and well-preserved example of an open-air Romeo flat is the 1910 building at 1016-20 Minna Street **(Figure 44)**.

Figure 44. Romeo flat at 1016-20 Minna Street (1910).
Source: Page & Turnbull, 2007

Single-family Dwellings

Single-family dwellings are today rare in the South of Market Area. Prior to the 1906 Earthquake and Fire, the district contained a moderate number of single-family dwellings. After the disaster, the South of Market Area was rebuilt as a predominantly industrial area. Rising property values accompanied by an exodus of families to the outlying parts of the city made single-family dwellings increasingly less viable. Nevertheless, some single-family buildings were built, usually interspersed among flats and or industrial buildings within the western portion of the district. Occasionally extant single-family dwellings appear to have simply replaced a pre-quake building, accounting for some out-of-date styles and features. Others are quite utilitarian in appearance and house mixed-used industrial and residential uses. Often, single-family dwellings sit atop a raised base containing a workshop, suggesting that the building was constructed as a mixed-use industrial/residential structure. Similar to apartment buildings and flats, most single-family dwellings in the South of Market Area are built of wood. In contrast to multiple-family residential properties, single-family residential buildings in the South of Market Area are designed in a wider array of styles. Although typical Edwardian-era styles are common, including Classical Revival, Colonial Revival, Mission Revival, and Craftsman; other styles are encountered, including vernacular/utilitarian, Queen Anne, Spanish Colonial Revival, and Mediterranean Revival. The mixed-use industrial/residential building at 965 Natoma Street – built in 1906 – is designed in a utilitarian mode **(Figure 45)**.

Figure 45. Single-family dwelling at 965 Natoma Street (1906).
Source: Page & Turnbull, 2007

Residential Court

Although endemic to California, residential courts (also known as bungalow courts) are extremely rare in San Francisco due to the high cost of land, lack of available space, and climactic incompatibility. Developed as inexpensive housing in Southern California around 1909, the typical residential court consists of two rows of closely spaced cottages on either side of a central patio or walkway. The purpose of the residential court was to provide inexpensive, multiple-family housing while simultaneously providing the occupants with the sense of a living in their own single-family dwelling. Frequently embellished with landscaping and maybe even a small fountain, the residential court was California's answer to the Eastern courtyard apartment building. Residential courts can be of any style, but commonly feature Craftsman, Mission or Spanish Colonial Revival, or even Art Deco and Streamline Moderne stylistic features. Most are one-story in height, although two or more stories are sometimes encountered. Within the South of Market Area there are about five residential courts, including 775-95 Minna Street (1906), 747-51 Minna Street (1907), 241 Clara Street (1916), 229-31 Shipley Street (1916), and 1033-41 Minna Street (1924). These urban residential courts are a far cry from their romantic palm-studded counterparts in the Southland, with their narrow, un-landscaped lots and closely-packed rows of cottages. Also different from Southern California, most San Francisco residential courts feature a screen wall separating the buildings from the street, with the central patio/walkway screened behind a steel gate to provide additional security. The residential court at 1033-41 Minna is probably the most traditional of the five, consisting of two rows of simple Craftsman style cottages facing a narrow patio, with a third building positioned perpendicular at the rear **(Figure 46)**. Most of the other residential courts feature brick screen walls that span the entire width of the property, sometimes with an arched entrance.

Figure 46. Residential Court at 1033-41 Minna Street (1924).
Source: Page & Turnbull, 2007

B. INDUSTRIAL BUILDINGS

Industrial buildings are the most numerous of all building types in the South of Market. In the wake of the 1906 Earthquake, economic forces explained in the chapters above led to the reconstruction of the neighborhood as a predominantly industrial district. Industrial buildings of different subtypes are distributed unevenly throughout the survey area. The most common and widespread type of industrial building in the survey area are small-scale, one or two-story, multi-purpose light industrial buildings constructed of brick or concrete and sometimes wood. Originally built throughout the South of Market Area, many industrial buildings within the eastern portion have been demolished and replaced with larger buildings during the last thirty years. Today, this type remains concentrated throughout the southern and western part of the survey area, where access to transportation was not as easy and real estate costs were lower. Intended to serve as flexible, unencumbered spaces, these buildings have been adapted for a myriad of uses, including manufacturing, printing, food-processing, warehousing, and today, auto repair, retail, and office uses. A second common type of industrial building in the South of Market Area is the light industrial loft building. Typically located closer to downtown, these buildings are hybrid commercial/industrial buildings used for a variety of purposes, including light manufacturing, warehousing, and wholesale distribution –often with ancillary commercial or retail on the first floor. Today the largest concentration of this building type is located south of Market Street between 1st and 4th streets, particularly along Mission, Howard, 1st, 2nd, and 3rd streets. The third type of industrial building in the South of Market Area is the large masonry warehouse. This type predominates near the Waterfront, along the Southern Pacific main line (now Caltrain tracks), and in the South End Warehouse District. Constructed of brick or concrete and typically between two and six stories, warehouses are usually very large buildings. Many have integral rail spurs or contain their own railroad sidings. A fourth type of industrial building in the South of Market Area is the purpose-built specialty industrial building constructed for a particular use by an industry.

Single-story Industrial Buildings

Single-story industrial buildings are still common in the South of Market. Typically designed to accommodate any number of light industrial usage, this flexible building type often consists of a flat-roofed office wing at the front and a larger undifferentiated work space at the rear – typically enclosed beneath a bowstring truss, gable truss, or sawtooth roof. Interior partitions and columns are kept to a minimum to maximize efficient use of interior space. Typically built of concrete or brick to minimize risk of fire, this building type commonly features one or more vehicular openings or loading docks on the primary façade and occasionally additional loading docks on side or rear facades. Over time, many of these buildings have been converted into auto repair facilities. Ornamentation is usually quite restrained, consisting for the most part of molded concrete paneling, stringcourses, door and window moldings, and sheet metal cornices. If the building is brick, corbelling is used to define bays, openings, and horizontal divisions like belt courses, friezes, and cornices. Occasionally one will encounter more exotic revival styles such as Gothic Revival, Byzantine, or later, Art Deco and Streamline Moderne. A good example of this type is the one-story concrete light industrial building at 1350 Howard Street, built in 1923 **(Figure 47)**.

Single-story Industrial Building with Two-story Office Wing

A common variant of the single-story industrial building has a two-story office wing at the front of the building. The second story, which typically provides additional office space and/or storage, increases the square footage of the building without sacrificing work space on the first floor level. The two-story office wing prototype is commonly deployed for narrow lots, where at-grade office space is simply infeasible. Found on either corner lots or in mid-block conditions, the façade of this type is usually symmetrical, consisting of a centrally located vehicular opening flanked by large multi-light steel industrial sash windows. Otherwise, this building type is similar to the conventional single-story industrial building in regard to materials, structural systems, and architectural styling. A very

good example of this type is the two-story Byzantine Revival, concrete industrial building at 160 10th Street, built in 1924 **(Figure 48)**.

Figure 47. Single-story industrial building at 1350 Howard Street (1923).
Source: Page & Turnbull, 2007

Figure 48. Light industrial building with two-story office wing at 160 10th Street (1924).
Source: Page & Turnbull, 2007

Loft Buildings

Also very common in the South of Market Area are hybrid commercial/industrial loft buildings. The term "loft" refers to a building that contains offices and/or retail space on the first floor and multiple floors of flexible unpartitioned space on the upper floors. Typically built in higher-density locations adjoining the central business district, loft buildings were built to house wholesale businesses, providing space on the first floor for office, retail, or display purposes. Meanwhile, the upper floors were engineered to withstand heavy loads, ideal for light manufacturing, storage, and distribution. Loft buildings resemble traditional warehouses in having few internal structural supports to avoid impeding the efficient use of space. Often the only partitioned spaces are the stair and the freight elevator. Optimally located with frontage on two or more streets – with the public façade facing the primary street and a secondary façade facing an alley or side street – loft buildings typically feature a loading dock or freight door facing the secondary street. In the South of Market Area, loft buildings usually feature one of two structural systems. The first type, commonly built between 1906 and 1913 (and sometimes later), is a load-bearing brick structural system with an internal heavy timber frame that supports the interior floors and roof structure. After the First World War, concrete became the dominant material because of its strength, suitability for spanning large distances without intermediate supports, and relative inexpensiveness. Similar to other industrial buildings in the survey area, loft buildings are designed in styles popular during the Edwardian era, especially Classical Revival and Renaissance Revival. Art Deco and Streamline Moderne became more popular during the 1930s and 1940s. The Thomas P. Crellin Building, built in 1912 at 585 Howard Street, is a rare example of a Romanesque Revival-style loft building **(Figure 49)**.

Figure 49. Thomas P. Crellin Building at 585 Howard Street (1912)
Source: Page & Turnbull, 2007

Warehouses

The South of Market Area contains dozens of warehouses, most of which are clustered along former rail lines such as the former Belt Line Railway and along the Southern Pacific (now Caltrain) tracks along King Street. Warehouses are storage buildings designed to accommodate irregularities of seasonal and market fluctuations in commerce. Warehousing involves the storage, processing, and distribution of goods, as well as occasionally light manufacturing. Warehouse design has traditionally been guided by three interrelated factors: security from fire and theft, economics, and advances in construction technology.[209] Security from fire and theft are paramount and usually addressed through heavy masonry walls, slow-burning timber frames, and iron fire doors and shutters. In order to "pencil out" as a business venture, warehouses need to accommodate enough goods to ensure a sufficient return on the investment in both land and construction. Anything that consumes valuable space, such as unnecessary columns or partition walls is avoided. Prior to the 1906 Earthquake and Fire, most warehouses in San Francisco were built of load-bearing brick with interior heavy timber framing. The disaster exposed the vulnerability of brick construction to seismic forces as well as fire. The adoption of concrete construction after the First World War allowed for tremendous advances, including thinner walls with larger windows, longer clear spans, fewer internal columns, and additional floors.

In the South of Market Area, most warehouses are between two and six stories high. The first floor often contains an office (frequently with a mezzanine to aid surveillance of the work area) at the front of the building. The rest of the building is typically devoted to storage space. Goods are loaded into and unloaded out of the building through external loading docks or internal freight bays. Within the South of Market Area, most warehouses have their own integral rail spur or external rail siding. Within the building, few partitions are used aside from the freight elevator and stair enclosures to avoid taking up valuable storage space.

Within the South of Market Area, warehouses are mostly located within the South End Historic District and along Bluxome and King streets. Most pre-World War I warehouses are large rectangular brick buildings designed in the American Commercial style. Buildings designed in this style can be identified by load-bearing masonry construction with minimal exterior detailing, flat roofs, flat or stepped parapets, regular grid-like fenestration with jack-arch window and door openings, and slow-burning heavy timber framing. A good example of this type is the Garcia-Maggini Warehouse, built in 1913 at 128 King Street **(Figure 50)**. When concrete became the dominant building material after the First World War, architects began designing larger buildings with bigger window. The exteriors are often designed in a variety of different styles because concrete is an excellent medium for molding ornamental details. One of the largest and most architecturally significant warehouses in the survey area is the large Mission Revival-style Blinn Estate Building, built in 1912 at 300 Brannan Street (1912) **(Figure 51)**.

[209] San Francisco Landmarks Preservation Advisory Board, "South End Historic District," Draft Case Report, (1990), p. 5.

Figure 50. Garcia-Maggini Warehouse at 128 King Street (1913).
Source: Page & Turnbull, 2007

Figure 51. Blinn Estate Building at 300 Brannan Street (1912).
Source: Page & Turnbull, 2007

Purpose-built Industrial Buildings

There are a handful of purpose-built, special-use industrial or utility buildings scattered throughout the South of Market Area. Typically built by a particular industry for a defined use, such buildings stand out from the more generic light industrial, loft, and warehouse buildings. Several were built to house the operations of gas and electric utility companies. Because these buildings house a wide variety of specialized businesses, their individual designs are quite varied, reflecting the unique characteristics of the industries that built them. Examples of purpose-built industrial buildings in the South of Market Area include several electrical substations erected by PG & E from 1905 to the 1950s, including the well-known Station C at 222-26 (1905, 1907, & 1909) – now the home of the Contemporary Jewish Museum of San Francisco; the Dairymen's Building (now BMW of San Francisco) at South Van Ness and 13th streets (1937), and the former California Electric Light Company Plant at 178 Townsend Street (1888 and 1907) **(Figure 52)**. The last building mentioned is a very rare survivor of the 1906 Earthquake and although repaired for a different use after the disaster, its construction techniques embody the older pre-quake system of load-bearing brick walls with a self-supporting heavy timber and steel interior frame.

Figure 52. California Electric Light Company Building at 178 Townsend Street (1888 and 1907).
Source: Page & Turnbull, 2007

C. COMMERCIAL BUILDINGS

Commercial buildings are distinct from industrial buildings or mixed-use building types such as loft buildings (industrial and commercial) or residential hotels (residential and commercial) in that they are solely dedicated to commercial use, such as office, retail, restaurant/entertainment, and any other income-producing use not related to the production, distribution, or repair of goods. Within the South of Market Area, exclusively commercial property types tend to be concentrated close to the central business district, particularly along Market and Mission streets between 1st and 4th streets. Elsewhere in the South of Market Area, because land values and population densities were higher than outlying neighborhoods, it rarely made economic sense to build small exclusively commercial/retail buildings that remain common in outlying residential districts of the city. Although commercial uses are widespread in the South of Market Area, most are housed on the ground floor level of residential hotels or apartment buildings.

As mentioned above, the South of Market Area does contain a significant cluster of single-use commercial buildings. Recorded in KVP's Transit Center District Survey of 2008-09, the area bounded by Market, 1st, Howard, and 3rd contains a several steel-frame commercial office buildings. Higher than five stories, tall commercial buildings were typically built on prominent corner lots on major east-west streets like Market and Mission. New Montgomery, an important southerly extension of the central business district, also contains several tall commercial buildings. The combination of steel framing and the passenger elevator promoted the construction of downtown commercial buildings throughout the United States during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Within the South of Market Area, the first high-rise commercial building was the Spreckels/Call Building, built in 1896 at 703 Market Street. Publisher George Hearst followed suit with the Hearst Building at 691 Market Street. Other important tall commercial buildings constructed before the 1906 Earthquake include the Rialto Building at 116 New Montgomery Street (1902), the Wells Fargo Building at 85 2nd Street (1902) **(Figure 53)**, and the Aronson Building at 700 Mission Street (1903). Steel-frame commercial buildings generally fared well during the 1906 Earthquake and most were repaired and restored to service after the disaster. The 1920s building boom witnessed the construction of several important tall commercial buildings within the survey area: the Matson Building at 215 Market Street (1921) and the splendid Beaux-Arts Pacific Gas & Electric Building next door at 245 Market (1922) **(Figure 54)**. This decade also saw the first skyscraper erected south of Mission Street, the Pacific Telephone & Telegraph Building at 134 New Montgomery Street (1925). These three buildings departed from the traditional Renaissance-Baroque styling of earlier tall commercial buildings and made use of terra cotta cladding instead of brick.

Figure 53. Wells Fargo Building at 85 2nd Street (1902).
Source: KVP Consulting, 2007

Figure 54. P G & E Building at 245 Market Street (1922).
Source: KVP Consulting, 2007

D. PUBLIC ASSEMBLY/INSTITUTIONAL BUILDINGS

In an intensely capitalist society where private property rights and profits are paramount, it is often easier to place the handful of public, religious, and fraternal buildings in a single category, especially in the South of Market Area, where there are so few buildings that do not serve industrial, commercial, or residential purposes. Public buildings in the South of Market Area include city, state, and federal office buildings, hospitals, police and fire stations, courthouses, public schools, post offices, and libraries. Religious buildings include churches, synagogues, temples, and other buildings associated with religious groups. Fraternal organizations can be associated with ethnic mutual benevolent societies, labor unions, craft guilds, and business clubs. Institutional uses do not always have to be located in specially designed buildings; frequently they are placed in existing buildings built for other uses.

Government Buildings

As a transient working-class neighborhood, the South of Market Area was traditionally neglected by local governmental bodies, unless a large parcel of land was needed close to the central business district or the Civic Center. The best-known government buildings in the South of Market Area are two federal buildings that survived the 1906 Earthquake: the Old U.S. Mint at 5th and Mission streets (1876) **(Figure 55)** and the U.S. Post Office and Court of Appeals at 7th and Mission streets (1905 and 1931). They are both monumental granite civic buildings designed by federal architects in Washington, D.C., and their expensive materials and architectural vocabulary is clearly calculated to establish federal authority in far-away San Francisco. Lesser known is the temporary City Hall Building at 1217-45 Market Street. Presently utilized as a hotel, this building served as San Francisco's temporary city hall between 1907 and 1912. The South of Market Area does contain several significant civic buildings, including the San Francisco Fire Department's SFFD Pumping Station at 698 2nd Street (1920), the Department of Human Services at 1420 Harrison Street (1920), the former Southern Police Station at 360 4th Street (1925), and the San Francisco Police Department's Hall of Justice/Southern Police Station at 850 Bryant Street (1961).

Figure 55. Old Mint at 5th and Mission (1876), ca. 1970
Source: San Francisco History Center, San Francisco Public Library

Religious Buildings

Prior to the 1906 Earthquake, there were several churches of various denominations and at least one synagogue in the South of Market Area. Following the destruction of their buildings in 1906, many religious congregations moved to undamaged neighborhoods and consequently did not rebuild in the South of Market Area. Most of the Catholic parishes did rebuild in anticipation that the largely Irish Catholic population would reestablish itself in the South of Market Area. For the most part this did not happen, but the churches were rebuilt, most notably St. Patrick's and St. Joseph's, two of the largest Catholic parishes in San Francisco. Whereas St. Patrick's is based on explicitly Irish prototypes, St. Joseph's is designed in the Romanesque Revival style **(Figure 56)**. Other religious buildings that were rebuilt after 1906 include Holy Trinity Greek Orthodox Church at 735 7th Street. An anchor of San Francisco's fast-growing Greek immigrant population, the church, which cost $30,000 to rebuild, was rededicated in 1909. The church still stands and is presently known as St. Michael's Ukrainian Orthodox Church. Another post-1906 religious structure in the South of Market Area is the former German Lutheran Evangelical Church at 1419 Howard Street (1907).

Figure 56. St. Joseph's Church at 1401 Howard Street (1913), n.d.
Source: San Francisco History Center, San Francisco Public Library

Fraternal Organizations

Long home to many San Francisco-based labor unions, in particular maritime unions, the South of Market Area contains several purpose-designed union halls, most of which are concentrated in the Rincon Hill neighborhood. Surviving union halls include the Marine Firemen, Oilers, and Watertenders (MFOW) hall at 240 2nd Street, the Sailors' Union of the Pacific (SUP) hall at 450 Harrison Street, the former Marine Engineers' Beneficial Association (MEBA) hall at 340 Fremont Street, and the Marine Cooks and Stewards Union (MCS-AFL) hall at 350 Fremont Street. Of these, only the MFOW hall resides within the geographical area covered by the context statement. The building at 240 2nd Street is representative of the union hall building type that characterized the South of Market Area after World War II **(Figure 57)**. Designed in a spare Late Moderne style and constructed of modern materials like concrete and steel, overlaid with high-quality marble, and ornamented with a relief mural, the MFOW union hall contains a hiring hall, executive offices, a restaurant, and other services to union members.

Figure 57. Marine Firemen, Oilers, and Watertenders Union Hall at 240 2nd Street, 2007
Source: KVP Consulting.

VI. RECOMMENDATIONS

A. SIGNIFICANCE AND REGISTRATION REQUIREMENTS

Historic context statements require the identification of attributes, historical associations, and levels of integrity that are necessary to list members of property types in the National Register of Historic Places or the California Register of Historical Resources.

Identification

For the purposes of determining eligibility for historic designation, Page & Turnbull has developed four categories of resource types based on the previous discussion of building types in Section V. Each category includes certain specific types of resources as listed below:

1. Residential: This category includes single-family dwellings, multiple-family buildings, and mixed-use residential and commercial buildings constructed in 1936 or earlier. Potentially the most significant are those constructed before 1914 during the immediate wave of post-1906 construction.
2. Industrial: This category includes all buildings and structures associated with manufacturing, warehousing, and assembly built prior to 1936 in the South of Market Area. Potentially the most significant are those constructed prior to 1914, those constructed during the 1920s-era building boom, as well as isolated examples built during the Depression and World War II.
3. Commercial: This category includes primarily steel-frame office buildings constructed within the Transit Center District survey area between 1906 and 1929.
4. Public Assembly/Institutional: This category includes a handful of significant civic, religious and fraternal buildings within the South of Market Area.

Significance

There are four criteria under which a structure, site, building, district, or object can be determined eligible for listing in the National Register. These four criteria, which are explained in more detail on page 10, are:

> *Criterion A (Event):* Properties associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history;
>
> *Criterion B (Person):* Properties associated with 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.

Similarly, there are four criteria under which a structure, site, building, district, or object can be determined eligible for listing in the California Register. These four criteria, which are explained in more detail on page 11, are:

> *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.

Residential Buildings
Residential buildings in the South of Market Area can be evaluated under National Register Criteria A, B, and C and California Register Criteria 1, 2, and 3. Given the generally rapid rate of residential reconstruction after the 1906 Earthquake, residential buildings eligible for listing in the National Register under Criterion A or California Register Criterion 1 (Event) should have been built between 1906 and 1936, with potentially the most significant examples constructed between 1906 and 1914, the earliest episode of post-quake reconstruction.

For properties to be listed under National Register Criterion B or California Register Criterion 2 (Person), residential properties should be associated with the lives of persons significant in our past. This association should be demonstrable and be related to the person's productive life. Because the South of Market Area has traditionally been a working-class neighborhood, it is likely that residential properties eligible for listing under Criteria B or 2 will be associated with prominent labor leaders, community activists, religious leaders, or others advocating for the betterment of neighborhood conditions.

Most dwellings in the South of Market Area are vernacular in origin, having been built by private individuals and contractors without the assistance of a trained architect. Some buildings, in particular larger apartment buildings and residential hotels, do have a conventional architectural pedigree as defined as having been architect-designed and/or manifesting "high artistic values." Therefore, in order for residential buildings to be determined eligible for listing in the National Register under Criterion C and the California Register under Criterion 3 (Design/Construction) they should ideally have been constructed between 1906 and 1914 and demonstrate *distinctive* characteristics of a "type, period, region, or period of construction." Most of the residential building types are examples of fairly common types citywide, so in order to be individually eligible, the property should either represent an unusual or distinctive property type, such as an intact bungalow court, or possess "high artistic values" or "represent the work of a master" architect, builder, or designer.

Residential properties that appear individually eligible for listing in the National Register and/or California Register are identified in the attached DPR 523 B forms prepared by Page & Turnbull as part of the South of Market Area Plan Survey.

Industrial Buildings
Industrial buildings in the South of Market Area can be determined eligible under National Register Criteria A and C and California Register 1 and 3. The primary significance of the South of Market Area is its post-1906 history as a predominantly light industrial district of small factories, shops, warehouses, and infrastructure serving these uses. West of 5th Street, much of the physical legacy of this historic context remains intact. Properties eligible for listing in the National Register under Criterion A or the California Register under Criterion 1 (Event) will have a close association with either an important industry or be associated with an important historical event such as the post-1906

reconstruction era, the 1934 Waterfront Strike, or the construction of the San Francisco-Oakland Bay Bridge.

One of the most common significant individual resource types in the South of Market Area are properties that appear eligible for listing in the National Register under Criterion C or in the California Register under Criterion 3 (Design/Construction). The dominant building type in much of the neighborhood are one-to-six story concrete or brick industrial buildings constructed between 1906 and 1914 and during the 1920s, with a handful of outliers constructed during the 1930s. Entire block-faces, such as 9th Street between Mission and Townsend or Howard Street between 5th and 12th streets are lined with such buildings. Page & Turnbull has identified several historic districts comprising industrial buildings of this era but there are several dozen that are especially distinguished due to their individual use and/or design.

Industrial properties that appear individually eligible for listing in the National Register and/or California Register are identified in the attached DPR 523 B forms prepared by Page & Turnbull as part of the South of Market Area Plan Survey.

Commercial Buildings
Commercial buildings in the South of Market Area can be evaluated under National Register Criteria A, B, and C and California Register Criteria 1, 2, and 3. Some of the most individually significant buildings in the South of Market Area are commercial buildings in the former Wholesale District and along Market and New Montgomery streets. Many are already individually designated as National Register or California Register properties or as locally designated City Landmarks. Additionally Kelley & VerPlanck has identified a large historic district (New Montgomery, Mission & Second Historic District) comprising the New Montgomery-Second Conservation District and the Second and Howard National Register District. This district includes most of the significant commercial buildings in the South of Market Area and is eligible under California Register Criteria 1 and 3. Currently undesignated properties can be determined eligible for listing under National Register Criterion A and California Register Criterion 1 (Event) if they represent an important context, such as survivors of the 1906 Earthquake or as buildings constructed during the immediate post-quake reconstruction era. They can also represent other important events localized to the individual building.

For properties to be listed under National Register Criterion B or California Register Criterion 2 (Person), commercial properties should be associated with the lives of persons significant in our past. This association should be demonstrable and be related to the person's productive life. Commercial properties eligible for listing under Criteria B or 2 should be associated with important industrialists or businesspersons who may have built and/or occupied a building in the area for the most important part of their career. Comparatively few buildings will qualify under this Criterion.

After industrial buildings, the most common significant individual resource type in the South of Market Area are commercial properties that appear eligible for listing in the National Register under Criterion C or in the California Register under Criterion 3 (Design/Construction). This is the dominant building type within the area bounded by Market, 1st, Howard, and 3rd streets with isolated examples outside this area. As mentioned above, many of the most individually significant commercial properties are already individually designated or determined eligible for listing in the National Register, the California Register, locally designated City Landmarks, or contributors to historic districts and conservation districts. Of undesignated commercial buildings, those that are eligible are those constructed between 1906 and 1914 and during the 1920s, and a handful of later examples constructed during the 1930s. Entire block-faces, such as New Montgomery Street, the south side of Market Street between 1st and 9th streets, and much of Mission Street between 1st and 3rd streets are still lined with such buildings. Kelley & VerPlanck has identified a historic district

(New Montgomery, Mission & Second Historic District) that encompasses many of these buildings, as well as the New Montgomery-Second Conservation District and the Second and Howard National Register District.

Public Assembly/Institutional Buildings
As discussed above, the South of Market Area contains a handful of significant public assembly/institutional buildings, including several important churches; public buildings such as police stations, the Old Mint, the Old Post Office/Court of Appeals; and union halls. Many of these buildings are already listed in the National Register, including the Old Mint, the Old Post Office, and St. Joseph's Church. Because the distinctive individual characteristics of public assembly/institutional buildings vary widely, it is difficult to generalize which criteria and what age range under which they will qualify. Typically, most public assembly/institutional buildings are going to be eligible under the greatest range of National Register and California Register criteria because of their important historical associations (Criteria A and 1), association with important persons (Criteria B and 2), distinctive architectural and construction techniques (Criteria C and 2), and even information potential (Criteria D and 4).

Integrity
Once a resource has been identified as being potentially eligible for listing in the National Register, its historic integrity must be evaluated. The National Register recognizes seven aspects or qualities that, in various combinations, define integrity. These aspects are: location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling and association. In order to be eligible for listing, these aspects must closely relate to the resource's significance and must be intact. These aspects are defined as follows:

- *Location* is the place where the historic property was constructed.
- *Design* is the combination of elements that create the form, plans, space, structure and style of the property.
- *Setting* addresses the physical environment of the historic property inclusive of the landscape and spatial relationships of the building(s).
- *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.
- *Workmanship* is the physical evidence of the crafts of a particular culture or people during any given period in history.
- *Feeling* is the property's expression of the aesthetic or historic sense of a particular period of time.
- *Association* is the direct link between an important historic event or person and a historic property.

The process of determining integrity is similar for both the California Register and the National Register, although there is a critical distinction between the two registers, and that is the degree of integrity that a property can retain and still be considered eligible for listing. According to the California Office of Historic Preservation:

> It is possible that historical resources may not retain sufficient integrity to meet the criteria for listing in the National Register, but they may still be eligible for listing in the California Register. A resource that has lost its historic character or appearance

> may still have sufficient integrity for the California Register if it maintains the potential to yield significant or historical information or specific data.[210]

Of the seven aspects of integrity listed above, residential buildings should retain, in order of importance: integrity of association, feeling, workmanship, design, materials, location, and setting. Residential buildings eloquently express regional settlement patterns, ethnic origins, building technologies, usage, and stylistic preferences of builders and residents. Therefore, it is important that the structure retain the ability to convey its origins and associations with the people who inhabited it. The aspects of workmanship, design, and materials are also important aspects of integrity, conveying importance of building technology, craft, and artistic impulses of builders and residents. Location and setting are also important aspects, providing the context for the resource.

In regard to industrial properties, the seven aspects of integrity in order of importance should be: design, association, feeling, location, setting, materials and workmanship. Because the historic character of an industrial building or complex depends more on how it conveys the organization of work that occurs within, it is important that enough of the original design, including massing, structural systems, and spatial organization, remain intact in order to convey how the property was used. Integrity of association and feeling are ranked next in importance because the building or complex must retain enough overall integrity to express the significance of the industry. Location and setting are important because they illustrate how the industry was sited in regard to transportation and roads, adjoining properties, and similar industries. Materials and workmanship are less important because industrial buildings are typically utilitarian structures that gain their significance more from function than from appearance. Furthermore, alterations to an industrial plant occur quite frequently, especially if the business expands or incorporates newer technology. Alterations to an industrial plant (rather than demolishing it) attest to the flexibility of the original design.

In regard to commercial properties, the seven aspects of integrity in order of importance should be: design, materials, workmanship, association, feeling, location, and setting. Commercial properties typically express the values of the company or individual that built them and therefore it is important for the building to retain the bulk of its physical characteristics, especially its original design and materials. Commercial buildings are often more elaborate than either residential or industrial properties and often embody unique examples of workmanship, which should be retained. Association and feeling with the building's original builder/owner and era of construction are also important. Location and setting are also important aspects, providing the context for the resource.

In regard to public assembly/institutional properties, the threshold for integrity is much higher. The hierarchy of the seven aspects is related to the individual characteristics of the resource in question.

Summary

For the most part, resources in the South of Market Area do not rise to the level of individual significance under National Register criteria. Individual property research may reveal associations with important events or individuals, but architecturally the significance of the South of Market Area lay in its overall unity of design, which is highly indicative of important historical patterns that shaped the neighborhood, such as post-quake reconstruction, industrial development, labor, working-class culture, and immigration. Much of the South of Market Area was constructed within a brief period of time following the 1906 Earthquake and Fire. Rebuilt as a predominantly light industrial and warehouse neighborhood between 1906-13 and 1920-27, the building types and architectural styles seen in intact areas of the South of Market Area are remarkably consistent in spite of the differences in scale and detailing between individual buildings. These factors in part account for the

[210] California Office of Historic Preservation, *Technical Assistance Series No. 6, California Register and National Register: A Comparison* (Sacramento, CA: California Office of State Publishing, November 2004)

distinctiveness of the South of Market Area as an urban district: consistency of scale, massing, setbacks, materials, fenestration patterns, and architectural detailing. Furthermore, the historical patterns that led to the South of Market Area's current appearance are readily apparent to informed observers, unlike other more diverse neighborhoods in San Francisco that have undergone more extensive changes over a greater period of time.

Although freeway construction, urban renewal, and private real estate development have taken their toll on the integrity of the South of Market Area, many streets, particularly in the western part of the neighborhood, retain a high level of integrity. Overall, integrity levels remain higher with industrial buildings in the South of Market Area, mostly because of the inherent durability and flexible nature of the basic building type, which typically requires few changes to accommodate new uses. In addition, as utilitarian structures whose success does not rely on their fashionable appearance, industrial buildings have often not been remodeled to maintain an up-to-date appearance. Residential properties, particularly wood-frame flats and single-family dwellings, have typically undergone greater degrees of change. Individual design decisions reflective of individual personalities, the availability of new building materials, changes in occupation, and the inherent fragile nature of wood-frame construction has resulted in a lower level of integrity among residential building types, as evidenced by the stripping of original wood detailing and application of stucco, vinyl, and metal siding, the replacement of wood windows with aluminum and vinyl, and other incremental changes described by historian Kingston W. Heath in his study of workers' housing in New Bedford, Massachusetts as "cultural weathering."[211]

B. POTENTIAL HISTORIC DISTRICTS

Over the years, several consultants have identified a potential National Register-eligible historic district within the South of Market Area bounded roughly by Mission, 5th, Harrison, and 13th streets. Page & Turnbull concurs with this finding and in their fieldwork identified a potential historic district that roughly conforms to those boundaries with a period of significance spanning the years 1906 to 1936. The period of significance ends in 1936 because by this time major building and infrastructure had basically come to an end with the completion of the Bay Bridge and South Van Ness Avenue. The district contains a heavy concentration of light industrial buildings constructed between 1906 and 1929 and several smaller enclaves of workers' housing and residential hotels constructed primarily between 1906 and 1913, with some infill housing constructed during the 1920s and later. The potential district is called the Western SoMa Light Industrial and Residential Historic District. Page & Turnbull prepared the District Record between Spring 2008 and Spring 2009.

Page & Turnbull initially identified a second smaller district to the west of the Western SoMa Light Industrial and Residential Historic District. Consisting primarily of Art Deco and Streamline Moderne industrial buildings, automobile-related commercial, and general commercial buildings, the district was developed during the early 1930s in response to the completion of South Van Ness Avenue from Market to Howard Street. Although modern intrusions exist within the boundaries of the potential district, the area contains one of the most important concentrations of Art Deco commercial architecture in San Francisco. Page & Turnbull ultimately prepared a District Record form for the South Van Ness Deco-Moderne District in December 2007 as part of the Market & Octavia Area Plan Historic Resource Survey. It was not adopted by local jurisdictions.

During the survey process, Page & Turnbull identified three other potential historic districts: the Bluxome and Townsend Warehouse Historic District, the South End Historic District Addition, and the South Park Historic District.

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[211] Kingston Wm. Heath, *The Patina of Place: The Cultural Weathering of a New England Industrial Landscape* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2001).

C. AREAS REQUIRING FUTURE WORK

In February 2007, Page & Turnbull initially identified several sections of the South of Market Area worthy of intensive-level survey, including what are now the potential Western SoMa Light Industrial and Residential Historic District, the potential South Van Ness Deco/Moderne District, and the bulk of the SoMa West Planning Area. These areas were surveyed in 2008-09 and several potential districts identified. After completing the intensive-level survey and producing DPR 523A (Primary Record, 523B (Building, Structure & Object), and 523D (District Record) forms for individual properties and proposed historic districts, Page & Turnbull recommends the following:

- Additional research on architects and property developers who were active in the South of Market Area, including Frederick Meyer, O'Brien Brothers, George Wagner, Bothin Real Estate Company, A.C. Griewank, Arthur Bugbee, and James Hjul.
- Additional DPR 523 B forms for the following properties: 430 Natoma Street (3725/042), 310 7th Street (3755/003), 120 11th Street (3511/003), 1419 Howard Street (3517/033), 1126 Howard Street (3727/014), and 399 9th Street (3756/004).
- Additional research, 523 B forms and possibly California Register/National Register nominations for any properties that have been given CHRIS status codes of 5S3, 3CS, or 3S in the SOMA DPR 523D forms that have not yet been documented.
- Complete DPR 523 A forms for any properties that were not surveyed on or north of Mission Street and west of 3rd Street, as well as the "donut hole" that was skipped during the survey process, which includes Langton and Rausch streets.

VII. CONCLUSION

Prepared in 2007, the preliminary *South of Market Area Historic Context Statement* served as the initial step in the three-year-long process of documenting the architectural and social history of the South of Market Area. This revised context statement incorporates significant amounts of additional data uncovered by Page & Turnbull in the intensive-level survey of the South of Market Area, as well as other information provided by Kelley & VerPlanck's Transit Center District Survey and Context Statement and Showplace Square Survey and Context Statement. The South of Market Area is a unique San Francisco neighborhood with an important history that is as old as the city itself. Nevertheless, most of the existing fabric is the product of the post-1906 Reconstruction Era and the 1920s nationwide building boom. This factor, combined with its evolution into a predominantly light industrial district after 1906, gives the South of Market Area its distinctive and unified architectural character. Today, the South of Market Area is not only an increasingly rare remnant of industrial building stock, but it is also a physical embodiment of the once-important role played by San Francisco's now largely extinguished industrial working-class. The South of Market Area was the venue for many important events in the history of San Francisco's labor communities and has been the venue for class conflict extending from the Squatters Rights' movement of the 1850s to opposition to Redevelopment during the 1970s. Even after the exodus of much of the district's industrial base, the South of Market Area has remained a refuge for retired workers, immigrants, LGBT communities, and others that do not fit in with the dominant American Neoliberal credo. Although the Dot-com Boom and the Real Estate Boom that followed have largely erased any demographic evidence of these communities, many of the buildings remain to remind us of the San Francisco that once was.

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